

The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman

WALT WHITMAN

Notebooks and
Unpublished Prose
Manuscripts

VOLUME VI: NOTES AND INDEX

Edited by Edward F. Grier



NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS 1984

© 1984 BY NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Whitman, Walt, 1819-1892.

Notebooks and unpublished prose manuscripts.

(The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman)

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

1. Whitman, Walt, 1819-1892—Diaries. 2. Poets,
American—19th century—Biography. I. Grier, Edward F.
II. Title. III. Series: Whitman, Walt, 1819-1892. Works.
1961.

PS3231.A36 1984 818'.303 [B] 83-24415

ISBN 0-8147-2991-6 vol. I.

ISBN 0-8147-2992-4 vol. II.

ISBN 0-8147-2993-2 vol. III

ISBN 0-8147-2994-0 vol. IV

ISBN 0-8147-2995-9 vol. V

ISBN 0-8147-2996-7 vol. VI

ISBN 0-8147-2989-4 (set)

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

CLOTHBOUND EDITIONS OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS BOOKS

ARE SMYTH-SEWN AND PRINTED ON PERMANENT AND DURABLE ACID-FREE PAPER.

The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman

GENERAL EDITORS

Gay Wilson Allen and Sculley Bradley

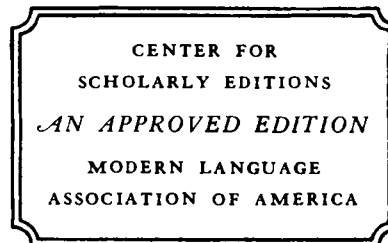
ADVISORY EDITORIAL BOARD

Roger Asselineau *Harold W. Blodgett*

Charles E. Feinberg *Clarence Gohdes*

Emory Holloway *Rollo G. Silver* *Floyd Stovall*

THE PREPARATION OF THIS VOLUME,
AND COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH ITS PUBLICATION,
WERE SUPPORTED THROUGH GRANT NO. RP-*1726-80 FROM THE
Editing and Publication Programs
of the National Endowment for the Humanities,
AN INDEPENDENT FEDERAL AGENCY.



CONTENTS

	Volume I	
PREFACE		ix
INTRODUCTION		xiii
ABBREVIATIONS		xxi
CHRONOLOGY OF WHITMAN'S LIFE AND WORK		xxv
LIST OF TITLES		xxix
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS		lix
THE MANUSCRIPTS		I
I. Family Notes and Autobiography		3
II. Brooklyn and New York		43
	Volume II	
III. Washington		477
	Volume III	
IV. Camden		935
NOTES		
	Volume IV	
I. Proposed Poems		1291
II. Explanations		1427
	Introduction to <i>Leaves of Grass</i>	1445
III. Attempts to Define the Poet's Role and Tradition		1549
IV. Needs of American Literature		1585
	Volume V	
V. Study Projects		1613
VI. Words		1621
VII. American Writers		1711
VIII. English Writers		1737
IX. German, French, Italian, Spanish, Scandinavian and Classical Writers		1811
X. English History		1893
XI. World History		1915
XII. United States Geography		1931
XIII. World Geography		1969
XIV. Natural History		1995
	Volume VI	
XV. Philosophy		2005
XVI. History of Religion		2019

XVII	Religion	204I
XVIII.	American Politics	2109
XIX.	Slavery	2169
XX.	Education	220I
XXI.	Oratory	222I
XXII.	Health	2245
INDEX		226I

The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman

XV. Philosophy.

(See also Classical Writers, Section IX.)

See Aristotle.

Manuscript not found. Text from *N&F*, 168 (Pt. IV, #57; *CW*, X, 16). “German literature” and “prose writers of Germany” probably refer to the works of Joseph Gostwick and Frederic Hedge, which WW knew through his interest in German writers.

See Aristotle, Descartes, Locke, Hume.
Hegel, German literature, prose writers of Germany.

Kant—Enc. Brit.

Manuscript in LC (#79, sheet #748). Inscribed in black pencil and blue crayon and black ink as noted on white wove scrap, approx. 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Blue rules, $\frac{1}{4}$ " apart on verso. "Copied" is written vertically in the left margin. WW used three different writing materials, which suggests different dates of composition, from 1842 (*Britannica*, 7th ed.) to 1862 (*Americana*) or later. It is probable that these notes were made in the early 1860s or 1870s. See "SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES."

Kant—Enc. Brit—vol 12 p 677¹

*Hegel*²

* ——— Before finishing *Kant* see Fichte p. 534 vol IX, Enc. Brit³

Fichte is undoubtedly the philosopher of subjectivism—* I am indebted to an abstract of J. GOSTICK on German Literature⁴

(see Schelling p 395 vol 14 New Am Enc see especially p 400⁵)

1. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (7th ed.), XII, Pt. II. A description of Kant's personal habits and of the history and influence of the "Critical Philosophy."

2. Inserted in blue crayon above "p. 534" (at the right of the leaf).

3. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (7th ed.), IX, Pt. II. Remarks on Fichte's life and character and a brief sketch of the "Doctrine of Science."

4. Black ink, brought up from bottom. Joseph Gostwick, *German Literature* (Philadelphia, 1854).

5. *New American Encyclopedia* (1864), XIV. The article on Schelling begins on p. 396, rather than p. 395. Page 400 is the conclusion of the article, with special reference to Schelling's religious orthodoxy.

The Idea.

Manuscript in Duke (36, #28). Inscribed in hard black pencil on gray-tan, soft, laid paper, approx. 4⁵/₁₆" x 4³/₄". First printed in *N&F*, 141 (Pt. III, #179; *CW*, IX, 188).

The idea (illustrated by Kant) that it isn't those who travel the most that know the most, or think the deepest, widest, clearest. I even think that sometimes a life devoted to persistent travel is a squander'd life. The Knowingest people I have met have¹ not been the gad-about

1. Deleted: "been"

Sunday Evening Lectures.

Manuscript lacking. Text from *N&F*, 132–140 (Pt. III, #175; *CW*, IX, 166–186). Bucke in *N&F* says that it “is simply a series of fragments.” This may be “MS 34” in a MS Inventory of Books and Manuscripts in the Camden House, probably made by the executors. One passage, which deals with religion, is to be found elsewhere: “Religions. Pagan and Christian.”

WW’s relations with Hegel have been carefully studied, and many sources of his references to Hegel have been identified by Arvin, Boatright, Sister May Eleanor, Fulghum and Stovall, as detailed in the notes. In *Foreground*, 192–204, Stovall indicates the wide availability to WW of material on German philosophy. There is little indication, however, that WW read the originals in translation. As usual he found what he wanted at second hand. One peculiarity of his study of German philosophy is that, although the identifiable sources are not later than 1862, it is not until *DV* (1871) that its influence can be clearly discerned (*DV*, *Prose* 92, II, 407, 417, 421), and not until 1882 in “Carlyle from American Points of View” (*SD*, *ibid.*, I, 259–262) did he undertake any exposition of Hegelian thought. It is not surprising, however, that WW, like other thinkers, found that romantic individualism was an inadequate attitude after midcentury and that something like a Hegelian synthesis enabled him to reconcile the one and the many. See also “Kant—Enc. Brit.” Bucke very plausibly suggests a date of “the late sixties or very early seventies.”

SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES.

Kant, 1724 to 1804. Fichte, 1762 to 1814. Schelling, 1775 to 1854—died in Switzerland. Hegel, 1770 to 1831.

Metaphysics—Hegel and Metaphysics.

Hegel—born at Stuttgart in 1770—died 1831 at Berlin of cholera—educated at University of Tübingen—student of theology—matriculated in 1788, aged 18—then in retirement pursued extensive and severe courses of study. At 31 was a public lecturer at Jena, at the University—was an associate of Schelling—examined, in his lectures, the difference between Fichte and Schelling—edited a newspaper—then conducted an academy or gymnasium at latter place (as rector)—inaugurated and planned his great work or works.

Was professor of philosophy at Heidelberg (1816–1818) and there published his *Encyclopædia*, developing his whole philosophy.¹

* * * * *

1. Stovall (*AL*, 26, 353) and Sister Mary Eleanor, “Hedge’s *Prose Writers of Germany* as a Source for Whitman’s Knowledge of German Philosophy,” *MLN*, 61 (June 1946), agree on Hedge, 488, as a source. Stovall adds possible sources for the mis-spelling: “Stuttgard.”

I will begin by impressing upon your attention the growing and greater particularity with which the moderns use the words relating to those philosophical inquiries. The realms of all words are more or less filling the past and will fill the future, getting more definitely bounded. This is one of the marked characteristics of our times. Precision is demanded. Though they inevitably run into each other, each term in the category has yet its own exact and limited area, and the best writer [*illeg.*]² often leaps beyond proof. Science, strictly speaking, deals in positive facts, practical experiments, proofs. Philosophy combines them, applies them to solve the vast problem of universal harmony, ensemble, the idea of the all. Religion means moral development, duty, the idea of man's duty in the abstract, and duty toward his fellows, toned and colored by that something above him or enclosing him out of which prayer and worship arise. Theology is the thought and science of God. Metaphysics, defined by Kant is according to another and perhaps still better description, that which considers the whole concrete show of things, the world, man himself, either individually or aggregated in History, as resting on a spiritual, invisible basis, continually shifting, yet the real substance, and the only immutable one.³ This was the doctrine of Hegel. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, born—died—⁴

Hegel was a philosopher in the domain of metaphysics and in that has probably rendered greater service than any man we know, past or present.

Strictly speaking the transcendental metaphysics present no new contribution to morals, to the formation or guidance of character, the practice of virtue or for the better regulation either of private life or public affairs. With respect to such morals, virtue, or to heroism and the religious incumbency the old principles remain, without notable increase or diminution, the same to-day as we trace them in farthest India, Egypt, Greece, the Vedas, the Talmud, the Old Testament, Epictetus, Zerdusht, the divine teachings of Christ, and as substantially agreed upon by all lands, all times as far back as we can go.⁵

Religion and morals, I say, are not palpably affected, although doubtless there has to be more or less of a re-adjustment and perhaps re-statement of theology.

Nor does the Hegelian system, strictly speaking, explain the universe, either in the aggregate or in detail. The senses, eyesight, life, the least insect, growth, the dynamics of nature are not eclaircized.⁶ Thought is not caught, held, dissected. To penetrate Nature and solve her problems the human faculties under present conditions are no more eligible now than before and under mortal conditions will in all probability never be eligible. The Eternal mystery is still a mystery. Then after

2. Bracketed word in text.

3. This "description" of metaphysics is quite close (though not verbally) to "Carlyle from American Points of View," *SD, Prose 92, I, 259*.

4. Dash in text.

5. Close to "Carlyle from American Points of View," 260.

6. The earliest use of this word according to Eby's *Concordance* is in "Passage to India" (1871), l. 17. Although *eclaircissement*, which WW used in the 1872 Preface, had been in English usage since the late seventeenth century, WW's coinage (from *éclaircir* ?) suggests that date for this summary.

granting this there remains an entirely legitimate field for the human mind, in fact its chosen ground where all had before gone by default. Because final and paramount to all is man's idea of his own position in the universes of time, space and materials, his faith in the scheme of things, the destinies which it necessitates, his clue to the relations between himself and the outside world, his ability in intellect and spirit at any rate to cope and be equal with them, and with Time and Space. These, and thoughts upon these come to the soul and fill and exercise it and remain of vital interest after it has exhausted all other fields. These touch all human beings without exception and include everything that is of permanent importance to them. They are the greatest themes. They are greater than Science, History, Art, Democracy, or any problems of the Utilities or prosperity or wealth or any sectarian Religion. I would not be understood to deprecate the Great Departments, the Specialties I have just named, but I say that compared with the question of man in the visible and invisible worlds the others become comparatively insignificant. Yourself, myself,—amid the baffling labyrinths—what am I, what are you here for?—give us some suggestion (however indirect or inferential), or clue, or satisfying reason—the world with its manifold shows—the beginningless, endless wonder, Time—the other wonder Space—oneself, the darkest labyrinth, mightiest wonder. What triumphs of our kind out-topples this—that one, a man, has lived and has bestowed on his fellow-men the Ariadne's thread⁷ to guide them through the maze?

Only Hegel is fit for America—is large enough and free enough. Absorbing his speculations and imbued by his letter and spirit, we bring to the study of life here and the thought of hereafter, in all its mystery and vastness, an expansion and clearness of sense before unknown. As a face in a mirror we see the world of materials, nature with all its objects, processes, shows, reflecting the human spirit and by such reflection formulating, identifying, developing and proving it.⁸ Body and mind are one; an inexplicable paradox, yet no truth truer. The human soul stands in the centre, and all the universes minister to it, and serve it and revolve round it. They are one side of the whole and it is the other side. It escapes utterly from all limits, dogmatic standards and measurements and adjusts itself to the ideas of God, of space, and to eternity, and sails them at will as oceans, and fills them as beds of oceans.

The varieties, contradictions and paradoxes of the world and of life, and even good and evil, so baffling to the superficial observer, and so often leading to despair, sullenness or infidelity, become a series of infinite radiations and waves of the one sea-like universe of divine action and progress, never stopping, never hastening. "The heavens and the earth" to use the summing up of Joseph Gostick whose brief I endorse: "The heavens and the earth and all things within their

7. Esther Shephard (*Walt Whitman's Pose*, 181–182) points out that WW may have picked up this metaphor from George Sand, *The Countess of Rudolstadt* (tr. Francis Shaw, 1847, 263), which WW studied with care. (See "albot Wilson.")

8. Mody C. Boatright, "Whitman and Hegel," *University of Texas Studies in English*, 9 (1929), finds a source in Joseph Gostwick, *German Literature* (1854), 272.

compass—all the events of history—the facts of the present and the development of the future (such is the doctrine of Hegel) all form a complication, a succession of steps in the one eternal process of creative thought.”⁹

The essential quality, nature, scope, position of Man in Time and Space. What is he? His soul? The relations between it and this manifold nature, the world, with its variegated, countless objects—the other worlds—the perplexing idea of immortality—how fuse the material life, the fact of death, chemical dissolution, segregation, with the puzzling thought of Identity’s continuance, despite of death—Humanity, the race, History, with all its long train of baffling, contradictory events—the tumultuous procession—the dark problem of evil, forming half of the infinite scheme—these are the themes, questions, which have directly or indirectly to do with any profound consideration of Democracy and finally testing it, as all questions and as underlying all questions.

Who advances me to light upon these? And without depreciating poets, patriots, saints, statesmen, inventors and the like I rate [Hegel]¹⁰ as Humanity’s chiefest teacher and the choicest loved physician of my mind and soul.

It is true, analogy, comparison, indirection, suggestions are perhaps all that is possible. But the soul quickly seizes the divine limits and absorbs them with avidity.

Penetrating beneath the shows and materials of the objective world we find, according to Hegel though the thought by itself is not new but very antique and both Indian and Grecian) that in respect to human cognition of them,¹¹ all and several are pervaded by *the only absolute substance* which is SPIRIT, endued with the eternal impetus of development, and producing from itself the opposing powers and forces of the universe. A curious, triplicate process seems the resultant action; first the Positive, then the Negative, then the product of the mediation between them; from which product the process is repeated and so goes on without end. In his *Introduction to the Philosophy of History*, this is illustrated in the portion on “History as a manifestation of Spirit.”¹²

He has given the same clue to the fitness of reason and fitness of things and unending progress, to the universe of moral purposes that the sciences in their spheres, as astronomy and geology, have established in the material purposes, and the last and crowning proof of each is the same, that they fit the mind, and the idea of the all, and are necessary to be so in the nature of things.¹³

Kant was born in Koningsburg, Eastern Prussia, in 1724, of Scotch stock on the paternal side. His father was a saddler, carrying on a small business. His mother seems to have been a superior woman of deep religious sensibilities. At sixteen he entered the University of Koningsburg as a theological student and

9. Boatright traces this quotation to Gostwick, 269.

10. Bracketed word in text.

11. Sister Mary Eleanor traces the following passage (“all and several . . . without end.”) to Hedge.

12. Stovall (*AL*) traces this sentence to Hedge.

13. Passage transferred. See “Religions.—Pagan and Christian”

preached occasionally in the country pulpits of the neighborhood. He was poor, took employment as tutor, went from family to family among people of rank and others, returned to the University as private lecturer, spending fifteen years in that position. Was then and always fond of the study of physical geography and astronomy. Published a series of essays and treatises, became popular as a lecturer, was often sought by persons of distinction.

Thus going on, increasing in fame, we find him at the age of 42 advanced to the post of an under-keeper of the royal library at the salary of about \$50 a year—and four years later prompted to the ordinary chair of logic and metaphysics at \$300 a year. He ripens slowly. His great work, the *Critique of Pure Reason*, is published in his 57th year. Though in great danger of sinking into oblivion before its importance can be understood, it surmounts that danger and in a few years becomes famous.¹⁴

Kant—like Socrates and to some extent like Plato is more a searcher and tester of systems than a maker of them. Like them, though in his own way, not theirs, he discusses, inquires, suggests, speculates, is very cautious, propounds little or nothing absolutely. He clears, frees, removes, seldom absolutely furnishes or fulfils.

“Metaphysics, according to Kant—in which he only echoes the general voice of philosophers—is conversant with the world above sense, or beyond experience.” He is occupied with such problems as the nature of absolute being—Ontology. The essence and immortality of the soul—Pneumatology. The prevalence of freedom or fate in the world—Cosmology. The being of God—Speculative theology.¹⁵

Before Kant two stages: Dogmatism—lots of systems, each affirmed positively—which led by their contradictions and absurdities to: Scepticism—typified in Hume and some of the French philosophs.¹⁶

We must sum him up briefly. Kant analyses, dissects, dissipates the vast suffocating miasma that had so long spread impediments to philosophy—discusses much—clears away, removes, sometimes like a surgeon’s knife—yet in fact and after all decides little or nothing—is of indescribable value—denies the possibility of absolute knowledge of the external world—begins with Hume—admits that we receive all the materials of our knowledge through the senses—but immediately rises above that admission. Long before, the speculations of Locke and the other materialists, had reached the formula that “there is nothing in the understanding which has not arrived there through the senses.” Leibnitz had replied, “Yes, there is the understanding itself.” Kant’s entire speculations are but a splendid amplification of this reply. He endeavors to get at and state the philosophy of the under-

14. Stovall (*AL*) finds the source for the preceding two paragraphs in the article “Kant,” *Encyclopedia Britannica* (8th ed.), XII, Pt. II.

15. Stovall (*AL*) finds the source of this quotation also in the *Britannica*, 8th ed. The following five sentences are paraphrased from the *Britannica*.

16. W.B. Fulghum, Jr., “Whitman’s Debt to Joseph Gostwick,” *AL* 12 (1941), traces the following paragraph to Gostwick, 266–269.

standing. The problem of the relation between the understanding and the universes of material nature, he did not attempt to solve.

The pursuit or examination and elaboration of the inquiry : *Is a science of metaphysics possible and practicable?* involves the gist of Kant's entire labors, forms (leaving out much that he accepts from others) his own original contribution to Metaphysics itself, and is, in some respects, probably the most illustrious service ever rendered to the human mind.¹⁷ Previous to him, strange as it may seem, no philosopher appears to have troubled himself seriously with this vast impediment rising at the threshold of all metaphysics. Successive dogmatists had sprung up from time to time who had treated and more or less confidently decided on absolute being, origin of materials, the immortality of the soul, the question of a personal God, and the other problems that have in all ages vexed human reason and cannot be escaped.

Moral portrait of him (I. K.) by Herder—1795.

"I have had the good fortune to know a philosopher who was my teacher. In the vigor of life he had the same youthful gaiety of heart that now follows him, I believe, into old age. His open forehead, built for thought, was the seat of imperturbable cheerfulness and joy; the most pregnant discourse flowed from his lips; wit, humor and raillery came to him at will, and his instructions had all the charm of an entertainment. With the same easy mastery with which he tested the doctrines of Leibnitz, Wolf, Baumgarten, Cousins and Hume, or pursued the discoveries of Newton, Kepler, and other lights of science, he also took up the current writings of Rousseau, such as *Émile* or *Héloïse*, or any new phenomenon of the natural world, and from the criticism of each, came back to the impartial study of nature, and to the enforcement of the dignity of man. History in all its branches, natural sciences, physics, mathematics, and experience were the materials that gave interest to his lectures and his conversation; nothing worthy of study was to him indifferent; no faction or sect, no selfishness or vanity, had for him the least attraction, compared with the extension and elucidation of truth. He excited and pleasantly impelled us to mental independence; despotism was foreign to his nature. This man whom I name with the deepest gratitude and respect is Immanuel Kant."¹⁸

The objection has been taken and well taken that the journey of philosophy beginning in Kant brings us to an uncertainty about everything. The laws of sight, touch, weight, etc. are dethroned. Materials and material experiences amount to nothing. The realities we thought so absolute are only ostensible and are either scattered to the winds or permitted but a passing and temporary sway.

Fichte (1762–1814) commenced life as a poor boy, was sent to school by a wealthy person, received a university education, became tutor in Prussia, was intimate with Kant, absorbed his philosophy, wrote a work which passed for the master's own, traveled through Germany and Switzerland, married a niece of the

17. Stovall (*AL*) identifies this sentence as a paraphrase from the *Britannica*, 8th ed.

18. Stovall finds the source of this portrait in the *Britannica*, 8th ed.

poet Klopstock, was appointed professor at Jena, where, in his lectures, he inaugurated and gradually developed his philosophy, gave offence by some of his notions, resigned, went to Berlin, where he occupied himself in writing and in giving private lectures, made a great impression on the learned, was appointed professor in the university of Erlangen, was compelled to flee from the invading armies of France, in due time repaired again to Berlin, was appointed rector of the new university of that city, where he died.

Fichte is described as a fervid and telling speaker, but not so clear or acceptable as a writer. His works are voluminous, in his philosophy he begins by declaring for Kant. He founds and builds largely on the distinction between the *I* and the *not I*. Upon the fact that a man can only realize anything in its relations to himself, and from the capacities and measurements that constitute himself, he lays so much stress, that the whole universe, becomes in brief, the *I* as that is the only thinking subject, active principle and consciousness. His philosophy is simple, single, complete and logical as far as it goes. There will always be a select class of minds and superior ones to which Fichte's theory will be everything. And perhaps there will always be a stage in the progress of every mind which it only will fill and satisfy or seem to satisfy.

Fichte, as will be seen, grows out of and is closely related to Kant. But while the master was satisfied with inquiry and at most with love or or comprehension of the truth, the follower would put it in practical action.¹⁹ In his peaceful life he was as noble and heroic in his way as the best and bravest warrior in war's campaigns. *Subjectiveness* is his principle, explaining all. Strongly stated nothing exists but the *I*. And in this the central fact is ever moral obligation, duty, conscience, giving vitality to all.²⁰

Then comes Schelling (1775–1854) who professes to largely answer the questions left open by Kant with a doctrine of "spontaneous intuition"—in other words to solve the problem left open by Kant with the theory that the human mind and external nature are essentially *one*. That that which exists in concrete forms etc. in Nature, exists morally and mentally in the human spirit. The difference between him and Fichte is that Schelling's philosophy is more largely *objective*.²¹

The chief forte of it—seeking to counterbalance and restrain Fichte's all-devouring egoism—is *the essential identity of the subjective and objective worlds*, or, in terms, that what exists as mentality, intelligence, consciousness in man, exists in equal strength and absoluteness in concrete forms, shows and practical laws in material nature—making the latter one with man's sane intuitions. The same universal spirit manifests itself in the individual Man, in aggregates, in concrete Nature, and in Historic progress.

He elevates Man's reason, claims for it the comprehension of divine things, demands a sort of Platonic ecstasy or inebriation as the fountain of utterance of first-class philosophy.

19. Sister Mary Eleanor finds a source for the preceding two sentences in Hedge, 383.

20. Stovall finds a source for these three paragraphs in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 7th ed.

21. Fulghum finds a source for the preceding three sentences in Gostwick, 269.

His palace of idealistic pantheism was never completed, is more or less deficient and fragmentary, yet is one of the most beautiful and majestic structures ever achieved by the intellect or imagination of man. For in Schelling's philosophy there is at least as much imagination as intellect.

These then are the illustrious four²² who have originated and carried out, with epic succession and completeness, the modern systems of²³ critical and transcendental philosophy. The critical is represented by Kant, who begins and ends it. The transcendental rises out of and is founded upon the critical and could have had no beginning or growth except from its previous existence.

There is a close relative-connection, sequence etc. between all the four even in time. They fit into each other like a nest of boxes—and Hegel encloses them all. Taking their whole philosophy, it is the most important emanation of the mind of modern ages and of all ages, leaving even the wonderful inventions, discoveries of science, political progress, great engineering works, utilitarian comforts etc. of the last hundred years in a comparatively inferior rank of importance—outstripping them all. Because it assumes to answer and does answer, as far as they can be answered, the deepest questions of the soul, of identity, of purposes worthy the world and of the relation between man and the material nature and workings of the external universes, not depreciating them but elevating man to the spiritual plane where he belongs, and where after all that physical comfort and luxury, with mental culture, and political freedom, can accomplish, he at last finds, and there only finds, a satisfaction worthy of his highest self, and achieves Happiness.

It is true no philosophy possible can, in deepest analysis, explain the universe. The least insect, the eyesight, motion, baffle us. No thought can be seized and dissected, and though the corporeal parts and aggregates can, the main things, the atoms and vitality, remain in mystery. But subtle, vast, electric is the soul, even in present relations, and restless and sad until it gets some clue however indirect to itself and to the relations between itself and Time, Space and all the processes and objects that fill them.

Idealism underlies the Four great philosophers, all alike. It does not crop to the surface in Kant, but he necessitates it more than any of them.

Taking the advent of the 19th century for a chronological centre, the years surrounding it are probably of an importance in the history of metaphysical science (the science that cognizes that which is above sense and beyond experience) beyond any others known. All the Four I have mentioned were living, Kant at a great age, Hegel was being formed.

I see to my own satisfaction and see very clearly, that to any individual mind the ambition for universal knowledge is a vain ambition, and that it [is]²⁴ already carried to extravagant lengths and [is]²⁵ tainting the schools. But it seems to me the *thought* of universality—the conception of a divine purpose in the cosmical

22. Sister Mary Eleanor finds a source for this phrase in Hedge, 383.

23. Sister Mary Eleanor finds a source for the remainder of this paragraph in Hedge, 57.

24. Bracketed in text.

25. Bracketed in text.

world and in history, the realization that knowledge and sciences however important are branches, radiations only—each one relative—is not only the grand antecedent background and appropriate entrance to the study of any science but to the fit understanding of the position of one's self in Nature, to the performance of life's duties, to the appreciation and application of sane standards to politics and to the judgment upon and construction of works in any department of art, and that by its realization is provided a basis for religion and theology that can satisfy the modern.

Perhaps to have begun properly I ought to have mentioned Leibnitz (1646–1716) a moralist and philosopher, by many considered as starting German metaphysics, perhaps too timid and orthodox, when tried by the great standards, but of noblest mind and powerful influence. His favorite themes were natural theology and the moral government of the world.²⁶ In his book *Théodicée* he exhibits loftiest thoughts and doctrines, goodness, benevolence, a harmonious unity in variety etc. are inculcated all through his pages.

He has read my *Vistas*²⁷ to little purpose who has not seen that the Democracy I favor (if forced to choose) willingly leaves all material and political successes to enter upon and enjoy the moral, philosophical and religious ones.

I have mentioned Hegel in the preceding pages but I find I cannot be contented without saying something more elaborate about him and what he stands for.

If I were asked to specify who, in my opinion, has by the operation of his individual mind done the most signal service to humanity, so far, I sometimes think my answer would be to point to him and join with his name the name of Kant and perhaps Fichte and Schelling. If I were questioned who most fully and definitely illustrates Democracy by carrying it into the highest regions I should make the same answer.

Finale? It remains to be inquired and the inquiry has the most important bearing upon metaphysics and especially with reference to its future discoveries—whether after all allowance for Kant's tremendous and unquestionable point, namely that what we realize as truth in the objective and other Natural worlds is not the absolute but only the relative truth from our existing point of view; in other terms, that this is what we realize of the objective world by our present imperfect senses and cognizance and that what we thus realize would be entirely changed and perhaps overthrown and reversed if we were advanced to superior development and points of view. It remains, I say, to be inquired (considered) whether there is not probably also something in the Soul, even as it exists under present circumstances, which being itself adjusted to the inherent and immutable laws of things (which laws and the principal points of resemblance being the same throughout time and space, irrespective of apparitions, partialisms, processes, moods) does not afford a clue to unchangeable standards and tests—whether in its abyssmic depths,

26. Fulghum finds a source for this sentence in Gostwick, 107.

27. This indicates a date after 1871 for at least this paragraph and possibly for others in the group. See also *n*6 above.

far from ken or analysis, it (the soul) does not somehow, even now, by whatever removes and indirections, by its own laws, repel the inconsistent, and gravitate forever toward the absolute, the supernatural, the eternal truth. Perhaps this is what Fichte really meant.

It is certain that what is called revealed religion as founded or alleged to be founded on the Old and New Testament, and still taught by the various churches in Europe and America, is not responded to by the highest, devoutest modern mind. Having its truths and its purposes in History, and the greatest ones, the time has unquestionably . . .

XVI. History of Religion.

Moses of Course Was Born.

Manuscript in Duke. Inscribed in black pencil on white wove scrap, irreg. 4" x 3½". Horizontal brown rules ⅜" apart. Scrap pasted in wrapper of *Memoria Technica*, pp. 17–40 (see *Trent Cat.*, 75) with "Birth of Hercules." On verso "[*Illeg.*] Egyptian Sesostris." Illegible notes on Abraham, Joseph and Homer from the Camden period are in LC (120a). Stovall, *AL*, 26, 356, says the note on Sesostris's partitioning the land is from Sir John Gardner Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (London: 1837), I, 323. First printed in *N&F*, 154 (Pt IV, #7; *CW*, IX, 214–215), where it is confused with "Birth of Hercules." The date is 1855 or earlier.

Moses of course was born in Egypt while the Jews were settled descendants¹ of Joseph and companions² as³ a sort of half captive, and degraded race there—Moses born⁴ in 1571 B. C.⁵ Queens reigned in Egypt and governed absolutely/

Sesostris, Remesis 2d. 1355 B. C. reigned over 62 years He partitioned the land among the peasants, and compounded with them to pay a fixed tax to him.

1. Deleted: "and compatriots[?]"
2. Preceding five words inserted above "as . . . of"
3. Deleted: "as"
4. Preceding two words inserted in black ink above "— in"
5. Date written in black ink over pencil.

{*Illeg.*} Egyptian Sesostris.

Manuscript in Duke (75). Inscribed on verso of "Moses of course." Stovall, *AL*, 26 356, cites Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, I, 323, as WW's source. The text is almost identical with the account of Ramesis in WW's "One of the Lessons Bordering Broadway. The Egyptian Museum," *Life Illustrated* (December 8, 1855), *NYD*, 34. See also "Immortality was realized." The date is 1855 or earlier.

{*Illeg.*}¹ Egyptian² Sesostris³ who was 5 ft 10 inches high, and nobly shaped and nimble and conquered all Asia and part of Europe in nine years, and wherever he went [*MS cut*] erected monuments to tell how he found the people.— If they were⁴ repulsive and brave he inscribed these monuments [*illeg.*]

1. Two lines are too smeared to read and one line is trimmed off at the top.
2. Inserted above "Sesostris" and "[*del.*] who"
3. Deleted: "who"
4. Deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted above: "repulsive"

Abraham's Visit to Egypt.

Manuscript not found. Text from *N&F*, 164 (Pt. IV, #33; *CW*, X, 8–9). The source of WW's information probably lies in his extensive reading of ancient history in the late 1850s. The manuscript probably dates from these years, as do others on this topic. First printed in *N&F*.

Abraham's visit to Egypt 2000 B. C. took his handmaid Hagar—their son Ishmael progenitor of the Arabs.

Birth of Hercules 1205 B. C.

Death of Hercules 1155 B. C.

Alexandrian Library. 700,000 vols. commenced by Ptolemy Philadelphus—destroyed either by enraged Christians under Theodosius the Great 390 A. C. or by Saracens under Omar 642 A. C. or by

Job—of the land of Uz, Arabia, 2300 B. C.

Menu (first). Moses 1600 B. C. Zoroaster 1400 B. C. Confucius 500 B. C. Socrates 400 B. C.

Deluge 2348 B. C. English Bible, 2346 Septuagint, Josephus makes it 3146.

Menes 1st, according to Manetho 5867 B. C. Osortasen 2088 B. C. Sesostris or Remeses 2nd 1355 B. C. Solomon born 1032 B. C. Solomon's temple (? finished) 600 B. C. Herodotus 430 B. C. Alexander the Great 332 B. C.

Birth of Hercules.

Manuscript in Duke (75). Inscribed in black pencil on white wove scrap, irreg. 4" x 4". Vertical brown rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. On verso: "identical with the." Scrap pasted on home-made wrapper for *Memoria Technica*, 17-40. See Trent *Cat.*, 74-75. *N&F*, 154 (Pt. IV, #7; *CW*, IX, 214) follows with "Moses of course" and adds the following sentence not in MS: "Time first began to be computed 'from the Christian era' the (birth of Christ) about the year 536." Stovall, *AL*, 26,356, says the reference to dating by Olympiads is from George Grote, *History of Greece*, Preface, I, vii. First printed in *N&F*. The date is 1855 or a little earlier.

	y'rs B.C.
Birth of Hercules	1205
Death of Hercules	1153
Trojan expedition	1136
Troy taken	1127
very unsatisfactory previous to 776 B. C. when the Greek Olympiads commence	

Religions—Gods.

Manuscript in Boston Public Library. Inscribed in black pencil and black ink as noted, on scraps from a 5" x 3" pocket ledger notebook. Blue rules horizontally and red vertically, pasted in columns on yellow wove backing sheet. Scraps (1) and (2) are pasted in columns on the left side of leaf [1], (3) and (4) to the right of (1) and (2) with a right margin broad enough for entries. Scraps (5) and (6) are at the left of leaf [2] and (7) to the right. Since the leaves are not numbered, they may be separate documents, but the similarities indicate that they belong together. Bucke's order seems logical. The scraps seem to be identical with pocket ledger paper used by WW in other notes of the 1850s. Much of the material is drawn from C. F. Volney's *The Ruins of Meditations on the Ruins of Empires* (1802), as pointed out by David Goodale, "Some of Walt Whitman's Borrowings," *AL*, 10 (May, 1938), 202-213. The other material probably came from WW's reading in Bunsen or in magazines. Some of the material was used in "Salut au Monde!" (1856), sec. 6. The small firm hand, the paper, and the relation to "Salut au Monde!" indicate a date before early 1856. First printed in *N&F*, 152-154 (Pt. IV, #4; *CW*, IX, 211-214).

Religions—Gods

supposed to be about one
thousand religions

Names of Gods, sects and prophets¹

Phtah Isis Osiris Kneph² Chiven,³ (god of desolation and destruction)
Mahomet, with a green banner, a sabre, a bandage and a crescent.
priests, imaums, mollahs muftis dervish Santon with dishevelled hair⁴
Jehovah Adonai Christ⁵ Brahm Bhudda, Ormuzd god of light⁶ Ahrimanes
god of darkness⁷ Parsees from Persia followers of Zoroaster their pope or
high priest⁸ is called "Mobed"⁹ Zoroaster, (Zerdusht)¹⁰ Vishnu preserver of

1. Heading on scrap 1. Following names of gods written in two columns separated by a vertical line.

2. From Volney.

3. From Volney. The reference is probably to Siva or Shiva in the Indian Pantheon.

4. Preceding entry, beginning "Mahomet," from Volney.

5. End of first column.

6. From Volney.

7. From Volney.

8. Preceding three words inserted above "e" in "pope" and "is called"

9. Preceding entry, beginning "Parsees," from Volney.

10. From Volney.

the world image of the Lingam the male sign¹¹ Fot, (Phtah) the Chinese god bonze Japanese with yellow robe¹² Tuisco (a god of the ancient Germans¹³ Kaldee (Sabean¹⁴ Kaldee of Assyria.)/ Orus, the sun Serapis, a god of ensemble, I think Hercules Osiris, "to give forms." "I am he who finds nothing more divine than simple and natural things are divine.—"¹⁵ Pluto Satan Lucifer Typhon, (made up of all that opposes hinders, obstructs, revolts. Charon, the ferryman to Tartarus, and to Elysium Rhadamanthus, Minos judges of the dead,—the wand, the bend, the ushers, and the urn.¹⁶

"Hermes (Mercury)¹⁷ the god of science/
?Zoroaster, Bunsen 3000 B.C.¹⁸—some¹⁹ 600 or 700²⁰ B.C.²¹/ ?Menu preceded²² Moses 2100 B.C./ The Egyptian priests, (the Greeks also) regarded the preservation of health as a point of the first importance, and indispensably necessary to the practice of piety, and the service of the gods

Confucius,²³ 550 B. C. lamas in Thibet and China African negroes worshipping a great snake²⁴ Mithras the Persian deity—the modern parsees are the representatives the mediator between Ahrimanes and Oromades Brahma, to create, Vishnu, to preserve, Chiven, to destroy, [:]²⁵ In India—the Vedas—all the three deities from "the Eternal" Boudh or Bhudda [:]²⁶ Fot Phtah Mercury[:]²⁷ the Boudh doctrine is found in books of 3000 B.C. Hermes, author of Egyptian vedas.²⁸

Zoroaster? or Zerdusht two centuries after Moses 1700? B.C.²⁹ Pouranas Vedas Shastras Sad-der, Zend-avesta, Bible[:] there are 3 or four Sacred Books

11. Preceding entries, beginning with "Vishnu," from Volney.

12. Proceeding two entries from Volney. End of second column. Rule across scrap.

13. End of first scrap. Overlapping by scrap 2 indicates that they were mounted by WW.

Deleted on scrap 2: "Kaldee"

14. See the unique use of this word in *LG*: "Salut au Monde!" sec. 6, l. 94.

15. Although this is in quotation marks, it sounds very like WW.

16. The preceding entries, beginning "Typhon," from Volney. End of second scrap. Following four entries on backing-sheet.

17. Inserted above "the" and "g" in "god"

18. "Bunsen" and date inserted on two lines above "aster" in "Zoroaster"

19. Deleted: "years"

20. "or 700" inserted above "600" and "B" in "B.C.:"

21. Inserted: "some . . . B.C." Deleted below: "two centuries after Moses"

22. Deleted: "both Zoroaster &"; inserted: "2100 B.C." above "ter" in "Zoroaster" and "& Moses"

23. Beginning of scraps, first column. Inserted and deleted: "2500 B.C."

24. From Volney.

25. Three names connected by ink brace at left with following eleven words, which are in the second column. All from Volney.

26. Inked bracket to left.

27. Inked bracket connecting preceding with following ten words, which are in the second column. All from Volney.

28. From Volney. Written across bottom of scrap. Next entry at beginning of second column.

29. From Volney. Question marks are above.

Pouranas, treat of mythology and history Vedas, (the fourth concerning ceremonies is lost.)³⁰

(Volney)³¹ Menu,—All³² seems to go back to Menu, who preceded Zoroaster, Moses, and the rest, and must have been 2100 B.C. and³³ more definitely embodied on the banks of the Ganges, the Indian theology, with Brahma, Vishnu, and Chiven,³⁴ Menu, son or grandson of Brahma.³⁵

Tár a nis a Celtic divinity the evil principle sometimes confused by latin writers with Jupiter³⁶ Mithras Masculine the sun/ Myletta the moon feminine/ Tuisco ancient Teutonic deity—leading ?Tuesday

{2}/³⁷ Talmud (of Jerusalem) very old “sybilline verses, among the ancients” always looking for “a great mediator, a judge, god, lover,³⁸ legislator, friend of the poor and degraded, conqueror of powers.”³⁹ Krishna, (? thence Christ)⁴⁰ Young⁴¹ Bacchus, the clandestine (nocturnal)⁴² son of the⁴³ virgin Minerva, whose life, and even death, bring to mind those of Christ, —and⁴⁴ have the⁴⁵ star of day, for their emblem⁴⁶ “the⁴⁷ holocaust, the libation, circumcision, baptism, ablution, prayer, confession⁴⁸

Apollo the god of light, healing, and deliverance⁴⁹ / Fo, divine being, teacher, god, 2500 yrs B.C.⁵⁰ / Confucius 531 B. C.⁵¹

30. Preceding entries, beginning “Pourannas,” from Volney. Remaining two entries incorporated above (see *nn* 25, 27). End of scrap 3.

31. Written as heading on scrap 4.

32. Capitalized over lowercase.

33. Deleted: “founded” ; inserted: “more definetly embodied” over the deletion and “on the”

34. From Volney. Hanging indentation. End of scrap 4.

35. On backing-sheet to right of scrap 4 and connected to it by a pointing fist.

36. In left margin of backing-sheet. Following entries also on backing-sheet.

37. Short line from left above “Talmud” . First entry on scrap 5.

38. Inserted above “legi” in “legislation”

39. Source not identified.

40. End of scrap 5. Scrap 6 begins.

41. Inserted above “Bac” in “Bacchus”

42. Inserted below “clandestine” . See “Salut au Monde!” sec. 6, l. 99.

43. Written over [*illeg.*].

44. Deleted: “are” ; inserted above: “have”

45. Deleted: [*illeg.*] ; inserted above: “star”

46. Entry in hanging indentation.

47. Deleted: “sacrifice” ; inserted above: “holocaust”

48. Source not identified. End of scrap 6. Written below in black ink and deleted in black ink on yellow backing-sheet between two horizontal rules: “(?Confucius [*ins.*] 531 BC [*del.*] 2500 B.C. ?to [*connected to* “2500 B.C.” by arrow] (according to Voltaire) [*probably refers to* “531 B.C.”])” The “Voltaire” is probably his *Philosophical Dictionary*.

49. Entry in black pencil.

50. Entry in black ink. Possibly the being called “Fot” in Volney.

51. Entry in black ink. Last entry in first column. Following entries on scrap 7 at upper right.

Pan—the great Whole, with a forehead of stars body of planets feet of animals⁵²
 Kneph (“existence”—) (a Theban God),⁵³ a human figure dressed in dark blue,
 holding in one hand a sceptre and a girdle, with a cap of feathers on his head, (to
 express the fugacity of thought.)⁵⁴ Zeus/ Orpheus—1450 B. C. Pythagoras—
 three centuries after Homer, “Ancient verses of the *Orphic sect*”—which origi-
 nated in Egypt⁵⁵/

Orpheus Musaeus[:] 1400 (before Christ) in Greece Mylitta, in the old Persian
 mysteries was the name of the moon Mithras that of the sun⁵⁶

Sunday (the Sun Monday (Moon Tuesday (Tuisco, an ancient Teuton deity
 Wednesday (Woden, (or Odin) Thursday (Thor—(thunder), [*an ancient Teuton
 deity*] Friday—Goddess⁵⁷ Friya[:]⁵⁸ (?Frigah) equal—co-ordinate feminine prin-
 ciple or divinity/ Saturday (Saturn (? Kronos)/

Scythian—from Scythes—a son of Jupiter—and founder of the Scythian nations/
 Pelops (Peloppenesian (seems to have been a son or grandson⁵⁹ of Jupiter, who
 came from Asia to Greece, and laid the foundation of a new royal dynasty which
 supplanted the older order of the Danadi about 1300 B.C. (Agamemnon “King
 of Men” in the Iliad was his grandson)⁶⁰

52. From Volney. Entry in hanging indentation.

53. Two parenthetical statements inserted on a line above “a human figure”

54. From Volney. See “Salut au Monde!” sec. 6, l. 100. Entry in hanging indentation.

55. Source not identified. End of scrap 7. Following entries on backing-sheet in black ink.

56. Following entries have line drawn to left and above.

57. Inserted above “Friya”

58. Deleted: “? a female deity”

59. Two words inserted.

60. “Agamemnon . . .” to left of preceding material in large parenthesis or broken loop.

Egyptian Religion.

Manuscript in Duke (37, #30). Inscribed in black ink with black pencil corrections on pink wove paper, approx. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Closely related material appears in "Assyria & Egypt." The paper and writing suggest a date soon after 1855. First printed in *N&F*, 78 (Pt. III, #9; *CW*, IX, 55) as part of one of Bucke's synthesized MS.

Egyptian religion existing in nascence or developement through many thousand years five, or ten, or perhaps even twice ten thousand years¹ [:] The central idea seems to have been the wonderfulness and divinity of Life.² The beetle the bull³ the snipe were divine in that they exemplified the inexplicable mystery of life.⁴ It was a profound and exquisite religion

Greek existing through several thousand years—certainly⁵ two thousand—very likely several more⁶ [:] Central idea, a combination of Love, Intellect, and the Esthetic, (the beautiful and harmonious.)—⁷ Refined perceptions, the presence of perfect human bodies, the climate, the⁸ peculiar adhesiveness or friendship⁹ of the people, all are in the Greek mythology/

Hebrew¹⁰ [:] The most ethereal and elevated Spirituality—this seems to be¹¹ what subordinates all the rest—The soul—the spirit—rising in vagueness—

1. Preceding written on left edge of leaf followed by a brace.
2. Deleted: "exemplified in any object, a"; inserted and deleted in pencil: "The be" above "[del.] a"
3. Deleted: "a"; written over in pencil: "the"
4. Preceding eleven words inserted on two lines above "was a pro-"
5. Deleted: "the"
6. Preceding written on left edge of leaf followed by a brace.
7. Deleted: "A"; "R" written over "r"
8. Deleted: "singular"; inserted and deleted above: "developed"; inserted: "peculiar" in left margin before "[del.] singular"
9. Preceding two words inserted above "eness" in "adhesiveness" and "of". See "Plato."
10. Preceding written on left edge of leaf followed by a brace.
11. Deleted: "the"

(Zerdusht ? Zoroaster.

Manuscript in Duke (74). Inscribed in black pencil on pink wove paper, approx. 9¾" x 5½". Two unidentified clippings also pasted on: "From 'A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands'" and "Sect. CLIX.—*Absurd Chronology of the Hindoos.*" WW's comment in black ink on the first clipping reads: "Poem among the Siamese. The cast of the Southern Asiatic mind, literature, poetry.—*Caste*—suppleness,—so much that the Teutonic descendant cannot sympathize with.—". See also "*Religions—Gods.*" The paper suggests a date in late 1855.

(¹Zerdusht ? Zoroaster² "the Chaldeans or ancient Persians, with their Zerdusht"
Carlyle³ (?Zoroaster/

Cossacks, fierce, ruthless, sitting round a table drinking brandy, after a battle, singing a song in praise of blood, the gallows, the knout, torture &c.⁴

1. Entire entry set off by loop above to left and below.
2. Written above "eans" in "Chaldeans" and "or"
3. The source in Carlyle has not been located.
4. At bottom, below line across leaf. A fist at left below points to "torture" which is the beginning of the last line.

Mithras, the Grand Deity.

Manuscript in Duke (35, #27). Inscribed in black pencil on white laid paper, 1¹⁵/₁₆" x 6½". The bracketed "1855 Walt Whitman" is inserted from Bucke and is not on the manuscript today. It may have been trimmed by a dealer. The date is probably 1855. First printed in *N&F*, 171 (Pt. IV, #82; *CW*, X, 22).

Mithras, the grand deity of ancient Persians, supposed to be the Sun, or god of fire, to whom they paid divine honors¹

Look at theological dictionary [1855 Walt Whitman]
Oromasdes/ kaaba/ the Bedowee²

1. Hanging indentation.
2. Preceding five words written to right of first entry as if in a second column.

“Lecture” “Law” “Lex.”

Manuscript in Duke (35, #27). Four scraps pasted on dull yellow, laid sheet, approx. $6\frac{3}{4}$ " x $7\frac{1}{4}$ ", which at one time had been pasted at left to a pink sheet. Possibly part of a scrapbook. Scraps as follows: (1) inscribed in pencil on scrap of pocket ledger paper, horizontal blue rules, vertical red, torn out of bound notebook, approx $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 3"; (2) black ink on pink wove scrap, approx. $1\frac{3}{8}$ " x 5"; (3) black ink on pink wove scrap, approx. $1\frac{5}{16}$ " x $3\frac{5}{16}$ "; (4) black ink on pink wove scrap, $1\frac{1}{4}$ " x 3". Hanging indentations. Clipping on relative membership in religious groups pasted at upper right. Stovall, *AL*, 26, 355–356, finds the source of scraps (2) through (4) in C. K. J. Bunsen's *Outlines of Universal History and Egypt's Place in Universal History*. The paper and writing indicate WW wrote this shortly after 1855. All first printed in *N&F*, 154 (Pt. IV, #6; *CW*, IX, 214).

“Lecture” “law” “lex” “lux”
 light? Alcoran, signifies law
 (Lecture (Latin—to read)
 Originally laws were promulged
 by word of mouth to the
 people.

(Bunsen) Abrahamic movement [:] 28th or 29th Century before Christ.

Buddhism was the State religion of India from the 3d century before to the 6th century after Christ.

“Tien” /

“Tin” the ?a Chinese name for the Divinity

Tien /

1. Deleted: “lectio”

Dr. Priestly.

Manuscript in Duke (30, #5). Inscribed in black pencil on pink wove paper, 9¾" x 5¾". Joseph Priestley was born in England in March, 1733. He came to the United States in 1794 and died in Northumberland, Pa., in 1804. He was famous not only for his work with gases, notably his discovery of oxygen, but also for his political and religious liberalism. Mr. Arnold, a Swedenborgian, and his daughter boarded with Mrs. Abby Price, a friend of WW and his mother. Helen Price tells of the discussions the two men enjoyed (Bucke, *Walt Whitman*, 26-27). The date is March, 1857. First printed in *N&F*, 114 (Pt. III, #106; *CW*, IX, 129).

Dr. Priestly (or Priestley)

(¹ Conversation with
Mr. Arnold, March 1 '57

Dr. Priestly was quite a thorough man of² science, (physical science) as well as of morals and mentals.— Mr. Arnold says the Dr. first made the definite discovery of oxygen—Can this be so? — He was a Unitarian—came from England³ to the United States —settled on a small farm in Northumberland, Pa.— His great tenet seems to be "*philosophical necessity*," that all results, physical, moral, spiritual, every thing, every kind, rise out of perpetual flows of endless causes, (to state it so for want of more elaboration).— Mr. Arnold went to Pittsburgh to preach in a little Unitarian church owned by Mr. Bakewell, a rich person; a follower, admirer, and personal friend of Dr. Priestley.— I infer that Dr. P. died somewhere about 1810—perhaps nearer '20—I cannot get it exactly— He must have been a *real man*.— He was not followed by the American Unitarians.—

(How these Unitarians and Universalists want to be respectable and orthodox, just as much as any of the old line people!)

1. Line to left and below entry.

2. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

3. Preceding two words inserted above "me" in "came" and "to the"

Sculpture.

Manuscript in Duke (24, #23). Inscribed in black pencil on white-brown paper, about the texture of proof paper, 9¼" x 5½". On verso an offprint of a magazine (?) article on which WW had written "style of D.W." First printed in *N&F*, 128 (Pt. III, #158; *CW*, IX, 157). The writing seems to be that of the early notebooks; thus the date might be in the 1850s.

Sculpture

—then sculpture was necessary—it was an eminent part of religion it gave grand and beautiful forms to the gods—it appealed to the mind, in perfect harmony, with¹ the climate, belief,² governments,³ and was the⁴ needed expression of the people, the times, and their aspirations.—

It was a part of architecture—the temple⁵ stood unfinished without statues, and so⁶ they were⁷ made with reference to the temple—they were not made abstractly by themselves.—/

give a similar dash

at painting

1. Deleted: "the people,"
2. Deleted: "times"
3. Deleted: "inspirations. — It" ; inserted above: "and"
4. Deleted: "true" ; inserted above: "needed"
5. Deleted: "was not" ; inserted above: "stood un"
6. Inserted above wordspace between "and" and "they"
7. Deleted: "built"

Swedenborg.

Manuscript in Duke (35, #25). Inscribed in black pencil on yellow wove paper, 8" x 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The first two sentences are from *N&F*. Circled numbers 1 and 4, at upper right, are not in WW's hand. With the MS is a long clipping "The New Jerusalem," identified by Stovall (*Foreground*, 156 n 17) as Bucke's #278. The paper and the writing suggest a date in the late 1850s. First printed in *N&F*, 89–90 (Pt. III, #29; *CW*, IX, 79–80).

Swedenborg—born 1688—died 1772, aged 85. At 55 years of age suddenly renounced the world.

He is¹ a precursor, in some sort² of³ great differences between past thousands of years, and future thousands— He⁴ was little thought of at the time.—⁵ Only perhaps only the celebrity of his knowledge of minerals, mathematics, chemistry and the classics⁶ saved him from being counted a fool;—it is wonderful⁷ the king and officers⁸ did not desert him and leave him to the usual⁹ fate of innovators—¹⁰ but they did¹¹ not/¹²

Neither¹³ Voltaire¹⁴ or Roussea notice him—probably they did¹⁵ not know of him;¹⁶

(The English philosophs and literats the same; the German the same/¹⁷

1. Deleted: "the" ; inserted: "a"
2. Preceding three words inserted above "of" and "[del.] the"
3. Deleted: "the"
4. Deleted: "is" ; inserted above: "was"
5. Deleted: "What he has gained by" ; inserted above: "[ins.] Only Perhaps only [del.] what [del.] his the celebrity of" . "Perhaps" not reduced to lowercase in MS.
6. Deleted: "saves" "[ins. above] stood" ; inserted above "him" : "saved"
7. Deleted: "and" ; inserted: "—it is wonderful" above "ol" in "fool;" and "[del.] and"
8. Deleted: "do" ; inserted above: "did"
9. Inserted above "fa" in "fate"
10. Deleted: "though it is wonderful" ; inserted: "but" above "[del.] it"
11. "do" corrected to "did"
12. Line across leaf.
13. Inserted at left above "Volta" in "Voltaire"
14. Deleted: [illeg.]
15. Preceding two words inserted above "do" ; undeleted "do" not printed here.
16. Preceding entry in hanging indentation.
17. Preceding entry in hanging indentation. Line across leaf.

Swedenborgh 1688-1772

— (aged 85)

contemporary of the French Encyclopedists¹⁸—

Goethe	(born 1750)	Pope —	1688-1744 ¹⁹	— Franklin
Addison —	1672-1719	Hume —	1711-1776	Jefferson
S. Johnson	1709-1784	Gibbon	1737	Washington
		Wm Pitt	1708-1778	

18. Names, beginning with Goethe, in three columns.

19. Double line between first and second columns.

Orphic Hymns.

Manuscript not found. Text from *N&F*, 166 (Pt. IV, # 48; *CW*, X, 13). The sources are probably from WW's reading of ancient history in the late 1850s. The manuscript probably dates from these years. First printed in *N&F*.

Orphic hymns. Izeds of the Parsees. Elohim, Achadim and Adonim of the Hebrews. Lahi of the Thibetans. In spiritualism.

Egypt, (and Probably.

Manuscript in Duke (37, #29). Inscribed in black pencil on two scraps of white wove paper, approx. 8" x 3⁵/₁₆", 8" x 3". Paragraphs beginning "Egypt" and "India" with hanging indentation. For related material see "*Assyria & Egypt.*" WW probably wrote this just before 1860. First printed in *N&F*, 101(Pt. III, # 61, 62; *CW*, IX, 103-104), followed by "*Assyria & Egypt.*" Bucke's handling is not supported by the MS.

Egypt, (and probably much of the¹ sentiment of the Assyrian empire) represents that phase of developement, advanced childhood, full of belief, rich and divine enough, standing amazed and awed before the mystery of life.— nothing more wonderful than life, even in² a hawk a bull, or a cat—the masses of the people³ reverent of priestly and kingly authority.⁴ The history of the world cannot go back farther than Egypt—⁵

[2]in⁶ the most important particulars the average spirit of man except in These States⁷ has not gone⁸ one forward of the spirit of ancient Egypt.—

India, represents meditation, oriental rhapsody, passiveness,⁹ as curious antique schoolmasters¹⁰ teaching, of wise precepts—¹¹—and is the beginning of feudality, or the institution of the lord and the serf— Much of the¹² late-age lord, or fine gentleman,¹³ so nice and delicate, dates¹⁴ back to¹⁵ Hindustan

1. Deleted: "Ass"

2. Deleted: "an"

3. Preceding five words inserted above "reverent of priestly"

4. Deleted: "All the modern con" ; inserted and deleted: "We cannot go" above "[del.] All the modern"; inserted and deleted: "hitherto" "definite" "[illeg.]" ; "We" deleted before "cannot"; inserted: "The history [del.] and of the world" on a line above "[del.] We cannot go back"

5. Deleted: "and [illeg.] and have we indeed gone on much further than what Egypt has left—even the last two thousand"

6. Deleted: "many" ; inserted above: "the most"

7. Preceding four words inserted above "of man has"

8. Deleted: "a single step" ; inserted above: "one"

9. Inserted above "ody" in "rhapsody" and "as"

10. Bucke has a hyphen here which is not visible on the MS today.

11. Preceding three words inserted above "aching" in "teaching,—and is"

12. Deleted: "modern" ; inserted above: "late-age"

13. Deleted: "dates" ; not deleted, not printed here: "ba"

14. Inserted and deleted: "up" above "es" in "dates"

15. Deleted: "the oldest India"

Religions.

Manuscript lacking. Text from *N&F*, 135 (Pt. III, #175; *CW*, IX, 173-174), where it is part of "SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES." Although it was probably pinned with that MS, since it has no other apparent connection, it is placed with the notes here. First printed in *N&F*. No date can be assigned, other than possibly 1870 or 1871.

Religions.—Pagan and Christian.

Probably the great distinction of the Pagan religions grouped into one and led by the Greek theology, is that they appreciated and expressed the sense of nature, life, beauty, the objective world, and of fate, immutable law, the senses of power and precedence, and also to a greater or less degree the mystery and baffling unknownness which meet us at a certain point of our investigation of any and all things. In the Christian cultus, as we get it, instead of these the moral dominates, gentleness, love, the distinctions of right and wrong, the ideas of purity, abnegation of self, terminating often in a diseased benevolence, voluntary penances, celibacy, the bloodless, cast-iron virtue, gaunt Calvinism, the harping on "rights," and traversing the ecstasy of Roman Catholicism, the revolt of Protestantism to Unitarianism, addressed merely to the intellect.

Comm: of "Elias Hicks."

Manuscript in LC (#74, sheet #564). Inscribed in black ink and blue crayon on inside of an envelope addressed in another hand to F. A. Hower of Williamsport, Pa., probably an autograph pest. WW removed the stamp. The date is 1888.

Comm: of "Elias Hicks"¹

The² certain evolution of (not ecclesiasticism but)³ Religion, thro' all stages and happenings is (in my opinion) the⁴ inevitable developement of humanity and literature

1. Black ink. Remainder of text in blue crayon.
2. Deleted: "final developement" ; inserted above: "certain evolution"
3. Parenthetical words inserted above "Religion, thro' all"
4. Deleted in black ink: "final" ; inserted above in black ink: "inevitable"

XVII. Religion.

If You Have in You.

Manuscript not found. Text from Furness, 44. Since WW visited the hospitals at least from 1854, a practice beginning with visits to sick omnibus drivers whom he knew, no date can be assigned. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

If you have in you that which makes you realize the delicious-[ness] of visiting the sick in hospitals and the poor—if you have those sublime moments released from all cares and soaring to the idea of God, rapt, sublime—if elate with immortality, realizing the divine of man, then you have the curious something, the crown of life and being, the lumine of the soul, without which all else is darkness, religion—no matter whether in one country or another, one age or another, one profession or another, pagan, Mahometan, Christian, or atheist—

The New Theologies.

Manuscript not found. Text from Furness, 43. It echoes Preface (1855) (*LG CRE*, 719–720, ll. 304–308). See also “By Blue Ontario’s Shore” (1856), sec. 3. The date, then, is before 1855. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

The new theologies bring forward man— There is nothing in the universe any more divine than man. All gathers to the worship of man— How awful, how beautiful a being— How full of Gods is the world— There are none greater than these present ones— Why has it been taught that there is only one Supreme?— I say there are and must be myriads of Supremes. I say that that is blasphemous petty and infidel which denies any immortal soul to be eligible to advance onward to be as supreme as any— I say that all goes on to be eligible to become one of the Supremes—

[*Illeg.*] Nature All So Real.

Manuscript in LC (#74, sheet #562). Inscribed in black ink and in pencil where noted on white wove scrap, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5", with vertical rules. See "In Rel" for a similar statement. The handwriting seems to date from the 1850s. Printed in Furness, 50. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

{*Illeg.*}¹ Nature² all so real—so whole—³so compact, without flaw!—*But these religions—these creeds!*⁴

1. Inserted above and before "Nature"
2. Deleted: "is" ; inserted and deleted above: "is" ; inserted in pencil: "all so real" above deletion and "so"
3. Deleted: "so" "without" ; inserted above: "—so"
4. Preceding five words in pencil.

Come, Let Us Not.

Manuscript not found. Text from Traubel, I, 467–468. Paper described by Traubel as “old fools’-cap and very yellow.” WW said it had “a sort of before-the-flood look.” This probably was written in the 1850s or 1860s, when, as WW said to Traubel, he was finding his measure.

Come, let us not be more indulgent with theolo than we are with the circulating medium. Shinplasters and paper from the Bank of Possum Creek may pass current in that swampy settlement of fine log houses and an unpiped steamboat, but for the journey of the globe we need coinage of gold.

Yes, more still we demand. In these noble days we say of laws of physical philosophy that we must try them and examine them for ourselves; they shall be exhibited to us. Nothing carries the day now but the clearly authenticated narrative and the solid, touchable, weighable, seeable, demonstrable substance and its action, and the plain reasons and proofs how and why. No mandamus or writ of court can be served here. Men wait not for the conge-delire of the king; and a hundred popes’ bulls would get less respect than an inch or an ounce of the cabin-boy’s or the dung-pitcher’s word who testified that he saw.

? Spinal Idea of a "Lesson."

Manuscript in Duke (21, #13). Inscribed in pencil on a blue Williamsburgh tax form, approx. 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". For the notion of "lessons" see "Poems Hasting." The date, from the paper, is 1857 or after. Printed in *N&F*, 78 (Pt. III, #9; *CW*, IX, 55). (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

? Spinal idea of a "Lesson"¹

*Founding a new American
Religion (? No Religion)*

That which is comprehensive enough to include all² the Doctrines & Sects—and give them all places and chances, each after its kind.—

1. Written in a smaller hand at top of leaf.
2. In a larger hand.

For Remember That.

Manuscript in LC (#74, sheet #563). Inscribed in pencil on white wove scrap, 2" x 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The idea is similar to that in "Song of Myself" (1855), sec. 4, but the references to those "hearing me now" suggest that the MS is one of WW's notes for a lecture, which he was planning from 1856. The very small handwriting is that of the 1850s. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

For remember that¹ behind all this show of ostensible life, of every man and woman of you hearing me now these² talk, amusements, dress, money, politics, &c. stands the real life of every man and woman of you who hear me now

1. Preceding three words inserted on a line above "behind" flush left. "behind" was originally indented.

2. Preceding eleven words inserted in a very small hand between lines.

Religion Means Degrees.

Manuscript not found. Text from Furness, 213. Furness relates this MS to "Rel. Opening of Rel." dated around 1856. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

Religion means degrees of realization, if any, of the fact which, the more clearness attained it too steadily becomes clearer, the fact of our consciousness undemonstrable as any consciousness is except of itself, that enclosing this positive . . .

? Outset of Lecture.

Manuscript in Duke (23, #21). Inscribed in pencil on soft yellow wove paper, approx. 10½" x 8". Wide left margin. Possibly LG (1855) wrapper. For a similar meditation, see "Song of Myself" (1855), sec. 45, ll. 1183ff. The dramatized experience in "Song of Myself," sec. 5, and the instructions for the practice of formal meditation suggest that the "mystical" origins of Whitman's early poetry are not metaphorical. The paper, the small neat handwriting, and the plan for a lecture suggest a date of 1856 or shortly after. Printed in *N&F*, 79 (Pt. III, #10; *CW*, IX, 55-56). (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

? outset of Lecture

—I imagining myself in that condition mentioned¹

—You must² do the work—you must think.—³

To You.—⁴ First of all, prepare for study by the following self-teaching exercises— Abstract yourself from this book,—realize where you are⁵ at present located,—the point⁶ you stand, that is now to you the centre of all.⁷— Look up, overhead,⁸ —think of⁹ space stretching out—think of all the unnumbered¹⁰ orbs¹¹ wheeling safely there, invisible to us by day, some¹² visible by night—think of the sun, around which the earth revolves—the moon, revolving round the earth, and accompanying it;—think of the different planets belonging to our system;—¹³ Spend some minutes faithfully¹⁴ in this exercise.— Then again¹⁵ realize yourself upon the earth, at the¹⁶ particular point you now occupy— Which way stretches the north, and what countries, seas, &c? Which way the south?— Which way the

1. Preceding two lines enclosed by curved line.

2. Deleted: "yourself"

3. Preceding three lines inserted at top of leaf.

4. Deleted: "Before studying,"

5. Deleted: "now" ; inserted above: "at present"

6. Deleted: "wh"

7. Deleted: "throw your thoughts" ; "look" capitalized.

8. "overhead" inserted above "up," as alternate reading.

9. Deleted: "the"

10. Deleted: "worl"

11. Deleted: "safe"

12. Inserted above "vis" in "visible"

13. Deleted: "Then fix you"

14. Inserted above "tes" in "minutes" and "in"

15. "again" inserted above "en" in "then" . Deleted: "fix" ; inserted above: "realize"

16. Deleted: "especially" ; inserted above: "particular"

East? Which way the west?— Seize these¹⁷ firmly with your mind—pass freely¹⁸ over immense distances,—¹⁹ fix definitely,²⁰ (turn your face a moment²¹ thither)²² the directions,²³ and the idea of the²⁴ distances, of separate sections of your own country—also of England, the Mediterranean sea, Cape Horn, the North Pole, and such like distinct places.—

17. Inserted above “fir” in “firmly”

18. Deleted: “on”

19. Deleted: “and”

20. Deleted: “in your brain”

21. Deleted: “that way”

22. Parenthetical phrase inserted above deletions in notes 20 and 21 and “the” before “directions”

23. Deleted: “with” ; inserted above: “and”

24. Inserted above wordspace between “of” and “distances”

Rel ? Outset.

Manuscript not found. Text from Furness, 40. Furness, 214, draws connections to a notebook of John Burroughs, who alludes to a similar statement by WW in the autumn of 1863. See also "Compared to the vast." The bracketed "worm," according to Furness's note, is in a blank space, leaving room for the name of a particular species. Furness records a marginal note here: "See Mr. A," whom he identifies as the Mr. Arkhurst of "Whole Poem. Poem of Insects." John Arkhurst was a Brooklyn taxidermist. Since the date of "Whole Poem. Poem of Insects" is in pink wrapper stock from *LG* (1855), it is probable that this MS dates from 1855 to 1857, when WW would easily have consulted Mr. Arkhurst. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

Rel ? outset

First I wish you to realize well that our boasted knowledge, precious and manifold as it is, sinks into niches and corners, before the infinite knowledge of the unknown. Of the real world of materials, what, after all, are these specks we call knowledge?— Of the spiritual world I announce to you this—much gibberish will always be offered and for a season obeyed—all lands, all times—the soul will yet feel—but to make a statement eludes us— By curious indirections only can there be any statement of the spiritual world—and they will all be foolish— Have you noticed the [worm] on a twig reaching out in the immense vacancy time and again, trying point after point? Not more helplessly does the tongue or the pen of man, essay out in the spiritual spheres, to state them. In the nature of things nothing less than the special world itself can know itself—

Compared to the Vast.

Manuscript not found. Text from Furness, 40. Cf. "Rel ? outset," which is dated between 1856 and 1857. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

Compared to the vast oceanic vol of the unknown spiritual facts, what is all our material knowledge before the immensity of that which is to come, the spiritual, the unknown, the immensity of being and facts around us of which we cannot possibly take any cognizance.

Rel. Opening of Rel.

Manuscript in LC (#74, sheet #560). Inscribed in pencil on white wove scrap, $2\frac{5}{8}$ " x $8\frac{3}{16}$ ". The very small slip and handwriting suggest an early date. Furness relates this MS to "Religion means degrees." Cf. "Starting from Paumanok" (1856), sec. 8. First printed in Furness, 39-40. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

Rel.

Opening of Rel.

The fact that concealed beneath the ostensible life¹ which is celebrated in forms, politics, society² conversations the churches, and what is called knowledge and amusement,³ the deep silent mysterious never to be exam'd, never to be told⁴ quality of life itself⁵ to which all those⁶ ostensible things⁷ ceaselessly tending⁸—the eternal life,⁹ which, active or passive, will not let a man ever entirely rest¹⁰ but in one way or another arouses him to think, to wonder, to doubt, and often to despair.—

1. Deleted: "in which we move, and have"

2. Inserted above "con" in "conversations"

3. Preceding two words inserted above "ledge" in "knowledge"

4. Preceding eight words inserted above "mysterious quality of"

5. Inserted and deleted: "eternal life" above "itself to"

6. Deleted: "things"

7. Deleted: "are [*illeg.*]" ; inserted above: "ceaselessly"

8. Deleted: "and"

9. Cf. the use of this term in "Song of Myself," sec. 50, l. 1318.

10. The remainder of the sentence on three lines in a brace at upper right corner of leaf, brought down by line.

While Under Previous.

Manuscript not found. Text from Clifton Joseph Furness, "Walt Whitman's Politics," *Am Merc.* 16 (April, 1929), 465. The MS in the Furness article were then in the possession of the Bucke family. First printed by Furness.

While under previous conditions of society, Oriental, Feudal, Ecclesiastical, and all past (or present) Despotisms, through the entire past, there always existed and exists yet an ally and fusion with them, and frequently forming the main part of them, certain institutes, priesthoods, fervid beliefs, &c., practically promoting religious and moral action to the fullest degree of which the humanity there under the circumstances was capable, and often conserving all there was of justice, art, literature, and good manners—it is clear, I say, that under the Democratic Institutes of the United States, now and henceforth, there are no equally genuine fountains of fervid beliefs, adapted to produce similar moral and religious results according to our circumstances.

The Secret Is Here.

Manuscript at Middlebury. In black ink on tan wove scrap, 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". On verso of "Niemsch Lenau." The date is probably in the late 1850s. First printed in *N&F*, 108 (Pt. III, #83; *CW*, IX, 117–118).

The secret is here:¹

Perfections are only understood and² responded to by perfections.—

This rule runs through all, and applies to mediocrity, crime, and all the rest; each is understood only by the like of itself.—/

Any³ degree of⁴ developement in the soul is only responded to by the similar degree in other souls.— One religion wonders at another—⁵ A nation wonders *how* another nation can be what it is, wonders how it⁶ can⁷ like what it likes and dislike what it dislikes;⁸ A man wonders at another man's⁹ folly and so on.¹⁰— But what¹¹ a nation likes,¹² is¹³ part of that nation; and what it dislikes is part of the same nation;¹⁴ its politics and religion whatever they are¹⁵ are¹⁶ inevitable results of¹⁷ the days and events that have preceded¹⁸ the nation, just as much as the condition of the¹⁹ geology of²⁰ that part of the earth is the result of {former conditions.}²¹

1. Fist pointing downwards following "here:" and above "understood"
2. Deleted: "acknowledged" ; inserted above: "responded to"
3. Inserted over deleted: "The"
4. Deleted: "elevation" ; inserted above: "developement"
5. Deleted: "One" . Preceding five words inserted above the deletion and "A nation wonders *how*".
6. Preceding three words and dash inserted above "it is,"
7. Inserted above "like"
8. Deleted: "one" ; inserted above: "A"
9. Deleted: "religion" ; inserted above: "folly"
10. "on" inserted above "—" following "so"
11. Deleted: "that"
12. Deleted: "that"
13. Deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted above: "part of"
14. Deleted: "and" ; inserted and deleted above: "also"
15. Deleted: "are parts of the same nation—and all" . Preceding three words inserted above "gion" in "religion" and "[*del.*] are parts"
16. Deleted: "the"
17. Deleted: "those" ; inserted and deleted above: "all" ; inserted: "the" above "days"
18. Deleted: "the conditions of that" ; inserted: "the" above wordspace between "[*del.*] that" and "nations"
19. Preceding three words inserted above "the geology"
20. Deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted above: "that"
21. The MS is illegible. Text from Bucke.

For There Is Another.

Manuscript in Virginia. Inscribed in black pencil on white wove paper, 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". For the notion of evolutionary development, see "The ideas of growth." Printed in *Wake*, 7 (1948), 17. From the writing, this appears to be from the 1860s. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

for there is another Truth than the literal truth—& all the known theories of God, and the various religions, without exception¹ have done their share in arousing &² training & exercising³ the loftiest attributes of⁴ our kind Any religion is better than none. Every one, without exception, prepares the way for a higher—must in due time, give way to a higher, & far different, (even if inclusive of the former) Is it true? do you ask. So do I—but I never⁵ forget to credit it with doing the great service of suggesting something beyond all ostents⁶ to the human mind,⁷—the⁸ greatest service of all.

1. Preceding two words inserted above "ligions" in "religions" and "have" and "do" in "done"

2. Preceding two words inserted above "in training"

3. Deleted: "and"

4. Deleted: "humanity" ; inserted above: "our kind . . ." ; redundant ellipses not shown.

5. Inserted above "I" and "for" in "forget"

6. Preceding three words inserted above "mething" in "something" and "to the"

7. Deleted: "f beyond the all ostents"

8. Deleted: "g very"

All the Nations.

Manuscript in Duke (21, #13). Inscribed in black ink with a broad-nibbed pen on a scrap of bright yellow, soft-textured paper, 3" x 4½". The ink shows through the paper, which has pinholes. The date cannot be determined. Printed in *N&F*, 119 (Pt. III, #120; *CW*, VI, 139). (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

all the nations of this earth, diverse as they¹ appear in mind and body, are members of one family,² and own themselves through distant removes, and after many ages,³ many⁴ incredible fortunes and⁵ different developments—own themselves as the children of a common father.—

1. Deleted: "are" ; inserted above: "appear"
2. Deleted: "as the children, of one at" ; inserted: "and own themselves through" above "as the children"
3. Deleted: "of and"
4. Deleted: "{*illeg.*} wonderful" ; inserted: "incredible" above "{*del.*} wonderful"
5. Deleted: {*illeg.*}

Rel Opening Rel.

Manuscript not found. Text from Furness, 52. Like many of WW's MS, this is arranged eccentrically, but since the arrangement is more logical than most, it has been thought better to present it as it appears in Furness's version than to attempt a description. No date can be assigned. First printed in Furness, 52.

Rel opening Rel
(short sentences and ¶'s ?

To declare, with simplicity, two premise points
? after stating that I enter upon these things as studies

I { that I understand perfectly well how all the past religions of the world, and
distinctly acknowledge the present ones also, deserve respect (notice)? as outlets (outgrowths) in one
channel or another, each age, each land, each race or sect or ? according to its
kind, its precedents—outgrowths of the invisible something, the soul, con-
tained within, mocking analysis, mocking even the statement of itself, yet proof,
higher than
all the art of
? or of words that
immortality
the spiritual
conscientiousness
the sense of the distinction between right
and wrong

2 { yet I will not { [?]mislead
delude } you—what I teach America
ignore }

teach as religion makes little
no account of all
—Doubtless the very opening of this sublime study
—Did you suppose it already with settled conclusions?

? Gases (and Waters).

Manuscript in NYPL (Berg). Inscribed in black ink on a scrap, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ ", of a blue Williamsburgh tax form. See "Ethnology" and "The Air" for similar classifications. The date, from the paper, is from 1857. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

? Gases (and waters)¹ Minerals vegetables Animals² [:]³ Four Kingdoms of Nature/⁴

all these as in the myriad forms and identities of the world, and under the divine something called life.—

1. Parentheses added. Written across brace.
2. Deleted: "Gases". The question mark refers to "Gases"
3. Brace enclosing preceding four items, which are written in column.
4. Short line beneath column. The following entry is added in a smaller hand.

That Growth and Tendency.

MS in Virginia. Inscribed in pencil on faded wove scrap, 6¹/₁₆" x 3¹¹/₁₆". Corners clipped. The small neat writing suggests a date in the 1850s. Printed in *N&F*, 169 (Pt. IV, #65; *CW*, X, 18). (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

That growth and tendency of all modern¹ theology literature social manner
diet ? most to be dreaded, is the² feebleness inertia the loss of power the
loss of personality being diffused—spread over a vast democratic level *Per contra*—
and yet the³ most marked peculiarity of modern philosophy, is toward the special
subjective, the theory of individuality

1. The following four items and the question mark are in column.
2. The following four words and phrases are in column.
3. Deleted: "g"

The Theme of My Lecture.

Manuscript in LC (#74, sheet #553). Inscribed in pencil on white wove paper, 8¼" x 6¾". For other lecture notes see "Rel. In rel." This probably was written in the late 1850s or the 1860s. First printed in Jean Catel, "Whitman, Conférencier," *L'Ane d'Or*, V (Février-Mars, 1926), 39 (also printed in Furness, 41). (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

The theme of my lecture is Religion

I am not to be deceived by this huge show of churches enveloping us¹ with all their² dramatic scenery of religion— I³ demand something far more real than that for America—. I say that to-day the mummery of the churches in which none believes but all agree to countenance, with secret⁴ sarcasm and denial in their hearts, is what stands most in the way of a real athletic and⁵ fit religion for These States.

1. Preceding three words inserted: "enveloping [*del.*] the us" above "churches" ; deleted: "and" ; inserted above: "with"

2. Inserted and deleted: "current" above "dram" in "dramatic"

3. Deleted: "must" ; inserted above: "demand"

4. Deleted: "contempt" ; inserted above: "sarcasm"

5. Deleted: "modern"

I Say of All Dicta.

Manuscript not found. Text from Furness, 39. Cf. "*Premonitory Rel.*," "Understand then." (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

I say of all dicta upon religion we inherit from the old days, they are worth the same degree of obedience that the dicta upon politics—the same as what their astronomy, chemistry and geology are—no more

Understand Then.

Manuscript not found. Text from Furness, 39. See "I say of all dicta."

Understand then, that in this age or any age, it is a study which has to be begun by the age for itself. Much comes bequeathed to us, in these things, to help us.— Yet the price we pay is equal to the gift.

There Is No False Religion.

Manuscript not found. Text from Furness, 44. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

There is no false Religion— Each one is divine. Each one means exactly the state of development of the people—they have arrived at that,—by-and-by they will pass on farther— The Christian Religion though the highest and most beautiful and advanced means the same and stands in the same position.

(Rel) Religion.

MS in Duke (21, #13). Inscribed in black ink, with pencil as noted, on white paper, approx. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 7". Pinholes. Hanging indentation. This probably was written before 1860. Printed in *N&F*, 41 (Pt. I, #138; *CW*, III, 281). (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

(Rel)¹

Religion² soon assumes,—nay already assumes grander³ proportions⁴ freed from⁵ fables; spangles,⁶ trickeries⁷—⁸mounts flying⁹ to the skies—¹⁰touches, infuses every one—¹¹is¹² Democracy¹³ and greater than Democracy—¹⁴

1. Enclosed by curved line. Deleted: "?outset That these are a few casual observations—thoughts projected into the future—*There can be henceforth no system of religion*"

2. Inserted and deleted: "will" ; inserted: "soon assumes,—nay already" above "ion" in "Religion" and "assumes" and "gra" in "grander"

3. Originally, "grandeur" ; "u" crossed out.

4. Deleted: "is"

5. Deleted in pencil: "the" ; inserted above in ink: "fables;"

6. Deleted: "and"

7. Deleted in pencil: "of the forms"

8. Deleted: "is"

9. Inserted above "to"

10. Deleted: "is real and direct to" ; inserted in pencil and deleted: "touches," ; inserted: "touches, infuses"

11. Deleted in pencil: "is democratic"

12. In pencil, deleted in ink: "the true"

13. In pencil. Originally lowercase; capitalized in ink.

14. Preceding four words inserted in ink. In pencil, deleted in ink: "[*del. in pencil*] There [*ins. and del. in pencil*] Yes [*del. in pencil*] Yes ther the [*del.*] true [*ins.*] only [*del.*] democracy, d [*illeg. del.*] true, divine, the leveler, the ?"

But Amid These Inquiries.

Manuscript in LC (#74, sheet #550R). Inscribed in black pencil on the verso of a title page, apparently of a memorial tribute to the "Late William Wood, esq., the Eminent Philanthropist with Resolutions of Respect For His Memory. Presented in a Report of the Apprentices' Library Committee to the General Society of Mechanics & Tradesmen of the City of New York, Dec. 2d, 1857" (N.Y.: John W. Amerine, 1858). The title is clipped off at top. Wood has not been identified. The writing is very faded and barely legible, and the transcription is based on Furness's until "Sweet, fresh, and compact . . .," which is from LC, but printed in Furness, 50. This was written, from the title page, in 1858 or after.

But amid these inquiries¹ we become sick² of the [*illeg.*] statements and³ wrangles of [*illeg.*] upon this that or the other reminiscence[?] or point of doctrine,—or concerning any church what[?] does[?] the [*illeg.*] nature know of any church—or of all churches? What does the soul know?—⁴ Sweet, fresh, and compact,⁵ we will go forth⁶ in the open sky, under the sun,⁷ to glide swift in our spirits over all continents and seas, that we possess ourselves of the great round globe, and lose these little nuisances that were⁸ dwelling too long upon—

1. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
2. Inserted.
3. Deleted: "the"
4. Deleted: "To [*del.*] them [*ins.*] them fresh and compact" . Furness, 50, prints the remainder of the MS. For "Sweet" and "Fresh" as applied to the soul, cf. "Song of the Open Road" (1856), sec. 8.
5. Deleted: "as"
6. Deleted: "under" ; inserted above: "in"
7. Deleted: "and" ; inserted above: "to"
8. Deleted: "thinking"

Back to Ten Thousand.

Manuscript in Virginia. Inscribed in black pencil on a scrap of pocket-ledger paper with traces of binding at left, approx. $3\frac{1}{8}$ " x $3\frac{1}{2}$ ". Horizontal blue rules, $\frac{1}{4}$ " apart; vertical red rules. Pasted to a backing-sheet, but on verso is: "not necessary Razzia (head." In the 1857 manuscripts for *LG* (1860), "We Two Boys Forever Clinging" is entitled "Razzia" (Bowers, 108). WW defines the Italian word as "foray" (*DN*, III, 678). This, therefore, must have been written in 1857 or earlier. First printed in *N&F*, 102 (Pt. III, #62; *CW*, IX, 104-105).

Back to ten thousand years before These States, all nations had, and¹ some yet have, and perhaps² always³ will have, traditions of Coming Men, great benefactors, of divine origin, capable of deeds of might, blessings, poems, enlightenment.— From time to time these have arisen, and yet arise, and will always arise.— Some are called gods, and deified,—enter into the succeeding religions—.

1. Deleted: "may" ; inserted above: "some"
2. Deleted: "well"
3. "will" inserted above "h" in "have"

Premonitory Rel.

Manuscript in Duke (23, #22). Inscribed in black ink, except where noted, on two irregular pages of scraps pasted together: [1] two scraps, approx. 6½" x 7⅞" and 5¾" x 7⅞", white wove paper; [2] three scraps, approx. ⅜" x 7⅝", 4⅜" x 7⅝", and 7½" x 7⅝", all white unlined paper with embossed stamp "So LEE MASS." Both leaves have pinholes. The backing for [1] is the same white paper with purple lines as with "Rel. In rel." It is not clear who pasted the fragments together, as the arrangement is different in Bucke. See "Rel. In rel." for Bucke's grouping, including a list of MS possibly intended for the same lecture. The two leaves may not originally have been continuous. For the ideas and images see "With Antecedents" (1860) and "Passage to India" (1871), sec. 1. WW was using paper with this embossing in 1859 and 1860. (See "*Assyria & Egypt.*") Printed in *N&F*, 143-145 (Pt. III, #190; *CW*, IX, 192-195). (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

*Premonitory*¹*Rel.*

That these Lectures are² hints or en-passant³ toward further developement
 That they are but primary Lessons
 That the Past and the Present⁴ to be treated with perfect respect—that whatever
 I say, I know well enough the tremendous
 That man is the master and overseer of all religions⁵ not their slave—⁶
 That I stand with⁷ admiration and boundless awe before all the⁸ growths of the
 Past,⁹ of men in all ages, all lands,¹⁰ the present, civilizations, religions politics¹¹
 I do not¹² condemn either the Past or the Present.— Shall I ?¹³ denounce my
 own ancestry—the very ground under my feet that has been so long building—I

1. Inserted. Deleted: "*sentences in outset of*"

2. Deleted: "some"

3. Inserted in left margin and above "toward"

4. Deleted: "and"

5. Deleted: "and is" in insert in n6.

6. Preceding thirteen words inserted on two lines between lines.

7. Deleted: "awe and"

8. Deleted: "moral"

9. Deleted: "evidenced"

10. Preceding two words inserted above "ages the"

11. Although the paragraphing is not clearly indicated, WW may have meant these five words to stand as separate paragraphs.

12. Deleted: "come forward to" . The following word, "condemn", is written above "denounce", which, seemingly, is moved into the blank space after "I" by a small caret.

13. Question mark in blank space. "denounce" is above and apparently brought down by a small mark or caret.

know that they are and were¹⁴ what they could not but be—¹⁵ When I¹⁶ think of the Past—the¹⁷ processions of races, swiftly¹⁸ marching and countermarching over the fields of the earth¹⁹—the²⁰ sublime creeds of different eras, some left glimmering²¹ yet, others quite faded out.—The²² religions, the new ones arising out of the old ones,²³ each²⁴ filling its time and²⁵ land,²⁶ yet helplessly²⁷ withdrawing in due time, giving place to²⁸ the more needed one that must²⁹ succeed it— For all religions,³⁰ are but temporary journeys³¹—subordinate to the eternal soul of the³² woman, the man, supreme the decider of all³³ What are they [2]³⁴ now³⁵ [*illeg.*]³⁶ to the³⁷ eternal traveler [*illeg.*]³⁸ through them all [*illeg.*] & the ineffable soul[?]³⁹ of man, before whom all religions, the divinest [*illeg.*]⁴⁰ idols, the gods, these of ours⁴¹ with the rest, sink into the [*illeg.*]⁴² corners.⁴³

14. Preceding two words inserted above “are what”

15. The preceding forty-one words were inserted between lines. The writing grows smaller and smaller as the insertions were squeezed around the standing words and into the margins.

16. Deleted: “look on these”

17. End of scrap.

18. Deleted: “moving [*illeg.*]” ; inserted: “marching and countermarching” above the deletion and “over the” . The phrase also appears in “The Eighteenth Presidency!” (1856) and its derivative poem “Years of the Modern” (1856), l. 10.

19. Deleted: “ever [?] marching and countermarching”

20. Deleted: “great” ; inserted above: “sublime” ; inserted and deleted: “divine” ; deleted above “me” in “sublime”: “religions” ; inserted above: “creeds”

21. Inserted and deleted: “even” above “ering” in “glimmering”

22. Inserted and deleted in a small hand: “divine” above “re” in “religions” ; inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*] above “religions”

23. Preceding nine words inserted above the deletions and “the religions each”

24. Inserted and deleted: “one” in left margin; deleted: “fit for” ; inserted: “filling” above “[*del.*] for”

25. Deleted: “race” ; inserted above: “land”

26. Deleted: “and” ; inserted and deleted: “but” above “[*del.*] and” ; inserted: “yet” before “[*del.*] but”

27. Deleted: “giving” ; inserted: “withdrawing . . . giving” above “ly” in “helplessly” and “place”

28. Deleted: “that which” ; inserted: “the more needed one” above “to” and above the deletion.

29. Preceding two words inserted above “succeeds” ; “s” canceled in “succeeds”

30. Deleted: “divine as they are, [*illeg.*] though all divine, [*word del. in pencil.*]”

31. Deleted: “of and subordinate—but”

32. Deleted: “man” . Redundant “the” not deleted, not shown.

33. Preceding fifteen words inserted in pencil above “temporary journeys”

34. Deleted: “these” . Corner of leaf tattered and stained.

35. Deleted: “or at”

36. Deleted: “all”

37. Deleted: “ineffable soul of [*illeg.*]” above “them all”

38. Inserted in pencil above wordspace between “traveler” and “through”

39. Preceding four words inserted above “h” in “through” and “them all”

40. Leaf torn.

41. Deleted: “as”

42. Leaf torn.

43. The preceding twenty-seven words are inserted in a small hand between lines.

When I⁴⁴ stand off, [*illeg.*] and⁴⁵ view how in⁴⁶ the Present, as perhaps⁴⁷ in the Past⁴⁸ after its ways, amid vain forms and⁴⁹ toys, amid vermin and gnawing rust,⁵⁰ overlaid with stifling and suffocating things,⁵¹ with corpses piled them—corpses piled over them⁵²—smothered, as⁵³ subterranean fire,⁵⁴ invisible yet⁵⁵ impossible to die,⁵⁶ the divine ideas of spirituality, of the immortal soul of the woman and the man, of another sphere of existence, of conscience and perfect justice and goodness, are have been⁵⁷ serenely preserved, through millenia of years⁵⁸ and, with many traditions are here transmitted⁵⁹ to us, to me, to you, whoever you are,⁶⁰ I receive⁶¹ the great?⁶² inheritance with⁶³ welcome joy.—⁶⁴
I know⁶⁵ well enough⁶⁶ the life⁶⁷ is in my own soul, not in the⁶⁸ traditions, the phantoms— I know the tradition help me well—but how could⁶⁹ I be developed,⁷⁰ even so far, and talk with⁷¹ decision to-day, beginning the study of these things to [*illeg.*]⁷² without⁷³ all those⁷⁴ traditions?⁷⁵ I know, too, that I am the master and overseer of all religions—⁷⁶ and you shall be— Not their slave.

44. Deleted: "think"
45. Deleted: "view"
46. Preceding two words inserted above "ew" in "view" and "t" in "the"
47. [*Illeg.*] letter deleted.
48. Deleted: "in" ; inserted above: "after"
49. Deleted: "baubles"
50. Deleted: "overgrown" ; inserted above: "overlaid"
51. Deleted: "the"
52. Preceding eight words inserted above and into the right margin over "suffocating things, [*del.*] the" . Cf. "Respondez!" (1871), ll. 17–18.
53. Deleted: "in"
54. End of scrap.
55. Deleted: "som living"
56. Dash deleted.
57. Preceding two words inserted above "are ser" in "serenely" . Inserted above "enely" and "preserved" and deleted: "through millenia of"
58. Preceding four words inserted above "and, with many" , brought down by a line.
59. Inserted and deleted: "through" above "mitted" in "transmitted"
60. Preceding five words inserted in pencil above "me, I receive" . Cf. "Starting from Pausanok" (1856), sec. 14, l. 189.
61. [*Illeg.*] letter deleted.
62. Inserted above "in" in "inheritance" . The query may apply to "inheritance" , which is written in a smaller hand as if in a blank space.
63. Deleted in pencil: "awe and" ; redundant "with" not deleted, not shown.
64. Deleted: "(?*[ins.]* I do not I am; and you shall also be, the master and overseer of all religions—not their slave.—)"
65. Deleted: "it"
66. Preceding two words inserted in pencil above "know"
67. Preceding two words inserted above "{*del.*} it" and "is"
68. Preceding seven words and dashes inserted in pencil between the lines.
69. Deleted: "it" ; inserted following: "I"
70. Deleted: "as" ; inserted in pencil: "even so far" above the deletion and "and"
71. Deleted: "determined tongue" ; inserted: "decision" above "ned" in "{*del.*} determined" and "{*del.*} tongue"
72. Preceding seven words inserted in pencil above "to-day . . . all"
73. [*Illeg.*] letter deleted.
74. Inserted and deleted: "long" above "se" in "those"
75. Written over [*illeg.*]. Question mark written over dash.
76. Deleted: "as" ; inserted above: "and"

Rel. In Rel.

Manuscript in Duke (23, #22). Inscribed in black ink on three irregular white wove scraps, approx. $2\frac{7}{8}$ " x $7\frac{1}{8}$ ", $4\frac{1}{2}$ " x $7\frac{1}{2}$ ", $4\frac{3}{4}$ " x $7\frac{1}{2}$ ", corners clipped, pasted together and mounted on a white backing-sheet with two vertical purple lines $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart. The backing-sheet is identical to that used on "*Premonitory Rel.*" "Rel A few words," "*Rel.* There are that specialize," and "The theme of my lecture" may be notes for the same lecture, for, as so often, Bucke prints a number of fragments as if they were part of one work, remarking that "the order in which they come is not clear—pieces between have been dropped out," and dates them in the early 1850s. Since Bucke's day some of the loose MS have been pasted together. Bucke printed the MS in the following order: "*Premonitory Rel.*" "Do you suppose religion," "Rel. In rel.," "processions of races . . ." (here printed in "*Premonitory*"), "*When I stand off*" (here printed in "*Premonitory*") "Inquirers." The loose handwriting of the MS suggests that this was written as late as the 1860s. Printed in *N&F*, 144 (Pt. III, #190; *CW*, IX, 193). (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

Rel.

In rel. a modest statement, and proposition of things—as if presented with subdued mind, suggestive, modest—not flaunting and arbitrary¹

Rel./

In the Introductory remarks—²

While to the ordinary,³ the divine masses to those whose⁴ inherent religious⁵ capacity⁶ is deep enough—(⁷ and it is⁸ just as deep⁹ in the American people, as in any race¹⁰ known upon the earth, old or new,)— While to¹¹ such, thoughtless, the sublimest and most spiritual facts¹² are¹³ taken for granted as well understood and settled and as being preached in the churches and taught in the schools and

1. End of first scrap.
2. Deleted, two false starts: "That it becomes us" "That about"
3. Deleted: "persons, and" ; inserted above: "the divine masses"
4. Deleted: "re"
5. Deleted: "feeling"
6. Deleted: "may be" ; inserted: "is" above and before "[del.] is"
7. Deleted: "as" ; inserted above: "and"
8. Deleted: "very" ; inserted above: "just as"
9. Deleted: "and"
10. End of second scrap.
11. Deleted: "these," ; inserted above: "such,"
12. Inserted above "l" in "spiritual"
13. Deleted: "supposed"

books,¹⁴— As for me, I approach these as, even in their littlest beginnings, impenetrable¹⁵ mysteries—and yet with audacious hand to be seized upon,¹⁶ and wrested with.

14. Preceding fourteen words inserted on two lines above and into the right margin above “and settled— As for me”

15. Deleted: “Y”

16. Inserted above wordspace between “seized” and “and”

The Consciences—The Moral One.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in pencil and ink, where noted, on two scraps: [1] white laid paper, approx. 2¾" x 7¾". Chain lines ¾", blue rules ⅜" apart on verso only. Inscribed in black ink with a broader nib than that used for the corrections on the second scrap. [2] Sanitary Commission notepaper opened out and written across. Letterhead on verso. White laid paper, approx. 7¼" x 7½". Chain lines slightly less than ¾", blue rules ⅝" apart, top margin 11/16". The bottom of the leaf is wrinkled and tattered. Although WW was connected with the Christian Commission, he is not known to have been employed by the somewhat more official Sanitary Commission. It is not necessarily significant that he used, at least on this occasion, its stationery. Probably related to "Though I think." See also "The moral sentiment." The date seems to be in the early 1860s. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

THE CONSCIENCES—THE MORAL ONE

We cannot pronounce too strongly,¹ the evident² need, (these times, These States,³ of⁴ among writers, teachers, lecturers, in fitting ways, from primary lessons upward,) of the⁵ promulgation the bringing to the front again, among the consciences,⁶ & setting up, the greatest of all,⁷ namely the absolute, uncompromising⁸ moral one. The intellectual⁹ or critical conscience is amply attended to—the esthetic is not neglected¹⁰—the spiritual¹¹ in crude & erratic treatment¹² has its theories, zealous¹³ students, backers[?]. Others, equally welcome, equally im-

1. Preceding in ink. End of first scrap.
2. Inserted in ink above "need"
3. Deleted: "These [?]"
4. Deleted in ink: "the [*illeg.*]"
5. Deleted in ink: "realization and" ; inserted in ink: "promulgation" above "[*del.*] realization" ; deleted: "development, among the and" ; inserted in pencil, deleted in ink: "cultivation" above "[*del.*] development"
6. Deleted: "consciences of" ; inserted in ink: "& setting up," above "the" and "gr" in "greatest"
7. Deleted: "[*illeg.*] neglected [*illeg.*]" ; inserted: "namely the" above the last illegible entry.
8. Preceding two words inserted in ink above "moral one" . Caret originally after "moral" deleted.
9. Deleted in ink: "&" ; inserted in ink following: "or"
10. Deleted in ink: "also,—" ; inserted in ink: "is not neglected—" above "etic" in "esthetic" and the deletion.
11. Deleted: "often" ; inserted in pencil, deleted in ink: [*illeg.*]; inserted and deleted in ink: "though" above "cru" in "crude" ; inserted in ink: "in" above "de" in "crude"
12. Inserted in ink above "erratic" and deleted: "has is not [*illeg.*] use them"
13. Inserted above "stu" in "students"

portant¹⁴ are not wanting. But the purely¹⁵ moral,¹⁶ seems[?] to me to be as¹⁷ on
the current map of humanity [?] to be one fitly to be designated by a blank incog-
nita a¹⁸ dismal vacant patch

14. Preceding four words inserted above "are not wanting"

15. Inserted in ink above "m" in "moral"

16. Deleted: "as I have said"

17. Preceding three words inserted above "on"

18. Inserted and deleted in ink: "fearfu" ; inserted in ink: "dismal" ; both above a word lost on torn edge.

Though I Think.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil on tan (faded white?) laid paper, 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Cf. "THE CONSCIENCES—THE MORAL ONE."

Though I think¹ all the essential² elements of the grandest developement of the Moral Nature exist latent³ in the⁴ good average people of These States, it is certain that⁵ a powerful⁶ National Moral Nature (if I may use the phrase)⁷ has not only not⁸ yet been developed⁹ on the face of The States, but that—at any rate when superficially considered, and the point of view turned specially¹⁰ on Business, Politics,¹¹ competition actual life in our New World—there seems to be a strange¹² depletion almost an absence of the Moral Nature.

1. Preceding two words inserted above "gh" in "Though" and "all"
2. Inserted above "elem" in "element"
3. Inserted above "t" in "exist" and "in"
4. Deleted: "best"
5. Deleted: "no" ; inserted and deleted: "not only" above "t" in "that" and "[del.] no" ; inserted: "a" above "p" in "powerful"
6. Deleted: "and prevalent developement of a grand" ; inserted: "National" above "[del.] grand"
7. Deleted: [illeg.]; parenthetical statement inserted above "Nature" and the deletion.
8. Preceding three words inserted above "s" in "has" and "yet" and "b" in "been"
9. Deleted: "to any really [illeg.] [preceding two words inserted and deleted] grand proportion [illeg.]" ; inserted: "on the face of" above "ped" in "developed" and "[del.] to any"
10. Inserted above "turned on"
11. Deleted: [illeg.]; inserted: "competition actual life in our New World" above the deletion and "—there seems to be"
12. Deleted: [illeg.]

(Short Abrupt.

Manuscript in LC (#74, sheet #557). Inscribed in ink on scrap of white wove paper, 8¼" x 8¼". Bottom torn at lower left corner. The date is probably the 1860s. Printed in Furness, 42. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

(short abrupt paragraphs¹

What if I should say Religion is too direct a thing to be fooled with in these ways?²—³America is⁴ now⁵ awake—has knowledge—over looks⁶ the past—⁷eyes already⁸ the swift-⁹advancing soul,¹⁰ calm,¹¹ content, coming in¹² strength in beautiful modern¹³ garments.¹⁴ It is time¹⁵ the men be sternly recalled to themselves—and the women also.¹⁶ Have done with mummeries.—¹⁷I¹⁸ say [*illeg.*]¹⁹ the present age, for developed people[?],²⁰ the churches are full of mummeries[?],²¹ unfit to America, disgraceful, [*illeg.*]²¹

1. At upper right. Deleted on two lines below: "Have done with these mummeries. of churches"
2. Deleted: "The"
3. Inserted above wordspace between "America" and "now"
4. Deleted: "has"
5. Deleted: "much—" ; inserted above: "the past—"
6. Deleted: "has glimpses" ; inserted: "eyes" above "[*del.*] glimpses"
7. Deleted: "at"
8. Inserted above "the"
9. Deleted: "as"
10. Deleted: "as beau"
11. Inserted and deleted: "her" above wordspace between "in" and "strength"
12. Inserted above "ful" in "beautiful" and "ga" in "garment"
13. Deleted: "[*illeg.*] America obedient, This land full grown land has submitted [*preceding seven words ins.*] submitting too long [*preceding eleven words ins.*] to be treated as a child Beautiful"
14. Deleted: "she" ; inserted above: "the men"
15. Preceding sentence inserted on two lines above "[*del.*] beautiful" and "have done with mummeries.—"
16. Deleted: "What if I should say that,"
17. Deleted: "think" ; inserted above: "say"
18. MS torn.
19. MS torn: "ple," remains; deleted: "all"
20. MS torn: "eries," remains; dash deleted.
21. Ascenders of letters visible.

Our Acquirements, Judgments.

Manuscript in LC (#74, sheet #558). Inscribed in black ink on white wove paper, 8¼" x 5¾". See "Vestibules." No date can be assigned, although the writing is firm. Printed in Furness, 49 (the first paragraph), 53 (the second). (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

Our¹ acquirements,² judgments, views,³ on⁴ Religious, Literary or Political subjects—what are they, even the best & most labored of them,⁵ but Vestibules to far, far⁶ fuller views and judgments?

If I have any principle & lesson, underlying my writings, peculiarly⁷ marking them,⁸ it is that⁹ lesson for Man and Woman which Nature shows throughout—of¹⁰ continual developement,¹¹ of arriving at any one result or degree, only¹² to start on further results and degrees.¹³ Invisibly, inaudibly after their sorts,¹⁴ all the forces of the Universe, the air, every drop of water, every grain of sand, are pulsating, progressing.

1. Deleted: "most-labored"
2. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
3. Inserted above "ts," in "judgments," and "on"
4. Deleted: "Ecclesiastic"
5. Preceding eight words inserted on a line above "—what are they, but vestibules"
6. Preceding two words inserted above "fuller"
7. Inserted above "marking"
8. Deleted: "more than any other,"
9. Deleted: "principle of whi" ; inserted: "lesson" above "iples" in "[*del.*] principles"
10. Deleted: "that that of"
11. Inserted over a blank space. Deleted: "activity [?]" ; inserted: "of" above wordspace before "arriving"
12. Inserted above wordspace between "degree," and "to"
13. Deleted: "visibly or" ; "invisibly" capitalized.
14. Preceding three words inserted above "audibly" in "inaudibly" and "all"

On the Ever-Recurring Thought.

Manuscript not found. Text from a photograph deposited in Virginia by heirs of Mary Johnston, the novelist, who received the MS in 1900 from John H. Johnston, WW's jeweler friend. Inquiries of the Johnston family have not located the original. From the handwriting, the date is probably before 1873.

on the ever-recurring¹ thought of God in² history, through time, through all successions of events,³ not confined to one race or nation or era⁴ or government or theology,⁵ equally patent in all,⁶ as much relative as absolute,⁷ and in the present and the New World, the same as the past & old.⁸

1. Inserted above "the thought"
2. Deleted: "the"
3. Deleted: "equally patent in all" . Terminal comma not deleted.
4. Preceding two words inserted above "n" in "nation" and into the right margin.
5. Preceding two words inserted above "ment" in "government" and wordspace.
6. Deleted: "relative"
7. Deleted: "in all the past & the Old World, as much as the same as [*preceding three words ins. and del.*]" ; inserted: "and in" above "[*del.*] in all"
8. Preceding eight words in a larger hand and indented as if added later.

Religion,—the Noblest.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inserted in pencil and black ink on white wove paper, 8⁵/₈" x 5³/₈". The top of the leaf is badly torn and is written in black pencil with seemingly separate intercalations in black ink. The pencil reads: "For instance the vulgar notion of the Immutability of God" . The ink reads: "[*illeg.*] as [*illeg.*] States in the [*illeg.*] [*del.*] what the dumb? she'll [*illeg.*] made of cheap wood work [*illeg.*] to model the strong arch of [*illeg. del.*] stone—to be removed —" . For WW's thoughts on the immutability of God, cf. "The ideas of growth," which dates from 1865. See also "Humanity sees God." For other, contrasting, views of God see "*God Abdicates*" and "*A Spinal thought.*" The date is probably in the 1860s. Printed in Furness, 53. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

Religion,—the noblest Religion,—is not a complete edifice¹ in itself²: it is the array of coping, the last crown and finish—the top of towers & pinnacles—³raised at last, on many edifices⁴—many foundations—& substructures⁵

—Yet⁶ I cannot join men of Science in their silent or expressed contempt of the vulgar⁷ idea of God.⁸ That idea seems to me to come out of the abysses . . . not that it is true, but that it is a faint indication perhaps indirection⁹ (as much as the masses can hold.)¹⁰ of the¹¹ all-enclosing truth—¹² of the truth behind all science . . .¹³ Grant all the harm that it has done in the history of man—than¹⁴ what would man be, or have been, without it?

1. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
2. A small mark that may be a cancelled comma or a caret.
3. Deleted: "on the"
4. Comma deleted.
5. Preceding paragraph in black ink.
6. Inserted above "—I"
7. Deleted: "ideas" ; inserted: "idea"
8. Deleted: "It" ; inserted above: "That"
9. Preceding two words inserted above "indication . . . of the"
10. Parenthetical phrase inserted in black ink above and to the right of the insert noted in n9.
11. Inserted and deleted in black ink: [*illeg.*]; inserted in ink: "all-inclosing" above "truth—"
12. Deleted in ink: "even"
13. Deleted: "With" ; inserted above: "Grant"
14. A large ink blot above word.

Humanity Sees God.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil on verso of a much-wrinkled, white, wove leaf, approx. 9½" x 7¾". It is made up of two scraps. Blue rules on recto, approx. 7/16" apart. Trimmed irregularly at top and bottom. Recto contains part of a paragraph of "Poetry To-day—Shakespeare—The Future," *Prose* 92, II, 489, ll. 60n–70n. "Poetry To-day" was printed in 1881, but the writing of both MS is far too firm for WW to have written this much later than 1872 or 1873. The fact that the "Poetry To-day" passage is only part of a footnote suggests that it was written in the late 1860s or early 1870s and salvaged by WW to pad out the 1881 essay. "Humanity sees God" is undoubtedly contemporary with "Poetry To-day." For a similar thought about God, see "Religion,—the noblest."

Humanity¹ sees God or the idea of God² as it sees all[?] things[?] else, from the point of view which its[?] degree (general³ deficiency obliquity⁴) of⁵ vision, Knowledge &c. [*illeg.*] affords it capacity to see—& no more⁶— But the idea is to be accepted on any terms & made the best of.⁷

As⁸ to the Deific Identity I know[?]⁹ perhaps as well as any one, how unknowable¹⁰ it is— How [*illeg.*] far, far off—how pitiful & crude & mean, (to a better or fully developed mind,)—how¹¹ almost entirely human & anthropomorphic—how ready to sink & sure to¹² dissipate utterly away like¹³ the flimsiest of cloud-figures—are the supposed¹⁴ Portraits of God held up in all ages to

1. At right hand top of page, which has been trimmed, as WW often did.
2. Preceding five words inserted.
3. Deleted: "ly"
4. Written above preceding word.
5. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
6. A space precedes the following: "But the idea . . . best of." , which is written in two lines on the right two-thirds of the leaf.
7. End of the first scrap.
8. This word deleted at beginning of paragraph on second scrap, but given here from end of first scrap, where it follows ". . . best of."
9. A blot.
10. Inserted and deleted: "is the Creative Personality" above "how unknowable"
11. Deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted above: "almost"
12. Preceding two words inserted above "&" and "diss" in "dissipate"
13. Deleted: "a" ; inserted above: "the"
14. Deleted: "Personalities" ; inserted above: "Portraits"

the peoples,—¹⁵ in the present age, &¹⁶ the current¹⁷ Churches¹⁸ just as much as any¹⁹ yet it still²⁰ seems to me²¹—none the less true, that the idea of God,²² in all history, poetic fables, if you choose, & under all circumstances²³ in the individual belief &²⁴ character, is vertebral to²⁵ the whole of the rest—of that²⁶ with all its errors, perturbations, frantic insanities, & with²⁷ all its shortcomings²⁸ & violations²⁹ of the³⁰ rules of science³¹ that great Idea has been & will³² ever be, New World or Old,³³ a principal factor³⁴ in the³⁵ complicated influences of individual nobility &³⁶ the race's³⁷ progress.³⁸

15. Deleted: "&"
16. Deleted: "in"
17. Inserted above "the" and "ch" in "churches"
18. Deleted: "of the"
19. Deleted: "Then by curious indirections it is"
20. Inserted above "se" in "seems"
21. Preceding six words inserted above "[del.] Then by curious indirections"
22. Deleted: "in human developement"
23. Preceding nine words inserted above "[del.] developement" and "in all history . . . in the individ" (above "individual")
24. Preceding two words inserted above "char" in "character"
25. Deleted: [illeg.]; inserted: "the whole of" above "to" and the deletion.
26. "that" inserted above "wi" in "with"
27. "with" inserted above "all"
28. Deleted: "to"
29. Deleted: "to" ; inserted above: "of"
30. Deleted: "[illeg.] test" ; inserted: "rules" above "[del.] test"
31. Deleted: "fit"
32. Deleted: "still" ; inserted above: "ever"
33. Deleted: "the" ; inserted following: "a"
34. Preceding sixteen words inserted above "science . . . factor"
35. Deleted: [illeg.]
36. Preceding three words inserted above "of the race's"
37. Deleted: "nobility &"
38. Deleted above: "tr up" . The indicated place was not found.

In Rel.

Manuscript in LC (#74, sheet #551R). Inscribed in pencil on white wove scrap, torn or cut irregularly along three edges. Possibly notes for a lecture (see "Rel. In rel."). On the verso is "Since these articles," which contains a possible allusion to the "late" war. A slanting line from top to bottom of the leaf suggests that WW used it somewhere not yet found. For the same sentiment see "[*Illeg.*] Nature all so real." The date is probably in the 1860s. First printed in Jean Catel, "Whitman, Conférencier," *L'Ane d'Or*, V (Fevrier-Mars, 1926), 39-40. Portions also have been printed in Furness, 42. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

In Rel

To indicate that (Looking around on Nature[?]¹ and becoming imbued with [*illeg.*]² spirit of works)³

As we look around on Nature[?]⁴ the facts of life, how real they⁵ are—how uncon[*illeg.*]⁶ then—all⁷ these⁸ passing chrysalis[?]⁹ Religions, with¹⁰ all the churches and the insane statements of the¹¹ ministers—¹² appear¹³ but as¹⁴ ?—as empty shells.— They know it not—so melancholy!¹⁵The¹⁶ bodies are dead—the spirits have flown to other spheres—¹⁷yet they keep on the same celebrating over the coffins.—

1. Cut off.
2. Cut off.
3. Material in parenthesis written at the right on three lines in a smaller hand above "around on Nature"
4. Cut off.
5. Deleted: "all"
6. WW crossed out "consious," probably intending "unconscious."
7. Deleted: "that"
8. Deleted: "so called" ; inserted above: "passing"
9. Inserted above "Religions" . The beginning of the word has been trimmed off. The reading is from Furness.
10. Deleted: "the"
11. Deleted: "priests"
12. Deleted: "what"
13. Deleted: "as"
14. Deleted: "shows" "shet[?]" . Question mark in an empty space.
15. Preceding six words inserted between lines.
16. Deleted: "body is ded" ; inserted above: "bodies are"
17. Deleted: "as but"

[*Illeg.*] Composite &.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on white wove scrap, approx. 5¼" x 1", irregularly clipped. Traces of clipped-off writing and two cancellation strokes are visible. The reference may be to the Union of the States, as in "Thou Mother with Thy Equal Brood" (1881), sec. 1, l.2. The writing appears to be of the 1860s. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

[*Illeg.*]¹ composite & varied, yet integral & One.² Now for the first time we see our way clear.

1. "of the" , legible from the writing, has been clipped off.
2. Capital "O" underlined by three short marks.

Do You Suppose Religion.

Manuscript not found. Text from *N&F*, 144 (Pt. III, #190; *CW*, IX, 193). Printed by Bucke as part of the lecture notes listed in "Rel. In rel.," which seem to date from the 1860s. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

Do you suppose religion consists in one particular form or creed—the Christian or any other? No it is the whole universal heart of man.

Rel. There Are That Specialize.

Manuscript in Duke (21, #13). Inscribed in pencil with emendations in ink on an irregular scrap of white, flimsy, wove paper, approx. 7½" x 7⅝". Possibly related to the same lecture notes as "Rel. In rel.," dating from the late 1860s. Printed in *N&F*, 123–124 (Pt. III, #138; *CW*, IX, 149). (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

*Rel.*¹

There are that specialize a book, or² some one divine life,³ as the only⁴ revelation:—⁵ I too⁶ doubtless own it whatever it is⁷ to be a revelation, a part,⁸ but⁹ I see¹⁰ all else, all Nature, and each and¹¹ all that to it appertains, the processes of time, all men,¹² the universes, all likes and dislikes and developments,—a hundred, a thousand other Saviour[s?]¹³ and Mediators & Bibles—¹⁴ they too just as much revelations¹⁵ as any;—¹⁶ The grand and vital theory of Religion for¹⁷ These States must¹⁸ admit all, and not a part merely.

1. Deleted in ink: "The difference between me and certain others is that they pick out" ; inserted in ink: "There are that" above "[*del.*] pick out"
2. Deleted: "a"
3. Deleted: "and call"
4. Inserted above wordspace between "the" and "revelation"
5. Deleted: "I to B"
6. Deleted: "call it" ; inserted above: "doubtless"
7. Preceding three words inserted above "it to be"
8. Preceding two words inserted above "on," in "revelation," and wordspace following.
9. [*Illeg.*] mark or deletion.
10. Inserted and deleted: "only" above wordspace between "see all" ; inserted: "all else," above "all"
11. Preceding three words inserted above "all"
12. Deleted: "all"
13. Plural possibly clipped off.
14. Preceding ten words inserted in ink on two lines above "developements,— a" ; before the insertion "an" is reduced to a redundant "a", which is not shown. Cf. "Thou Mother With Thy Equal Brood" (1872), sec. 5, ll. 88–89. Deleted: "the"
15. Deleted: "—and"
16. Deleted in ink: "and" ; "the" capitalized in ink.
17. Deleted: "the Women and men of"
18. Deleted in ink: "consider" ; inserted above in ink: "admit" ; deleted: "them just as much as any—" ; inserted above: "all, and not a part merely."

Though Who Does Not See.

Manuscript in LC (#14, sheet #565R). Inscribed in black ink with pencil insertions on two scraps pasted onto a corrected proof page of a poetry anthology. On the proof page is an unidentified poem "Night Visitor" (not in Granger) and Burns' "John Anderson My Jo." The MS is mutilated. The first scrap is a small piece of rose-pink paper, 1⁷/₁₆" x 6¹/₄" (probably not 1855 wrapper stock). The second is a white wove scrap. The printed poems may have been torn from a book by WW for his hospital readings. The writing also suggests a date in the 1860s.

Though who¹ does not see that the outward and technical² religious belief of the sects of³ this age is a mere crust,⁴ crumbling everywhere under our feet? — Who does not know that with all these churches, ministers, and all⁵ the surface⁶ deference⁷ paid to the sects, the⁸ soul of the people needing something deeper & higher⁹ have irrevocably gone from those churches!¹⁰

yet let it¹¹ be distinctly said, of the different¹² sects, not only here, but perhaps[?]¹³ throughout the world, and in all ages, that¹⁴ from grand points of view,¹⁵ ascending high enough, we dare not find fault with any of them, but¹⁶ perceiving¹⁷ that they have done the work that was for them¹⁸, and that¹⁹ could not be done

1. Preceding two words inserted above "does not" after the deleted false start "Who"
2. Preceding three words inserted above "the religious"
3. Preceding three words inserted above "this age"
4. Deleted: "crumbling" ; inserted: "crumbling everywhere" above the deletion and "under"
5. Inserted above wordspace between "and" and "the"
6. Inserted above "sequen" in "sequence"
7. Deleted: "of"
8. Deleted: {*illeg.*}
9. Preceding five words inserted above "soul of the people"
10. End of first scrap. Deleted in next paragraph: "Let" ; inserted above: "yet let"
11. Deleted: "not be supposed, however" ; inserted above: "be distinctly said,"
12. Deleted: "creeds" ; inserted above: "sects"
13. MS mutilated on right edge.
14. Deleted: "ascending high"
15. Deleted: "we"
16. Deleted: "have admiration and awe only [?]" ; the preceding thirteen words and the deletion are inserted on two lines above "[*del.*] we" and "work"
17. "ing" written over "perceive"
18. Deleted: "then" ; deleted in pencil: "to do"
19. Inserted in pencil: "that" above "co" in "could"

without them.—²⁰ Even through them, now,²¹ [*illeg.*]²² expand with the [*illeg.*]²³
they perhaps [*illeg.*]²⁴ doubtless we²⁵[*illeg.*]

20. Deleted: "We" ; inserted and deleted above: "But" ; inserted and deleted: "Yet" before "[*del.*] But" ; inserted: "Even through them," above "[*del.*] We" and "Now"

21. Capitalized in MS.

22. MS torn. Deleted: "we"

23. MS torn. Inserted in pencil: "they" above "p" in "perhaps"

24. MS torn.

25. Preceding two words in pencil.

The Ideas of Growth.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #1002). Inscribed in pencil with red ink, where noted, on the verso of a top half of Attorney General's office letterhead dated "186-", 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Folded-over hinge (approx. $\frac{1}{4}$ ") indicates this was once part of a homemade notebook. Vertical rules $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart. For the sources of WW's ideas on evolution and its connection to his cosmic mysticism, see Gay Wilson Allen, *The New Walt Whitman Handbook* (NY: New York Univ. Press, 1975), pp. 178–201. For a similar attack on the immutability of God, see "Religion,—the noblest." WW worked in the Attorney General's office from July, 1865, until July 1, 1874. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

The ideas of [:]¹ growth continual change, exfoliation [?] developem

a piece on the contradiction of the word (or idea) ? immutable (bring in the printed piece "No rest")²

*The idea of God as immutable!*³ when the great principle underlying all the universe is a ceaseless discussion of [:]⁴ change growth developement sloughing (even new laws)—the piece should overturn the theologies⁵

1. Brace. Following five words in column.
2. Preceding seven words at right in red ink.
3. A pointed fist in left margin and the underlining are in red ink. See "Religion, —the noblest." This paragraph is in hanging indentation.
4. Brace. Following seven words in column.
5. Pointing fist under "theologies"

God Abdicates.

Manuscript not found. Text from Furness, 44. Compare also with the MS on God, e.g., "on the ever-recurring thought," and on evolution, "The ideas of growth." (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

God abdicates

I say to you that all forms of religion, without excepting one, any age, any land, are but mediums, temporary yet necessary, fitted to the lower mass-ranges of perception of the race—part of its infant school—and that the developed soul passes through one or all of them, to the clear homogeneous atmosphere above them— There all meet—previous distinctions are lost— Jew meets Hindu, and Persian Greek and the Asiatic and European and American are joined—and any one religion is just as good as another.

Those Stages.

Manuscript in Duke (21, #13). Inscribed in ink and some pencil, as noted, on two leaves of white wove paper: [1] approx. 7¾" x 6¼"; [2] approx. 7" x 6¼". Top corners clipped or torn off and a large tear in the center of both leaves. Both leaves have pinholes and are spattered with purple ink. At top of [1], deleted: "—those stages, Egyptian, Hindu, Hebraic, Greek, Christian—with a hundred dimly preserved, as the." The writing is of the 1860s. Printed in *N&F*, 140–141 (Pt. III, #176; *CW*, IX, 186). (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

Those stages, all over the world[?] [*illeg.*]¹ leaving their memories and inheritances[?]² in all the continents—how credulous! how childlike and simple!—³ the priests revered—⁴ the bloody rites, the mumeries and all puerile and bad things, redeemed, through⁵ the ages,⁶ the continents, by that one [2] [*illeg.*]⁷ underlying [*illeg.*]⁸ of [*illeg.*]⁹ fervor, out of which [*illeg.*]¹⁰ wayward forms arose.— Complaint? Nay—as I walk here, I will pause¹¹ I¹² stand silent and admirable¹³ before the movements of the¹⁴ great¹⁵ soul in all lands[?],¹⁶ in every age.— I¹⁷ look inward upon myself— I look around upon our own times—and how can I complain of the past? — Of present and past, I do *not* blame them for doing¹⁸ what they have done, and are doing— I applaud them that they have done so well— I applaud

1. Tear in MS.
2. The beginning of the word is torn.
3. Deleted: "how"
4. Deleted: "the" ; inserted: "the bloody rites, the" above "the" and "mume" in "mumeries" ; redundant "the" not printed.
5. Inserted and deleted: "all" above wordspace between "through" and "ages" ; inserted: "the" above "[*del.*] all"
6. Inserted and deleted: "all" above "c" in "continents" ; inserted: "the" following "[*del.*] all"
7. The MS is torn. "mea" is above "underlying"
8. "fo" legible before the tear.
9. MS trimmed.
10. MS trimmed. Deleted: "has" ; inserted: "wayward forms" above the deletion and "arose"
11. Preceding seven words inserted above "I [*del.*] am stand silent"
12. Deleted: "am"
13. Preceding two words inserted above "before the"
14. Deleted: "spirit of the earth"
15. Deleted in pencil: "soul an [*illeg. tear*] soul of man" ; inserted and deleted in pencil above the tear: "humanitary[?]" ; inserted in pencil: "soul" ; inserted and deleted in pencil: "of man" above "[*del.*] soul of man"
16. Tear in MS.
17. Deleted: "dare"
18. Deleted in pencil: "so [*del.*] b badly" ; inserted in pencil on two lines above and into the right margin: "what they have done, and are doing—"

In Final Resumé.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #554). Inscribed in black ink and, where noted, black pencil, on five leaves of white wove paper, approx. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Although there are no verbal parallels, this essay, or set of notes, lies behind *DV*. "Personalism" is the title of an essay, published in the *Galaxy* (May, 1868), which now is the second part of *DV*. The reference on [3] to the army's living in tents suggests, however, the war years. This was probably written in the mid to late 1860s. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

[1] in final resumé¹

For an² American Personalism³ no mean, fossil, second-hand, or atheistic religion will do.—As for me, I dare not say—indeed⁴ cannot say—what will do—Thus much however⁵ to me is plain—notwithstanding these⁶ rich and stately architectures rising in every direction around me,⁷—notwithstanding all the endowments of the⁸ colleges and priests, with the whole formidable array of influence, interference, and tendency of the prevalent⁹ churches and ministers, and of¹⁰ what passes as the authority of the Bible, and¹¹ for Christianity,—all¹² these things,¹³ and all that they ? ,—surely, surely go.—It may be sooner, or it may be later, but go they must—for the soul of modern¹⁴ has past on and left them¹⁵ far far behind.—To a developed person they stand for little or nothing.—¹⁶

[2] (in Resumé

That all the¹⁷ ? of modern worship, sects, churches, creeds, pews, sermons,

1. Preceding three words enclosed by curved line, in pencil at top of leaf.
2. Inserted in pencil above wordspace between "For" and "American"
3. Inserted in pencil above "no mean"
4. Inserted above "can" in "cannot"
5. Deleted: "I do say, that" ; inserted above: "to me is plain—"
6. Deleted: "c"
7. Deleted: "and" ; inserted: "—not withstanding" above the deletion and "all"
8. Inserted above wordspace between "of" and "colleges"
9. Inserted above "chu" in "churches"
10. Deleted: "the"
11. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "for"
12. Inserted above dash.
13. Deleted: "must" ; inserted in pencil: "and all that they ? ,—surely, " above "things
[del.] must surely"
14. Deleted in pencil: "times"
15. Deleted: "far" ; inserted in pencil: "far far" above "[del.] far" and "beh" in "behind"
16. Preceding word crowded in at bottom of leaf.
17. Deleted in pencil: "paraphernalia" ; inserted: "?"

observances, Sundays, &c., have nothing to do with real religion, which¹⁸ escapes independent of them, and¹⁹ now turning, looks upon them ?with derision²⁰ as upon things ?²¹ strange and foreign to itself, and²² perhaps mocking²³ itself.—²⁴

[3]²⁵ I (include all other American robust classes, too—country life, sea-life. I demand propose²⁶ of religion that it²⁷ quit²⁸ all those its²⁹ snivelling prayers and all that ridiculous³⁰ terror at evil and evil-doers,³¹ and adjust itself to³² the ranges of real³³ life and all³⁴ men and women That would be a religion of some account.— I should send it down to the army to live in the tents among the men. I would have something that is not afraid of existing things³⁵ That would be indeed a religion which met the work to be done, and did³⁶ not daintily avoid it or helplessly stand afar off and scream.³⁷

[4]³⁸ Come, the main³⁹ test is how a thing conforms to the earth, the divine common soil,⁴⁰ —the test of the Kosmos.— What reference has it to this divine aggregate, the people?—⁴¹ The people! none excluded—not⁴² the ignorant, not roughs⁴³ or laboring persons—even⁴⁴ prostitutes,⁴⁵ habitues of the bar-rooms and

18. Deleted: "is entirely" ; inserted: "escapes" above "[del.] is"

19. Deleted in pencil: "often" ; inserted above in pencil: "now"

20. Preceding two words and query inserted in pencil above "them"

21. Question mark inserted in pencil above word-space between "things" and "strange"

22. Deleted: "often" ; inserted above: "perhaps"

23. Deleted: "to"

24. False starts of two new paragraphs deleted: "That the modern interpretation of Christ's es [preceding four words del.] fabric of Christianity, with all its structure of forms, [illeg. letter del.] salaries, professions, luxuries, and"

"That the future religion of America must arise, outstripping all others, fit for live men, recognizing the great ide"

25. Leaf inscribed in black pencil. Deleted: "I say that is the only is" ; inserted: "I (include . . . sea-life."

26. Inserted above "demand" as alternate reading.

27. Deleted: "adjust itself to these men and women—that it"

28. Deleted: "that t"

29. Inserted above "those" as alternate reading.

30. Deleted: "do"

31. Deleted: "which"

32. Deleted: "these" ; inserted above: "the"

33. Inserted above "li" in "life"

34. Deleted: "these"

35. Preceding two sentences inserted; "have something . . . things" is below the line, brought up by arrow.

36. Inserted above word-space between "and" and "not"

37. Deleted: "at it.—"

38. Leaf inscribed in black pencil. Deleted: "When I behold the"

39. Deleted: "thing is the" ; inserted: "test is [del.] how how a thing conforms to the"

40. Deleted: "en-masse.— This is What America means relies on [preceding two words ins.]. The people and well I know the people justify it" ; inserted: "—the test of the Kosmos.— What reference . . . people?— The"

41. The following sentence of twenty-four words is brought from the top of the leaf by a curved line and an asterisk. Redundant "The" not printed.

42. Inserted above "the"

43. Deleted: ", prostitutes" ; inserted: "or" before "[del.] prostitutes"

44. Inserted and deleted: "the" above word-space between "even" and "prostitutes"

45. Deleted: "the the prisoners" ; inserted: "and" in the space between "the" and "the"

the bad houses not excluded.⁴⁶ This is what America is for—to justify⁴⁷ this is what she means— If not she means nothing—and is only among⁴⁸ a second⁴⁹ or third class nation—and no more for the people than they are.—⁵⁰ I⁵¹ said to myself,⁵² I will not be fooled with the facade of the few—I⁵³ must pursue this people into its haunts—the great million, the city, where it lives.— I have gone thither,⁵⁴ I have carefully viewed them.— I have not pierced those places with the eyes of the intellect merely—far more⁵⁵ have I pierced⁵⁶ them, and through all their rude and rank⁵⁷ [5] envelopements, with the sense of sympathy and love.—⁵⁸ I think that the persons thereof are mine that⁵⁹ I alone understand them and love them.—⁶⁰ I say that a religion which⁶¹ from those vast ranges of life in the great cities,⁶² raises its house aloof, an exile—which,⁶³ to them, enters not,⁶⁴ and they enter not into it—nor⁶⁵ comprehends them nor they it—to which they⁶⁶ brothers and sisters of almost the same parentage are more foreign than the savages of Polynesian seas—⁶⁷ is no religion for These⁶⁸ athletic and living States.

46. The following sentence of thirty-seven words is inserted between deleted lines.
47. Deleted: “it” ; inserted above: “this”
48. Inserted above “a”
49. [*Illeg.*] mark.
50. Preceding nine words written on five lines above “to” and into the right margin, enclosed by curved line.
51. Deleted: “have”
52. Inserted: “I will not be fooled . . . few—”
53. Deleted: “will” ; inserted above: “must” ; inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*] above “pur” in “pursue”
54. Deleted: “and” ; inserted: “I have” above the deletion and into the right margin.
55. Deleted: “has”
56. Deleted: “through”
57. Deleted: “co”
58. Inserted and deleted: “Those vast ranges of life in the great cities are mine—and” . The following five words brought down from top of leaf by arrow. The remainder of the original insertion is not deleted: “the persons thereof are mine” . Redundant “the persons” not shown.
59. Inserted in wordspace between “love.—” and “I”
60. Deleted: “I say that [*del.*] to a religion [*preceding two words ins.*] those vast ranges of life in the great cities, [*del.*] a [*ins. and del.*] the [*ins.*] a new religion must confront and penetrate, [*del.*] in—must enter with the and [*preceding four words del.*] seize with resistless power, engrossing them with”
61. Deleted: “does not and”
62. Deleted: “builds” ; inserted above: “raises”
63. Deleted: “near”
64. Deleted: “t” ; inserted: “and they enter not into it—” above the deletion and “enters not”
65. Deleted: “understan”
66. Inserted: “brothers . . . parentage” above “they are more foreign than”
67. Preceding six words inserted on a line above “is no religion for”
68. Inserted above “at” in “athletic”

Of This Thing Religion.

MS in LC (#74, sheet #556). Inscribed in ink on white wove paper, 8¼" x 6⅜". The lower left corner is torn off. Probably related to the lectures WW was planning during the 1860s. (See "Rel. In rel.") First printed in Furness, 43.

Of¹ this² thing Religion³, the greatest thing,⁴ I perceive, that can engage⁵ individual's or⁶ nation's⁷ mind, through⁸ time⁹ it needs,¹⁰ such¹¹ rare combinations,—such¹² sublime faculties,¹³ extatic, with inherent vision.—¹⁴ Where¹⁵ may¹⁶ we procure them?¹⁷ Of the thousands and tens of thousands engaged to-day in babbling in America¹⁸ over the¹⁹ divine themes, how many do you suppose [*illeg.*]²⁰ one thought, one single word? [*illeg.*]²¹ dialogues,²² hollow [*illeg.*]²³ life, long departed—[*illeg.*]²⁴ a dream, and the [*illeg.*]²⁵ performed by dreamers.—²⁶

1. Inserted. Deleted false starts: "treating" [*ins.*] "All"
2. Deleted: "great"
3. Initial letter over [*illeg.*].
4. Inserted above "est" in "greatest"
5. Deleted: "th" "an"
6. Deleted: "a"
7. Deleted: "best th"
8. Deleted: "all"
9. Deleted: "do you suppose [*illeg. del.*] you are to treat [*ins.*] it as something [*del.*] all explored and known? — It is the very region of the let it be known [*preceding eleven words del.*]"
10. Deleted: "I say," ; inserted above: "such"
11. Deleted: "a rare"
12. Word and dash inserted above "ons," in "combinations" and "s" in "sublime"
13. Deleted: "—divine," ; inserted: "extatic, with" above the deletion and "inhe" in "inherent"
14. Deleted: "extatic, Do you suppose"
15. Deleted: "do" "can"
16. Deleted: "see [?]" ; inserted: "procure"
17. Preceding five words inserted above "[*del.*] Do you suppose" . "of" capitalized.
18. Deleted: "over" ; inserted and deleted above: "above" ; inserted above: "over"
19. Deleted: "grandest" ; inserted above: "divine"
20. Corner of MS torn out.
21. MS torn.
22. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
23. MS torn.
24. MS torn. Deleted: "which"
25. MS torn.
26. Preceding seven words crowded in at bottom of page in two lines in a smaller hand.

Really What Has America.

MS not found. Text from Furness, 41. Probably a lecture note. Furness' note relates the MS to "In lectures on democracy," which dates to the early 1860s. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

Really what has America to do with all this mummery of prayer and rituals and the rant of exhorters and priests? We are not at all deceived by this great show that confronts us of churches, priests and rituals—for piercing beneath, we find there is no life, no faith, no reality of belief, but that all is essentially a pretence, a sham.

I say that there is today little perhaps no religion—it is a matter of dress only.

Inquirers.

Manuscript in Duke (23, #22). Inscribed in black ink and pencil, where noted, on white wove paper, approx. 10¼" x 7¾". At top of the MS: "[*illeg.*] curious eager". In pencil, at right top, enclosed in line and marked with pointed fist: "*Toward the last* finale." Lecture notes related to "Rel. In rel." The date could be in the 1860s. Printed in part in *N&F*, 144 (Pt. III, #190; *CW*, VI, 195). (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

Inquirers, free¹ children² of The States,³ aspiring to know and do greater things, sweeping on with the rest, with this⁴ universe, this globe,⁵ whelmed⁶ its⁷ mysterious miracles, compact every side, every moment, as fishes in the sea—⁸ inaugurating a New World, mental and spiritual, as⁹ much as any¹⁰—rising glittering amid new combinations, more¹¹ copious more turbulent¹² than¹³ earth's preceding¹⁴ times—inaugurating a New World mental and spiritual as much as any—New races of men,¹⁵

Of these, I,¹⁶ throwing my voice toward the¹⁷ youths of the West,¹⁸ rapidly draught¹⁹ for them and myself, my lectures—and premonitory in them these:

That they [*illeg.*]

1. Deleted: "and [*illeg.*] muscular"
2. End of word cut off.
3. Deleted: "sw journeyers whelmed and swept on an," ; inserted: "aspiring to rest," above deletion.
4. Deleted: "material and mystic mysterious" ; inserted above: "universe, this" above "material and"
5. Inserted and deleted: "helplessly" above "whelmed"
6. Deleted: "with"
7. Deleted: "mysteries on" ; inserted: "mysterious miracles, compact" above the deletion and "every side"
8. Deleted: "the [*illeg.*]"
9. Deleted: "well as the rest" ; inserted above: "much as any"
10. Deleted: "thrown" ; inserted: "—rising glittering" above "[*del.*] thrown" and "amid" ; redundant dash not deleted, not printed.
11. Deleted: "splendid" ; originally "more splendid," ; redundant "more" not deleted, not printed.
12. Preceding two words inserted above "copious than"
13. Deleted: "ever before" ; inserted: "earth's" above "[*del.*] before"
14. Deleted: "lands; preceding years—" ; inserted: "times—" above "[*del.*] preceding"
15. Deleted: "more"
16. Deleted: "in the spirit of addressing the free and muscular"
17. Preceding five words inserted above "[*del.*] addressing the free" . Inserted and deleted: "[*del. in pencil*] muscular and free free" above "[*del.*] and muscular"
18. Deleted in pencil: "with reference to these years, and the years of ages and ages to come,"
19. "t" inserted.

A Spinal Thought.

Manuscript in LC (#74, sheet #554). Inscribed in pencil on white wove paper, 8¼" x 6¾". For a contrasting view of God, see "Religion,—the noblest." This probably was written in the 1860s. Printed in Furness, 43–44. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

*A Spinal thought*¹

of all my lecture on Religion

The whole scene shifts.— The relative positions change.—² Man comes forward, inherent, superb,—³the soul, the judge, the⁴ common average⁵ man advances,—ascends to place.— God disappears.— The whole⁶ idea of God, as hitherto, for reasons, presented in the religions of the world, for the thousands of past years, or rather the scores of thousands of past years⁷ fifteen or twenty thousand⁸ past years of⁹ lands disappears.—

1. Deleted false starts: "What" "This" "What all the religions hitherto, [*not del.*] as preparations," ; "of all my lecture on Religion" is added in three lines at the right, joined to title by curved line, and marked with a pointing fist at left.

2. Deleted: "The"

3. Dash inserted. Deleted: "the com divine common man,"

4. Deleted: "divine [?]"

5. Inserted above "on" in "common"

6. Inserted above the wordspace between "The" and "idea"

7. Preceding thirteen words inserted on two lines above "world, for the" . Perhaps an alternate reading for the following phrase.

8. Deleted: "yea" ; inserted above: "past years"

9. Deleted: "[*illeg.*] men" ; inserted above [*illeg.*] : "lands"

Or Even Scientific Values.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil on a half-sheet of white wove paper, 8" x approx. 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Trimmed irregularly at left after inscription. On verso four curious outline sketches of soles of feet. The irregular writing suggests a late date.

or even¹ scientific values, having done their office to the human identity and ministered all they can to² its development or comfort these [*illeg.*] shall all cease—³ still remaining spiritual⁴ & value adjuncts⁵ morals & religious.⁶ Most neglected⁷ in our age, of all the⁸ attributes of humanity easily⁹ covered with cant, deluded, abased, rejected, yet the only certain source of what all are¹⁰ incessantly seeking yet none find—¹¹ in it I¹² for myself clearly see the first¹³ the last the highest heights of art, of¹⁴ literature & the purposes¹⁵ of life itself.— I say whoever labors here, con-

1. Inserted above between "or" and "scientific"
2. Preceding six words inserted above "man" in "human" and "de" in "development"
3. Preceding seven words inserted above "ment" in "development" and "all"
4. Deleted: "sentiment [*illeg.*]."
5. Preceding four words inserted above "morals and religious"
6. Deleted: "sentiment" ; inserted and deleted above "[*del.*] sentiment" : "the spiritual"

The order of the last nine words is not clear.

7. Deleted: "of all"
8. Deleted: "elements" ; inserted above and deleted: "[*illeg.*] attributes"
9. Deleted: "le" "deluded" ; inserted: "covered with cant deluded, [*del.*] & abased, rejected, yet the" above "easily" [*del.*] le deluded" and "only"
10. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
11. Deleted: "I"
12. Deleted: "claim"
13. Deleted: "heights above an" ; inserted: "the last" above "[*del.*] am"
14. Inserted above wordspace between "art," and "literature"
15. Preceding two words inserted above "of life" and "it" in "itself"

Rel A Few Words.

Manuscript in LC (#74, sheet #585). Inscribed in ink with some black pencil corrections on white wove paper, 8¼" x 6¹⁵/₁₆". This was written in the 1860s. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

Rel¹

A few² words³ in memorium, pensive,⁴ to the stages of religious expression during the⁵ past thousands of⁶ years—⁷ for,⁸ the changes⁹ all that time have been¹⁰ little changes of costumes.— It is¹¹ America that makes¹² the radical change involving¹³ new stages¹⁴ many thousand years to come.—

1. Deleted false start: "Yet" "A" not reduced to lowercase.
2. Inserted above word space and "w" of "words"
3. Deleted: "of pensive"
4. Inserted above "m" in "memorium" and "t" in "to"
5. Deleted in pencil: "last ten or twenty" ; inserted in pencil: "past" above "[del.] last"
6. Inserted in pencil above wordspace between "thousand" and "years—"
7. Erased in pencil: "for" ; deleted: "to-day if"
8. Deleted: "if"
9. Deleted: "[illeg.]"
10. Deleted: "but" ; inserted: "little" in the right margin following "[del.] but"
11. Deleted: "in [?]"
12. Inserted in pencil above "the"
13. Deleted: "a"
14. Deleted in pencil: "for ten or twenty"

The Worship of God.

MS in Virginia. Inscribed in pencil on the second of two leaves of white laid paper, approx. 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 8", hinged together. On the verso is the second leaf of "Sparkles from the Wheel" (1871). Chain lines $\frac{3}{4}$ "; blue rules $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart. Cancelled with vertical stroke. the text is a quotation from Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. WW leaves out the final clause: "for there is no other God." The passage is quoted in Swinburne's *William Blake* (London, 1868), 222, which WW read (see "Of William Blake"). This was written between 1868 and 1871. Printed in Bowers, 254. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

The worship of God is, honoring his gifts in other man, each according to his genius & loving the greatest men best. Those who¹ envy or caluminate great men, hate God.

William Blake

1. Deleted: "enjo"

On the Religion.

Manuscript in LC (#74, sheet #552). Inscribed in black ink on white wove scrap, approx. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{7}{16}$ ". The writing is steady and thus probably earlier than that of the MS of "Elias Hicks" (1888). This probably was written in the 1870s.

On the Religion

Change the name from *Elias Hicks*
 make no allusion to him
 at all¹

State the object to be to relase² the³ investigation and treatment of Religion,—from all tyranny of authority, and throw it open to the investigation of great minds, as something which is not settled but⁴ has to be now taken up de novo, and carried on

—*The above is the spinal cord of the Lecture
 on Religion*^{5/}

1. Marked by pointing fist at left before "make"
2. Inserted and deleted: "from" above "the"
3. Deleted: "subject of"
4. Preceding four words inserted above "ething" in "something" and "which has"
5. Line across leaf, paper trimmed but fragment of deleted text remains: "opening — ¶ sentence"

That the Best Part.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in black ink on scrap of white laid letter paper, 5⁵/₈" x 7⁵/₈". Blue rules ³/₈" apart. On the verso is the conclusion of a letter from [J. H. ?] Johnston, possibly his New York friend, dated July 16, 1874. The date, then, is from 1874. Printed in *Wake*, 7 (1948), 18–19. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

that¹ the best part of literature and religion, though mixed² are in my opinion it still³ remains⁴ to be said⁵ the indirect⁶ results of these fables, these 'guesses at truth.'⁷ The crowning glory of woman & man in the⁸ World, Old or New,⁹ the same,¹⁰ strange as it may seem . . .¹¹ The Thought of God, by day or night, brooding in the Soul, in silence,¹² is superb & is inevitable,¹³—leading to perfect faith The argument, attempt at¹⁴ statement, definition measurement of God,¹⁵ in¹⁶ modern book or sermon, or attempting to pin¹⁷ Deity to any particular Bible or sect,¹⁸ presupposes an¹⁹ audience²⁰ painfully²¹ flippant & flatulent.

1. Inserted. The sentence originally began on a tab in upper right corner: "And yet" , which is deleted.

2. Preceding two words inserted above "on," in "religion," and "are"

3. Inserted on two lines above deleted lines above "[*ins.*] though mixed"

4. [*Illeg.*] mark or letter.

5. Preceding nine words inserted in upper right corner above and below [*del.*] "And yet" . Although they appear to have belonged with the original deleted opening , "And yet", a caret after "are" brings the phrases down. Inserted and deleted: "in my opinion" above "the results"

6. Inserted: "indirect" above "[*del.*] opinion" in previous insertion.

7. Deleted: "And" ; inserted and deleted above: "And" ; "the" capitalized.

8. Deleted: "New"

9. Preceding three words inserted above "the same"

10. Preceding eight words inserted above "man" in "woman" and "& man" and "stran" in "strange"

11. Inserted and deleted: "¶ As things stand to day, we [*illeg. del.*] state it . . ." above "y" in "may" and "seem . . . The Thought of God by"

12. Preceding two words inserted above "oul" in "Soul" and "is"

13. Preceding three words inserted, followed by an asterisk, which brings up "—leading to perfect faith." from below, also marked by asterisk above "erb" in "superb" and "The argument,"

14. Preceding two words inserted above "statement"

15. Preceding two words inserted above "ment" in "measurement" and "in"

16. Deleted: "[*illeg.*] a" ; inserted and deleted: "modern" above "book" ; inserted: "modern" under deletion and above "book or"

17. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

18. Preceding eleven words inserted on a line above "presupposes [*del.*] a very audience [*del.*] of fools or [*del.*] flatulents"

19. Originally "a very" ; "very" deleted, "n" added to "a"

20. Deleted: "of fools [*del.*] or [*ins.*] & flatulents."

21. Deleted: "meagre &" ; inserted above: "flippant &"

And Perhaps One of the Works ?

Manuscript in Rutgers. Inscribed in black ink on white laid paper, irregularly torn, approx. 7¾" x 4¾". Irregular indentation. On the recto is a draft of "'Tis but Ten Years Since," No. 3, published in the N.Y. *Weekly Graphic* (February 14, 1874) (*Prose* 92, I, 316). The Evangelical Alliance was an early Protestant ecumenical association. Its American branch was organized in 1867 and held its first conference at Pittsburgh in 1875. The irregular writing suggests a date after 1873. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

And¹ perhaps² one of the works ?mission³ of both priest & poet for the modern, from the American point of view, for broadest Humanity is to⁴ break down the old conventions, the barriers, so narrowly restricting the ideas of Beauty, and⁵—so we must abolish⁶ the⁷ ?religious ?ecclesiastical demarcations./

It is one of the most encouraging & democratic tendencies of modern times/
Evangelical Alliance

1. Original beginning deleted: "Is One"
2. Inserted above "one"
3. Preceding two words written as alternate readings, "mission" under "works" with question mark above.
4. Deleted: "open out to [*not del.*] the avenues freedom of of the Idea, the" ; inserted above: "break down the old conventions [{"the" *from original, not del.*] barriers, so narrowly restricting the ideas" . WW evidently had sketched out what he wanted to say, leaving blanks to fill in later. "of Beauty" is part of the original outline. A vertical stroke appears to cancel the first ten words, but no further use of this phrase has been found.
5. Deleted: "the" . Space follows.
6. [*Illeg.*] mark.
7. False start: "re" ; question mark above "religions"

Vestibules.

Manuscript in LC (#62, sheets #276–277R). Inscribed in black ink on two leaves of tan, soft, wove paper, 8¼" x 4¹¹/₁₆" and 8¼" x 4¹⁵/₁₆". The left and the right edges are somewhat irregular. For a similar piece on "vestibules" see "Our acquirements, judgments." The phrase "*maize-tassels*" at the upper right of the leaf appears also in a list of trial titles (LC #78, sheet #670): "*Maize-Tassels* Birds of Passage Outcroppings at 45 Outcroppings at 60" . The cluster title, "Birds of Passage," was added to *LG* (1881). The date of this MS is probably also between the late 1870s and 1881. Printed in Furness, 48–49. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

*Vestibules*¹

Yes—first steps, approaches,² (for must we not first creep, as a babe, even toward the³ grandest) —attempts

And what is The Universe, with all its shows? what is Life itself? but a Vestibule to something, in the future,⁴ we know not what—but something as certain as the Present is certain. Nay who that has reach'd [2] what may be call'd the full Vestibule of ? but has had strong suspicions that what we call the Present, Reality, &c. with all its Corporeal shows, may be the Illusion, for reasons, &⁵ that, even to this Identity of yours or mine,⁶ the far more Permanent is yet unseen, yet to come—like a long train of noble⁷ corridors, & infinite⁸ Halls, & superb endless chambers, yet awaiting us Yes, indeed, "in⁹ our Father's House are many mansions."¹⁰

1. In roman letters. At upper right of leaf: "*maize-tassels*" . See "Maize-Tassels."

2. Deleted: "attempts,"

3. Deleted: "most"

4. Preceding three words inserted above "we know"

5. Deleted: "that"

6. Preceding eight words inserted on a line above "that the far more Per"

7. Deleted: "Halls" ; inserted above: "corridors"

8. Deleted: "Cor superb"

9. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "our"

10. John 14:2.

In View of that Progress.

Manuscript in LC (#74, sheet #547). Inscribed in black ink with black and blue pencil corrections on two scraps pasted together: the verso of a letter from *The Critic* dated September 30, 1884, enclosing a check (not listed in *Corr.*, III), and a leaf of brown wove paper, 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ " wide, length irregular. This was written after September 30, 1884. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

In view of¹ that progress, and of evolution, the² religious element the most³ important of any,⁴ seems to me more indebted to poetry than to all other means and influences combined. In a very profound sense religion *is* the poetry of humanity,⁵ points of union and rapport among all the⁶ poems and poets⁷ of the world—however wide their separations of time and place—and theme⁸—are{?}⁹ much more numerous{?}¹⁰ and weighty than points{?}¹¹ of contrast.

1. Deleted: "the past," ; inserted above: "that progress,"
2. End of first scrap.
3. Preceding two words obscured by tear.
4. Deleted in pencil: "is" ; inserted in pencil: "seems to me" above the deletion and "more"
5. Deleted: "and neither could exist without the other. . . . The" . New paragraph deleted: "Then, after all is said, and [*del.*] the seemingly unfathomable gaps and contrasts pointed out, the" . Text drawn together by line.
6. Deleted: "distinctive"
7. Preceding two words inserted in pencil above "poems"
8. Preceding two words inserted above "place"
9. MS torn. Deleted: "curiously so"
10. The first part of the word, until "rous" , obscured by tear in MS.
11. The first part of the word, until "ints" , obscured by tear in MS.

? Add to Some Excerpt.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in pencil on white laid paper, approx. 6¼" x 3¾". Irregularity of left edge and segment cut out of lower right corner are identical with paper of "Suggest that a new" and "—It is not." All were obviously cut from the same pack. The reference to "star-nights" suggests *SD*, which is full of references to stars. Since the MS of *SD* at Berkeley is in a variety of scripts, depending, among other things, on WW's health, it is not impossible that despite the wavering script of the MS they date from the 1880s.

? add to some excerpt of star-nights¹

Among the many aspects of² thought presented by what we call life, we will consider it³ now as an exercise, a training & development—doubtless for something more real beyond, [*illeg.*] something prepared for, something real, somehow and at last—even after death. For there is⁴ a strange⁵ unreality [2]⁶ about our lives here. What is it but a phantasm. In best hours, the perception crystalline, what⁷ delusion—what a mockery seem all these eager aims, these politics⁸ amours, ambitions—these prevalent⁹ business aims!¹⁰ that fill us

1. Curved line at left and under text.

2. Deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted following: "thought"

3. Inserted above wordspace between "consider" and "now"

4. Deleted: "something" ; inserted above: "a"

5. Deleted: "ly"

6. Deleted: "truly"

7. Deleted: "a"

8. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

9. Preceding three words inserted above "mours," in "amours," and "business"

10. Deleted: "&c."

The Moral Sentiment.

Manuscript in LC (#74, sheet #561R). Inscribed in pencil on white wove scrap, 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 8 $\frac{3}{16}$ ". Entries arranged randomly on the page. On verso is "Picture who engraved," which contains a reference to *Scribner's Magazine*, which started publishing in 1887. The handwriting of this MS also suggests a late date. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

The moral sentiment—it cheers the poor man¹ coarse² & makes his hut a palace—makes life—even the delusion of it³ nourishes the martyr[?]⁴

1. Deleted: "at his"
2. Deleted: "sup"
3. Deleted: "illum" ; preceding five words inserted above the deletion and "nourishes the"
4. WW seems to have transposed the final two letters.

XVIII. American Politics.

Lofty Sirs!

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #8). Inscribed in black pencil on a much-wrinkled leaf torn at left from notebook, approx. 9" x 5¾". Rules 5/16" apart. Mr. Feinberg thinks this was written before 1855. The writing certainly supports this opinion, and the thought finds echoes in several notebooks WW wrote before 1855.

Lofty sirs! you are very select and very [*illeg.*]¹ and will have reserved seats in the ninetieth heaven no doubt² and³ recognize only the best dressed and most polite angels⁴ whose names are on silver door plates,—and⁵ gas at night in the parlors.— (As for me I am a born⁶ democrat.—⁷ I take my place by rights among the sudorous or sweaty⁸ classes, among⁹ men in their shirt sleeves,—the sunburnt, the unshaved, the huge paws.—)¹⁰ You are proud of your books, your style, your bland¹¹ speech and possessed ease in society.— You¹² scorch with words of pert scorn¹³ all intruders and all vagaries of reformers and innovators.— How those niggers smell!— How dare that Paddy ride in the same omnibus with me?— What are we coming to, that an¹⁴ driver or¹⁵ workman of a scow,¹⁶ has¹⁷ finer health and cleaner shaped limbs than I, who do business in my own office or store?— And these¹⁸ new crazy loafers with their¹⁹ 'ologies and their 'isms— who can tell what the poor devils mean? Likely they do not know themselves.—

1. Upper right corner torn off.
2. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
3. Deleted: "move among" ; inserted: "recognize only the best dressed and" above the deletion and "most polite"
4. Deleted: "well dressed [*illeg.*] and with real spirits and"
5. Deleted: "folding sliding [*alternatives*] doors between" ; inserted: "gas at night in" above "[*del.*] folding . . . between"
6. Deleted: "loafer" ; inserted above: "democrat"
7. Deleted: "I assume this day, the whole debt of all"
8. Deleted: "men who feel know not whether" ; inserted: "classes," above "[*del.*] men"
9. Deleted: "the boys" ; inserted: "men" above "[*del.*] boys"
10. Deleted: "Ay" "dost th" "You"
11. Deleted: "and"
12. Deleted: "put your" ; inserted: "scorch with words of" above the deletion and "pert"
13. Deleted: "upon the" ; inserted: "all intruders and all" above the deletion and "vag" in "vagaries"
14. Deleted: "ostler" ; inserted above: "driver"
15. Deleted: "the common dock wo"
16. Deleted: "is a handsomer man with he"
17. Deleted: "better" ; inserted above: "finer" ; inserted and deleted above "[*del.*] and wild"
18. Deleted: "radicals and wild" ; inserted above and deleted: "new fangled" ; inserted: "new" and "crazy" before and after preceding insertion and deletion.
19. Inserted above "th" in "with"

In a Few Years.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #618). Inscribed in black ink on green wove scrap, 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The paper is probably wrapper stock for *LG* (1855). Probably "profuse acts" is a continuation. This was written, as the writing also suggests, between 1855 and 1856.

In a few years, the legislatures,¹ national, state, and municipal, will subside into rare sessions, perhaps once in two, three, or five years.—² Ten thousand little schemers monopolists, partialists, will be horrified—but the people will³ find it a relief beyond⁴ words to tell.—of the

1. Deleted: "state a"

2. Deleted: "A thoug"

3. Deleted: "be relieved" ; inserted above: "find it a relief"

4. Deleted: "measure"

Profuse Acts.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #618). Inscribed in black ink on green scrap, approx. 1½" x 6¼". Probably a continuation of "In a few years." See "The scope of government" and "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!" for similar ideas. The paper, which is probably wrapper stock for *LG* (1855), and the writing suggest a date in 1855 or 1856.

profuse acts of American legislation, in all its grades, every year becoming more and more profuse, nineteen twentieths are not¹ one atom for the general good, but against it,² and should be lopped off, and must be;—³

1. Deleted: "at will" ; inserted above: "one atom"

2. Preceding three words inserted above "ood" in "good" and "and" and "sho" in "should"

3. Deleted in pencil: "it will be a great reform"

Probably the Best Government.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #618). Inscribed in black ink on green wove scrap, 1¼" x 6¼". Probably wrapper stock for *LG* (1855). See "The scope of government" and "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!" The paper and writing indicate a date between 1855 and 1856.

Probably¹ the best government is not positive,—² but is negative and³ [*illeg.*] We are needing⁴ we almost⁵ need laws to protect us against laws.—

1. Inserted above "The" . Uncorrected capital on "The" not printed.
2. Deleted: "it" ; inserted above: "but"
3. Deleted: "often [*illeg.*] opening leaves much open.— It has not [*illeg.*] any single attribute which is not universal—not one,—" ; inserted and deleted: "opening avoiding" . Remainder of text inserted.
4. Preceding three words inserted.
5. Preceding two words in pencil.

Legislation (Inviting Examples).

Manuscript not found. Text from Clifton Joseph Furness, "Walt Whitman's Politics," *Am Merc*, 16 (April, 1929), 466. See also "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!" The date is probably in the 1850s. First printed by Furness.

Legislation (inviting examples in high places) is always inclined to be too meddling and be perpetually multiplying ordinances and regulations. I recommend the abolition of the entire system of licenses or special permits for any business, no matter what. The control of the government over the business operations of the citizens must be by general laws, bearing equally upon all, and not by special laws, giving one man or set of men the privilege of engaging in an employment which the rest are prohibited from. Every man or woman has the right, free of any special taxes or license, to engage in any avocation or business whatever, responsible afterwards to the authorities for his or her malpractice—the cartman or driver, for instance, when he obstructs the public thoroughfares, the physician for gross injuries to a patient, the tavern keeper for any habitual nuisance or infringement on the decorum of the neighborhood.

The American People.

Manuscript in Duke (7, #14). Inscribed in black ink on green wove paper, approx. (1) $6\frac{3}{16}$ " x $5\frac{1}{2}$ ", (2) $4\frac{1}{2}$ " x $6\frac{3}{16}$ ". Cancelled with vertical strokes, but no further use has been found. On recto an early version of "This Compost" (1856). See "The scope of government." The date 1856 appears twice on the MS according to the *Trent Cat.* With the MS are two clippings from the N.Y. *Daily Tribune* (August 30, 1856). One reports the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; the other reports the news from California, including the activities of the Vigilance Committee and enthusiasm for the candidacy of John C. Fremont. Probably a part of the same essay, editorial or speech as "recommendation to the young men." Both are related to "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!" The reference to "these two old [traitors]" parallels similar comments in "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!" This was written after August 30, 1856. First printed in *N&F*, 172 (Pt. IV, #85; *CW*, X, 23-24).

The¹ American² people, ever sturdy,³ ever instinctively just, by right of Teutonic⁴ descent,⁵—have⁶ only to perceive any great wrong, and the work of redemption is begun from that hour.— I heartily approve of the⁷ action of the California Vigilance Committee; it is worthy⁸ the⁹ promptness and just anger of the Anglo Saxon race.— But the whole¹⁰ These States¹¹ need [2] one grand national¹² Vigilance Committee¹³ composed of the body of the people, and especially of the young men.—/

If these two¹⁴ old¹⁵, here at the outset, threaten disunion unless they or the

1. Original opening deleted: "In California"
2. Inserted above "people"
3. Deleted and inserted above: "ever"
4. Initial "t" raised to capital.
5. Deleted: "are just beginning to awake to those things"
6. Deleted: "but" ; inserted above: "only"
7. Inserted and deleted: "work" ; inserted following and above "California" : "action of the"
8. Deleted: "of"
9. Deleted: "sternness and courage" ; inserted: "promptness" above "ness" in [*del.*] "sternness" and "and" ; inserted: "and just anger" above "[*del.*] courage" and "of"
10. Deleted: "of"
11. Deleted: "with hardly an exception, need"
12. Preceding three words inserted above "Vigilance" and "Comm" in "Committee"
13. Reduced from plural to singular; deleted: "also in"
14. Inserted above wordspace between "these" and "old"
15. Deleted: "traitors" ; inserted and deleted above: "men" ; inserted and deleted: "traitors" above the deletions.

like of them are¹⁶ put in the Presidency, what may we expect¹⁷ if they were¹⁸
[*illeg.*] Presidency? /

what would they¹⁹ [*illeg.*]—If the very reverse had been presented to them
[*illeg.*]²⁰ sworn to it just the same? /

16. Deleted: "ele"

17. Deleted: "when" ; inserted above: "if"

18. Paper cut away.

19. Paper cut away.

20. Paper cut away. Deleted: "promised"

Recommendation to the Young Men.

Manuscript in Duke (8, #17). Inscribed in black ink on verso of green wove paper, approx. 6½" x 4⅞", which is probably wrapper stock for *LG* (1855). Cancelled with a vertical stroke, but no further use has been found. On recto, "THE Poem," which contains phrases which appear in "Starting from Paumanok," sec. 6, and "Mediums," both written in 1856. "The American people" is in the same writing and on the same paper and is probably part of the MS. The title and tone relate both to "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!" The candidate referred to is WW's "Redeemer President." Assuming a connection with "The American people," this was written after August 30, 1856.

recommendation to the¹ young men² of all The³ States⁴ of⁵ North and South, East and West, that he has⁶ kept his position so free and⁷ spacious, standing this day⁸ before⁹ us, no¹⁰ the¹¹ particular representative of any¹² one party—no tied and ticketed democrat, whig, abolitionist, republican,—no bawling spokesman of¹³ natives against foreigners,

1. Inserted and deleted: "American" above "the young"
2. Inserted above "of"
3. Capitalization added.
4. Deleted: "without preference"
5. Deleted: "one over another," ; inserted above "North and South, East and West,"
6. Inserted and deleted: "like a prudent [*not del, not printed*] wise" above "has kept his"
7. Deleted: "ample and" ; inserted and deleted above "[*del.*] ample" : "open" ; inserted: "spacious" before "[*del.*] open"
8. Inadvertently repeated "day" not printed.
9. Deleted: "you"
10. Deleted: "not at all as" ; inserted: "no" above "[*del.*] not"
11. Deleted: "candidate" ; inserted and deleted above: "exclusive" ; inserted: "particular representative" on two lines above "[*del.*] candidate" and "of"
12. Deleted: "one set of persons—not a representative of the tariff nor of free-trade, nor of the owners of slaves, nor of the abolitionists, nor" ; inserted: "one party—no tied and ticketed [*del.*] special democrat, whig, abolitionist, republican, [*ins. and del. below del.*] "representative" : "nativist"—no bawling spokesman" ; inserted and deleted: "especially" following "spokesman"
13. Deleted: "the Know-nothings, nor of the [*illeg.*]"

The th Presidency.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #705). Inscribed in black pencil on white wove scrap, 7⁵/₈" x 4¹³/₁₆". On recto is "American Boys *A Book*." Cf. the opening of "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!" This must have been written late in 1855 or early 1856. First printed in *N&F*, 176 (Pt. IV, #110; *CW*, X, 29-30).

*The th Presidency.*²

*Voice of Walt Whitman to³ the mechanics⁴ and farmers⁵ of These States, and to each American Young Man, North, South, East and West.*⁶

For instance⁷ who are the people,⁸ or nation?⁹

First¹⁰ mechanics¹¹ farmers, sailors, &c constitute more than five millions of the inhabitants of These States.— Merchants lawyers, doctors, teachers¹² priests, and the like, count up as high as five hundred thousand.— The owners of slaves number three

1. WW's space.
2. Short decorative rule in middle of leaf between title and subtitle.
3. Deleted: "each" ; inserted above: "*the*"
4. Inserted: final "*s*"
5. Capital "*F*" reduced to "*f*" ; inserted: final "*s*" ; deleted: "*in*" ; inserted: "*of*"
6. Decorative rule.
7. Preceding two words inserted before "Who" ; following "W" not reduced to "w"
8. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "or"
9. Decorative rule. Inserted in left margin and deleted at beginning of next paragraph: "For instance"
10. Deleted: "*specify the People—Who are they?*" "Mechanics" ; inserted and deleted: "working" ; inserted: "mechanics" above "[*del.*] Mechanics" and "far" in "farmers"
11. Deleted: "and men following the water" ; inserted: "sailors &c" above "[*del.*] the" and "[*del.*] wa" in "water"
12. Inserted above "ors" in "doctors" and "pri" in "priests"

The Eighteenth Presidency!

Three sets of proofs, two sheets each, in LC (#296) and two copies in Feinberg (*Cat.* #88). The three sets are hereinafter referred to as LC, F1 and F2. All three sets can be traced to WW's executors, LC to Thomas B. Harned, F1 and F2 to Horace Traubel. The text is from LC, with emendations in F1 and F2 indicated in the notes. All are printed in four columns on each leaf with title and subtitle in capitals or large capitals of two different styles. The body is printed in what Thomas C. Ryther, Emeritus Director of the University of Kansas Printing Service, has identified as Roman 4-point Century, a popular newspaper type in the nineteenth century. Subheads in the text are in 4-point small caps. Dimensions of the paper vary slightly. LC is 8" x 13½" and 9" x 11¾". F1 is 8" x 14" and 9⁵/₁₆" x 12". F2 is 7¹¹/₁₆" x 13¹¹/₁₆" and 9⁵/₈" x 11¾". F1 is endorsed by WW in red ink in the upper left corner of sheet 1: "written & printed [*ins.*] summer [*ins.*] of 1856" .

In "*The Eighteenth Presidency!*" (Lawrence, Kansas, 1956) I discussed fully the relationship of the manifesto to WW's life and times. One might also cite "Letter to Ralph Waldo Emerson" (*LG*, 1856), and such MS as "Slavery—the Slaveholders—" and other MS referred to in the present notes provide additional evidence of WW's deepening disgust with American politics.

The place and date of printing and the meaning of the emendations in F1 and F2 remain as puzzling as they were in 1956. A persistent rumor has it that the manifesto was printed by a newspaper called *The Republican*. Mr. Feinberg investigated the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* without success. Professor C. C. Hollis, while investigating the Kansas career of Col. Richard J. Hinton ("Addresses") noted that the same 4-point type used by Whitman's printers appears in some columns of the Lawrence (Kansas) *Republican*, for which Hinton worked in 1858. (All of the preceding information is from personal communications.) As far as comparison of photocopies can be relied upon, Hollis's observation is correct, but his further speculation that "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!" was printed in Kansas cannot be supported, for the *Republican* was not established until 1858. I have not noticed the same type in other early Kansas newspapers.

Another line of speculation, that the emendations were made to revise the manifesto so as to support the abortive presidential campaign of General James H. ("Jim") Lane, one of the heroes of the Kansas struggle and a very ambitious politician, seems unlikely and is not supported by any evidence other than the deletion of Fremont's name. Hinton and James C. Redpath ("English runic"), whom WW might have known by 1858, supported Lane until his campaign, such as it was, collapsed when he was accused of murder in June, 1858. It is conceivable that WW in Brooklyn may have become convinced that Lane might be the Redeemer President from the West, but if so he mentions him nowhere. A thorough examination of the Hinton Papers, the surviving papers of the publisher and editor of the *Republican*, as well as files of contemporary Kansas newspapers in the Kansas State Historical Society provided no evidence to support this speculation. Finally, it is probable that as an old printer WW could have had the proofs printed in any one of a number of

friendly shops in New York or Brooklyn, particularly that of the Rome Brothers, who printed *LG* (1855).

One peculiarity of the printing is the absence of small cap "E" in certain subheads (see *nn*41, 45, 47). A printer would not normally have carried a large stock of small cap letters and would exhaust his stock of "E" first. It is difficult, however, to explain why, if the printer replenished his stock sufficiently to finish the job, he did not insert "E" where it was lacking, almost in the middle of his text.

There seems no reason to question WW's assertion that it was written in the summer of 1856, or, as he says in the text, the eightieth year of the nation, for no other time would have been appropriate.

There is no pattern in the deletions. Those in red ink (*nn*30, 32, and WW's endorsement) may be much later than the printing or later than those in pencil, for WW adopted the occasional use of red ink after the War. The earliest that I have seen is in "Epictetus," written between 1868 and 1870. The deletions suggest clearly, of course, that the manifesto stated ideas which were permanently important to WW. So also does his cannibalization of the text in later years.

"THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!" was first printed in a French translation by Adrienne Monnier in *Navire d'Argent* (March, 1926). It was first printed in English by Jean Catel, from the LC copy in Paris in 1928. This edition, as *LC Cat.* #331 points out, has priority over Furness.

See also "*Literature*," "*The th Presidency*," "recommendation to the young men" and other texts on the preceding pages.

THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!

Voice of Walt Whitman to each Young Man
in the Nation, North, South, East and West.

FIRST, WHO ARE THE NATION?

Before the American era, the programme of the classes of a nation read thus, first the king, second the noblemen and gentry, third the great mass of mechanics, farmers, men following the water, and all laboring persons. The first and second classes are unknown to the theory of the government of These States; the likes of the class rated third on the old programme were intended to be, and are in fact, and to all intents and purposes, the American nation, the people.

Mechanics, farmers, sailors, &c., constitute some six millions of the inhabitants of These States; merchants, lawyers, doctors, teachers, and priests, count up as high as five hundred thousand; the owners of slaves number three hundred and fifty thousand; the population of The States being altogether about thirty millions, seven tenths of whom are women and children.¹ At present, the personnel of the government of these thirty millions, in executives and elsewhere, is drawn from

1. WW probably drew his statistics, which he rounds out for rhetorical reasons, from *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, 1853), Tables X and LI. The total population is farthest askew, the census figure being 23,191,876. The 1860 census gives a total of 31,399,301.

limber-tongued lawyers, very fluent but empty, feeble old men, professional politicians, dandies, dyspeptics, and so forth, and rarely drawn from the solid body of the people; the effects now seen, and more to come. Of course the fault, if it be a fault, is for reasons, and is of the people themselves, and will mend when it should mend.

HAS MUCH BEEN DONE IN THE THEORY OF THESE STATES?

Very good; more remains. Who is satisfied with the theory, or a parade of the theory? I say, delay not, come quickly to its most courageous facts and illustrations. I say no body of men are fit to make Presidents, Judges, and Generals, unless they themselves supply the best specimens of the same, and that supplying one or two such specimens illuminates the whole body for a thousand years.

I expect to see the day when the like of the present personnel of the governments, federal, state, municipal, military, and naval, will be looked upon with derision, and when qualified mechanics and young men will reach Congress and other official stations, sent in their working costumes, fresh from their benches and tools, and returning to them again with dignity. The young fellows must prepare to do credit to this destiny, for the stuff is in them. Nothing gives place, recollect, and never ought to give place except to its clean superiors. There is more rude and undeveloped bravery, friendship,² conscientiousness, clear-sightedness,³ and practical genius for any scope of action, even the broadest and highest, now among the American mechanics and young men, than in all the official persons in These States, legislative, executive, judicial, military, and naval, and more than among all the literary persons. I would be much pleased to see some heroic, shrewd, fully-informed,⁴ healthy-bodied, middle-aged, beard-faced⁵ American blacksmith or boatman come down from the West across the Alleghanies, and walk into the Presidency, dressed in a clean suit of working attire, and with the tan all over his face, breast, and arms; I would certainly vote for that sort of man, possessing the due requirements, before any other candidate.⁶ Such is the thought that must become familiar to you, whoever you are, and to the people of These States; and must eventually take shape in action.

At present, we are environed with nonsense under the name of respectability. Everywhere lowers that stifling atmosphere that makes all the millions of farmers and mechanics of These States the helpless supple-jacks of a comparatively few politicians.⁷ Somebody must make a bold push. The people, credulous, generous, deferential, allow the American government to be managed in many respects as is only proper under the personnel of a king and hereditary lords; or, more truly,

2. Deleted in pencil on F2.

3. Deleted in pencil on F2.

4. Deleted in pencil on F2.

5. Preceding four words deleted in pencil on F2.

6. Preceding passage, beginning with "I say no body of men . . ." in the first paragraph, used in 1874 in "Rulers Strictly Out of the Masses," *Prose* 92, II, 534-535, ll. 5-26.

7. Cf. *DV*, *Prose* 92, II, 386, ll. 751-753.

not proper under any decent men anywhere. If this were to go on, we ought to change the title of the President, and issue patents of nobility. Of course it is not to go on; the Americans are no fools. I perceive meanwhile that nothing less than marked inconsistencies and usurpations will arouse a nation, and make ready for better things afterwards.

BUT WHAT AILS THE PRESENT WAY OF FILLING THE OFFICES OF THE STATES?
IS IT NOT GOOD ENOUGH? ⁸

I should say it was not.⁹ To-day, of all the persons in public office in These States, not one in a thousand has been chosen by any spontaneous movement of the people, nor is attending to the interests of the people; all have been nominated and put through by great or small caucuses of the politicians, or appointed as rewards for electioneering; and all consign themselves to personal and party interests. Neither in the Presidency, nor in Congress, nor in the foreign ambassadorships, nor in the governorships of The States, nor in legislatures, nor in the mayoralties of cities, nor the aldermanships, nor among the police, nor on the benches of judges, do I observe a single bold, muscular, young, well-informed, well-beloved, resolute American man, bound to do a man's duty, aloof from all parties, and with a manly scorn of all parties. Instead of that, every trustee of the people is a traitor, looking only to his own gain, and to boost up his party. The berths, the Presidency included, are bought, sold, electioneered for, prostituted, and filled with prostitutes. In the North and East, swarms of dough-faces,¹¹ office-vermin, kept-editors, clerks, attaches of the ten thousand officers and their parties, aware of nothing further than the drip and spoil of politics—ignorant of principles, the true glory of a man. In the South, no end of blusterers, braggarts, windy, melodramatic, continually screaming in falsetto, a nuisance to These States, their own just as much as any; altogether the most impudent persons that have yet appeared in the history of lands, and with the most incredible successes, having pistol'd, bludgeoned, yelled and threatened America, the past twenty years into one long train of cowardly concessions,¹² and still not through, but rather at the commencement. Their cherished secret scheme is to dissolve the union of These States.¹³

8. Subhead deleted in pencil on F1.

9. Sentence deleted in pencil on F1. "Result to-day of ?" inscribed in pencil on lower left corner of sheet and brought up on an arrow. The reading, "Result", was suggested by Mr. Feinberg. Since the phrase is not complete and the question mark is half an inch from "of", the phrase is probably a memorandum for a change rather than part of the text.

10. End of first column, galley 1.

11. An abusive term applied to Northern politicians who wished to compromise with the South. Although in WW's time it was used by Free Soilers and Abolitionists, the earliest citation in *A Dictionary of Americanisms* is from a Southerner, John Randolph of Roanoke, in 1820. See WW's "Dough-Face Song," 1850 (*EP&F*, 44-46).

12. WW used this sentence in "'Tis But Ten Years Since" First Paper," *NY Weekly Graphic* (January 24, 1874). See *Prose* 92, I, 311.

13. A current charge against the South by Northern radicals but unjust except as it applied to the extreme fire-eaters, who were no more representative of Southern opinion than William Lloyd Garrison of Northern. Southern leaders charged, however, that the North was driving them into secession. See, for example, Calhoun's "Speech on the Slavery Question," March 4, 1850, in *Works*, V (NY, 1883), 542ff.

WELL, WHAT MORE?¹⁴

Is nothing but breed upon breed like these to be represented in the Presidency? Are parties to forever usurp the government? Are lawyers, dough-faces, and the three hundred and fifty thousand owners of slaves, to sponge the mastership of thirty millions? Where is the real America? Where are the laboring persons, ploughmen, men with axes, spades, scythes, flails? Where are the carpenters, masons, machinists, drivers of horses, workmen in factories? Where is the spirit of the manliness and common-sense of These States? It does not appear in the government. It does not appear at all in the Presidency.

LESSON OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH TERMS OF THE PRESIDENCY.

The sixteenth and seventeenth and 18th¹⁵ terms of the American Presidency have shown that the villainy and shallowness of great rulers are just as eligible to These States as to any foreign despotism, kingdom, or empire—there is not a bit of difference.¹⁶ History is to record these two Presidencies¹⁷ as so far our topmost warning and shame. Never were publicly displayed more deformed, mediocre, snivelling, unreliable, false-hearted men! Never were These States so insulted, and attempted to be betrayed! All the main purposes for which the government was established are openly denied. The perfect equality of slavery with freedom is flauntingly preached in the North—nay, the superiority of slavery. The slave trade is proposed to be renewed.¹⁸ Everywhere frowns and misunderstandings—everywhere exasperations and humiliations. The President eats dirt and excrement¹⁹ for his daily meals, likes it,²⁰ and tries to force it on The States. The cushions of the Presidency are nothing but filth and blood²¹. The pavements of Congress are also²² bloody. The land that flushed amazed at the basest outrage of our times, grows pale with a far different feeling to see the outrage unanimously commended back again to those who only half rejected it.²³ The national tendency toward populating the territories full of free work-people, established by the organic compacts of These States, promulgated by the fathers, the Presidents, the old warriors, and the earlier Congresses, a tendency vital to the life and thrift of the masses of the citizens, is violently put back under the feet of slavery, and against the free

14. Subhead deleted in pencil on F1.

15. Preceding two words inserted in pencil on F1. The addition of the "18th" presidency at this point in the text indicates WW was revising it after the election and was already revolted by Buchanan's presidency.

16. Preceding sentence echoed in "Death of Abraham Lincoln" (1879), *Prose* 92, II, 499, ll. 36-40.

17. The administrations of Fillmore and Pierce.

18. As early as 1853 some Southern newspapers had demanded the reopening of the slave trade. After 1855 the topic was regularly discussed at the annual Southern commercial conventions. See Harvey Wish, *George Fitzhugh* (Baton Rouge, 1943), 235-236.

19. Preceding two words deleted in pencil on F1.

20. Preceding two words deleted in pencil on F1.

21. Preceding two words deleted in pencil on F1.

22. Deleted in pencil on F1.

23. Sentence deleted in pencil on F1.

people the masters of slaves are everywhere held up by the President by the red hand. In fifteen of The States the three hundred and fifty thousand masters keep down the true people, the millions of white citizens, mechanics, farmers, boatmen, manufacturers, and the like, excluding them from politics and from office, and punishing by the lash, by tar and feathers, binding fast to rafts on the rivers or trees in the woods, and sometimes by death, all attempts to discuss the evils of slavery in its relations to the whites. The people of the territories are denied the power to form State governments unless they consent to fasten upon the slave-hopple, the iron wristlet, and the neck-spike.²⁴ For refusing such consent, the governor and part of the legislature of the State of Kansas are chased, seized, chained, by the creatures of the President, and are to-day in chains.²⁵ Over the vast continental tracts of unorganized American territory, equal in extent to all the present organized States, and in future to give the law to all, the whole executive, judicial, military and naval power of These States is forsworn to the people, the rightful owners, and sworn to the²⁶ help of the three hundred and Fifty thousand masters of slaves, to put them through this continent, with their successors, at their pleasure, and to maintain by force their mastership over their slave men and women, slave-farmers, slave-miners, slave-blacksmiths, slave-carpenters, slave-cartmen, slave-sailors, and the like. Slavery is adopted as an American institution, superior, national, constitutional, right in itself, and under no circumstances to take any less than freedom takes. Nor is that all; to-day, to-night, the constables and commissioners of the President can by law step into any part of These States and pick out whom they please, deciding which man or woman they will allow to be free, and which shall be a slave, no jury to intervene, but the commissioner's mandate to be enforced by the federal troops and cannon, and has been actually so enforced.²⁷

24. Cf. "Slavery—the Slaveholders—" [9].

25. Although recent historians have tended to modify the traditional account of "Bleeding Kansas," the events that took place between 1854 and 1859 assumed great symbolic value for contemporaries. WW's account of the violence in Kansas is characteristic of the highly colored reporting in the Eastern free-soil and antislavery press. The Southern press, of course, was equally violent. Although the situation in the spring and summer of 1856 is too complex to be briefly described, it involved political control of the territorial government so as to insure the election of a sympathetic delegate to Congress and admission as a free (or proslavery) state. Since the stakes were high, the spring and summer of 1856 were chaotic and marked by the "sack" of Lawrence, by Sheriff Jones and a proslavery mob and the massacre of some proslavery settlers at Pottawatomie by John Brown.

Charles Robinson, a free-soil leader, was elected governor in January, 1856, under the free-soil "Topeka" constitution written by free-soilers in protest against the "Bogus" pro-slavery territorial legislature at Shawnee Mission, which was the official legislature. The legal governor, appointed by President Pierce, was Wilson Shannon. Robinson's arrest was illegal, but his captors protected him from mob violence and he seems to have been well treated. Certainly he was not chained, and during the summer of 1856 he was in daily and open communication with his free-soil associates.

26. End of second column, galley 1.

27. Cf. similar denunciations of the execution of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 in "As of the orator" and "Slavery—the Slaveholders—" as well as "A Boston Ballad (1854.)" .

ARE THE STATES²⁸ Is Liberty—Is Progress RETARDED THEN?

No; while all is drowned and desperate that the government has had to do with, all outside the influence of government, (for ever the largest part,) thrives and smiles. The sun shines, corn grows, men go merrily about their affairs, houses are built, ships arrive and depart. Through evil and through good, the republic stands, and is for centuries yet to stand, immovable from its foundations.²⁹ No, no; out of dastards and disgraces, fortunate are the wrongs that call forth stout and angry men; then is shown what stuff there is in a nation.

The young genius of America is not going to be emasculated and strangled just as it arrives toward manly age. It shall live, and yet baffle the politicians and the three hundred and fifty thousand masters of slaves.

NOMINEES OF THE POLITICIANS.

Now the term of the seventeenth Presidency passing hooted and spurned to its close, the delegates of the politicians have nominated for the eighteenth term, Buchanan of Pennsylvania, and Fillmore of New York, separate tickets, but men both patterned to follow and match the seventeenth term, both disunionists, both old politicians, both sworn down to the theories of special parties, and of all others the theories that balk and reverse the main purposes of the founders of These States. Such are the nominees that have arisen out of the power of the politicians; but another power has also arisen.

COUNTERACTION OF A NEW RACE OF YOUNG MEN.

A new race copiously appears, with resolute tread, soon to confront Presidents, Congresses and parties, to look them sternly in the face, to stand no nonsense; American young men, the offspring and proof of These States, the West the same as the East, and the South alike with the North.

America sends these young men in good time, for they were needed. Much waits to be done. First, people need to realize who are poisoning the politics of These States.

WHENCE³⁰ THE DELEGATES OF THE POLITICIANS?³¹ WHENCE THE BUCHANAN AND FILLMORE CONVENTIONS?

Not from sturdy American freemen; not from industrious homes; not from thrifty farms; not from the ranks of fresh-bodied young men; not from among

28. Preceding three words deleted in pencil on F1. Inserted in pencil on an arrow from the top margin: "Is Liberty—Is Progress"

29. Cf. "Autobiographical Data" (p. 214).

30. Deleted in red ink on F1. Redundant "T" written in red ink over following "T" on F1.

31. Question mark deleted in red ink on F1.

teachers, poets, savans, learned persons, beloved persons, temperate persons; not from among ship-builders, engineers, agriculturists, scythe-swingers, corn-hoers; not from the race of mechanics;³² not from that great strong stock of Southerners that supplied the land in old times; not from the real West, the log-hut, the clearing, the woods, the prairie, the hill-side; nor from the sensible, generous, rude Californian miners; nor from the best specimens of Massachusetts, Maine, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, nor from the untainted unpolitical citizens of the cities.

WHENCE THEN DO THESE NOMINATING DICTATORS OF AMERICA YEAR AFTER
YEAR START OUT?

From lawyers' offices, secret lodges, back-yards, bed-houses, and bar-rooms; from out of the custom-houses, marshals' offices, post-offices, and gambling hells; from the President's house, the jail, the venereal hospital, the station-house; from unnamed by-places where devilish disunion is hatched at midnight; from political hearses, and from the coffins inside, and from the shrouds inside of the coffins; from the tumors and abscesses of the land; from the skeletons and skulls in the vaults of the federal almshouses; from the running sores of the great cities;³³ thence to the national, state, city, and district nominating conventions of These States, come the most numerous and controlling delegates.

WHO ARE THEY PERSONALLY?

Office-holders, office-seekers, robbers, pimps, exclusives, malignants, conspirators, murderers, fancy-men, post-masters,³⁴ custom-house clerks, contractors, kept-editors, spaniels well-trained to carry and fetch, jobbers, infidels, disunionists, terrorists, mail-riflers, slave-catchers, pushers of slavery, creatures of the President, creatures of would-be Presidents, spies, blowers, electioneerers, body-snatchers, bawlers, bribers, compromisers, runaways, lobbyists, sponges, ruined sports, expelled gamblers, policy backers, monte-dealers, duelists, carriers of concealed weapons, blind men, deaf men, pimpled men, scarred inside with the vile disorder, gaudy outside with gold chains made from the people's money and the harlot's money twisted together; crawling, serpentine men, the lousy combings and born freedom sellers of the earth.³⁵

32. Preceding six words deleted in red ink on F1.

33. Preceding passage used in *Memoranda During the War* (1875-1876), 64, and in "Walt Whitman and the Civil War," London (England) *Examiner* (1876), and carried over to "Origins of Attempted Secession" (1876), *Prose* 92, II, 428-429, ll. 47-53.

34. End of third column, galley 1.

35. Preceding paragraph used in *Memoranda During the War* (1875-1876), 64, and carried over to "Origins of Attempted Secession" (1876), *Prose* 92, II, 428.

STRIPT OF PADDING AND PAINT, WHO ARE BUCHANAN AND FILLMORE? WHAT
HAS THIS AGE TO DO WITH THEM?

Two galvanized old men, close on the summons to depart this life, their early contemporaries long since gone, only they two left, relics and proofs of the little political bargains, chances, combinations, resentments of a past age, having nothing in common with this age, standing for the first crop of political graves and grave-stones planted in These States, but in no sort standing for the lusty young growth of the modern times of The States. It is clear from all these two men say and do, that their hearts have not been touched in the least by the flowing fire of the humanitarianism of the new world, its best glory yet, and a moral control stronger than all its governments. It is clear that neither of these nominees of the politicians has thus far reached an inkling of the real scope and character of the contest of the day, probably now only well begun, to stretch through years, with varied temporary successes and reverses. Still the two old men live in respectable little spots, with respectable little wants. Still their eyes stop at the edges of the tables of committees and cabinets, beholding not the great round world beyond. What has this age to do with them?³⁶

You Americans who travel with such men, or who are nominated on tickets any where with them, or who support them at popular meetings, or write for them in the newspapers, or who believe that any good can come out of them, you also understand not the present age, the fibre of it, the countless currents it brings of American young men, a different superior race. All this effervescence is not for nothing; the friendlier, vaster, more vital modern spirit, hardly yet arrived at definite proportions, or to the knowledge of itself, will have the mastery. The like turmoil prevails in the expressions of literature, manners, trade, and other departments.

TO BUTCHERS, SAILORS, STEVEDORES, AND DRIVERS OF HORSES—TO PLOUGHMEN,
WOOD-CUTTERS, MARKET-MEN, CARPENTERS, MASONS, AND LABORERS—TO
WORKMEN IN FACTORIES—AND TO ALL IN THESE STATES WHO LIVE BY THEIR
DAILY TOIL.

Mechanics! A parcel of windy northern liars are bawling in your ears the easily-spoken words Democracy and the democratic party. Others are making a great ado with the word Americanism, a solemn and great word.³⁷ What the so-called democracy are now sworn to perform would eat the faces off the succeeding generations of common people worse than the most horrible disease. The others are contributing to the like performance, and are using the great word American-

36. Cf. "The American people."

37. The American or "Know-Nothing" Party, an outgrowth of earlier nativist and anti-Catholic movements, was organized in 1849 and expanded rapidly after 1852. It was important in the state and Congressional elections of 1854 and 1855, but split over slavery in 1856. Along with the Whigs, the Northern branch supported Fillmore.

ism without yet feeling the first aspiration of it, as the great word Religion has been used, probably loudest and oftenest used, by men that made indiscriminate massacres at night, and filled the world so full with hatreds, horrors, partialities, exclusions, bloody revenges, penal conscience laws and test-oaths. To the virtue of Americanism is happening to-day, what happens many days to many virtues, namely, the masses who possess them but do not understand them are sought to be sold by that very means to those who neither possess them nor understand them. What are the young men suspicious of? I will tell them what it stands them in hand to be suspicious of, and that is American craft; it is subtler than Italian craft; I guess it is about the subtlest craft upon the earth.

WHAT IS THERE IN PROSPECT FOR FREE FARMERS
AND WORK PEOPLE?

A few generations ago, the general run of farmers and work-people like us were slaves, serfs, deprived of their liberty by law; they are still so deprived on some parts of the continent of Europe. To-day, those who are free here, and free in the British islands and elsewhere, are free through deeds that were done, and men that lived, some of them an age or so ago, and some of them many ages ago. The men and deeds of these days also decide for generations ahead, as past men and deeds decided for us.

As the broad fat States of The West, the largest and best parts of the inheritance of the American farmers and mechanics, were ordained to common people and workmen long in advance by Jefferson, Washington, and the earlier Congresses, now a far³⁸ ampler west is to be ordained. Is it to be ordained to workmen, or to the masters of workmen? Shall the future mechanics of America be serfs? Shall labor be degraded, and women be whipt in the fields for not performing their tasks? If slaves are not prohibited from all national American territory by law, as prohibited in the beginning, as the organic compacts authorise and require, and if, on the contrary, the entrance and establishment of slave labor through the continent is secured, there will steadily wheel into this Union, for centuries to come, slave state after slave state, the entire surface of the land owned by great proprietors, in plantations of thousands of acres, showing no more sight for free races of farmers and work-people than there is now in any European despotism or aristocracy; and the existence of our present Free States put in jeopardy, because out of that vast territory are to come states enough to overbalance all.

Workmen! Workwomen! Those immense national American tracts belong to you; they are in trust with you; they are latent with the populous cities, numberless farms, herds, granaries, groves, golden gardens, and inalienable homesteads, of your successors. The base political blowers and kept-editors of the North are raising a fog of prevarications around you. But the manlier Southern disunion-

38. End of galley 1.

ists, the chieftains among the three hundred and fifty thousand masters, clearly distinguish the issue, and the principle it rests upon. McDuffie,³⁹ disunionist governor, lays it down with candid boldness that the workingmen of a state are unsafe depositaries of political powers and rights, and that a republic can not permanently exist unless those who ply the mechanical trades and attend to the farm-work are slaves, subordinated by strict laws to their masters. Calhoun,⁴⁰ disunionist senator, denounces and denies, in the presence of the world, the main article of the organic compact of These States, that all men are born free and equal, and bequeaths to his followers, at present leaders of the three hundred and fifty thousand masters, guides of the so-called democracy, counsellors of Presidents, and getters-up of the nominations of Buchanan and Fillmore, his deliberate charge, to be carried out against that main article, that it is the most false and dangerous of all political errors; such being the words of that charge, spoken in the summer of the 73d year of These States, and, indeed, carried out since in the spirit of congressional legislation, executive action, and the candidates offered by the political parties to the people.

ARE NOT POLITICAL PARTIES ABOUT PLAYED OUT?⁴¹

I say they are, all round. America has outgrown parties; henceforth it is too large, and they too small. They habitually make common cause just as soon in advocacy of the worst deeds and men as the best, or probably a little sooner for the worst. I place no reliance upon any old party, nor upon any new party. Suppose one to be formed under the noblest auspices, and getting into power with the noblest intentions, how long would it remain so? How many years? Would it remain so one year? As soon as it becomes successful, and there are offices to be bestowed, the politicians leave the unsuccessful parties, and rush toward it, and it ripens and rots with the rest.

39. George McDuffie (1790–1851), Governor of South Carolina, US Representative and Senator. WW may be referring to his 1835 message to the SC legislature: “When these [menial] offices are performed by members of the political community, a dangerous element is introduced into the body politic. Hence the alarming tendency to violate the right of property by agrarian legislation, which is beginning to be manifest in the older States, where universal suffrage prevails without domestic slavery. . . .” (*American History Leaflets*, ed. Albert Bushnell Hart and Edward Channing, #10 (NY, 1895), 9.)

40. John Caldwell Calhoun’s “Speech on the Oregon Bill,” June 27, 1848 (actually in the 72nd year of These States). Calhoun was commenting on the proposition that all men are created equal: “Instead, then, of all men having the same right to liberty and equality . . . liberty is the noblest and highest reward bestowed on mental and moral development, combined with favorable circumstances. . . . The attempt to carry into practice this, the most dangerous of all political errors, and to bestow on all—without regard to their fitness either to acquire or maintain liberty. . . . has done more to retard the cause of liberty and civilization, and is doing more at present, than all other causes combined.” (*Works*, VI, 511–512.)

41. All “E’s” lacking. Mr. Ryther suggests that the space has been filled with a type the same width as the small cap “E” but turned back to front. This accounts for the bars at top and bottom of the space. The type was probably small cap “O”. See p. 2120 and n45 and n47 below.

WHAT RIGHT HAS ANY ONE POLITICAL PARTY, NO MATTER WHICH, TO WIELD
THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT?

No right at all. Not the so-called democratic, not abolition, opposition to foreigners, nor any other party, should be permitted the exclusive use of the Presidency; and every American young man must have sense enough to comprehend this. I have said the old parties are defunct; but there remains of them empty flesh, putrid mouths, mumbling and squeaking the tones of these conventions, the politicians standing back in shadow, telling lies, trying to delude and frighten the people; and nominating such candidates as Fillmore and Buchanan.

PARTY PLATFORMS, SECTIONS, CREEDS

What impudence! for any one platform, section, creed, no matter which, to expect to subordinate all the rest, and rule the immense diversity of These free and equal States! Platforms are of no account. The right man is every thing. With the downfall of parties go the platforms they are forever putting up, lowering, turning, repainting, and changing.

THE UNCHANGEABLE AMERICAN PLATFORMS.

The platforms for the Presidency of These States are simply the organic compacts of The States, the Declaration of Independence, the Federal Constitution, the action of the earlier Congresses, the spirit of the fathers and warriors, the official lives of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and the now well-understood and morally established rights of man, wherever the sun shines, the rain falls, and the grass grows.

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

Much babble will always be heard in the land about the Federal Constitution, this, that, and the other concerning it. The Federal Constitution is a perfect and entire thing, an edifice put⁴² together, not for the accommodation of a few persons, but for the whole human race; not for a day or a year, but for many years, perhaps a thousand, perhaps many thousand. Its architecture is not a single brick, a beam, an apartment, but only the whole. It is the grandest piece of moral building ever constructed; I believe its architects were some mighty prophets and gods.⁴³ Few appreciate it, Americans just as few as any. Like all perfect works or persons, time only is great enough to give it area. Five or six centuries hence, it will be better understood from results, growths.

The Federal Constitution is the second of the American organic compacts.

42. End of first column, galley 2.

43. Cf. "Slavery—the Slaveholders—" [3].

The premises, outworks, guard, defense, entrance of the Federal Constitution, is the primary compact of These States, sometimes called the Declaration of Independence; and the groundwork, feet, understratum of that again, is its deliberate engagement, in behalf of the States, thenceforward to consider all men to be born free and equal into the world, each one possessed of inalienable rights to his life and liberty, (namely, that no laws passed by any government could be considered to alienate or take away those born rights, the penalties upon criminals being, of course, for the very purpose of preserving those rights.) This is the covenant of the Republic from the beginning, now and forever. It is not a mere opinion; it is the most venerable pledge, with all the forms observed, signed by the commissioners, ratified by The States, and sworn to by Washington at the head of his army, with his hand upon the Bible.⁴⁴ It is supreme over all American law, and greater than Presidents, Congresses, elections, and what not, for they hurry out of the way, but it remains. Above all, it is carefully to be observed in all that relates to the continental territories. When they are organized into States, it is to be passed over to the good faith of those States.

ONE OR TWO RADICAL PARTS OF THE AMERICAN THEORY⁴⁵ OF GOVERNMENT.

Man can not hold property in man. As soon as there are clear-brained original American judges, this saying will be simplified by their judgments, and no State out of the whole confederacy but will confirm and approve those judgments.

Any one of These States is perfect mistress of itself; and each additional State the same. When States organize themselves, the Federal government withdraws, absolved from its duties, except certain specific ones under the Constitution, and only in behalf of them can it interfere in The States.

The true government is much simpler than is supposed, and abstains from much more. Nine tenths of the laws passed every winter at the Federal Capitol, and all the State Capitols, are not only unneeded laws, but positive nuisances, jobs got up for the service of special classes or persons.⁴⁶

Every rational uncriminal person, twenty-one years old, should be eligible to vote, on actual residence, no other requirement needed. The day will come when this will prevail.

The whole American government is itself simply a compact with each individual of the thirty millions of persons now inhabitants of These States, and pro-

44. Characteristic of WW's ritualized and mythic view of the Revolution and the Founding Fathers. Washington was present when the Declaration was read to the army, but there is no record that he swore to uphold it. Cf. an almost identical line in "Poem of Remembrances for a Girl or a Boy of These States" (1856; *LG CRE*, 588, l. 4): "Remember what was promulged by the founders, ratified by The States, signed in black and white by the Commissioners, and read by Washington at the head of the army."

45. "E" lacking. See *n*41 above.

46. Cf. "The scope of government," "Probably the best government" and "Legislation (inviting examples.)"

spectively with each individual of the hundred millions and five hundred millions that are in time to become inhabitants, to protect each one's life, liberty, industry, acquisitions, without excepting one single individual out of the whole number, and without making ignominious distinctions. Thus is government sublime; thus is it equal; otherwise it is a government of castes, on exactly the same principles with the kingdoms of Europe.

I said the national obligation is passed over to The States. Then if they are false to it, and impose upon certain persons, can the national government interfere? It can not, under any circumstances whatever. We must wait, no matter how long. There is no remedy, except in The State itself. A corner-stone of the organic compacts of America is that a State is perfect mistress of itself. If that is taken away, all the rest may just as well be taken away. When that is taken away, this Union is dissolved.

MUST RUNAWAY SLAVES BE DELIVERED BACK?⁴⁷

They must. Many things may have the go-by, but good faith shall never have the go-by.

By a section of the fourth article of the Federal Constitution These States compact each with the other, that any person held to service or labor in one State under its laws, and escaping into another State, shall not be absolved from service by any law of that other State, but shall be delivered up to the persons to whom such service or labor is due.⁴⁸ This part of the second organic compact between the original States should be carried out by themselves in their usual forms, but in spirit and in letter. Congress has no business to pass any law upon the subject, any more than upon the hundred other of the compacts between the States, left to be carried out by their good faith. Why should Congress pick out this particular one? I had quite as lief depend on the good faith of any of These States, as on the laws of Congress and the President. Good faith is irresistible among men, and friendship is; which lawyers can not understand,⁴⁹ thinking nothing but compulsion will do.

But cannot that requirement of the fourth article of the Second Compact be evaded, on any plea whatever, even the plea of its unrighteousness? Nay, I perceive it is not to be evaded on any plea whatever, not even the plea of its unrighteousness. It should be observed by The States, in spirit and in letter, whether it is pleasant to them or unpleasant, beholding in it one item among many items, each of the rest, as important as it, and each to be so carried out as not to contravene the rest. As to what is called the Fugitive Slave Law, insolently put over the people by their Congress and President, it contravenes the whole of the organic

47. All "E's" lacking. See *n*41 above. This section deleted in pencil on F2. See parallel statements in "Autobiographical Data" "As of the orator" and "Slavery—the Slaveholders—."

48. Cf. "Autobiographical Data."

49. End of second column, galley 2.

compacts, and is at all times to be defied in all parts of These States, South or North, by speech, by pen, and, if need be, by the bullet and the sword.

Shall we determine upon such things, then, and not leave them to the great judges and the scholars? Yes, it is best that we determine upon such things.

TO FREMONT, OF NEW YORK.⁵⁰

Whenever the day comes for him to appear, the man who shall be the Redeemer President of These States, is to be the one that fullest realizes the rights of individuals, signified by the impregnable rights of The States, the substratum of this Union. The Redeemer President of These States is not to be exclusive, but inclusive. In both physical and political America there is plenty of room for the whole human race; if not, more room can be provided.

TO THE AMERICAN YOUNG MEN, MECHANICS, FARMERS, BOATMEN,
MANUFACTURERS, &C., OF VIRGINIA, DELAWARE, MARYLAND, THE
CAROLINAS, KENTUCKY, TENNESSEE, GEORGIA, ALABAMA,
FLORIDA, MISSISSIPPI, ARKANSAS, MISSOURI, LOUISIANA AND TEXAS.

How much longer do you intend to submit to the espionage and terrorism of the three hundred and fifty thousand owners of slaves? Are you too their slaves, and their most obedient slaves? Shall no one among you dare open his mouth to say he is opposed to slavery, as a man should be, on account of the whites, and wants it abolished for their sake? Is not a writer, speaker, teacher to be left alive, but those who lick up the spit that drops from the mouths of the⁵¹ three hundred and fifty thousand masters? Is there hardly one free, courageous soul left in fifteen large and populous States? Do the ranks of the owners of slaves themselves contain no men desperate and tired of that service and sweat of the mind, worse than any service in the sugar-fields or corn-fields, under the eyes of overseers? Do the three hundred and fifty thousand expect to bar off forever all preachers, poets, philosophers—all that makes the brain of These States, free literature, free thought, the good old cause of liberty? Are they blind? Do they not see those unrelaxed circles of death narrowing and narrowing every hour around them?

You young men of the Southern States! is the word Abolitionist so hateful to you, then? Do you not know that Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and all the great Presidents and primal warriors and sages were declared abolitionists?

You young men! American mechanics, farmers, boatmen, manufacturers, and all work-people of the South, the same as the North! you are either to abolish slavery, or it will abolish you.

50. This section deleted in pencil on F2.

51. Preceding three words deleted in pencil on F1. WW inadvertently extended the cancellation through following "thr"

TO THE THREE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND OWNERS OF SLAVES.

Suppose you get Kansas, do you think it would be ended? Suppose you and the politicians put Buchanan into the Eighteenth Presidency, or Fillmore into the Presidency, do you think it would be ended? I know nothing more desirable for those who contend against you than that you should get Kansas. Then would the melt begin in These States that would not cool till Kansas should be redeemed, as of course it would be.

O gentlemen, you do not know whom Liberty has nursed in These States, and depends on in time of need. You have not received any report of the Free States, but have received only the reports of the trustees who have betrayed the Free States. Do you suppose they will betray many thousand men, and stick at betraying a few men like you? Raised on plantations or in towns full of menial workmen and workwomen, you do not know, as I know, these fierce and turbulent races that fill the Northeast, the East, the West, the Northwest, the Pacific shores, the great cities, Manhattan Island, Brooklyn, Newark, Boston, Worcester, Hartford, New Haven, Providence, Portland, Bangor, Augusta, Albany, Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Lockport, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Racine, Sheboygan, Madison, Galena, Burlington, Iowa City, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Columbus, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Sacramento, and many more. From my mouth hear the will of These States taking form in the great cities. Where slavery is, there it is. The American compacts, common sense, all things unite to make it the affair of the States diseased with it, to cherish the same as long as they see fit, and to apply the remedy when they see fit. But not one square mile of continental territory⁵² shall henceforward be given to slavery, to slaves, or to the masters of slaves—not one square foot. If any laws are passed giving up such territory, those laws will be repealed. In organizing the territories, what laws are good enough for the American freeman must be good enough for you; if you come in under the said laws, well and good; if not, stay away. What is done, is done; henceforth there is no further compromise. All this is now being cast in the stuff that makes the tough national resolves of These States, that every hour only anneals tougher. It is not that putty you see in Congress and in the Presidency; it is iron—it is the undissuadable swift metal of death.

TO EDITORS OF THE INDEPENDENT PRESS, AND TO RICH PERSONS.⁵³

Circulate and reprint this Voice of mine for the workingmen's sake. I hereby permit and invite any rich person, anywhere, to stereotype it, or re-produce it in any form, to deluge the cities of The States with it, North, South, East and West. It is those millions of mechanics you want; the writers, thinkers, learned and benevolent persons, merchants, are already secured almost to a man. But the great masses of the mechanics, and a large portion of the farmers, are unsettled, hardly know whom to vote for, or whom to believe. I am not afraid to say that among

52. End of third column, galley 2.

53. This section deleted in pencil in F2.

them I seek to initiate my name, Walt Whitman, and that I shall in future have much to say to them. I perceive that the best thoughts they have wait unspoken, impatient to be put in shape; also that the character, power, pride, friendship, conscience of America have yet to be proved to the remainder of the world.

THE WORLD'S PORTENTS, ISSUES, THE 80TH YEAR OF THESE STATES.

The times are full of great portents in These States and in the whole world. Freedom against slavery is not issuing here alone, but is issuing everywhere.⁵⁴ The horizon rises, it divides I perceive, for a more august drama than any of the past. Old men have played their parts, the act suitable to them is closed, and if they will not withdraw voluntarily, must be bid to do so with unmistakeable voice. Landmarks of masters, slaves, kings, aristocracies, are moth-eaten, and the peoples of the earth are planting new vast landmarks for themselves. Frontiers and boundaries are less and less able to divide men. The modern inventions, the wholesale engines of war, the world-spreading instruments of peace, the steamship, the locomotive, the electric telegraph, the common newspaper, the cheap book, the ocean mail, are interlinking the inhabitants of the earth together as groups of one family—America standing, and for ages to stand, as the host and champion of the same, the most welcome spectacle ever presented among nations. Every thing indicates unparalleled reforms. Races are marching and countermarching by swift millions and tens of millions. Never was justice so mighty amid injustice; never did the idea of equality erect itself so haughty and uncompromising amid inequality, as to-day. Never were such sharp questions asked as to-day. Never was there more eagerness to know. Never was the representative man more energetic, more like a god, than to-day. He urges on the myriads before him, he crowds them aside, his daring step approaches the arctic and the antarctic poles, he colonizes the shores of the Pacific, the Asiatic Indias, the birthplace of languages and of races, the archipelagoes, Australia; he explores Africa, he unearths Assyria and Egypt, he re-states history, he enlarges morality, he speculates anew upon the soul, upon original premises; nothing is left quiet, nothing but he will settle by demonstrations for himself. What whispers are these running through the eastern continents, and crossing the Atlantic and Pacific?⁵⁵ What historic denouements are these we are approaching? On all sides tyrants tremble, crowns are unsteady,⁵⁶ the human race restive, on the watch for some better era, some divine war. No man knows what will happen next, but all know that some such things are to happen as mark the greatest moral convulsions of the earth. Who shall play the hand for America in these tremendous games? A pretty time to put up two debauched old disunionist politicians, the lees and dregs of more than sixty years! A pretty time for two dead corpses to go walking up and down the earth, to guide by feebleness and ashes a proud, young, friendly, fresh, heroic nation of thirty millions of live and electric men!

54. From here to "What historic denouements are these we are approaching?" deleted in pencil on F2.

55. End of deletion on F2.

56. Preceding five words deleted in pencil on F2.

The Corruption.

Manuscript not found. Text from *N&F*, 177(Pt. IV, #120; *CW*, X, 32). Possibly from the pessimistic late 1850s (cf. "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!") or the modified optimism of *DV*, although the point of view is ambiguous.

The Corruption. I will confess to you I do not so much alarm myself—though very painful and full of dismay—at the corruption in all public life.— It is but an outlet and expression on the surface of something far deeper—namely in the blood.

Offspring of These.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #618). Inscribed in black ink on blue Williamsburgh tax form, 6¾" x 4⅝". The paper indicates this was written between 1857 and 1859.

Offspring¹ of These ever-equal² States, searching³ what preceded them, to find their embryo⁴, we perceive⁵ it in no one race, or⁶ history—but that⁷ history entire is theirs—all the past, all the round globe is theirs⁸ that sole product of such⁹ diverse antecedents, we¹⁰ accept¹¹ for the roots of¹² this nation no less than all the¹³ breeds, all the materials of the past.—

1. Preceded by deleted "One of the" ; "offspring" capitalized.
2. Deleted: "ever-compact"
3. Deleted: "back through" ; inserted and deleted above: "through amidst"
4. Deleted: "I" ; inserted preceding: "we"
5. Deleted: "that"
6. Deleted: "any single" ; inserted and deleted above: "single particular"
7. Inserted and deleted: "all" above wordspace between "that" and "history"
8. Preceding nine words inserted on five lines above and following the preceding "is theirs" ; inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*] above "that sole"
9. Deleted: "vast such" ; inserted and deleted above: "vast such"
10. Deleted: "are forced to" ; inserted and deleted above: "are driven by" "are to to"
11. Deleted: "no less" ; inserted and deleted above the deletion and "for" : "no less area"
12. Deleted: "our nationality" ; inserted above: "this nation no less [*del.*] nothing [*del.*] less"
13. Deleted: "breeds, generations, [*ins.*] growths, wars, fables, despots, passions, propositions and" ; inserted: "breeds, all the" above "es" in "fables" and "despots"

Commencement.

Manuscript in Virginia. Inscribed in black pencil on white wove scrap, approx. 5⁵/₈" x 5¹/₂". The phrase "representative men" may be an echo of Emerson's *Representative Men* (1850). The writing also seems to indicate that this was written in the 1850s. First printed in *N&F*, 130 (Pt. III, #172; *CW*, IX, 162).

Commencement

An idea—¹It is not only² to great heroes³ and representative men that the world is indebted, but it is indebted to⁴ weak and shameful persons, in high places.— I say⁵ this nation makes as great use of shallow Presidents as of it brave and just Washington, or its wise⁶ Jefferson.—

1. *N&F* has at this point: "(for review of past Presidentials)". Authority unknown.
2. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "to"
3. Inserted and deleted: "leaders" above "heroes"
4. Deleted: "sh"
5. Deleted: "a" ; inserted above: "this"
6. Deleted: "and"

One Good of Knowing.

Manuscript not found. Text from *N&F*, 118 (Pt. III, #118; *CW*, IX, 138). Cf. "To a President" (1860) and "there are leading." The date must be before 1860. First printed in *N&F*.

One good of knowing the great politics of nature is to initiate their rectitude and impartiality in all the politics of the State.

There Are Leading.

Manuscript in NYPL (Berg). Inscribed in black pencil on white wove scrap, approx. 2¾" x 6¼". For a similar statement of natural politics, see "One good of knowing." A note in an unknown hand on the mounting page gives the date as 1870, possibly associating it with DEMOCRATIC VISTAS. The writing and the use of a small scrap, however, suggest this was written in the 1850s. First printed in *N&F*, 121 (Pt. III, #132; *CW*, IX, 144).

there¹ are² leading moral truths underlying politics, as³ invariable and reliable and as⁴ the leading truths in geology, chemistry, or mathematics.— These truths⁵ are the foundation of American politics;

1. Original beginning deleted: "I say that"
2. Deleted: "certain" ; inserted above: "leading"
3. Deleted: "diurnal[?]" ; inserted above: "invariable"
4. Inserted: "and" above "ble" in "reliable" ; inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*] above "as"
5. Deleted: "lie at the"

Good Statement.

Manuscript in Duke (36, #28). Inscribed in black ink and black pencil, as noted, on white wove scrap, approx. 2¹/₁₆" x 6¹/₄". No date can be assigned. First printed in *N&F*, 146 (Pt. III, #195; *CW*, IX, 197).

good statement¹

There is something very bitter in the tacit adoption in² our great democratic cities³, of these⁴ forms & laws⁵ imported from the royal capitals of Europe,—⁶ the

1. In black pencil, loop to left and under text. At left a fist pointing towards the body of the text.

2. Deleted in pencil: "the" ; inserted above: "our"

3. Deleted in pencil: "of America"

4. Deleted in ink: "codes" ; inserted and deleted in ink above: "imported"

5. Preceding two words inserted in pencil above "ms" in "forms" ; deleted in pencil: "of manners" ; inserted in pencil above: "{del.} & {del.} the imported"

6. Deleted in ink: "involving"

(The Two Ideas.

Manuscript in Virginia. Inscribed in black ink on pink wove paper, 5" x 4". The writing is prior to 1873, and the pink paper is probably wrapper stock from *LG* (1855), in which case the date is the later 1850s. First printed in *N&F*, 119 (Pt. III, #121; *CW*, IX, 139).

(The two ideas of¹ unity
and progress)

The other,² the great idea of humanity is progress— Onward! Onward! backing and filling—every step contested—sometimes a long interregnum—sometimes a retrogression—but still by degrees,³ a sure resistless progress.— All nations, all times, show more or less of this idea⁴—but⁵ the splendid⁶ centripetal place⁷ where it has collected itself,⁸

1. Deleted: "pro"
2. Preceding two words inserted above "The" ; uppercase "The" not reduced, not printed here.
3. Deleted: "the great idea" ; inserted on a line above: "a sure resistless progress.—"
4. Deleted: "great" "idea" "principle" ; inserted above "[del.] idea" : "idea"
5. Deleted: "its" ; inserted above: "the"
6. Deleted: "centrifugal"
7. Inserted above "al" in "centripetal" and "w" in "where"
8. Deleted: "with unlimited"

Of Human Rights.

Manuscript in LC (#70, sheet #373). Inscribed in black pencil on white laid scrap, approx. 2⁷/₁₆" x 4". On verso are cancelled fragments of ll. 8–11 of "Thoughts" ("Chants Democratic" #9, 1860):

the sounding and res [. . .]

That society is yet unfo [. . .]

{*del.*} that

{*del.*} old [*ins.*] one [*illeg. ins. and del.*] ended [*ins.*] and [*del.*] the un [*del.*] [. . .]

That America is the [*del.*] g [. . .]

continent of the com [. . .]

triumph of that which is beg [. . .]

The bracketed ellipses indicate words torn off at right. The writing, the use of a small scrap and the verso indicate a date in the late 1850s.

Of Human rights—political rights—American rights—
(indignantly)

Do you suppose they are an alms given to men and women as¹ to beggars?—
Or do you suppose they are truly² the inherent and inalienable rights of man,
which no Congress, Court, or President can deprive him of

1. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

2. Inserted above wordspace between "are" and "the"

In the Slave States.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on white wove notepaper, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ ", of the Engineer's Office, Brooklyn Water Works. Blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. First paragraph in hanging indentation. The leaf is folded across to form a booklet. This text is written sideways on what would be pp. 1 and 4. On verso, written from top to bottom, is "Rise, Lurid Stars" (an early version of "World Take Good Notice" [1865]). WW probably got the paper through his brother Jeff's connection with the water works. This probably was written in the late 1850s or early 1860s.

In the slave states, as¹ under all aristocratic forms,² the thing that is admirable (And this will deserve and take the meed of historic applause for ages,) there is great personal force³ in the ruling class, the planters,⁴ the central figures—, — while⁵ the mass of the people are either little or nothing, or at⁶ best serve as⁷ the body,⁸ the entourage,⁹ which the ruling class vivifies, and makes¹⁰ move, or stand still,¹¹ as the strong will makes the body. When the South is spoken of, no one means the¹² people, the mass of¹³ freemen {4; 2 and 3 blank} there, correlative with the mass of the freemen in¹⁴ the west and north/¹⁵

1. Deleted: "in" ; inserted above: "under"
2. Deleted: "the tendencies end in giving [*ins. above*] gave" ; inserted above: "the thing that is admirable" ; brought down from top of leaf on an arrow: "And [*ins.*] this will [*del.*] be deserve and take the meed of historic applause for ages,)" ; inserted in left margin and above "great" : "there is"
3. Deleted: ", to" ; inserted at the right: "in"
4. Deleted: "feudatories" ; inserted in darker ink: "the Central figures,—" above "atories" in "[*del.*] feudatories" and "whi" in "while"
5. Deleted: "great"
6. Deleted: "most a" ; inserted: "best" above "[*del.*] most"
7. Deleted: "a" ; inserted above and in the right margin: "the"
8. Deleted: "an" ; inserted above: "the"
9. Deleted: "of"
10. Deleted: "to live and"
11. Preceding three words inserted above "ve" in "move" and "as the"
12. Deleted: "body of"
13. Deleted: "the free born people" ; inserted: "freemen" above "fre" in "[*del.*] freeborn" and "there" above "peop" in "[*del.*] people"
14. Deleted: "other states"
15. Space for three or four lines left blank.

Then say— Why¹⁶ have *we* not a powerful compact¹⁷ set of leaders, representing the theory of¹⁸ American freedom, the theory of the founders, the crown¹⁹ and glory of political science and of the Christian religion—as *they* have²⁰

16. Following six words inserted above inadvertently undeleted: “[*del.*] does do not do [*del.*] of free states [*two words del.*] in this not grow”

17. Deleted: “mass” ; inserted above: “set”

18. Preceding three words inserted above “America” in “American”

19. Deleted: “ing”

20. Deleted: “their sup”

When the Whole.

Manuscript not found. Text from *N&F*, 120 (Pt. III, #127; *CW*, IX, 141-142). WW probably wrote this in the 1850s. First printed in *N&F*.

When the whole combined force of the nation is champion for one human being, outraged in his rights of life or liberty, no matter of what color, birth or degree of ignorance or education he or she may be, then the law is grand.

I Say That the Spirit.

Manuscript not found. Text from Furness, 54–60. This is a collection of unidentified paragraphs, some of which have been located in LC MS which date from before 1855 to the 1870s and are printed elsewhere in this edition. Most, if not all, of the present material seems to date from 1856. First printed in Furness, 54–60.

I say that the Spirit of the Democracy of These States looks upon all the things so far done as but the initials of stronger things to come— I say there must be positive and vital Democracy—not these make-believes and outward shells—Democracy of manners, sociology.— At present all give lip service enough but neither in manners, nor courts of law, nor in the spirit of literature (except in the cheap mass-papers) do I perceive any real Democracy.— I know nothing more treacherous than the position of nearly all the eminent persons in These States toward the Spirit of Democracy—

In These States, more than all the world else are needed today stern reminders
The questions are such as these

Has his life shown the true American character?

And does it show the true American character?

Has he been easy and friendly with his workmen?—

Has he been the stern master of slaves?

Has he been for making ignominious distinctions? Has he respected the literary class and looked on the ignorant classes with contempt?

What have we of such except a few old traditions?

And what of them but the husks?

I say that the idea and practice of all the present relics of imported feudal manners, the taking of hats off in any presence,¹ and all siring and Mr.-ing with all their vast entourage, and all that depends upon the principle they depend upon are foreign to These States are to go the same road hence as the idea and practice of royalty have gone.

1. A central attitude in WW's thinking in 1855 and 1856, most memorably expressed in "S of M," sec. 20, l. 397, "I wear my hat as I please indoors or out." See also Preface 1855, *LG CRE*, 710, ll. 38, 41, and 715, l. 204, "By Blue Ontario's Shore" (1856), sec. 6, l. 95, sec. 14, l. 237, and "albot Wilson."

I want no more of these deferences to authority—this taking off of hats and saying Sir— I want to encourage in the young men the spirit that does not know what it is to feel that it stands in the presence of superiors

The time has arrived when These States, in all their intercourse with powers, Courts, or what not, shall preserve their own personality, with haughtiness and silence. When These States have their own type of manners, idiomatic and free—when the freeman keeps his hat on his head in any presence, no matter for President, or judge.

Let others say what they like— I say that all the military and naval personnel of the States must conform to the sternest principles of Dem.²

I say that what so far prevails here, the hitherto types of the royal person, the classic hero, the European lord, the fine gentleman, for our own purposes are essentially defective and foreign to us—and that America must haughtily advance and support her own types, ruder and more generous, full of practical life,—type of a man to whose nostrils the air of These States has been breathed for the breath of life.

—Rank as those movements are, I know nothing in These States so grand as the movements of their politics— I do not view them in their details, but in the magnificent copiousness of their aggregate; I perceive all the corruption— I observe shallow men are put in the greatest offices, even in the Presidency—and yet with all that, I entirely accept the movements of American politics. I know that underneath all this putridity of Presidents and Congressmen that has risen at the top, lie pure waters a thousand fathoms deep.— They make the real ocean, whatever the scum may be on its surface.³

There is no week nor day nor hour when tyranny may not enter upon this country, if the people lose their supreme confidence in themselves,—and lose their roughness and spirit of defiance— Tyranny may always enter—there is no charm no bar against it—the only bar against it is a large resolute breed of men.

I have little hope of any man or any community of men, that looks to some civil or military power to defend its vital rights.— If we have it not in ourselves to defend what belongs to us, then the citadel and heart of the towns are taken.

The idea that no style of behaviour, or dress, or public institutions, or treatment by bosses of employed people, and nothing in the army or navy, nor in the courts, or police, or tuition, or amusements, can permanently elude the jealous and passionate instinct of American standards.—

2. Cf. WW's note in *DV*, *LG CRE*, 389.

3. Cf. "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!", "RESPONDEZ!" (1856) "The scope of government", "To the States" (1860).

I know that pleasure filters in and oozes out of me at the opera, but I know too that subtly and unaccountably my mind is sweet and odorous within while I clean up my boots and grease the pair that I reserve for stormy weather.

There is a full-sized woman of calm and voluptuous beauty—the unspeakable charm of the face of the mother of many children is the charm of her face—she is clean and sweet and simple with immortal health—she holds always before her what has the quality of a mirror, and dwells serenely behind it—⁴

4. This image is one of WW's key images, first for his veneration of maternity, second, and later, as a figure of the Union, e.g. "By Blue Ontario's Shore" (1867). Furness also prints an example: ("81 Clerman" [922R]) "to Picture-Makers." Despite almost a page of listings, Eby's *Concordance* is admittedly incomplete. This is WW's only use of the puzzling mirror.

The Lesson.

Manuscript in NYPL (Berg). Inscribed in black ink on wrinkled and stained, white, wove scrap, approx. 7½" x 6¾". The topic suggests that this was written in 1861. First printed in *N&F*, 145 (Pt. III, #191; *CW*, IX, 195-196).

The lesson is a profound one. The union is proved solid by proofs that none can gainsay. Every state that permits her faction of secessionists to carry her out, shrivels and wilts at once. Her credit is the first thing that goes. A reign of terror is inaugurated. All trade, all business stops. Travel, by the usual routes, is¹ suspended. The best and many of the² wealthiest citizens escape by flight. Incomes are not paid to widows, orphans, and old persons. The arm of the law³ ceases to lift itself, in any one's protection. The devils are unloosed. Theft, outrage, assassination, stalk around⁴ not in the night only, but in⁵ open day.

1. Deleted: "done." ; inserted above: "suspended."
2. Preceding three words inserted above "and" and "wea" in "wealthiest"
3. Deleted: "dares not" ; inserted above: "ceases to"
4. Paper torn.
5. Paper torn.

America.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #962). Inscribed in black ink on tattered, white, wove scrap, 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The main text appears to have been written around the note on oratory, which is set off with lines above, to the right and below at the left edge of the leaf. It is emphasized by a fist in the main text. From the writing, this appears to have been written in the 1860s.

America¹

Examine closely all the² past lands of fame and history,—³ —they all petty and crimped in comparison with the⁴ variety—the glowing and cosmical area of These States⁵—⁶ A similar thought I give you about past heroes—the greatest and best of them—namely, that⁷ to America must and shall⁸ be born her own gods, prophets, ? and⁹ divinest captains and sailors¹⁰—her own breed—her own large and athletic type—transcending all that have ? been recorded

in lectures the sense of directly¹¹ *addressing people*, —you a *live audience of men and women* — —as distinct from—a tame [*illeg.*] literary [*illeg.*]¹²

1. Curved line below word.
2. Deleted: "historical" ; inserted above: "past"
3. Deleted: "and you—how"
4. Deleted: "flowing"
5. Fist points to boxed words at left (printed below, see n 12).
6. Deleted: "I" ; inserted above: "A"
7. Text lost in tear and stain.
8. Deleted: "arise" ; inserted: "be born her own" above the deletion and "gods"
9. Inserted above wordspace between "?" and "divinest"
10. Deleted: "on" ; inserted: "—her own breed—her own large and athletic type—"
above "ors" in "sailors" and "transcending all that have"
11. Inserted in pencil above "add" in "addressing"
12. Preceding entry set in box at left of main text.

No Person Can Entirely.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil on a quarter-leaf of white laid letter paper torn along original left fold and cut off halfway from original top. Embossed "P & P" and capitol at upper right. Inscribed sideways. Emendations not available. Deleted at top: "Two powerful & perhaps paradoxical result-forces seem to me to be comprehended in Democracy, namely, aggregation & individualism, contradictory yet tally and tying each other like the centrifugal & centripetal laws of the physical universe." This thought suggests the distinction between Democracy and Personalism in *DV*. The embossing of Platner and Porter, a Washington stationer, also suggests this was written after 1862.

No person can entirely escape from the influences & coloring of the great oceanic mas called society which carries every member along with it, whether he will or no & either creates

Yet Amid Lack.

Manuscript in Texas. Inscribed in black ink on white wove paper, 6³/₁₆" x 5¹/₁₆". The writing seems to be that of ca. 1860 to 1873, but the theme is one on which WW played variations from 1856, if not earlier.

Yet amid¹ lack of first class leaders we have the average man, man in the mass, and² nobler far than was ever before thought possible.—³ It has been the dream of ages and ages, long-deferred, now first realized.— It does not gleam with⁴ a few flecks of light, but is all light.—

The same is the reason that while in America the represented are so unprec- edently heroic, (I think,⁵ indeed, there has, before ours, never been a people,) the representatives,⁶ Congressmen,⁷ executives &c., are⁸ comparatively mean.—

1. Deleted: "the answer to such questions I perceive something outvieing all the first-class men [*three words ins. in pencil*] the history of this world records, growing on deep foundations, (indeed, already grown) indestructible in America. I mean the type of the" ; inserted: "lack of first class leaders" above deleted "the answer to such" ; inserted: "we have the" above "average"

2. Deleted: "higher"

3. Deleted: "This The dream of ages of visionary Th"

4. Deleted: "strikes" ; inserted above: "a few flecks"

5. Deleted: "strictly speaking" ; inserted: "indeed" above "[*del.*] speaking"

6. Deleted: "Presidents"

7. Deleted: "Mayors" ; inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*] ; inserted: "executives" above &c., are"

8. Deleted: "generally" ; inserted: "comparatively" above "erally" in "[*del.*] generally" and "mean"

—For Political Article.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #986). Inscribed in black ink with blue crayon, black pencil, and red ink emendations, as noted, on four scraps of white wove paper: [1] 3" x 5½", vertical blue rules ½" apart; [2] 3" x 7⅞"; [3] 7⅞" x 8", blue rules ½" apart; [4] four scraps pasted together, approx. 6¾" x 8". Scraps [1] and [4] have vertical blue rules, ⅜" apart, and [2] has what appears to be shorthand on the verso. The scraps do not form a coherent composition and are probably one of WW's characteristic clusters of notes which he pinned together. The reference to *Democratic Vistas* may indicate that the work was in progress or that it had already appeared. The date is probably before 1867, when "Democracy," the first part of *DV*, appeared in the *Galaxy*, and 1873 when the pamphlet appeared with numerous notes.

[1]¹—for political article—or note to *Democratic Vistas*—write the *deprecatory* points, facts, parts—to Democracy—

[2]² Democracy³

at present, and while the mass-developement is so grand, where are the individuals—the great orators, bards, philosophs—that express this people, modern, American?—

[3]⁴ The⁵ purport essence⁶ of Democracy though the U. S.⁷ is⁸ subtle and pervading, and is to⁹ surcharge society through all its tissues, in friendship & comradeship & social¹⁰ especially in all the relations between employers and employees—between capital and labor

—is to be religious¹¹ the moral¹² conscience its highest ideal—

is to appear in Literature, manners and Art,¹³ its

—the standards of worship, dignity, and beauty, are

1. Black pencil. Deleted: "Washing for Feb. 27½"; inserted: "piece" above "[del.] 27½"
2. Black ink.
3. Loop under word.
4. Black ink.
5. Deleted: "real"
6. Inserted in pencil as alternate above "purport"
7. Preceding four words inserted above "mocracy" in "Democracy" and "is"
8. Deleted: "for"
9. Deleted: "charge the"; inserted: "surcharge" above "[del.] charge"
10. WW's intentions are obscure. This word is on the line, but WW wrote "society through all its tissues . . . comradeship &" starting on the line and running above "social especially in all the". The caret for insertion, however, is after "social"
11. Deleted: "and moral—"
12. Inserted above "con" in "conscience"
13. Deleted: "is to form"

[4]¹⁴ Conclusion¹⁵

Concluding note appendix¹⁶

I have¹⁷ now outlined my Vistas and inferred¹⁸ new,¹⁹ a Democratic²⁰ Civilization through Literature.²¹ I conclude²² by saying,²³ reiterating, with all the²⁴ earnestness due to these themes that the proof of²⁵ that great²⁶ Civilization,²⁷ growing perfect natural characters²⁸ large scale in America²⁹ out of & far above all materialistic³⁰ plenty or³¹ prevalence of knowledge, is finally³² to be the general development & unquestionable³³ supremacy, for the lives of³⁴ individuals,³⁵ States or³⁶ the Union of³⁷ Conscience, the simple, intuitional,³⁸ well-born well-grown sense of moral³⁹ soundness the central sane Idea & all its radiations.⁴⁰ Near or far off, attainable or unattainable⁴¹ such thought⁴² such aim⁴³ may well supply the the star to mariners upon these seas⁴⁴ all the⁴⁵ happenings of the years the centuries to come.

14. Black ink.
15. Deleted in line below heading: "phesied a better & greater"
16. In red ink in left margin before text.
17. Deleted: "thus launched forth"; inserted: "[*illeg. ins. and del.*] now outlined" ; inserted and deleted: "the [*del.*] purpose idea"
18. Inserted in ink, deleted in blue crayon: "the weft & warp of the" above "and inferred"
19. Possibly meant to be deleted.
20. Deleted: "greater" ; inserted above: "Democratic"
21. Preceding two words inserted on two lines above "zation" in "civilization" and "I"
22. Inserted in black pencil, deleted in black ink: "this part" above "by" and "sa" in "saying"
23. Deleted: "or attempting to say" ; inserted: "reiterating" above "ting" in "[*del.*] attempting" and "[*del.*] to"
24. Deleted: "force &"
25. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "that"
26. Inserted and deleted: "Democratic" above "eat" in "great" and "civ" in "civilization"
27. Inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*]
28. Deleted: "of a"
29. Preceding eight words inserted above the insertions and deletions in *nn* 27 and 28. Deleted: "above" ; inserted in blue crayon, deleted in black ink: "&"
30. Deleted: "or educ"
31. Deleted: "p general"
32. Inserted above "to"
33. End of first scrap.
34. Preceding four words inserted above "individuals"
35. Deleted: "or community"
36. Deleted: "nation" ; inserted in blue crayon: "the Union" above the deletion and "of"
37. Deleted: "the moral"
38. Deleted: "pure idea of right [*two words ins.*] or justice and all its radiations" . Inserted: "well-born [*del.*] and well-grown [*del.*] rad" above "intuitional" and "[*del.*] pure idea"
39. Inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*] above "al" in "moral"
40. Preceding eight words written with hanging indentation in the middle of the leaf. Following eleven words written at right side of leaf.
41. Deleted: "this" ; inserted above: "such"
42. Deleted: "this" ; inserted: "such" above deletion and "aim"
43. Deleted: "continued through the changes of the years [*End of second scrap*] centuries" . A very small third scrap pasted on left of the fourth scrap contains several complete or partial words which WW may have wished to remember for his rewriting: "service of" "polar[?]" "through" . The text, however, is not continuous with the contiguous fourth scrap.
44. Deleted: "the"
45. Deleted: "ha"

Moral & Physical Perturbation.

Manuscript in LC (#22, sheet #1). White laid paper, 4¾" x 5⅜". Inscribed in black ink with black pencil emendations on verso of "Leave Taking," a trial title for the "Passage to India" pamphlet of 1871, which is not printed in this edition. Cancelled with blue crayon slash. The date of this MS is 1875. Possibly it is connected with the Centennial.

moral & physical perturbation¹ of 1861-'5, and its² result and indeed of the whole hundred years of the³ past of our National experience from its in choate movement down to the present day (1775-1875,)—is, that⁴ they all now⁵ launch⁶ as fairly out, like a ship, prepared & fully equipt,⁷ the leading⁸ Modern and Democratic Nationality,⁹ upon the oceans of¹⁰ space and time.

1. Preceding four words inserted in pencil, replacing deleted "the war" , above the deletion and "of 1861-'5"

2. Deleted: "is that"

3. Preceding four words inserted in pencil above "past of our"

4. Deleted: "it henceforth" ; inserted in ink above: "they all"

5. Deleted: "& henceforth"

6. Emended from third person singular.

7. Preceding seven words inserted in pencil above "[del.] es" in "launches" and "as fairly out, the"

8. Inserted in pencil following "the" in the right margin.

9. Deleted: "upo"

10. Preceding three words inserted above "upon space"

The Time Is Close.

Manuscript in Texas. Inscribed in black pencil on what appear to be three leaves of laid, top-bound, pocket-notebook paper, $3\frac{9}{16}$ " across. Blue rules $\frac{1}{4}$ " apart, with rounded lower corners. The first leaf is $5\frac{1}{2}$ " long, the second $4\frac{3}{8}$ ", the third $5\frac{1}{4}$ ". Although the paper is similar and the leaves have been together for some time, the text does not seem to be continuous and, whereas the writing on [1] and [2] is remarkably even and clerkly—hardly recognizable, that on [3] is WW's irregular late hand. WW seems to have begun using various sizes of top-bound notebooks with rounded bottom corners in the Camden period. The date is probably after 1873.

The time is close at hand—indeed¹ has already arrived—when the United States,² (composed of many contradictory³ parts, like the body but One and Indivisible, and in that indivisibility⁴ the *sine qua non* of its life, action, & potency) must develope, formulate, and establish with decision, a permanent general Democratic governmental policy, founded doubtless upon the universal principals of all government (as we of the New World are perhaps not so new as we are apt to think—it is the same old⁵

[2]⁶ (The same old laws of history—the same old laws⁷ over & under humanity—they have not been changed an iota for us, though we often act as if we thought so)

[3]—The interest & attention of the country seem⁸ to be concentrated on two points, the increase of manufactures, exports &c, & the increase of what is called education, as represented in our schools, public & other⁹

1. Inserted over [*illeg.*]
2. WW's space.
3. Inserted above "parts"
4. Deleted: "finding"
5. Note at foot of leaf: "(x 2 further on"
6. At top of leaf: "Charley Peterson banjoist with johnny Johnston Adin Millard (deep bass voice) (at Theophilus Baer)" . Before main entry: "x (2)"
7. Deleted: "of"
8. Originally: "seems"
9. At foot of leaf: "over" in a loop, but the verso is blank.

If I Could Speak.

Manuscript not found. Text from *N&F*, 69 (Pt. II, #54; *CW*, IX, 32). Bucke inserted bracketed "say" before the colon. The date is undeterminable, but most Bucke MS are early.

If I could speak to personified America I should {say}: I do not consider it of so much importance, in themselves merely, what amount of wealth you and yours have, nor what spread of territory, nor the curious arts and inventions, nor the crowded cities and produce-bearing farms, nor whether one party or another party takes the lead in the Government. But the main thing, the result of all those things, upon favoring the production of plenty of perfect-bodied, noble-souled men and women.

As Democracy and Science.

Manuscript in Texas. Inscribed in black ink, with red ink as noted, on white wove scrap, approx. 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 8", and a grey wove scrap, 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", pasted together. The writing is the large sprawling hand of WW's later years.

As Democracy and Science in¹ the Modern have an entire lack of² what in Greece & Rome was furnished by reverence for the Gods³—as yet in most half civilized current country—or,⁴ under the feudal ages by loyalty,⁵ deference, caste, now unknown—the future⁶ must substitute it by a new⁷ feeling, a profound & tender enthusiasm for the people,⁸ & especially⁹ for the poorer & less favored & educated masses. This must take the place of Jupiter & the gods—of the¹⁰ feudal tie which made every retainer welcome death itself for his lord's or king's sake.

1. Inserted above "the" and "Mo" in "Modern"
2. Deleted: "that which" ; inserted: "what" above "of" ; inserted and deleted: "loyalty & reverence" above "[del.] that which" and "in"
3. Deleted: "in all antique & some" ; inserted and deleted above "[del.] in" : "and" ; inserted: "—as [del.] and yet in" above "que" in "[del.] antique" and "[del.] & some"
4. Inserted above dash following "country"
5. Deleted: "&"
6. Deleted: "we"
7. Preceding six words originally underlined; underlining deleted in red ink.
8. Deleted: "especially considered as a [illeg.]"
9. Deleted: "to" ; inserted above: "for"
10. End of first scrap.

I Know Not How Others.

Manuscript in Texas. Inscribed in black ink on bottom half of white laid sheet, 6" x 7¹⁵/₁₆". Blue rules ⁷/₁₆" apart. The writing suggests a quite late date. First printed by Holloway, "Notes from a Whitman Student's Scrapbook," *Am Sch* (May, 1933), 273.

—¹ I know not how others may feel but to me the South—the² old true³ South, & its succession & presentation⁴ the New true⁵ South after all⁶ outstanding⁷ Virginia the Carolinas, Georgia—is yet⁸ inexpressibly dear.—⁹ To¹⁰ night I would say¹¹ one word for¹² that South—the whites.¹³ I do not wish to say one word and will not say one word against the blacks— *¹⁴ but the¹⁵ blacks can never be to me what¹⁶ the whites are Below all political relations, even the deepest, are still deeper, personal, physiological and *emotional*¹⁷ ones,¹⁸ the whites are my brothers¹⁹ & I love them.²⁰

1. Inserted and deleted before dash at top of scrap: "Emotional & personal relations are deeper than political ones" . Cf. the last sentence.

2. Deleted: "true"

3. Inserted above "S" in "South"

4. Deleted: "to-day"

5. Inserted.

6. Holloway reads: "of today" . This makes better sense than "outstanding", but I cannot find it.

7. Preceding nine words inserted above "succession" and "Virginia" and in right margin.

8. Inserted above "ine" in "inexpressibly"

9. Deleted: "Its" "The wh"

10. Deleted: "day" ; inserted above: "night"

11. Deleted: "a" ; inserted above: "one"

12. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "that"

13. Preceding two words inserted above "I do"

14. Asterisk in blue crayon. Perhaps WW intended to bring down the sentence inserted and deleted at the top of the leaf (see n 1). Deleted: "th"

15. Deleted: "whites of the South are *my brothers* I love them yet. Others" ; inserted and deleted: "The" ; inserted: "blacks", both above "[del.] Others"

16. Deleted: "they are" "they are" ; inserted above first "they are" : "the whites are"

17. Deleted: "relations"

18. Preceding fifteen words inserted on two lines above "the whites are my brothers" and "[del.] coming down"

19. Deleted: "coming down for me [*ins.*] common revolutionary ancestry—"

20. Deleted: "In the name of [*del.*] the [*illeg. del.*] much of the [*preceding three words ins.*] hearts-blood of the north, I say" "At the"

(Theoretically Thought of Democracy.

Manuscript at Yale. Inscribed in black pencil on a quarter-leaf of white wove paper, approx. $4\frac{7}{8}$ " x 4". Blue rules, $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. The writing is that of WW's late years, but the hasty appearance of the jotted note does not favor the theory that it is a recantation of a lifetime's belief.

(theoretically¹ thought of democracy & political rights, have already gone to excess,²
now need to be confronted, need something of the barbarous, the pagan the despot's will to counteract them

1. At top left of leaf above "thought"

2. WW left a space equivalent to a line and a half of script.

Merciless Lance-thrust.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil on one scrap of notepaper, $3\frac{3}{4}$ " x $4\frac{15}{16}$ " (original width). Blue rules, $\frac{5}{16}$ " apart. The contents may relate to *DV*. For Carlyle see "Carlyle, born 1795." No date can be assigned.

merciless lance-thrust¹ at all purulent shams, (its own worst of all,) as² by Carlyle.

1. Deleted: "of" ; inserted and deleted above: "into" ; inserted above the deletions: "at"
2. Deleted: "in" ; inserted above: "by"

—It Is Not.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Paper and writing identical with “(? add to some excerpt” and “Suggest that a new.” Cancelled by a vertical stroke. The connection with “Suggest that a new” is particularly close. The date is very late, but see “(? add to some excerpt.”

—It is not this business of¹ *voting* [*illeg.*] the voters—that decides² legislation, government, &c— See how it is already—

—Something else³ has entered, or should enter, on the decision— (See the present condition of affairs—horrible!)

1. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
2. Deleted: “pol” “eith”
3. Deleted: “is entering” ; inserted above: “has entered”

Suggest That a New.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Paper identical with “(?add to some excerpt” and “—It is not.” Cancelled by a diagonal line. The idea of the new literati runs through WW’s writing from 1855 to the end and is the theme of *DV* (*Prose* 92, II, 361ff). Broadening the franchise is approved in *ibid.*, 364, and in “General Suffrage, Elections, &c” (1876), *ibid.*, 530ff. The writing is identical with that of “(?add to some excerpt” and “—It is not.” The irregular writing suggests a very late date.

Suggest that a new & great Literary Class must arise to do this as to voting throw the doors wider—women boys under 18 voting is an exercise a training mostly

Germany, or Even Europe.

Manuscript in LC (#79, sheet #731). Inscribed in purple crayon. On verso is end of letter from F. Townsend Southwick. Miller (*Corr.*, V, 117*m*) dates the exchange in 1890.

Germany, or even Europe of those times—but it will not do for America to-day¹. We have not only our own theory, above² any thing that has preceded, but we have entirely³ different and⁴ broader themes.

1. Inserted above "ca." in "America."
2. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
3. Inserted above "ave" in "have" and "di" in "different"
4. Deleted: "gr"

For One Thing.

Manuscript in Texas (DeGolyer). Inscribed in black ink on the inside of a used envelope dated February 26, 1891.

For one thing out of many, the tendency¹ in this Commonwealth seems to² favor and call for and breed *smart men*. To describe it³ (for reasons,) too sharply,⁴ I shd say we are in danger of being the cutest trickiest, slyest, even cheatingest, people that ever lived.⁵ Those qualities are all getting in our business, politics, literature, manners; and⁶ are filtering steadily in our essential character. All our great cities exhibit⁷ them; probably New York most of all.⁸ They taint⁹ our splendid qualities, and must be¹⁰ understood like a threatening danger, and well confronted and provided against.

1. Deleted: "and taste in Ameri"
2. Deleted: "breed"
3. Deleted: "perhaps"
4. Preceding seven words inserted above "*smart men*. I shd say we are"
5. Deleted: "It is" ; inserted: "Those qualities are all" above "lived" and "[del.] It [del.] is" and "g" in "getting"
6. Deleted: "is" ; inserted above: "are"
7. Deleted: "all" ; inserted above: "them"
8. Deleted: "It" ; inserted above: "They"
9. Raised to plural.
10. Deleted: "exposed"

Finally, Have We Not.

Manuscript in LC (#60, sheet #266). Inscribed in black ink with black pencil corrections on white wove scrap, approx. 9³/₈" x 5³/₄". The irregular writing and the topic of this address suggest a date after *DV* and very probably after WW suffered his stroke.

Finally¹

Have we not overlook'd too much my friends²—and are we not overlooking—the simple³ emotional & artistic bearings of the chief characters, chief events & shapings⁴ of⁵ our Commonweal? Do not those bearings go deeper & spread farther than⁶ our vaunted politics, erudition

Are they not⁷ the vital inner⁸ marrow not only of the individual & society fabric—but⁹ really is it not they who (more by far than equal suffrage, or even our magnificent common schools)¹⁰ are to¹¹ give raciness,¹² form,¹³ meaning, to¹⁴ this Democratic Nation—to all these Equal states?—to the New World?

1. Inserted at left above "H" in "Have" .
2. Preceding two words inserted in pencil above "much—and"
3. Inserted in pencil above "emo" in "emotional"
4. Preceding two words inserted in pencil above "events of"
5. Deleted: "These S"
6. Inserted: "[*del.*] all our vaunted" above "than politics"
7. Deleted: "at"
8. Preceding two words inserted in the right margin on two lines following "the"
9. Deleted: "it" "is" "not"
10. Deleted: "they" ; inserted: "is it not they (more [*illeg. del.*] by far than equal suffrage, or even our magnificent common school)" . Parenthesis brought up from bottom of leaf on an arrow.
11. Preceding two words inserted above "who" . Redundant inserted "are to" above "give" not printed.
12. Deleted: "charact"
13. Deleted: "&"
14. Deleted: "the" ; inserted: "this Democratic" above "to" and deleted "the" and "Na" in "Nation"

XIX. Slavery.

But When a Voice.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #128). Inscribed in black pencil on white wove paper, 12½" x 7¾". Cut from larger sheet at left. This must have been written shortly after 1850.

But when a voice in¹ our hearing excuses this² damned Act, because it binds no leg and³ chains no wrist of⁴ ours, the true response is,⁵ Can you talk⁶ no nigher the purpose⁷ than that?— Have we squashed in the mud so far, that you make a parley about⁸ the freedom of our own personal flesh, on our own⁹ independent soil, and assure us as if there were any debate about it¹⁰ The¹¹ irresponsible police of¹² the President will¹³ not touch us¹⁴ our women, nor the coal in¹⁵ that cellar not the horses in that barn?— We know they will not,¹⁶ for certain excellent reason.— Passing over the more direct ones, the heart of the theory under which we are secure from¹⁷ such outrages, and an endless programme of others, is,¹⁸ state¹⁹ sovereignty, dispensed through the hands of equal, well-defined, all-powerful Law,²⁰ unwarped by any outside influences, complete in itself²¹ broad, benignant.

1. Deleted: "my" ; inserted above: "our"
2. Deleted: "Fugitive"
3. Deleted: "breaks"
4. Deleted: "mine"
5. Deleted: "That s" "no" ; inserted above: "[del.] Have [ins.] Can you"
6. Deleted: "to" ; inserted: "no nigher" above the deletion and "the"
7. Deleted: period; inserted: "than that?" above the dash and "Ha" in "Have"
8. Deleted: "our" ; inserted: "the freedom of our" above the deletion and "own" and "per" in "personal"
9. Deleted: "sovereign" ; inserted and deleted above "ov" in "[del.] sovereign" : [illeg.]; inserted: "independent" above "eign" in "[del.] sovereign" and "soi" in "soil"
10. Preceding eight words inserted above "us The [del.] police" and "irrespo" in "irresponsible"
11. Deleted: "police"
12. Deleted: "Congress" ; inserted and deleted above: "and" ; inserted: "the President" above "ress" in "[del.] Congress" and "will"
13. One "l" in MS. Deleted: "not never"
14. Deleted: "our"
15. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "that"
16. Inserted: comma; deleted: "lay hands on us, nor any thing that is physically ours.—"
17. Deleted: "all"
18. Deleted: "local"
19. Deleted: "or local"
20. Deleted: "adm" "untramme"
21. Preceding three words inserted above "broad" and "ben" in "benignant"

Slavery—the Slaveholders—.

Manuscript in Duke (24, #24). Inscribed in black pencil, with occasional black ink, on white wove paper trimmed to varying sizes as noted. Faint brown rules varying from 8 mm. to 9 mm. apart within each leaf. Some leaves are embossed as noted. The leaves were arranged and numbered by an unknown hand (Bucke's?). The original size of the paper cannot be determined. Since the longest leaf [14] is approx. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ " , has a top margin, and is torn at the left from another leaf, the paper was originally large double sheets. Other leaves are torn at the right. Obviously, however, the leaves are all from the same batch of paper.

The date and circumstances of composition are unclear. Several dates are implied. On the verso of [8] is a calculation of 70 plus 76 equals 1846, and on [9] WW speaks of seventy years since the Revolution. 1846, Bernard DeVoto's "Year of Decision," the year of the Mexican War, of the Wilmot Proviso, which banned slavery from territory acquired from Mexico, of the Oregon boundary settlement and of James Russell Lowell's *Bigelow Papers, I*, was a year of strong antislavery feeling. On [12], however, WW speaks of eighty years, which indicates 1856, the first year of the Free Soil guerrilla war in Kansas. 1856 was also the year of the Dred Scott case [12] and the year that the Republican party nominated John Charles Frémont as its first presidential candidate. On [4] and [5] "31" states is corrected to "32," indication that these passages were written after California was admitted in 1850 and brought up to date after the admission of Minnesota in 1858.

Other references in the text are similarly confusing. The final pages, for example, are concerned more with the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 than with Free Soil; not that the Fugitive Slave Act was not an issue in 1856, but that here it is at the climax of the speech. The "dark signs . . . in Europe" [11] refers to the suppression of the Revolutions of 1848, or, more specifically, perhaps, to the coup d'état of Louis Napoleon in 1851–1852. If the phrase, "nigger question" [18], is an allusion to Thomas Carlyle's "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question," it indicates a date for the WW essay soon after 1849, when Carlyle's diatribe appeared in *Fraser's*, or, more likely, 1853, when it appeared separately. WW's emphasis, especially in the early pages, on the Constitution as a contract reflects his reading of at least parts of *The Social Contract* (see "The Social Contract"), and also appears in "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!" both of 1856.

Finally, who was his audience, actual or intended? A deliberate scrawl on [11] has been read, probably correctly, as "Groton." There are several Grotons in the Northeast, but that within WW's range is in Connecticut, on Long Island Sound. Unfortunately, inquiries of the local historical society have proved fruitless. More illuminating is the shift of party names from Democratic to Republican. On [2] and [16] his audience is addressed as Democrats, but on [18] "Democrats" is deleted and "Republicans" inserted, an emendation which could have been made only after the spring of 1856, when the Free Soil Democrats joined dissident Whigs to form the Republican party and nominate Frémont. These emendations verify for the first time what had happened to WW's party loyalties, tenuous though they had become.

What we have here, then, seems to be a composite manuscript assembled, in characteristic Whitman fashion, from fragments large and small, with several discontinuities. (Cf. "Autobiographical Data.") This was combined into one essay or speech about 1856 and revised in minor detail ([4, 5]) in 1858 or later. One wonders, however, why WW did not smooth out the inconsistencies which have been surveyed.

Slavery—the Slaveholders—
—The Constitution—the
true America and Ameri-
cans, the laboring persons.—¹

The meanest of liars² is the American aristocratic liar³ with his paltering and stuttering⁴ denial of the plain⁵ purports intentions allotments⁶ and⁷ requirements of the Bargain⁸ his government debated for a dozen years and⁹ finally¹⁰ closed and practically¹¹ agreed to¹² by the enforcement of the Constitution and Washington¹³ being elected to the¹⁴ Presidency.**¹⁵ Every government¹⁶ is a bargain, some are shuffling¹⁷ swindles¹⁸ many of them vague and without the parties understanding one another.— Such¹⁹ unstable and soon through.—²⁰ Such is not

1. White laid scrap, approx. 1¼" x 3⅞". Vertical brown rules, ⅜". Mounted (by WW?) on similar white laid paper, approx. 4⅞" x 7⅞", horizontal rules, uninscribed. Third scrap (inscribed), similar paper, approx. 6¼" x 7⅞", horizontal rules, mounted on second scrap. Third scrap has been trimmed (by WW?) and shows descenders of trimmed text at top edge. Third scrap torn along fold at left edge.

2. Deleted: "lies" ; inserted following: "liars"

3. Deleted: "who" ; inserted: "with his" above the deletion and "p" in "paltering"

4. Deleted: [illeg.]

5. Inserted and deleted: "meanings" above "in" in "plain" and "in" in "intentions" ; inserted: "purports" above "tention" in "intentions"

6. Inserted above "and"

7. Deleted: "foundations"

8. Deleted: "called [illeg.] of the American" ; inserted: "his" above "eri" in "[del.] American" . WW read or became acquainted with Rousseau's *Social Contract* in 1856 (see "The Social Contract"), but his use of "bargain" here and later may not be dependent on Rousseau.

9. Preceding two words inserted above "en" in "dozen" and "f" of "finally" in the longer insertion recorded in #10.

10. Preceding seven words inserted above "government" and "clos" in "closed"

11. Inserted above "agreed"

12. Deleted: "by at the time" ; inserted: "to by the [illeg. del.] enforcement of the Constitution and" ; redundant "to" not deleted, not printed, all above the deletion and "Washington"

13. Deleted: "was" ; inserted above: "being"

14. Preceding two words inserted above "Pre" in "Presidency"

15. The meaning of these two asterisks is not clear. Usually WW used them to indicate an insertion, but none is found here.

16. WW inserted the first "n" in "government" , a correction which may indicate something about his pronunciation.

17. Deleted: "and"

18. Preceding four words inserted above "many of them"

19. Deleted: "and therefore" in insert.

20. Preceding sentence inserted above "standing" in "understanding" and "one another.—"

ours. Its intentions and scope and²¹ what it is for are minutely²² premised, and its great heart laid bare at the very beginning, as if²³ for fear some future²⁴ and far distant vein may not know where to come²⁵ for life blood.— The²⁶ main arteries of the Constitution²⁷ that flow out of²⁸ that organ all have reference to it; and²⁹ health is³⁰ reciprocal with themselves and with it.—³¹

This³² honest and novel bargain of Government palpably³³ assumes that the contracting parties meet on exactly the same level, as of a fresh and open affair, where each one³⁴ man without any distinction whatever, is neither more or less than another, and the debatable³⁵ points³⁶ [2]³⁷ are not³⁸ affected by any previous ties.³⁹ The field is virgin and original⁴⁰ like Adam's Paradise.—⁴¹ The unanimously agreed upon premises⁴² accord with⁴³ this magnitude and⁴⁴ this⁴⁵ innocence of the first⁴⁶ Creation, large and pure⁴⁷ as⁴⁸ air.— This too⁴⁹ is a Creation, and “[del.] Ours” . Deleted: “Ours is not so.” ; inserted: “Such is not ours.” above “[del.] is not so”

21. Deleted: “premises are” ; inserted above: “what it is for are”

22. Deleted: “put”

23. Preceding two words inserted above “for”

24. Deleted: “artery” ; inserted: “and far distant vein” above “me” in “some” and “future” and the deletion.

25. Deleted: “and conform itself.—” ; inserted and deleted above: “the”

26. Deleted: “great” ; inserted above: “main”

27. Preceding three words inserted above “eries” in “arteries” and “that” and “fl” in “flow”

28. Deleted: “this heart” ; inserted above the deletion and “of” : “that [illeg. del.] [del.] and organ”

29. Deleted: “its” “their”

30. Deleted: “mutual”

31. New paragraph beginning deleted: “The [illeg.]”

32. Deleted: “sublime” ; inserted above: “honest”

33. Deleted: “binds” ; inserted: “assumes that” above “pably” in “palpably” and the deletion.

34. Deleted: “human” ; inserted: “man without any distinction whatever” above the deletion and “is neither more or”

35. Inserted above “the points”

36. Deleted: “to be settled”

37. Similar paper, approx. 11⁵/₈” x 7⁷/₈”. Horizontal rules. Embossed stamp “London” in frame of curlicues almost trimmed off. Torn from another sheet at left edge. Numbered “2” in unknown hand in right margin after “like” . Deleted: “to be debated and decided”

38. Deleted: “troubled with” ; inserted and deleted: “vexed” above “led” in “[del.] troubled” ; inserted: “affected by” above “[del.] with” and “any”

39. Deleted: “but all is v has the virginity” ; inserted: “The field is” above “all is v” and “ha” in “has”

40. Deleted: “the”

41. The Adamic metaphor was vivid in WW's mind in the late 1850s and had implications far beyond those in the minds of most of those who spoke of “virgin lands.”

42. Inserted above “greed” in “agreed” and “u” in “upon” . Inserted and deleted: “nexus and head” above “on” in “upon” and “[del.] premises” . Deleted: “premises [not del. in error] of the bargain are consistent” “[del.] Inserted: “accord [del.] well” above “[del.] consistent”

43. Deleted: “this” “such” ; inserted: “this” above “such”

44. Deleted: “such”

45. Deleted: “hug”

46. Inserted above “Cr” in “Creation”

47. Preceding two words inserted above “as” and “[del.] the”

48. Deleted: “the”

49. Deleted: “was” ; inserted above: “is”

and it must be started well.— Thus⁵⁰ it was settled⁵¹ and covenanted⁵² as nucleus of all that should come that every human being⁵³ who is born into the world has⁵⁴ inalienable rights⁵⁵ against⁵⁶ any jeopardy from other human beings, to his life his liberty and his⁵⁷ lawful pursuit of happiness—and⁵⁸ that to⁵⁹ plant, fortify, and regulate⁶⁰ these rights the connection with Britain should be totally dissolved,⁶¹ the American government⁶² was to be instituted.— How simple! How vast!—⁶³ In⁶⁴ that brief outset⁶⁵ was embodied the⁶⁶ whole that⁶⁷ might follow.⁶⁸

The goal is in sight at last.— Here,⁶⁹ if anywhere over the whole world, shall be fair play.— Equality for ever, and⁷⁰ each man's doings on the square.—

Out of this kernel⁷¹ a brief trial of the loose Articles of the Confederation,⁷² came⁷³ fitly and swiftly the American Constitution, the⁷⁴ nearest approach to perfection and honesty in a political agreement⁷⁵ ever yet seen in the world.— There are⁷⁶ countrymen of ours in several sections of the Republic who profess⁷⁷ to pick

50. Inserted above "It" . "It" not reduced to lowercase; deleted: "was"

51. Inserted and deleted: "I say" above "and"

52. Inserted: "as [*del.*] the nucleus [*del.*] and [*del.*] basis of [*del.*] the [*del.*] bargain all that should come [*preceding four words ins.*]" above "anted" in "covenanted" and "that every human being"

53. Deleted: "that" ; inserted above: "who"

54. Deleted: "an"

55. Deleted: "to"

56. Deleted: "all" ; inserted: "any jeopardy from" above the deletion and "other"

57. Deleted: "rational" ; inserted above: "lawful"

58. Inserted above dash following "happiness"

59. Deleted: "fortif" "secure" ; inserted: "plant" above "[*del.*] secure"

60. Deleted: "the machinery of"

61. Preceding eight words inserted above "ghts" in "rights" and "the American government"

62. Deleted: "shall" ; inserted above: "was to"

63. Deleted: "Its" "The"

64. Deleted: "those" ; inserted above: "that"

65. Deleted: "of the bargain is contained" ; inserted: "was" before "[*del.*] contained" and "embodied" above "tained" in "[*del.*] contained"

66. Deleted: "and"

67. Deleted: "was to come" ; inserted above: "might follow."

68. Deleted in black ink: "as the [*del.*] seed healthy seed incarnates the apple and makes a sound tree [*del.*] that [*del.*] shall bringing forth good fruit; and if there be a [*del.*] sp specked one here and there they are [*del.*] lost of little account [*preceding three words ins. above the deleted* "lost" and "in the"] in the general yield.—

Hurrah, then, for"

What might be circled figure 1 follows. It would not seem, however, that this paragraph would fit into page [1] at the point indicated by asterisks.

69. Deleted: "at least" ; inserted and deleted: "if nowhere else" ; inserted "if anywhere over the whole world,"

70. Deleted: "no gouging.—" ; inserted above "and" and the deletion: "each man's doings on the square"

71. Inserted and deleted: "after" above "this"

72. Preceding ten words inserted above "this kernel [*del.*] came"

73. Deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted above: "fitly and swiftly"

74. Deleted: "most" ; inserted: "nearest approach to" above the deletion and "perfection"

75. Deleted: "a"

76. Deleted: "Americans" ; inserted: "countrymen [*ins.*] of ours" above the deletion.

77. Deleted: "their readiness"

out certain parts of that half⁷⁸ of the⁷⁹ compact as either not necessary or not⁸⁰ just.— For myself however⁸¹ I am free to say with a candid heart⁸² I know not of any such parts.— I take the edifice⁸³ as unitary and complete, and always go in by the⁸⁴ front door. And I say The journeymen that built⁸⁵ that mighty house⁸⁶ were giants, and the architects that planned it were gods.—⁸⁷

Fellow Democrats⁸⁸ we have a little questioning phrase that in four words⁸⁹ involves every thing,⁹⁰ the riddle of the earth, and all politics and settles⁹¹ the value all the constructions of man.—⁹²

[3]⁹³ The fishes of the sea⁹⁴ must not⁹⁵ have the whole earth covered with water, because⁹⁶ that element is necessary to their existence.— It might suit them⁹⁷ so, no doubt⁹⁸; but⁹⁹ their suiting¹ shall never crowd off the life and the breathing of life, of the millions of beings who exist only on land, and breathe air, and² cannot³ flourish where they⁴ flourish.— Well⁵ no class of developed American workingmen and freemen can any more flourish among slavery, than the animals of ? lungs can breath in the depths of the sea.— Then let the fishes be content

78. Deleted: "part" above "com" in "compact"

79. Preceding three words inserted above "that compact"

80. Deleted: "right" ; inserted above: "just"

81. Inserted above "I"

82. Preceding four words inserted above "say I know"

83. Deleted: "and the vestibule together complete and whole," ; inserted: "as unitary and complete," above "[del.] complete and whole"

84. Deleted: "vestibule," ; inserted above: "front door."

85. Inserted and deleted: "that" above wordspace between "built" and "were"

86. Preceding three words inserted above "were giants"

87. Cf. "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!" "It is the grandest piece of moral building ever constructed; I believe its architects were some mighty prophets and gods (p. 2130)."

88. Preceding two words inserted above "We have" . Cf. [11, 18]. "We" not reduced to lowercase in MS.

89. Preceding three words inserted above "at" in "that" and "inv" in "involves"

90. Preceding two words inserted above insertion and "involves"

91. Preceding three words inserted above "and all the"

92. Deleted before end punctuation: "and of any thing [del.] little small or great.—It is a phrase perpetually in the mouths of children, when they are attracted by any"

93. Similar paper, approx. 7¹³/₁₆" x 7⁷/₈". Numbered "2" and "3" by unknown hands. The "2" may be Bucke's. Deleted: "If" ; following capitalized "the". WW's little parable about the fishes which follows may be the "little questioning phrase" mentioned at the bottom of [2], but the continuity of the MS seems to be broken here.

94. Deleted: "were"

95. Deleted: "insist on" ; "having" corrected to "have"

96. Deleted: "it" ; inserted: "that element" above the deletion and "is" and "n" in "necessary"

97. Deleted: "that way" ; inserted: "so" above "[del.] way"

98. Inserted and deleted: "both shark and shad, and crocko alligators, too" above "no doubt; but [del.] they their suiting"

99. Deleted: "they"

1. Deleted: "must"

2. Preceding eight words inserted above "who cannot [del.] subsist flourish"

3. Deleted: "subsist" ; inserted above: "flourish"

4. Deleted: "subsist" ; inserted above: "flourish"

5. Deleted: "gentlemen" "this" "is" "no" "well"

with what they⁶ have; for two thirds of the earth's surface is⁷ already theirs— and there⁸ let them disport themselves⁹— both shark and alligator, and whale¹⁰ and there⁸ let them disport themselves⁹—both shark and alligator, and whale¹⁰ and the great squid¹¹ of the north whose name should be Congressman President,¹² for he is as muxy¹³ as he is big and can be bitten in twain by a chip of wood.—

[4]¹⁴ As to agitation the patriots of Congress may pass as many finalities as the like,—and think they are¹⁵ vastly smart.—¹⁶ The right by law¹⁷ of free¹⁸ speech,¹⁹ free printing, free argument, as it did not [*illeg.*]/

All Freemen north and south, not slave-owners—all farmers, mechanics,²⁰ the whole population of the 32²² states who have no human property—²³ should²⁴ to the Slave-owners and breeders, hold this language: The day has arrived²⁵ for us to have a voice in the argument.— You ask for your rights,²⁶ very well.— We have concluded²⁷ to be in fashion, and see whether we have not²⁸ some rights too.—²⁹ We are millions; you can be easily counted by hundreds.— Your fortunes are made;—a very large proportion of them perhaps³⁰ out of our money,³¹ passed

6. Deleted: "already"

7. Deleted: "now" ; inserted above: "already"

8. Deleted: "they can" ; inserted above: "let them"

9. Deleted: "I think"

10. Preceding two words inserted above "r," in "alligator," and "and"

11. Reduced to singular from plural.

12. Inserted above "gressman" in "Congressman" ; inserted and deleted: "Executive officers" following the insertion and above "an" in "Congressman" and "for he is"

13. The lexicographers have not yet worked on this word. The context suggests a meaning of "mushy," "soft," "pulpy."

14. Similar paper, approx. 7¾" x 7½". Vertical rules ⅜" apart. WW evidently turned the paper. Embossed stamp "London" similar to [1] at lower left. On verso the first nine and one-half lines are clearly impressed, as if WW had been writing on a soft surface. There are also various mathematical scribbles. Numbered "4" in an unknown hand.

15. Deleted: "mighty sma"

16. Deleted: "Our"

17. Preceding two words inserted above "of" in left margin.

18. Inserted above "s" in "speech"

19. Deleted: "of"

20. Inserted: "[*del.*] artizans artizans and" above "mechanics"

21. Deleted: "Irish"

22. The impression on the verso shows clearly that the final digit was originally "1" . This indicates a date of composition between 1850, when California, the 31st state, was admitted, and 1858, when Minnesota, the 32nd, was admitted. There is also a faint possibility that, although he was writing after 1858, WW carelessly wrote "31", which he corrected. In either case the latest date would not be much after 1858.

23. Preceding twelve words inserted above "[*del.*] Irish" and "English, Irish, French—should say"

24. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

25. Deleted: "when"

26. Deleted: "which"

27. Deleted: "that as crying for this in the fashion"

28. Inserted above wordspace between "have" and "some"

29. Deleted: "Our"

30. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

31. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

through the pockets of Uncle Sam.— Our territory of Nebraska and Kansas³² is wanted for our Children, or the children of people like us.— If you or³³ your children choose to come, of course you³⁴ have [5]³⁵ the same right to come that we have, and on the same terms.—³⁶ This vast tract is *ours*—ours,³⁷ the people's of the whole 32³⁸ states, north and south—the common people's—the working people's.— It is not the north's specially,³⁹ nor the south's specially.— Above all, it⁴⁰ does not⁴¹ belong to the owners of slaves.— Don't⁴² you undertake to set yourselves up as the entire⁴³ south either⁴⁴; we are not bluffed⁴⁵ by such a trick as that any longer.— You are⁴⁶ most of you very fine fellows, and we like you well enough.— But⁴⁷ you are only a fraction of the south.—⁴⁸ And we don't like you quite well enough to swamp ourselves and all the rest of the nation,⁴⁹ to suit you or anybody.— Don't guage us by the people that have gone from our parts to Washington. We are live men.⁵⁰ Stand back! we mean what we say.—⁵¹

[6]⁵² I suppose it is plain enough that when⁵³ we stop the spread of slavery⁵⁴ we do⁵⁵ no harm to this numerous body of common people.— *They* own no slaves.— *They* are not great proprietors.— They are many of them as hard workers and as poor farers as the blacks.— The fight is strictly and exclusively a fight

32. It is unlikely that WW would have referred to the two territories by their official names before they were divided and named in 1854. WW wrote "s" over "z" in "Kanzas"

33. Preceding three words inserted above "your"

34. Redundant "you" not cancelled, not printed here.

35. Similar paper, approx. 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Numbered "5" in the right margin by an unknown hand.

36. Deleted: "Fair play all round, and no jockeying on the course.— We say our territory We [*illeg.*] will stand no"

37. Deleted: "of the"

38. Corrected from "31" as on preceding page.

39. Inserted above "nor the"

40. Deleted: "is" ; inserted above: "does"

41. Deleted: "the slave-owners, any how.— Fair p" ; inserted: "belong to the owners of slaves.—" above "[*del.*] the slave-owners, any how"

42. Deleted: "se"

43. Inserted above "the" and "s" in "south"

44. Inserted above "h" in "south" and the semicolon.

45. Deleted: "off [*del.*] in with" ; inserted: "by" above "[*del.*] in"

46. Deleted: "many" ; inserted above: "most"

47. Deleted: "then"

48. Sentence inserted above "well enough.—[*del.*] But" and "[*ins.*] And" . Deleted: "But" ; inserted: "And"

49. Deleted: "except you.—" ; inserted: "to suit you or" above "of the nation," and the deletion.

50. Sentence inserted. Inserted and deleted: "as well as you!" . Both above "[*del.*] except you.—"

51. Deleted: "The [*illeg.*] books a"

52. Similar paper, approx. 7 $\frac{3}{16}$ " x 7 $\frac{13}{16}$ ". Numbered in an unknown hand. The leaf has been trimmed at the top, leaving a tab at the right half containing the first five words.

53. Deleted: "you" ; inserted above: "we"

54. Deleted: "you"

55. Deleted: "not"

where⁵⁶ the⁵⁷ owners of slaves stand on one side,⁵⁸ flanked by whoever they can persuade, bully,⁵⁹ or bribe, and⁶⁰ a few candid Northern⁶¹ believers in slavery⁶² to bring up the rear; while on the other side against them⁶³ stands every body else—r—⁶⁴.—⁶⁵ All white⁶⁶ working men, South as well as north are or ought to be⁶⁷ against them; for the establishment of master⁶⁸ and slave, makes as quick as lightning⁶⁹ the odious distinction⁷⁰ of an inferior class composed of all who are not owners of slaves.— All mechanics, carpenters masons, blacksmiths, tailors,⁷¹ and⁷² all other mechanics laborers of every description, are or ought to be against them; and as much⁷³ the southern ones as the northern ones.— The manufacturing character of this Republic cannot but lose⁷⁴

[7]⁷⁵ For this circling⁷⁶ Confederacy,⁷⁷ standing together with interlinked hands, ample, equal, each one with his grip of love⁷⁸ wedged⁷⁹ in life or in death to all the rest, we⁸⁰ must share and share alike.—⁸¹ Our old mother does not spread the table with a fine dish for one and scraps for another.—⁸² She teaches us no such mean and hoggish lesson.— If there be any⁸³ of good dish, and not

56. Deleted: "one side is composed of"

57. Deleted: "slave-owners and slave-breeders of the southern states [*illeg.*]" ; inserted: "owners of slaves" above "ers" in "[*del.*] owners" and "[*del.*] and slave"

58. Deleted: "with" ; inserted above: "flanked by"

59. Deleted: "frighten or purch"

60. Inserted and deleted: "I have no doubt" above "a few"

61. Inserted above "belie" in "believes"

62. Deleted: "in the North"

63. Preceding two words inserted above "side stands"

64. Significance unknown.

65. Deleted: "T"

66. Inserted above "wo" in "workers"

67. Preceding four words inserted above "are" and "aga" in "against"

68. Deleted: "to receive and live in elegance contr"

69. Deleted: "an de" ; inserted: "the" above "an"

70. Deleted: "between two"

71. Deleted: dash.

72. Inserted above "and laborers of" : "and all other mechanics" . Redundant "and" not deleted, not printed.

73. Deleted: "the"

74. Preceding three words in very light pencil on a separate line at the foot of the leaf.

75. Similar paper, approx. 3½" x 8". Numbered "7" in unknown hand at upper right. Top trimmed with tab at right, as on [6] above, containing first three words. Deleted: "If in" ; inserted: "For" "for" "[*del.*] through" . Redundant "for" not deleted, not printed.

76. Inserted above "Con" in "Confederacy"

77. Deleted: "so"

78. Preceding six words inserted in a small hand above "wedged"

79. Deleted: "in grip of [*del.*] life love with" ; inserted and deleted: "for in life and in death to his [*illeg.*] eternal" "in deathless" ; inserted: "in life or in death to" above the insertions and deletions.

80. Deleted: "do not all" ; inserted: "must" above "[*del.*]all"

81. Comma probably corrected to period and dash; deleted: "then the" "My" ; inserted: "Our" above "[*del.*] My"

82. Deleted: "Not" ; inserted: "She teaches us no" above the deletion and "such"

83. Deleted: "thing" ; inserted and deleted above: "tit-bit" ; inserted: "of good dish" above "be any"

enough of it to go completely round, it shall not be brought on at all.—⁸⁴ If every brother and every sister cannot be supplied, or have an equal chance to be supplied,⁸⁵ nobody shall be supplied.—⁸⁶

{8}⁸⁷ Let us bless God that there yet remain common people in the world⁸⁸ and that we are not all lawyers—(speak of Great Lawyers—the {*illeg.*}⁸⁹ of the for)

The race of lawyers is very curious.—⁹⁰ One of this race⁹¹ reminds us of a Chinese metaphor.⁹² He is a lantern on a high pole that shines and throws himself very well afar off, but doesn't⁹³ see the very ground he stands on.—⁹⁴

Do not think you let the wolf into the field to seize on one of⁹⁵ our herd, feebler than the others⁹⁶ while all the rest can be safe, and it makes no difference to them.—

{9}⁹⁷ G⁹⁸ let us not suppose that certain states of our confederacy which have not slaves⁹⁹ are to be set up above the others, or¹ possess any better average virtue² than the others.—³ The plantation states have the hopple and the⁴ overseer and the iron-necklace and the lash—⁵ but the northern states have Judas and all his dough-mouthed offspring.—

I think we have⁶ sponged long enough on the Pilgrim Fathers and⁷ George

84. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

85. Preceding eight words inserted above "plied" in "supplied" and "nobody shall be"

86. Deleted: "[*del.*] Shall [*ins.*] Can I stuff myself, and shine in grease,"

87. Similar paper, irregular, approx. 5½" x 7¾" (at widest). Brown rules. Numbered "8" in the right margin. On verso is the sum: "76 [*plus*] 70 [=] 1846" . See [9]. Deleted: "Let" . This leaf digresses somewhat from the preceding and following.

88. Deleted: "who are not" ; inserted above: "and that we are not all"

89. The word is a scrawl which could equally be "sublimity" or "subtlety", but probably the latter.

90. Preceding three words and punctuation inserted above "wyers" in "lawyers" and "rem" in "remind"

91. Preceding four words inserted above "of a" and "Chin" in "Chinese"

92. Deleted: "One of"

93. Deleted: "at"

94. Cf. [15]: "to see the very ground it stands on." The similarity seems to be accidental. This passage is separated from what follows by the width of a space between lines, an extended dash and another space.

95. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "our"

96. Preceding four words inserted above "rd" in "herd" and "while all"

97. Similar paper, approx. 8¼" x 7⁷/₁₆". Brown rules ⅜" apart.

98. "G" followed by space. Probably a vocative. Cf. "Fellow Democrats" [2] and, especially, "G" [11]. Here perhaps "Gentlemen," less likely, "Grotonians" or "Grotonies"

99. Preceding four words inserted above "racy" in "confederacy" and "are to be"

1. Deleted: "are" ; inserted: "possess" above the deletion and "any"

2. Preceding two words inserted above "er" in "better" and "than the"

3. Semicolon or comma corrected to period and dash. Deleted: "because"

4. Written over [*illeg.*]

5. Cf. "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!" (p. 2124).

6. Inserted above "sp" in "sponged"

7. Preceding four words inserted above "on George Washington"

Washington and the Revolutionary⁸ War.— They have⁹ maintained us for seventy years;¹⁰ and it is time we should strike out for ourselves.—

[10]¹¹ Real¹² Democracy, and great riches are in some sort repugnant to one another.— Riches draw off the attention from the principles of¹³ Democracy¹⁴ which are abstractions, called the rights of man.— Riches demand the use of the house for themselves.— And men have frequently to choose whether they will¹⁵ retain one or the other.— My own opinion is that no amount of riches¹⁶ which numbers can calculate will ever make up to¹⁷ any live man or any live nation, for the deprivation of¹⁸ rational liberty and equality.—¹⁹

[11]²⁰ G²¹ I²² will not insult you by²³ suspecting that there is in this place any of that Congressional ignorance and depravity which²⁴ pretends to look on a small fraction of wealthy and selfish men,²⁵ by the custom of these states owning slaves,²⁶ as being the²⁷ South.—²⁸ you will understand that there is a Democracy in the south,—²⁹ true Democracy—working men, common people, farmers who plough their own fields laborers and immigrants—³⁰ and they form the body of the³¹ citizens there, just as the same sorts do at the North and west.—³² And

8. Deleted: "Ward"

9. Deleted: "given us"

10. See the sum on the verso of [8]. Cf. "eighty years" [12].

11. White laid paper, approx. 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Brown rules. Numbered "10" in unknown hand.

12. Deleted: "Liberty is in some sense" ; inserted: "Democracy" above "erty" in "[del.] Liberty" and "[del.] is"

13. Deleted: "Liberty" ; inserted above: "Democracy" ; deleted: [illeg.]

14. Deleted: [illeg.]

15. Deleted: "have" ; inserted above: "retain"

16. Deleted: "that" ; inserted above: "which"

17. Deleted: "either"

18. Deleted: "its" ; inserted and deleted: "rational Democratic" above the deletion and "liberty.—"

19. Preceding two words inserted below "liberty.—"

20. Similar paper, approx. 9" x 9". Brown rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Embossed stamp "London" at upper left. Inserted and deleted: "And now a word for the Democracy of [preceding three words ins. above "the South."] the South."

21. "G" followed by a scribble. Cf. [9]. Here the word looks like "Groton," and Allen (220) suggests Groton, Connecticut, on Long Island Sound. However, the Groton Bank Historical Association was unable to verify this hypothesis.

22. Deleted: "dare" ; inserted above: "will"

23. Preceding three words inserted above "suspecting"

24. Deleted: "supposes that" ; inserted above: "pretends, to [ins.] look [final "s" del.] on"

25. Deleted: "owning slaves"

26. Deleted: "makes up" ; inserted: "as being" above "es" in "[del.] makes" and "[del.] up"

27. Inserted and deleted: [illeg.] above "So" in "South"

28. Deleted: "There is" ; inserted and deleted : "Is" above and before the deletion; inserted and deleted: "not" above "[del.] is" ; inserted: "you will understand that there is" above "re" in "[del.] There" and "[del.] is" and "a Democracy in the"

29. Deleted: "a" ; inserted and deleted: "I know that there is, and" above the deletion and "true Democracy"

30. Deleted: "these" ; inserted above: "and they"

31. Deleted: "people as they" ; inserted: "citizens there, just as the same sorts" above the deletion and "do at the"

32. Preceding two words inserted above punctuation following "North"

these, whenever they speak the³³ simple and candid truth, make common cause throughout the whole United States.—³⁴ ¶ As to the others, both North and South, I cannot too emphatically remind you that³⁵ in all countries there³⁶ always seems to be a settled tendency among³⁷ the richer classes,³⁸ and high officials, toward breaking down by sly stratagems or open force, the primary and inalienable rights of man.—³⁹ When⁴⁰ I review the history of the world, and behold how often they have succeeded,⁴¹ and even now⁴² the⁴³ dark signs are in Europe,⁴⁴ I do not complain at the many champions of⁴⁵ the good old cause who grow bilious and alarmed.— I do not wonder,⁴⁶ as I look over the broad surface of the sea of time, that some of the toughest seamen, get tired of⁴⁷ such storms and⁴⁸ such frequent dismemberment and defections of the crew.— They despair, they⁴⁹ expect no better⁵⁰ luck, they will try no longer.— Of these doubting ones⁵¹ am not I.— Such O⁵² Liberty of Democratic Freedom! is not the halting and [*illeg.*]⁵³ I bring⁵⁴ you.— [12]⁵⁵ Why⁵⁶ What a miserable sight have we so often seen in Congress the learned men gravely⁵⁷ debating⁵⁸ whether our government legalized slavery or Liberty.—

Slavery⁵⁹ consistent with American National Law?—⁶⁰ Slavery stand under

33. Deleted: "whole" ; inserted above: "simple"
34. Paragraph break indicated by ¶. Deleted: "Th" "The"
35. Deleted: "the" ; inserted: "in all countries" above the deletion and "there"
36. Deleted: "is a" ; inserted above: "always"
37. Deleted: "the"
38. Deleted: "with"
39. Deleted: "And" ; inserted and deleted above: "When I"
40. Capitalized. Deleted: "we" ; inserted above: "I"
41. Preceding seven words inserted above "rld" in "world," and "and even now the"
42. Inserted above "t" in "the"
43. Deleted: "signs now abroad" ; inserted above: "dark signs are in Europe,"
44. WW was referring to the reaction against the revolutions of 1848. Cf. "Europe" (1850).
45. Deleted: "equ Freedom" ; inserted above "[*del.*] Freedom" : "the good [*ins.*] old cause"
46. Deleted: "there are bold and brave" ; inserted in black ink: "as I look over the broad surface of the sea of time" above "not wonder" and "[*del.*] there are" ; inserted in pencil: "that some of the toughest" above "[*del.*] bold and brave"
47. Deleted: "the great" ; inserted and deleted: "fierce" ; inserted before: "such", both above the deletion.
48. Deleted: "of the" ; inserted: "such" above "[*del.*] the"
49. Deleted: "will"
50. Inserted above wordspace between "no" and "luck"
51. Deleted: "and"
52. Deleted: "god" ; inserted and deleted above: "Genius" ; inserted: "Liberty" above "Democ" in "Democratic"
53. Two words destroyed by trimming at bottom of leaf.
54. Deleted: "thee" ; inserted above: "you"
55. Similar paper, approx. 11¾" x 7⅞". Embossed "London" at upper left.
56. Inserted at left above "W" in "What" . "What" not reduced to lowercase in MS.
57. Inserted above "n" in "men" and "deba" in "debating"
58. Deleted: "with gravity,"
59. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
60. Deleted: "Consistent with the" ; inserted above: "Slavery stand under our"

our law!— Why it cannot stand under English law, which⁶¹ casts the light on that subject, as compared to ours, like a foggy night compares with⁶² the sunrise in its reddest shooting arrows of glory.—⁶³ All the⁶⁴ grand authorities of the⁶⁵ British⁶⁶ judiciary pronounce⁶⁷ slavery without uprightness,⁶⁸ without foothold⁶⁹ any more than a snake, repugnant to the foundations of law, and to be declared null and void whenever brought before any⁷⁰ high court.— In the great case of *Somerset*, four years before the Declaration of Independence, this was the decision of the⁷¹ judges of England.— And it has been unanimously ratified without exception since.⁷² When these Colonies broke⁷³ from the British dominion, slavery here was lawless, and had no⁷⁴ foundation⁷⁵ in jurisprudence at all.—⁷⁶

What then has been done since?— Have we⁷⁷ been kicking and sweating these eighty years⁷⁸ under some ugly dream?—⁷⁹ Is there no meaning, no truth, no definiteness, in⁸⁰ writing, in engagements?— Does the British Constitution,⁸¹ that vague⁸² we hardly know what, without preamble or⁸³ any prefatory expositor—that heap without form, and on which no man can put his finger—does that illegalize slavery, and the American Constitution which is precise⁸⁴ and compact make it legal? Does⁸⁵ the whelp⁸⁶ fall howling and dead under the⁸⁷ blows of an

61. Deleted: “is as compared to ours, on such [*del.*] a [*ins.*] that subject like” ; inserted: “[*del.*] beams” and “casts the light” above “[*del.*] is as” and “comp” in “compared”

62. Deleted: “a cloudless noon.” ; inserted above: “the sunrise [*del.*] with [*ins.*] in its [*del.*] most [*del.*] fiery reddest shooting arrows of glory.”

63. Deleted: “In the”

64. Deleted: “great British” ; inserted: “grand” above “[*del.*] great”

65. Inserted following “of”

66. Deleted: “law” ; inserted above: “judiciary”

67. Deleted: “it” ; inserted above: “slavery”

68. Preceding two words inserted above “without” and “foo” in “foothold”

69. Deleted punctuation.

70. Written over [*illeg.*]

71. Deleted: “great” ; inserted and deleted above: “mighty”

72. Sentence inserted above “of England” and “[*del.*] When” . Deleted: “When”

73. Deleted: “loose”

74. Deleted: “resp”

75. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

76. In the case of *Somerset* against *Stewart*, Court of Kings Bench, May 14, 1772. *Somerset*, a slave, was brought by *Stewart* from Africa to America and thence to England, where he ran away. He was recaptured, but the court decided that a man could not be kept a slave in England against his will.

77. Deleted: “the”

78. Preceding three words inserted above “aty” in “sweaty” and “under” and “so” in “some” . The date of revision would be 1856. Cf. “seventy years” [9].

79. Deleted: “Have we”

80. Deleted: “words” ; inserted above: “writing”

81. Deleted: “which”

82. Deleted: [*illeg.*] ; inserted above: “we hardly know what,”

83. Deleted: “specific” ; inserted above: “any”

84. Preceding three words inserted above “ution” in “Constitution” and “make” . Inserted and deleted following: “and ample broad” ; inserted: “and compact” above “it” and below the deletion.

85. Deleted: “that damned” ; inserted: “the” above “t” in “[*del.*] that”

86. Deleted: “of” “sink” ; inserted: “fall” above “[*del.*] sink”

87. Deleted: “feet fingers” ; inserted: “blows” above “[*del.*] fingers”

English Judge, and have his full swing with meat and drink to boot, from the caressing hand of⁸⁸ an American Judge?—⁸⁹

[13]⁹⁰ Well what is this American Republic for?— What do the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution mean?— Do they mean⁹¹ the copied government after the old absolute Asiatic or modified European model, a government as⁹² of positive right in itself?—⁹³ Is caste— Is the divine right not of one king but many kings, to prevail in America?— Do they mean what they themselves⁹⁴ appear to tell in concise and plain words? Or⁹⁵ do they mean nothing⁹⁶ tangible at all⁹⁷ but are like⁹⁸ a font of brier type indifere⁹⁹ whether¹ the letters set up² a bawdy book or the Lord's Prayer?

You know, and the world knows well, what³ the bargain of this Confederacy and its government are for, and what⁴ their distinct⁵ meaning is⁶.— If under them, and their inevitable effect,⁷ when not impeded by⁸ special state sovereignty and then always in⁹ contempt of their letter and¹⁰ spirit,¹¹ the hopple does not fall away from the¹² legs of the slave,—if his breast¹³ whether black or white, be stained no more with blood¹⁴ from the necklace of¹⁵ spikes of iron—if man

88. Preceding four words inserted in black ink above "m" in "from" "an" and "Americ" in "American"

89. The three preceding paragraphs seem to refer to the Dred Scott case, which was argued before the Supreme Court in early 1856 and decided against Scott early in 1857.

90. Similar paper, approx. 7¹/₁₆" x 7¹⁵/₁₆".

91. Deleted: "simply" ; inserted above: "the copied"

92. Inserted above "o" in "of"

93. Deleted: "and claim" ; inserted in black ink: "? — Is caste— Is the divine right [*del.*] of not [*del.*] of one king but many kings, to prevail in America?" above the deletion and "Do they mean"

94. Inserted above "appear"

95. Deleted: "be their"

96. Deleted: "palpable"

97. Deleted: "like"

98. Emended from "alike"

99. Inserted above "whe" in "whether"

1. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "the letters" ; deleted: "be"

2. Deleted: "as"

3. Deleted: "this" ; inserted: "the bargain of this" above the deletion and "Confeder" in "Confederacy" . WW corrected spelling of "Confederacy" by inserting "de"

4. Deleted: "is"

5. Inserted above "their"

6. Inserted between "meaning" and punctuation.

7. Preceding four words inserted above "them when not" and "im" in "impeded"

8. Deleted: "the [*illeg.*]" ; inserted above: "special"

9. Deleted: "at variance with" ; inserted: "in contempt of" above "[*del.*] variance with"

10. Preceding two words inserted above "ir" in "their" and "spir" in "spirit"

11. Another reference to the Dred Scott Case, which involved the sovereignty of Missouri.

12. Deleted: "anles" ; inserted above: "legs"

13. Deleted: "then feel no more the [*del.*] the blood"

14. Deleted: "of"

15. Deleted in ink: "thorns" ; inserted in ink: "spikes of iron" above "of" preceding and into the right margin.

cannot walk the earth¹⁶ untortured by¹⁷ that cankerous anguish¹⁸ with which every proud and sympathetic soul sees his likeness and his fellow degraded¹⁹ among owned brutes—if it be not²⁰ the meaning and direct purpose²¹ of our Supreme Compact that such

[14]²² One answer to this is that the main body of²³ our nation, north and south²⁴, east and west,²⁵ possess a patriotic and noble feeling, extremely sensitive and²⁶ easily alarmed about the union of these states;²⁷ and, like all good and noble feelings, it is susceptible of being played upon.— Another answer is that the instincts of the people *have* unerringly signified²⁸ their knowledge of a bogus article from solid gold.— The men who played the great parts in these dramas²⁹ have all, without one single exception, been set aside,³⁰ and failed of preferment³¹ to the stations which³² the world knew they aimed at.— Some lag³³ sour and spavined in the Senate; some chew the cud³⁴ of obscure prospects in private stations at home³⁵; others have descended to the grave³⁶ with a³⁷ bitterness of³⁸ despair and unachieved hopes, more sorrowful than death.— We³⁹ will step lightly over them;—the dead⁴⁰ are to be treated with forbearance.⁴¹

16. Deleted: "undegraded" ; inserted above: "untortured"

17. Deleted: "the"

18. Deleted: "which"

19. Deleted: "into a" "to"

20. Deleted: "lawful for"

21. Deleted: "that those results can" ; inserted above: "of our original government [*preceding two words del.*] Supreme Compact that such"

22. Similar paper, approx. 9¹¹/₁₆" x 7¹³/₁₆". No page number. Torn from another half-sheet (?) at right. Top of page trimmed. First seven words on tab at right. Note break in continuity.

23. Deleted: "this" ; inserted above: "our"

24. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

25. Deleted: "and" ; inserted: "possess a patriotic and noble feeling," above the deletion and "extremely" and "sensi" in "sensitive"

26. Deleted: "alarmative" ; inserted above: "easily alarmed"

27. Deleted: "and" ; inserted above: "and"

28. Deleted: "which is the that"

29. Deleted: "plays" ; inserted above: "dramas"

30. Deleted: "without" ; inserted above: "and failed of"

31. Deleted: "by the voters of these Some"

32. Deleted: "the"

33. Deleted: "lame"

34. Deleted: "unachieved" ; inserted above: "obscure"

35. Preceding two words inserted above "ations" in "stations"

36. Preceding three words inserted above "ed" in "descended" and "with a"

37. Deleted: "the [*ins. above* "the"] an unspeakable bi"

38. Deleted: "which"

39. Deleted: "not dwell here; for" ; inserted and deleted: "press hard upon them" above "[*del.*] dwell here" ; inserted: "step lightly over them;—" above "[*del.*] for" and "the dead"

40. Deleted in ink: "whether in Congress or in cemeteries must be treated with a decent respect.—" ; inserted: "are [*illeg. del.*] to be treated with forbearance." above "[*del.*] must be treated with"

41. Deleted: "A third reflection is, [*del.*] with the"

"While all these actors have been set aside rejected the ship carpenter rejects unsound stuff" The rejected actors were, among others, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John Caldwell Calhoun.

[15]⁴² to see the very ground it stands on.—

Under that⁴³ vital part,⁴⁴ or lungs of the American system of government, our independent State Sovereignty, clannish wealth, or majorities, or powerful sectarian feeling, have at various times, in their own limits, neglected or palpably offended, the letter and spirit of our⁴⁵ Supreme and National Law.— For any neglect or offence of this kind, so long as it is confined in State limits, and to⁴⁶ their own citizens⁴⁷ and does not seriously⁴⁸ annoy the operations of the general government, there is no help.— It must be left to time and the native good sense of the people.— The principle of sovereign state control of state soil and⁴⁹ independent management of domestic affairs is one of⁵⁰ the most important principles of the compact, and it cannot be contravened by the general government on any pretence whatever,⁵¹ that I can think of as likely to arise.—⁵² In Connecticut⁵³ the law has been that debtors unable to pay could be sold by the creditor into temporary slavery to pay the demand.— In Maryland the constitution⁵⁴ provided for the levy by the state⁵⁵ of a general tax for the support of certain⁵⁶ priests.— In South Carolina no man has been eligible to be elected governor unless he was worth £10,000 During the four years antecedent to 1808, the slave trade was provided for by legislative enactment in some states, and⁵⁷ that time nearly 100,000 poor wretches were kidnapped in Africa, and those who lived throu the horrors of the passage were landed here and sold.⁵⁸ For a long time, in New Hampshire, New Jersey, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, no Roman Catholic [16]⁵⁹ could be elected or appointed to any high office.— In Delaware office holders

42. Similar paper, approx. 8¾" x 7¾". Torn from another leaf at left. Top trimmed irregularly, damaging the tops of letters in the first line. Numbered "15" in an unknown hand. Note the break in continuity.

43. Deleted: "indispensible" ; inserted above: "vital"

44. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "or"

45. Deleted: "American" ; inserted: "Supreme and National" above "r" in "our" and the deletion and "Law"

46. Inserted above "mits," in "limits,"

47. Preceding five words inserted above "and does"

48. Deleted: "impede"

49. Preceding seven words inserted above "principle of independent"

50. Preceding two words inserted above "the"

51. Deleted: "short of some such thing as nullification" . WW refers to the Nullification Crisis of 1832.

52. The principle affirmed here seems to contradict WW's affirmation of the absolute unconstitutionality of slavery in earlier pages.

53. Deleted: "at one time, the written"

54. Deleted: "authorized" ; inserted: "provided for" above "ized" in "[del.] authorized" and "the"

55. Deleted: "government" ; inserted and deleted above: "officers"

56. Deleted: "religious"

57. Deleted: "during"

58. Preceding sentence inserted above "For a long time in New Hampshire, New Jersey, . . . Roman Catholic"

59. Similar paper, approx. 11¹³/₁₆" x 7¹⁵/₁₆". Chain lines, however, are horizontal rather than vertical. Torn smoothly along left edge. Numbered "16" in an unidentified hand to the right of "office.—"

were required to profess their belief in the Trinity.— In some states, men and women have been sold to pay their passage at sea.—⁶⁰ In Pennsylvania⁶¹ offices could not⁶² be enjoyed except by people who acknowledged the inspiration of the Old and New testaments.— In Massachusetts too were very intolerant religious tests.—⁶³ Some of these undemocratic unnational unAmericanisms⁶⁴ are among dead things, and some are still partially⁶⁵ among live things.— Slavery, the greatest⁶⁶ undemocratic unAmericanism of all is very live.— But⁶⁷ all of them the moment they stretch out beyond the⁶⁸ lines of the states, where⁶⁹ they are enacted,⁷⁰ melt under the national law,⁷¹ like⁷² a lump from the ice house brought under the July sun.—

Fellow Democrats⁷³ One of the covenants of⁷⁴ our Constitution binds each state to the observance of the following clause: No person bound to service or labor under the laws of one state and escaping into another state, shall be made free by the laws of that other state, but shall be delivered up to⁷⁵ those to whom the labor or service is due.—⁷⁶ This immensely overrated⁷⁷ clause of⁷⁸ Article 4th of the⁷⁹ Constitution is in reality⁸⁰ simple,⁸¹ unexceptionable, easily understood, and not⁸² at all inconsistent with the rest so long as you keep it in its place and due proportion and subordination to the rest.⁸³ It is not the whole Constitution

60. Sentence inserted above "Trinity . . . in Pennsylv" in "Pennsylvania"

61. Deleted: "they most" ; inserted: "offices" above "[del.] most"

62. Deleted: "come in until they" ; inserted above: "be enjoyed except by people who" above "me" in "come" and "in until they" and "ac" in "acknowledged"

63. The same information about early limitation of freedom in the colonies and the United States is in "of Maryland" (Virginia. Not printed here.) almost verbatim. The paper seems similar (rules $\frac{5}{16}$ " apart), although direct comparison was impossible. Not printed here; in Bowers, 155.

64. Preceding three words inserted in a small hand above "sts.—" in "tests.—" and "Some of these are" and "am" in "among"

65. Deleted: "alive" ; inserted: "among live things.—"

66. Deleted: "exception" ; inserted: "undemocratic" above "[del.] exception" , "un-Americanism" above "of all is"

67. Deleted: [illeg.]

68. Deleted: "wall"

69. Deleted: [illeg.]

70. Deleted: "must"

71. Preceding four words inserted above "st" in "[del.] must" and "melt like"

72. Deleted: "ice" ; inserted: "a lump [del.] brought from the ice house brought" above "[del.] ice" and "under the July sun.—"

73. Preceding two words inserted above "One of" . Cf. [2,18]. "One" not reduced to lowercase in MS.

74. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "our"

75. Deleted: "him"

76. Deleted: "Gentlemen I cannot argue with any one" ; "this" raised to uppercase.

77. Preceding two words inserted above "clause of"

78. Deleted: "one" ; inserted: "Article 4th" above the deletion and "of the"

79. Deleted: "articles of"

80. Preceding two words inserted above "is" and "sim" in "simple,"

81. Deleted: "broad" ; inserted: "unexceptionable" above the deletion and "eas" in "easily"

82. Deleted: "necessarily" ; inserted above: "not at all"

83. Preceding five words inserted above "and due proportion"

and⁸⁴ Primary Compact.⁸⁵ It should be strictly and faithfully observed by every state,⁸⁶ as far as its plain meaning goes.—⁸⁷ It should of course be construed in⁸⁸ deference to the evident spirit of the rest of the Supreme Law, and under the⁸⁹ control of the head and heart thereof⁹⁰ as much as possible.— It is not to be taken out and madly made the pretext for violating all the rest.— Over and above this part of the⁹¹ covenant, it is imperatively reserved to⁹² each state, by the letter and spirit of the bargain, to decide who those escaped servants are, and to honorably perform the whole obligation, as they perform any other obligation, by due process of law and without any violent intrusion from abroad.— I doubt very much whether [17]⁹³ Congress has any just⁹⁴ right to meddle in this matter at all, it being simply any agreement between the old thirteen states,⁹⁵ without⁹⁶ empowering any body to enforce it: and like many other⁹⁷ of the agreements they made, best carried out when left as among gentlemen of perfect blood,⁹⁸ to⁹⁹ high-toned honor¹ which is² always identical with³ palpable interest.— However that may be,⁴ I say that the Congress of these States has no right either from Law, Constitution, Compact, or any source whatever, to the unparalleled audacity of intruding in the midst of the local communities any where, north or south,⁵ armed police,⁶ strangers and irresponsible to⁷ state laws, who at their pleasure,⁸ without trial by our⁹ juries, decide in the most summary manner, which man among us

84. Deleted: "Supreme Law" ; inserted above: "Primary Compact"
 85. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
 86. Preceding three words inserted above "rved" in "observed" and "as"
 87. Deleted: ", which is a" ; inserted: period and dash after "goes"
 88. Deleted: "harmony with" ; inserted: "deference to the evident spirit of" above the deletion and "the rest"
 89. Deleted: "light" ; inserted above: "control"
 90. Inserted above "as"
 91. Preceding three words inserted above wordspace between "this" and "covenant"
 92. Deleted: "us" ; inserted: "each state," above the deletion and "by"
 93. Similar paper, approx 12" x 7⁷/₈". Cut from a larger leaf along left edge. Numbered "17" in an unknown hand following "thirteen" in the right margin.
 94. Inserted above "rig" in "right"
 95. Inserted and deleted: "like" above comma after "states"
 96. Deleted: "any"
 97. Deleted: "parts of the [*illeg.*]"
 98. Preceding six words inserted above "when left to [*del.*] their high-toned"
 99. Deleted: "their"
 1. Deleted: "and"
 2. Deleted: "to"
 3. Preceding five words inserted above "r" in "honor" "[*del.*] and" "palpable" and "in" in "interest"
 4. Deleted: "I ask every American Democrat of every state and territory that owns our flag to [*illeg. del.*] stand by [*illeg. del.*] me in saying this."
 5. Preceding thirty-seven words also in Furness, 77–78. See "As of the orator."
 6. Deleted: "or"
 7. Deleted: "our" ; inserted above: "state"
 8. Deleted: "or the ruling of"
 9. Inserted above "ju" in "juries"

has a right to his liberty and which has not.—¹⁰ I say that the¹¹ prerogative to send here by authority of the President, officers paying no deference to the sovereign independence of our soil and our¹² courts, who seize with violence on what our laws only know, until¹³ duly advised different, as peaceful Americans, white or black, who have made themselves amenable to no punishment whatever under our statutes or customs, was never delegated to any man or body of men on this earth—that it violates every atom of the theory of state rights, and that the people of any state in the Confederacy would be no true American freemen if whenever it be tried on, it do not¹⁴ fetch up the iron arm of rebellion which we keep for time of need.—

[18]¹⁵ Is this a small matter?— The matter of tea and writing paper was smaller.—¹⁶ But this is every way a large¹⁷ matter.— It involves the¹⁸ point whether we or somebody else shall possess the simplest control of on our house, on our premises.— It is so large that it demands of¹⁹ the ‘Republicans, every live man of them,²⁰ Speak I would have you speak to these²¹ official intruders²² whenever and wherever they come among us,²³ not in the snivel of prayer meetings nor with the genteel moderation of northern congressmen but in tones something like the crack of the artillery at What fetches you here?— What²⁴ do you want, you among my haughty and jealous democracies of the north?— I²⁵ do not²⁶ discuss any nigger question²⁷ with you now; this²⁸ is a vital question of my own dignities and

10. Deleted: “I say that the attempt [*del.*] to of people outside to come in the separate states [*preceding three words ins.*] and seize upon men, or on [*preceding three words del.*] Americans born, or even upon property, without the least deference to the [*del.*] our sovereign independence of our soil in our the dec [*preceding four words del.*] should”

11. Deleted: “power” ; inserted above: “prerogative”

12. Deleted: “laws, but who claim” ; inserted: “courts,” above “ws,” in “laws,”

13. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

14. Deleted: “rouse” ; inserted above: “fetch up”

15. Similar paper, approx. 11¼" x 7⅞". Cut from a larger leaf along the left edge. Numbered “18” in unknown hand in the right margin following “of”

16. Preceding three sentences are also—with some variations—in Furness, 78. See “As of the orator.” The last two sentences are also close to a passage in “Autobiographical Data” [3321R].

17. Emended from “larger” ; deleted: “matter” “question” ; inserted: “matter” above “question”

18. Deleted: “question” ; inserted above: “point”

19. Deleted: “the Democracy” ; inserted above: “the Republicans” . Cf. [2, 11]. This emendation suggests that WW revised this passage after he joined the Republican party in 1856.

20. Preceding fifteen words inserted above and below “[*ins.*] Speak” and “sniv” in “snivel” Deleted: “Say” ; inserted: “Speak” above deletion and “to,”

21. Inserted and deleted: “foreign” above wordspace and “off” in “official”

22. Inserted above “al” in “official” and “not”

23. Preceding seven words inserted in a small hand above “moderation of”

24. Deleted: “seek” ; inserted above: “do you want”

25. Deleted: “what” ; inserted above: “do”

26. Deleted: “to”

27. A possible allusion to Thomas Carlyle’s “An Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question,” *Fraser’s Magazine* (1849); separately, 1853.

28. Written over [*illeg.*]

immunities, which I decide at once and without parley.— Have you²⁹ no better excuse than to say you wont lay your hands on me, or my woman, or my flesh and blood.— I know you will not for certain excellent reasons.— But that's not to the purpose.—³⁰ These streets are mine.— There are my officers and my courts.— At the Capitol is my Legislature.— The warrant you bring with you we know it not.— It is foreign to my usages, as to my eyes and ears.— Go back to the power that sent you.— Tell it that having delegated to it certain important functions, and having entered into certain important engagements with our brother states, we like all the rest, have reserved more important functions, embodying our own primary rights, exclusively to ourselves.— For such insult and³¹ intrusion upon those rights you well deserve the penalty of all³² purchased³³ agents of tyranny.— When in olden³⁴ days, in classical lands,³⁵ the officers of³⁶ the great King, the Persian, came with attempts far less degrading than these, the³⁷ proud democracies of Athens and Sparta answered them with the³⁸ short quick answer of Death—though all they asked was a little water and a handful of Grecian earth.— As for you, while now you go away³⁹ in peace, remember to stay away,⁴⁰— and come no more with demands like these to my free cities, or my teeming⁴¹ country towns, or along my rivers, or sea shore.—⁴²

[19]⁴³ But why do I babble here?—⁴⁴ This hour—this moment while I talk such big words, the police of the President⁴⁵ might march in here and by law of Congress passed by⁴⁶ votes of my delegates⁴⁷ lay their hands upon my shoulder, and in the name of the statute and under its penalties order my active⁴⁸ assistance

29. Deleted: "nothing nearer the purpose" ; inserted: "no better excuse" above wordspace and "immu" in "immunities" in preceding sentence. Caret goes through wordspace.

30. Preceding two sentences inserted above "out" in "without parley.— . . . streets are"

31. Preceding two words inserted above "ch" in "such" and "in" in "introduction"

32. Deleted: [illeg.]

33. Deleted: "traitors"

34. Written over [illeg.]

35. Preceding six words inserted above "the officers of [del.] Darius"

36. Deleted: "Darius" ; inserted: "the great King, the Persian" above "came with" and "at" in "attempts"

37. Deleted: "free"

38. Deleted in ink: "terrible" ; inserted in ink: "short quick" above "rrible" in "[del.] terrible" and "ans" in "answer"

39. Inserted above "go in"

40. Inserted above "y" in "stay" and punctuation.

41. Inserted above "my" and "t" in "teeming"

42. Furness prints two variants of this anecdote. See "As of the orator."

43. Similar paper, approx. $5^{13/16}$ " x $7^{15/16}$ ". Cut from larger leaf at left. No embossed stamp, despite margin at top. Numbered "19" in unknown hand in right margin above "[ins.] this"

44. Deleted: "Now" ; "while" capitalized; inserted and deleted: Now" above "[del.] Now" ; inserted: "This hour—this moment" on two lines above deletions and "While" . "While" not reduced again to lowercase.

45. Deleted: "may march"

46. Deleted: [illeg.]; inserted and deleted: [illeg.]

47. Preceding ten words inserted above "might march in here and lay their."

48. Inserted above "ass" in "assistance"

to capture some ignorant wretched countrymen of mine, born and bred⁴⁹ on American soil, his father or grandfather very likely a white man, and this poor⁵⁰ unhappy⁵¹ brute hunted by greater brutes⁵² avowedly for no crime, but because some Southern or Northern gentleman⁵³ owns the title deed⁵⁴ of him, and he has⁵⁵ made a run for it.—⁵⁶ [20]⁵⁷ Is the⁵⁸ whole land⁵⁹ becoming one vast model plantation, whose inhabitants⁶⁰ suppose the ultimate and best ends of man attained when he drives⁶¹ a profitable business, no matter how abject the terms—and⁶² when he has enough to wear, and is not bothered for pork?—⁶³

49. Preceding two words inserted above "n" in "born" and "on"

50. Inserted above "un" in "unhappy"

51. Deleted: "butt of butt of"

52. Deleted: "for no"

53. Deleted: "has" ; inserted above: "owns"

54. Deleted: "to" ; inserted: "of"

55. Deleted: "somehow"

56. The reference in the preceding paragraphs is to the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Cf. "A Boston Ballad (1854)" and "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!"

57. Similar paper, approx. 2⁷/₁₆" x 7³/₄". Numbered "20" in an unknown hand in the right margin after "pork?—" Words have been trimmed off at the top.

58. Preceding two words inserted above "whole"

59. Deleted: "is"

60. Deleted: "think" ; inserted above: "suppose"

61. Deleted: comma.

62. Inserted above "w" in "when"

63. A similar sentence is in "As of the orator."

We Call God.

Manuscript not found. Text from Furness, "Walt Whitman's Politics," *Am Merc*, 16 (April, 1929), 462. The date is undoubtedly the late 1850s. First printed by Furness.

We call God to witness. He has subjected us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution and unacknowledged by our laws, for stopping the trial by jury, for transporting persons to distant places to be tried there (part of second section of article four of the Constitution).

As of the Orator.

Manuscript not found. Text from Furness, 74–83. A study of these selections clarifies Furness's editorial method, the growth of "Slavery—the Slaveholders—" and, by extension, the more finished MS, "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!" One learns to be very skeptical of Furness's texts, for he fails to identify his sources, even to the point of failing to list the Bucke family among his permissions. More important, the passages from "Autobiographical Data," noted below, demonstrate that he treated his sources very freely and, like Bucke, attempted to patch together more or less coherent essays from the most heterogeneous material. However, he did have, and acknowledges the use of, variant manuscripts which are now unidentified and unlocated, as his note to the anecdote about the Persian ambassadors shows. It is obvious also that he used "Autobiographical Data" while it was still intact. Thus his variants from extant manuscripts cannot be treated with entire contempt.

Furness's variant MS, known and suspected, fill out our understanding of the nature of WW's other MS on the slavery crisis. The cut-and-paste state of "Slavery—the Slaveholders—" is evident from its very loose structure and the evidence of composition at various times. "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!," which contains many of the same arguments and some of the same phraseology, represents a finished compilation of the sort of disjointed notes revealed in Furness's compilation of MS. The date is 1855 or 1856.

As of the orator advancing

As, for example, having been engaged to deliver one of the "Lessons" to an Anti Slavery Meeting—he does not go, smiling and shaking hands, waiting on the platform with the rest—but punctual to the hour, appears at the platform—steps with a friend, and ascends the platform, silent, rapid, stern, almost fierce—and delivers an oration of liberty—up-braiding, full of invective—with enthusiasm.

Every one that speaks his word for slavery, is himself the worst slave—the spirit of a freeman is not light enough in him to show that all the fatness of the earth were bitter to a bondaged neck.¹ When out of a feast, I eat corn and roast potatoes for my dinner, through my own voluntary choice it is very well and I much content, but if some arrogant head of the table prevent me by force from touching anything but corn and potatoes then is my anger roused.²

1. A similar sentence in "memorials" (p. 142).

2. Furness notes that the arrangement of the material is doubtful.

for oration

must we be unchecked, unmastered—what real Americans can be made out of slaves? What real Americans can be made out of the masters of slaves?³

in dim outline we see

picture of strong Imperial stern Democracy its attitude & gesture toward the south, toward this hot rebellious rise we call the south— If then you will not own your fate but dare to lift the knife to plunge it in my breast, learn what it is to rouse the devil.— On your head to be red blood, and on your children's heads, for whether now or ten or twenty years,⁴ these must & shall yield place, curious as it seems, to prisoners in war clothes, with wretched blankets, marched to prison, surrounded by armed guards—must yield to the poor boys, faint & sick in hospitals, without grace, have not an eye for pictures, have not read the elder poets, but have amputated limbs.⁵

If one compromise is not too good to be broken neither is another— Lay not the flattering unction to your souls that you can play at this game and not we. You believe, or affect to believe the Missouri bargain unconstitutional. We believe it damnable. It is forbidden and overridden by twenty other specific guarantees of the Constitution; if we are cornered so tightly to a choice whether we obey the twenty palpable requirements of freedom, or the one inconsistent compromise for delivering fugitive slaves—

Let no one scorn this band because they are few.— A few, resolute and enthusiastic are more than a match for thousands.— The hearts of men who believe in the inalienable right of every human being to his life, his liberty and his rational pursuit of happiness.

What, this little thing, this just perceptible nerve—so much hubbub about this? It is a just perceptible nerve.— But its soreness makes the tooth ache, and then the torment of the damned runs through the giant's whole body.

3. Perhaps an early statement of "Song of the Broad-Axe" (1856), sec. 5, l. 120. Also in "memorials."

4. Preceding in "a m Dr. L B Russell" (p. 543).

5. Preceding in "a m Dr. L B Russell" (p. 533).

I know its preamble or head is comprised in small space, but with it as with a human being, all the rest though ever so big, is nothing at all without the brains at the top. In this case, too, the rest are the belly and legs and arms, serviceable in just so far as they obey the sound brains.

If things go on at this rate, an amazing prospect opens before us, the Union is threatened with a destiny horrible as it is altogether a novelty, something that never happened to any nation before—it is likely to be saved to death.— Our country was born in a manner out of all precedent, if — — — — — have their swing much longer, it will thus go off as no other nation ever went off from the earth before—it will expire from being too affectionately preserved. I think it is already growing a little stale for that.

When the packets arrive in port, they break up the steerage bunks, and build them over again out of new boards. If I cannot make the harbor and the landing I want, then I sail forever on the seas.

You have learned that the only safe law for religious sects is equal and universal toleration to all of whatever numbers, ages, hues, or language or belief.— Learn that still below this law there lies one larger and more vital to our safety, every one of us; that of the uniform and inherent right of every man and woman to life and liberty, which as no power can take away from an innocent man without outrage, so every such person on whom that outrage is attempted has the inalienable right to defend himself.— As to assisting such a person, it is not likely I shall ever have the privilege, but if I can do it, whether he be black or whether he be white, whether he be an Irish fugitive or an Italian or German or Carolina fugitive, whether he came over sea or over land, if he comes to me he gets what I can do for him.— He may be coarse fanatical, and a nigger, he may have shown bad judgment, but while he has committed no crime further than seeking his liberty and defending it, as the Lord God liveth, I would help him and be proud of it, and protect him if I could.—

We are all ready enough to make ovations for the great refugees who come with banners flying and the sound of trumpets and drums.— Then we go with the crowd, most men from motives that are creditable to them—a few suckers to make a show and lay traps for votes.— But if some poor Cudjo dodges this way, with the marshal of the United States on his track, and the police to aid in the hunt, that's a different affair. An abolitionist or two may bandy words with the

court; but in the main we join against the man and the few who stand up for him.—

I hear much said about the supremacy of law, and that the one citizen submits to the decisions of the constituted tribunals of the law, whatever they may be.— This is a good doctrine and in the main correct.— In the ninety nine hundredths of legislation and judicature respecting taxes, property, tariffs, elections, trade, banking, naturalization and all the decisions of local government—this is a sound rule to go by, and most of us will doubtless pass our lives without controverting it.— But the true American freeman holds in reserve, forever, a stern power, which though it lie asleep for scores and fifties of years because no occasion compels it, must never be given up altogether.— If you want to know what it is I tell you in plain terms. It is the iron arm of rebellion.— I say that the Congress of these states has no right either law constitution, compact, or any other source whatever, to the unparalleled audacity of intruding in the midst of our local communities anywhere, north or south, ruffians who at their pleasure and on the most flimsy grounds, and in the most summary manner deprive of liberty and carry off one of my countrymen, and American born, an innocent and un-criminal man.— (Is this nothing to me, because it is never likely to be applied to me myself?) It is a direct surcingle on the strongest guarantees of the Constitution, violates the compact of the Declaration of Independence, whose averments and promises the delegates from the colonies pledged their lives fortunes and honor to sustain and those pledges were distinctly ratified by the colonies afterward, and read to the army and sworn to with naked sword.— I say that the power to stand among us on authority of the President emissaries unaccountable to our own free laws, to seize with violence on what those only recognize as peaceful Americans, white or black, who have made themselves amenable to no hurt or punishment whatever under our statutes or customs, was never delegated to any man or body of men—that it violates every atom of the theory of state rights—and that we would be no true American freeman, if, whenever it be tried on, it do not wake among us the voice of defiance—aye that iron arm of rebellion which I spoke of, and which we keep for time of need.— Is this a small matter?— The matter of tea and writing paper was smaller.— Why what was it—that little thing that made the rebellion of '76—a little question of tea and writing paper only great because it involved a great principle.⁶ But this is in every way a large question—because among other points it involves the large principle whether we or a power foreign to us shall be master of our own special and acknowledged ground.⁷ The constitution covenant

6. The preceding text, from “Is this a small matter?”, is paralleled in “Autobiographical Data” (p. 213). Furness omits the two following sentences and places them in a different context. See “The next worst thing to having such enormous outrages. . . .” There are two similar sentences in “Slavery—the Slaveholders—” (p. 2187).

7. The preceding text, from “I say that the Congress of these states has no right . . . ,” is very close to “Slavery—the Slaveholders—” (ibid.).

that the free states shall give up runaway servants—that we all know.— But by the letter and spirit of its most important provisions, we hold the right to decide how to do it, who the runaway servants are, and to perform the whole obligation as we perform other obligation by one process of law and without any violent intrusion from abroad.—⁸ The paltry lawyer's quibble that this section of the Constitution justifies such an unlawful violation of all other rights and covenants of the Constitution does not avail a straw in this infinitely superior question. Every American is proud or may honestly be proud of independent republican institutions—more free, more flexible, more careful of particulars as well as aggregates, than any political practice on a large scale known elsewhere now or that we read of in the past.— Well I say that an American who understands these truths ought to use his voice, not in the snivel of prayer meetings or the genteel moderation of a northern congressman,⁹ but stern and strong.— Something of this sort is his proper style— What do you want in my free city of the North? The question of respect for the rights of the blacks I defer for the present.— This is purely a question of my own rights, immunities and dignities.—¹⁰ These streets are mine— there are my officers, my courts, my laws.— At the Capitol is my legislature.— The warrant you bring with you, we know it not; it is foreign to my usages as to my eyes and ears.— Go back to the power that sent you.— Tell it that having delegated to it certain important functions, and having entered into certain important engagements with our brother states, we like all the rest have reserved more important functions, embody our vilest rights exclusively to ourselves.— For such intrusion upon those vital rights you well deserve the penalty of all hired minions of tyrants and the penalty which the proud Athenians and the stern souled Spartans visited upon the officers that came from the haughty power of Persian royalty with insulting attempts upon their rights.— This one time go in peace.— But come no more with demands of this sort in my proud cities of the North, or my teeming county towns, or along my rivers or sea shore.—¹¹

Congressman make themselves merry over the supposition of a higher law. But I tell you Americans the earth holds on her huge bosom not a creature more base

8. Cf. "Autobiographical Data" (pp. 213-214).

9. Cf. "Slavery—the Slaveholders—" (p. 2188) for this sentence.

10. Furness, 227, quotes a variant from an unidentified and unlocated manuscript: "The question of slavery I shall discuss with our confederate states at my leisure and as my tastes suit me.— But this is a direct question of my own rights, immunities and dignities—which I decide at once and without parley.— What, you say, is a nigger and a slave?"

11. See the variant of this anecdote in "Slavery—the Slaveholders—" (p. 2189). Furness prints another variant in his notes (227) from an unidentified and unlocated manuscript: "When the officers of Darius came with attempts far less degrading than this the free democracies of Athens and Sparta answered them with the terrible answer of death, though all their officers asked for was a little water and a handful of Grecian earth.— As for you, degenerate agents of—this time go in peace.—What brings you here among my haughty and jealous democracies of the North?"

and subject than that man who takes all that is dictated to him by superior power, whatever it may be, and having no other text for his obedience than political laws, then obeys. It is a law of the soul wherever the rain falls or the hawk flies. The man that lays his beard in the dirt before absolute power is no less abject whether the power come from Washington or the Persian shah.

I say that there is no law nor shadow of law on which high officers of this confederation can claim to send their salaried constables through the separate states and without any trial by our juries or any of the wise checks and delays which we have found it necessary to plant along the road of our judicature, decide at their pleasure, or the pleasure of a petty commissioner, which man among us has right to his liberty and which has not.— Some simple person or worse, asks how this degrades us.— *We* are not in personal danger of degradation.— Why, what can be a greater meanness and degradation than for a proud and free community to have forced upon it from an outside power, officers who go at their pleasure and say to a man, come, this soil is no protection to you?

The theory of the American Confederation as outlined in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Constitution, and the harmonious workings of the several states, is the most perfect theory in the world, because it is the best in the world in practice.— He fails utterly of understanding its key, however, who supposes we have delegated to any portion of the government, either federal, state, or municipal or the courts any of the most important of our rights.— We have given to these just so much power.

The next worst thing to having such enormous outrages put into laws and acquiesced in by the people without any alarm, is to have them practically carried out.— Nations sink by stages, first one thing and then another.¹²

It is not events of danger and threatening storms that I dread. Give us turbulence, give us excitement, give us the rage and disputes of hell, all this rather than this lethargy of death that spreads like a vapor of decaying corpses over our land.—¹³ Give us anything rather than this, beat the drums of war.

12. Preceding two sentences in "Autobiographical Data" (p. 213), but printed here out of context. See *n*6 above.

13. Preceding two sentences in "Autobiographical Data" (p. 213), but in that notebook they are the first entry on the page. The source of the following sentence has not been found.

Our country seems to be threatened with a sort of ossification of the spirit. Amid all the advanced grandeurs of these times beyond any other of which we know—amid the never enough praised spread of common education and common newspapers and books—amid the universal accessibility of riches and personal comforts—the wonderful inventions—the cheap swift travel bringing far nations together and all the extreme reforms and benevolent societies—the current that bears us is one broadly deeply materialistic and infidel. It is the very worst kind of infidelity because it suspects not itself but proceeds complacently onward and abounds in churches and all the days of its life solves never the simple riddle why it had not a good time.— For I do not believe the people of these days are happy. The public countenance lacks its bloom of love and its freshness of faith.— For want of these, it is cadaverous as a corpse.¹⁴

I come not to flatter.¹⁵ I know that America is strong, and supple, and full of growth.— I know we are on good terms with the world, and on extra good terms with ourselves. Treaties we make with Europe. Steamships paddle the sea. Gold comes from California, and trade is brisk, and the jobbers are busy nailing up goods and sending them off to customers, and the railroads run loaded, and all goes thriftily.— These things I do not expect to see less but more, and if any one supposes I am at all alarmed about the prospects of business on this continent he misunderstands me, for I am not—no I see its way clear for a hundred years.— But with all such decking ourselves in the robes of safety and gain, there at the scales sits Mordecai the Jew and we know that either we are to have his life, or he is to have the best part of us on the gallows high.— What are all these business prospects, these steamships, these fat sub-treasuries and our profitable trade? I do not want those brave and large souled men, men if not¹⁶ without wickedness of some sorts yet looming up into fit proportions to a sublime land and its sublime beginnings.— —Folks talk of some model plantations when collected families of niggers grow sleek and live easy with enough to eat, and no care only to obey a thriving owner, who makes a good thing out of them, and they out of him.— By God I sometimes think this whole land is becoming one vast model plantation thinking itself well off because it has wherewithal to wear and no bother about its pork.¹⁷

14. This paragraph in "Autobiographical Data" (p. 216).

15. Not found. It is not in "Autobiographical Data."

16. Preceding five sentences in "Autobiographical Data" (p. 214). Note that Furness has reversed the order of this and the preceding paragraph. The remainder of the sentence may be among the lost portions of "Autobiographical Data," but it is not on the page following the preceding text. Furness notes (259) the arrangement of the material is doubtful.

17. A similar sentence in "Slavery—the Slaveholders—" (p. 2190).

Do Nothing.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil on irregular, white, wove scrap pasted as backing on verso of "Silence." Cancelled by a diagonal line. The date is probably in the late 1850s.

do nothing but lose from the spread of slavery;—¹ get nothing but gain from the spread of² free institutions.—

1. Deleted: "can"

2. Deleted: "its opposite"

XX. Education.

A Perfect School.

Manuscript not found. Text from "Walt Whitman, Unpublished Notes and Letters," *Wake*, 7 (1948), 22. First published in *Wake*.

A Perfect School

Gymnastic, moral, mental and sentimental, in which magnificent men are formed.

Old persons come just as much as youth. Gymnastics, physiology, music, swimming bath, conversation, declamation. Large salons adorned with pictures and sculpture. Great ideas, not taught in sermons but imbibed as health is imbibed. Old history taught.

Love—love of women, all manly exercises, rides, rowing.

The greatest persons come.

The President comes, the governors come—political economy.

The American idea in all its amplitude and comprehensiveness.

Grounds, gardens, flowers, grains.

The School Has Been.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #618). Inscribed in black ink on pink wove paper, probably wrapper stock for *LG* (1855), approx. 5" x 4". The paper indicates a date of 1855 or 1856.

the¹ school² has been considered mainly for childhood—but that is a mistake.—
The true school is³ for grown persons, middle-aged, old-aged,⁴ none excepted.—⁵
Before⁶ we become⁷ grown, we are incapable of really learning any thing—but⁸
only prepare to learn.—⁹

1. Preceded by deleted: "I have been informed" "We have" "I see it is considered that"
2. Deleted: "is" ; inserted: "has been considered mainly" above deletion and "for" and "child" in "childhood"
3. Deleted: "after we have attained our growth,—[*ins.*] it [*ins.*] is for men, women," ; inserted: "[*del.*] mainly for grown persons" above "[*del.*] after we"
4. Deleted: "just the same, none excepted" ; inserted: "none excepted.—" above "[*del.*] excepted"
5. Deleted: "Pro" ; inserted and deleted: "I think" above "Before"
6. Deleted: "they"
7. Deleted: "men and women" ; inserted: "grown" above "[*del.*] women"
8. Deleted: "and"
9. Preceding five words inserted above "any thing" and "[*del.*] There should" ; deleted: "There [*ins. above* "be"] should literally be schools for us [*ins. above* "for"] grown [*ins. above* "us all"] people all our lives.— I mean literally schools.—"

It Is No Doubt Impossible.

Manuscript in Duke (21, #14). Inscribed in black ink, with emendations in red ink and black pencil, on twelve scraps of white paper, which are described separately. The MS is not a completed speech, although five leaves seem to form a coherent whole. It is on at least two kinds of paper and was revised at least four times: in black ink with a broad-nibbed pen with which most of the text was written, black ink with a finer-nibbed pen, black pencil, and red ink. Similarly, some of the leaves were renumbered. The seven fragments vary in degree of completion. When Anna M. Traubel published it as "Education in Our Schools" in *Week-End* (a Sunday publication of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*), on July 12, 1936, she called it "a fragment," but inserted the fragments at appropriate points, in the tradition of Bucke and Furness. The present edition treats the nine scraps which seem joined by numbering or internal coherence as a more or less complete text. The fragments follow. The statistics of young people were obtained by WW from the census office in a letter preserved with the MS. On the verso of [5] is a note by WW: "Intended School Address, Sep. 1872". The Superintendent of Schools of Washington reports that he has no record of WW's making an address at a school dedication in 1872 or 1873. First published by Mrs. Traubel.

[1]¹It is no doubt impossible to say anything not already said, & well said, on the subject of education. Yet the subject² has such extra vital importance³ in the United States,⁴ that it needs being called up, & its interest kept alive at all hazards.⁵ I will occupy the fifteen or twenty minutes assigned me by a thought,⁶

1. Three scraps of white wove paper pasted together. Numbered "1" in red ink (by WW?). First scrap, 3¾" x 8". Blue rules 7/16" apart on recto only. Top trimmed; descenders of words visible at top edge. Total page approx. 15" x 8".

2. Deleted: "is of such unspeak deep & ever-increasing" ; inserted: "has [*del.*] always such extra vital" above "[*del.*] is of such" and "unsp" in "[*del.*] unspeak"

3. Deleted: "in its public bearings"

4. Deleted: "that it" ; inserted and deleted: "and" above "[*del.*] that" ; inserted: "that it" before the deletions and "tes" in "states"

5. Inserted in pencil and deleted in ink: "& will [*not del.*] therefor occupy [*illeg.*] 15 or 20 minutes of your attention upon it." above "at all hazards." and "I will" ("I will" on tab at top right of scrap 2). End of scrap 1. Paper-trimmed lower edge and cut words match those on first line of scrap 3. Scrap 2: white wove paper, 5¼" x 7¾". Blue rules 7/16" apart. Department of Justice letterhead on verso.

6. Deleted: "[*illeg.*] perhaps" ; inserted and deleted: "perhap" above [*illeg.*] and "pe" in "[*del.*] perhaps"

which has⁷ projected itself in my mind of the public schools of the future, and⁸ in their national bearings. But first the statistics of our⁹ youth en masse.¹⁰

Good brains ancient & modern agree that what is nearest & commonest is always last to be realized. For instance, within the infinite wells of meaning, spiritual¹¹ and material, lying beneath¹² our¹³ census tables—within the 40,000,000¹⁴ aggregate¹⁵ which is about the total population of the U.S. to-day,—behind the tremendous fact of¹⁶ our grown citizens with¹⁷ their social, political, and business relations, involving every [2]¹⁸ question of life and death—lies folded a fact still more tremendous—the fact of the young. As I speak, there are now existing,¹⁹ in These States, coming forward at the²⁰ rate of over a million²¹ fresh recruits annually,²² an army, leaving out infants & grown persons, of 15,000,000,²³ counting both sexes, from five to twenty years of age, inclusive.

Think what this splendid mass of ductile humanity, each for his or her own sake, under a schooling worthy of our time,²⁴ were eligible to become.²⁵ Think of the Nation America might be, out of²⁶ these physical and moral capacities well-trained—what a character we might develop²⁷ in even one or two generations—

7. Deleted: "arisen" ; inserted: "projected itself" above the deletion and "in"
8. Deleted: "of these [*ins. and del. above* "se" in "these"] the schools"
9. Deleted: "Amer" ; inserted and deleted above: "schools"
10. Beginning of Scrap 3. White wove paper, approx. 6" x 8", with tab at right to match scrap 2 (see n5). Blue rules $\frac{7}{16}$ " apart on recto only. Deleted: "The" ; "good" capitalized.
11. Deleted: "as well as" ; inserted: "and" above "[*del.*] well"
12. Deleted: "the surface of"
13. Deleted: "ordinary"
14. Inserted in pencil above "the" and "aggr" in "aggregate"
15. Deleted: "of our [*ins. above* "our"] the population of 40,000,000" ; inserted: "which is about the total of the [*preceding two words del.*] population of the U. S. to-day" above "[*del.*] of 40,000,000" and "behind the" and "tremen" in "tremendous"
16. Deleted: "the already-" ; inserted: "our" above "[*del.*] the"
17. Deleted in red ink: "all their manifold" ; inserted with a fine-nibbed pen in red: "their [*illeg. del.*]" above "ld" in "[*del.*] manifold" and "social"
18. Numbered by WW at upper right. White wove paper, $10\frac{3}{8}$ " x $8\frac{1}{2}$ ". Blue rules $\frac{7}{16}$ " apart on recto only.
19. Deleted: "in These States" ; inserted above: "in These [*capitalized over lowercase*] [*del.*] United States"
20. Inserted and deleted in red ink: "annual" above "the" and "ra" in "rate"
21. Deleted: "new" ; inserted above: "fresh"
22. Word and comma inserted in red ink above "ruits" in "recruits" ; deleted in black ink: "annually" ; inserted and deleted above: "a year"
23. Deleted: "American youths, counting" ; inserted in pencil and deleted in black ink: "youths, counting" above "nting" in "[*del.*] counting" ; inserted in pencil: "counting" above "ouths" in "[*del.*] youths" and "co" in "[*del.*] counting"
24. Inserted in black ink and deleted in red: "forming superb individuals" above "time, were" and "eligi" in "eligible"
25. Comma changed to period. Deleted: "forming superb individuals."
26. Deleted: "that mass of of" ; inserted and deleted: "this" above "[*del.*] that" ; inserted: "these" above "[*del.*] mass"
27. Beginning of scrap pasted at bottom of sheet, $1\frac{15}{16}$ " x $8\frac{1}{2}$ ".

a nationality²⁸ indeed such as was never before seen on the globe—healthy, religious, friendly, beautiful,²⁹ learned,³⁰ and, under the laws, truly free.

{3}³¹ The mature are beyond us; their status is fixed. But the³² young are ours. And I say or rather reenforce the saying come out of all ages³³ that the only method sure to build up³⁴ a splendid aggregate of male & female citizens grown, &³⁵ secure³⁶ them a healthy & intelligent middle & old age, is to first build well the bodies & the minds of all the youths from five to twenty years.

{4}³⁷ But what are³⁸ our Public Schools capable of in³⁹ National relations? What can they do⁴⁰ to carry forward this Union, on which our lives & fortunes, & all that is ours depend &⁴¹ whose identity and glory & perpetuity have been so passionately⁴² dear, & so resolutely striven for—which have cost so⁴³ many human⁴⁴ lives,—and so much treasure—and which⁴⁵ is to-day at least as passionately dear & as resolutely striven for as ever?⁴⁶ Something subtler still, underlying nation, state, city, every thing America prepares to put in form in life, literature, education, a new ideal of character—⁴⁷ the ideal of the average Democratic Man and woman, complete in all⁴⁸ parts, endowed with knowledge, popular, industrial,

28. "ity" added in pencil. Inserted in pencil: "indeed" above "su" in "such"

29. Deleted: "lar"

30. Added in pencil: "and, [*three words ins.*] under the laws truly free, [*Comma changed to period, three final words del. in pencil*] under the laws"

31. Black ink on white wove scrap, 5" x 8". Blue rules ½" apart on recto. Irregular trim at bottom. Numbered in red ink in WW's hand at upper right.

32. Deleted: "vast ranks of the" ; inserted and deleted: "of this vast army" above "st" in "[*del.*] vast" and "[*del.*] ranks"

33. Preceding ten words inserted on two lines above "And I say that"

34. Deleted: "an heroic nation of men & women" ; inserted: "[*del.*] a splendid" above "[*del.*] an" ; deleted : "aggregate of" inserted: "aggregate of" above "ate" in "[*del.*] aggregate" and "[*del.*] of" and "m" in "male"

35. Deleted: "to"

36. Deleted: "them" ; inserted above: "them"

37. Not numbered by WW, but continuous with {5}, which he numbered {4}. Black ink on white wove scrap, 5¼" x 8". Blue rules ½" apart on recto. Deleted in pencil: "Then" ; inserted in pencil above: "But"

38. Deleted: "these" ; inserted: "our" ; inserted in red ink: "Public" following the insertion.

39. Inserted and deleted: "the this highest" above "in" and "Nation" in "National"

40. Deleted: "for" ; inserted: "to carry forward" above "do [*del.*] for this"

41. Preceding thirteen words inserted in a brace on three lines above "Union whose"

42. Inserted above "so dear"

43. Deleted in pencil: "much [*ins and del.*] of " ; inserted: "many" above "[*del.*] much"

44. Deleted in pencil: "life" ; inserted in pencil: "lives,— and so much treasure" above the deletion and "—and which"

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

46. Inserted and deleted: "Then" above "far" ; deleted: "This new ideal of character too, which" ; inserted: "Something subtler still, underlying nation, state, city, every thing" above "as ever?"

47. Preceding five words inserted "above "cation" in "education" and "[*del.*] this" . Deleted in red ink: "this" ; inserted above: "the"

48. Deleted: "points [*comma not del., not printed*]" ; inserted above: "parts,"

[5]⁴⁹ entirely different from the old⁵⁰ classic & middle-age⁵¹ European ideals—⁵² our own native, modern far⁵³ completer type of Personality—how shall⁵⁴ our future educational institutes serve that? how formulate that?

I know not my friends whether there⁵⁵ are many or even⁵⁶ any here who who will follow me; but⁵⁷ I can⁵⁸ picture to my mind as solid realities in the future, what might now be⁵⁹ called the flights of dreams. The Public Schools of a generation, or two generations hence! Why, I can⁶⁰ conceive them by that time⁶¹ becoming⁶² or on the way to become, so great & so distinctive [6]⁶³ in their social and mental and esthetic, and even⁶⁴ religious bearings—so magnificent in their⁶⁵ architecture—so emanating the source-⁶⁶fountains of⁶⁷ new Arts, new Literatures, growths of our own soil—so⁶⁸ intertwining at last with the whole⁶⁹ land and embodying it, and illustrating⁷⁰ the best both of its⁷¹ body & soul—⁷² in fact, so

49. Inscribed on white wove scrap, 8½" x 8". Blue rules on recto, ½" apart. Numbered "4" in red ink by WW at upper right. Deleted: "modern, so" ; inserted: "entirely" above "[del.] so"

50. Inserted in black pencil above wordspace between "the" and "classic"

51. Inserted in black pencil above "&" and "Euro" in "European"

52. Deleted: "how these [*redundant initial dash not del., not printed*]" ; inserted in black pencil: "—our own [del.] our native" ; inserted and deleted: five [*illeg.*] words, all above "[del.] how these" and "modern"

53. Inserted in black pencil above "co" in "complete"

54. Deleted in pencil: "our" above "of" ; inserted and deleted in pencil above: "these" ; inserted in pencil: "our" above "[del.] these"

55. Deleted: "will"

56. Inserted in red ink: "many or even" above "are any"

57. Deleted: "in answer to such questions" ; inserted and deleted: "such thoughts" above "stions" in "questions"

58. Deleted: "imagine" ; inserted in pencil: "picture to my mind" above the deletion and "as"

59. Deleted: "supposed as nothing but" ; inserted: "called" above "ed" in "[del.] supposed" and "[del.] as" ; inserted and deleted: "only" above "b" in "[del.] but" ; inserted: "the" above "t" in "[del.] but"

60. Deleted in pencil: "in my own mind"

61. Preceding three words inserted in red ink above "m" in "them" and "becom" in "becoming"

62. Deleted in red ink: "by that time" ; inserted in red ink: "or on the way to become," above the deletion and ", so"

63. Inscribed in black ink on white wove scrap, 6¼" x 8". Blue rules ½" apart on recto. Not numbered by WW, but the text is continuous with his 4 (my 5). Deleted: "distinctive"

64. Inserted in black pencil above "r" in "religious"

65. Inserted in black pencil, deleted in black ink: "future" above "r" in "their" and "a" in "architecture"

66. "the source " inserted above "new" and "foun" in "fountains"

67. "fountains of" inserted above "w" in "new" and "Arts"

68. Deleted in black pencil: "enfibred" ; inserted in black pencil: "intertwining at last" above the deletion and "with"

69. Inserted in pencil above "the" and "l" in "land"

70. Deleted in black pencil: "it [*illeg.*]" "its" ; inserted in black pencil: "the" above "[del.] its"

71. Inserted in black pencil following "of"

72. Deleted: [*illeg.*] before "in"

holding this Union together with a moral & intellectual Cohesion stronger than all legislative, judicial or military cohesion—⁷³ that ⁷⁴ long, long ⁷⁵ ages hence, when ⁷⁶ the haughty historians of Democracy, gathering the varied ⁷⁷ progress of the civilization of the human race ⁷⁸ through ⁷⁹ the unfoldings of thousands of years in one grand ensemble—⁸⁰ finding the really ⁸¹ important institutes, of ⁸² Nationalities not most nor deepest in their political governments.—briefing ⁸³ peoples & ages ⁸⁴ according to what ⁸⁵ they ⁸⁶ attained in developing, perfecting ⁸⁷ human bodies and minds and souls.— As of the [7] ⁸⁸ old Grecians, summing-up all the politics, ⁸⁹ scholarship, worship, ⁹⁰ and ⁹¹ all the historic features, of that wonderful people, for two thousand years ⁹² in those Olympic games, the great Pan-Hellenic festivals, where ⁹³ the ⁹⁴ diverse cities and states ⁹⁵ rendezvou'd—strengthen'd by athletic games in the open air, with running, wrestling, charioteering—refined by temples, statues, recitations, music ⁹⁶—where Sophocles contended with Eschuylus.—⁹⁷ Or

73. Preceding twenty-one words inserted on three lines above “dy” in “body” and “& soul . . . hence” and into the right margin following “hence” ; inserted: “& intellectual” above “al” in “moral” and “Cohes” in “Cohesion”

74. Deleted in black pencil: “when”

75. Inserted in black pencil in wordspace between “long” and “ages”

76. Inserted above “the”

77. Inserted above “pr” in “progress”

78. Deleted: “in”

79. Inserted and deleted in black pencil: “the ups and downs of” ; inserted in black ink: “the unfoldings of” written over the deletion, all above “of thousands”

80. Deleted: “grouping” ; inserted above: “finding”

81. Deleted: “characteristic” ; inserted above: “important”

82. Deleted in black pencil: “the ages, or clusters of ages, as” ; inserted and deleted in black ink: “peoples” above “[del.] of the” ; inserted and deleted in black pencil: “nations” following “[del.] peoples” and “[del.] the” ; inserted in black pencil: “Nationalities” above “itutes” in “institutes” and “p” in “[ins. and del.] peoples”

83. Deleted: “the” ; inserted and deleted: “nations” above and following the deletion; inserted in black pencil: “peoples” ; inserted in black ink: “&” following “peoples” above “ages”

84. Deleted: “acc” ; inserted and deleted above: “nations”

85. Inserted and deleted: “in their course” above “to what they”

86. Deleted: “were” ; inserted above: “attained”

87. Inserted above “man” in “human”

88. Inscribed in black ink on white wove paper, approx. 10¼" x 8". Blue rules ¼" apart on recto only. Numbers “6” at top in red ink by WW. Deleted: “ancient Greeks” ; inserted: “old Grecians” above “cient” in “[del.] ancient” and “Gre” in “[del.] Greeks”

89. Deleted: “sociology” ; inserted above: “scholarship”

90. Deleted: “poems”

91. Deleted: “military & gymnastic” ; inserted: “all the historic” above “[del.] military &”

92. Preceding eight words inserted above “nastic” in “[del.] gymnastic” and “features in those Olympic”

93. Deleted: “all” ; inserted and deleted above: “all”

94. Inserted and deleted: “different” above “cities” ; inserted: “diverse” above “rent” in “[del.] different”

95. Deleted: “gathered” ; inserted and deleted: “of Greece & [illeg.]” above “[del.] gathered” and “rendez” in “rendezvou'd”

96. Deleted: “here the greatest science was that of [del.] a [ins. above.] the perfect body, [del.] hold charged with [del.] a [ins. above] the perfect mind”

97. Deleted in black pencil: “and a religious [del.] basis [ins. and del.] atmosphere spread over

as, later, the institutes of Chivalry, with castle & tournament, and knightly deeds—or⁹⁸ of Ecclesiasticism with their cloud-kissing pinnacled Cathedrals—⁹⁹ I¹ say, I can conceive such future historians² after gathering these³ proud groups, emblematic of the Civilization of the Old World,⁴ then⁵ assigning a rank⁶ and attitude; [8]⁷ equally illustrious, equally typical, equally characteristic, after their time & place perhaps even more⁸ exalted,⁹ to the¹⁰ splendid future Schools of the Republic,¹¹ These States.

Accordingly I hail with joy the¹² the appearance of¹³ such stately buildings as this,¹⁴ for the public schools of the present. They are welcome, and they are¹⁵ much securer investments than people¹⁶ might suppose. Who shall say how much the young and ductile mind receives dignity and amplitude and proportion from them?¹⁷ Think what an effect it would¹⁸ have on¹⁹ our whole nation to-day, &

all—where art was fused [*del.*] with [*ins. above*] in daily affairs, fused with Nature [*preceeding three words del.*] & fused with the State—& [*ins. above* “all”] where all blazed [*del.*] out [*ins. above* “with”] forth with such a [*ins. and del. above* “a blaze”] dazzling blaze of light, as to still come down, almost undiminished [*preceeding two words del.*] dazzling us to [*preceeding three words ins. above two words deleted*] to this day—”

98. Deleted: “those”

99. Deleted: “emb” ; deleted in black pencil: “shaping the [*ins. and del. above wordspace between* “the” and “type-”] but type-humanity of the feudal civilization of Europe, with all its [*del.*] feudal lords & kings—”

1. Inserted and deleted: “after” above “say”

2. Deleted: “gathering” ; inserted and deleted above: [*illeg.*]; inserted: “after gathering-” above the deletions.

3. Deleted: “in” ; inserted and deleted above: “their” ; inserted: “proud” above “grou” in “groups”

4. Preceding eight words inserted above “groups then assigning a rank” ; inserted: “emblematic” above “of the”

5. Inserted in black pencil above “as” in “assign”

6. Preceding two words inserted above “and”

7. Four scraps pasted on two, approx. 1 1/2" x 8/4". Scraps 1 and 2 seem to be from the same leaf. Numbered “7” (over “9”?) in red by WW. Scrap 1 approx. 5/2" x 8/4", irregular bottom edge matching top of scrap 2.

8. Deleted in ink: “mature”

9. Preceding nine words inserted above “characteristic to the” and “[*del.*] great” and “com” in “coming” Deleted: “great coming institutes”

10. Redundant “the” not deleted, not printed. Deleted: “proud” ; inserted and deleted above: “& perfect” ; inserted: “splendid future” above “Schools”

11. Deleted: “the” ; inserted above : “These”

12. Inserted and deleted: “the first steps, the alphabet,” above “hail with joy the”

13. Deleted: “these” ; inserted above: “such”

14. Preceding two words inserted above “ing” in “buildings”

15. Deleted: “are a better” ; inserted and deleted above: “more important” ; inserted and deleted: “& [*del.*] a better [*del.*] safer” above “er” ; inserted : “much securer” above “investments than”

16. Deleted: “know.” ; inserted: “might suppose.” above “le” in “people” and “[*del.*] know”

17. Beginning of scrap 2, approx. 4/4" x 8/4". Clipped-off letters show at bottom of the scrap.

18. Deleted: “have” ; inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted: “have” above the deletions.

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

pass on days to come,²⁰ if all its 15,000,000 youths²¹ studied & recited and associated²² under the²³ lights and shades of lofty &²⁴ capacious architecture, and grew up²⁵ within the influences of its elevating beauty and breadth and grandeur. Few realize what salutary and purifying & bracing effects architecture²⁶ might have on a race, a nation. It gives perpetual lessons of strength,²⁷ grace, equilibrium.²⁸ Let the architecture of the Public School Buildings of the United States go on improving, even more, far more. Let them be built of marble & iron and adorned with sculpture & enriched with museums.²⁹ Let the pride and wealth of America be concentrated on them. Let there be public schools for men and women, as well as boys & girls.³⁰ I say,³¹ No investment is so sure for family or state³² as an investment in developing shaping, perfecting³³ the young³⁴ body and mind. Let the health and beauty of the body be³⁵ never forgotten. Let such a³⁶ high-toned and National and³⁷ generous *esprit du corps* pervade & combine & vivify³⁸ the teachers through the {9}³⁹ United States, &⁴⁰ so pass on from year to year,⁴¹ bequeathed⁴² with accumulated force by every generation of teachers to the gen-

20. Preceding seven words inserted above "n" in "nation" and "if all its" and "15,000,0" in "15,000,000"

21. Deleted: "to-day"

22. Deleted: "in" ; inserted above: "under"

23. Deleted: "shad"

24. Deleted: "elegant" ; inserted above: "capacious"

25. Preceding two words inserted above "within"

26. Deleted: "fo"

27. Deleted: "proportion" ; inserted: "grace" above "tion" in "proportion"

28. Preceding sentence inserted above "ce" in "race" and "a nation. Let the architecture of the"

29. Beginning of scrap 3, approx. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Blue rules $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart on recto and verso. Department of Justice letterhead on verso.

30. See "There should be. "

31. Preceding two words inserted above "No"

32. Preceding four words inserted above "sure as an" and "in" in "investment"

33. Preceding two words inserted above "oping" in "developing" and "the" and "yo" in "young"

34. Deleted: period.

35. Deleted: "ever"

36. Beginning of Scrap 4, white wove, approx. $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Blue rules $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart on recto only. Deleted: "and"

37. Deleted: "manly and woman" ; inserted above "[del.] and woman" : "generous"; "ly" and "*esprit*" probably clipped off right edge of scrap.

38. Preceding two words inserted in pencil above "ine" in "combine" and "the"

39. White wove scrap, approx. 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Blue rules $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart on recto only. Numbered "10" in red ink by WW, who renumbered it to "8"

40. Deleted: "passing" ; inserted above: "so pass"

41. Deleted: "&"

42. Deleted: "&" ; inserted above: "with" ; deleted: "from the"

eration following and so on & on⁴³ as to make⁴⁴ the *esprit du corps* of the army and navy,⁴⁵ or that of the famed aristocracies of⁴⁶ foreign lands dwarfish & shallow in comparison.⁴⁷ And,⁴⁸ let⁴⁹ knowledge and virtue and elegance and peace⁵⁰ linger⁵¹ in these cheerful and attractive halls, sinking⁵² into⁵³ the minds⁵⁴ of the boys and girls, and young men and young women through all that important period from five to twenty years⁵⁵ in multitudes and of beautiful associations and reminiscences that after life with all its changes shall never be able to erase.

43. Preceding seventeen words inserted on three lines above "eathed" in "bequeathed" and "[del.] that" and "the *esprit du corps*"

44. Deleted: "that" ; inserted: "the *esprit du corps*" ["*esprit*" above the deletion and "*du corps*" below].

45. Deleted: "of" ; inserted: "or that of" above the deletion and "the"

46. Deleted: "the Old World seem" ; inserted: "[del.] other lands" above "[del.] Old" and "Wor" in "[del.] World" ; inserted in pencil: "foreign" before "[del.] other" and above "of [del.] the"

47. Preceding two words inserted above "& shallow"

48. Deleted: "for the scholars" ; inserted and deleted: "for all that state [*illeg.*] deeply important period stage of life from five to twenty years" above the deletion "[del.] grace" "[*ins.*] knowledge" (see n 49 below) and "and virtue"

49. Deleted: "grace" ; inserted above: "knowledge"

50. Inserted and deleted: "subtly" above "ce" in "peace"

51. Deleted: "forever" ; inserted and deleted above: "so subtly"

52. Deleted: "their associations and reminiscences by such tinges daily & hourly tinges and into" ; inserted and deleted: "their" above "as" in "[del.] associations"

53. Inserted above "the"

54. Deleted: "& recollections"

55. Preceding ten words inserted above "young men and young women" . Deleted: "of the present and the future generations" ; inserted: "[del.] with in [*ins. and del. in pencil*] such multitudes and [*illeg. del.*] of beautiful associations and reminiscences" above the deletion.

—I Think the Mind.

Manuscript in Duke (21, #14). Inscribed in black ink on scrap of white laid note-paper, approx. 4" x 8". Blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart on verso. Watermarked with U. S. shield. Irregularly cut at top and bottom, and with smooth trimming at right. Evidently WW wrote this on the verso of the second leaf of a two-leaf sheet in 1872.

—I think the mind of thoughtful ¹ more & more,² comes to the conclusion/
 The³ general error⁴ of education—as in fact, in so many departments, &⁵
 in⁶ life⁷ as an entirety—is the want of a⁸ guine basis,⁹ a well¹⁰ laid founda-
 tion,—¹¹ the right plain, sketched on¹² the white canvas from the first.

1. WW did not complete the word and, leaving a space at the end of the line, began a new line.

2. Deleted: "we"

3. Deleted: "fatal"

4. Deleted: "& want"

5. Deleted: "perhaps"

6. Deleted: "all"

7. Deleted: "as"

8. Deleted: "ge" "gene"

9. Deleted: "a"

10. Deleted: "rightly r" ; inserted: "well" above "[del.] rightly"

11. Deleted: "a a"

12. Deleted in pencil: "in upon" ; inserted in pencil: "on" above "on" in "[del.] upon"

Are Not the United.

Manuscript in Duke (21, #14). Inscribed in black ink on white laid scrap, approx. 3⁷/₈" x 8¹/₁₆". Blue rules 1/2" apart on recto. Watermarked with US shield. The date is 1872.

Are¹ not the United States the proper field for these speculations—² are the vast masses of young humanity

1. Deleted initial word: "Is"

2. Deleted: "are the"

As in Every Show.

Manuscript in Duke (21, #14). Inscribed in black ink on white wove notepaper, approx. 2" x 4½". Blue rules ½" apart on recto. Text is framed at left and right by a large parenthesis in red ink. The date is 1872.

As in every show & every concrete object & every experience of life¹ the serious question is, What does it stamp²—what will it leave daguerreotyped for the future³ for weal or woe⁴—upon the mind? These physical⁵ realities, we call the world are doubtless only⁶ essentially real in the impressions they leave & perpetuate⁷ upon the rational⁸ mind—the immortal soul.

1. Preceding five words inserted above "object the serious"
2. Inserted in black pencil, deleted in ink: "for the future" above "mp" in "stamp—" and "wh" in "what"
3. Preceding three words inserted in black pencil above "leave" and "dagu" in "daguerreotyped"
4. Preceding four words and dash inserted in ink above "erreotyped" in "daguerreotyped" and "upon"
5. Inserted above "real" in "realities"
6. Deleted: "essentially" ; inserted in black pencil above: "essentially" ; inserted in ink, deleted in black pencil: "finally" following "[*ins.*] essentially" and above "ly" in "[*del.*] essentially" and "r" in "real"
7. Preceding two words inserted in black pencil above "leave" and "up" in "upon"
8. Inserted above "mind"

Amid the Problems.

Manuscript in Duke (21, #14). Inscribed in black ink on white wove scrap, approx. $3\frac{3}{16}$ " x $8\frac{1}{16}$ ". Blue rules approx. $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart on recto only. The top edge matches the bottom edge of "—I think the mind." The date is 1872.

Amid¹ the problems & claims of religion, science, politics, literature, art, it stands² conspicuous— Indeed what claims are³ greater?[?]—what really as great as its claims⁴ It⁵ combines all the rest. It is the⁶ stock, the⁷ stamp, the virtue of all the rest. Think for a moment.⁸

1. Inserted and deleted initial word: "Still" above "A" in "Amid" ; deleted: "politics" ; inserted: "the [*del.*] grand problems & claims of" above "[*del.*] politics religion, science, politics,"
2. Deleted: "at least as"
3. Deleted: "really"
4. Preceding seven words inserted above "greater? It [*del.*] comp" and "com" in "combines"
5. Deleted: "comp"
6. Deleted: "st" "fo"
7. Deleted: "fountain of all the rest"
8. Deleted opening of new paragraph: "there are now"

—Amid the Ardent Speculations.

Manuscript in Duke (21, #14). Inscribed in black ink on white laid scrap, approx. 5^{11/16}" x 8^{1/16}". Blue rules 1/2" apart. Torn smoothly from another leaf at right. Water-marked "IMPROVED" with stylized US shield surrounded by stars. Embossed "CONGRESS"—[US Capitol]—"CAREW D—" . The date is 1872.

—Amid the ardent¹ speculations of² so many good & earnest³ men & women, here in the U.S.,⁴ and indeed all⁵ over the civilized world, to benefit & remorm⁶ the race—is it not, after all, in⁷ a perfect system of comprehensive average public education, carried to a far⁸ greater extent than any thing yet known, & comprehending all— I have sometimes thought that a perfect system of education should literally comprehend *all*,⁹ of every age—

1. Inserted above "spec" in "speculations"
2. Deleted: "the" ; inserted and deleted: "som" above the deletion; inserted: "so many" above "good"
3. Preceding two words inserted above "men &"
4. Deleted: "the tendency"
5. Preceding two words inserted above "over" and "t" in "the"
6. Possibly WW intended "reform"
7. Deleted: "an absolute" ; inserted above: "a perfect"
8. Deleted: "hi"
9. Deleted: "folk"

—Discuss the Case.

Manuscript in Duke (21, #14). Inscribed in black ink on a white laid scrap, $3\frac{7}{8}$ " x $8\frac{15}{16}$ ". Blue lines $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart. Watermarked US shield. The date is 1872.

—Discuss¹ the case as much and as far as we like, it all comes back to *persons*, having them healthy, well-schooled, & without guile—/

Washington is a great *locale* for a boy (young man)—for his schooling
—the memories of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln,²
the vast areas, breadth, the public buildings, the Potomac³

1. Deleted: "as"

2. Names in column.

3. Last two entries in column.

I Am Not at All.

Manuscript in Duke (21, #14). Inscribed in black ink and red ink on a white wove scrap, approx. 7¹/₁₆" x 8¹/₁₆". Blue rules approx. 1/2" apart on verso only. The date is 1872.

I am not at all satisfied with the narrow programme of the public schools.¹ I would inscribe the word *Excelsior* on not in a spirit of personal pride, but for the² elevation health, happiness³ of humanity⁴—for developing in America,⁵ myriads of⁶ youths fit⁷ to become a far superber⁸ nobler⁹ more¹⁰ religious, race of Men & women,¹¹—ampler in body & in soul¹²—than has ever yet been seen—forming a¹³ Nation contributing the varied parts of a¹⁴ vast & inseparable Union, Many but One¹⁵ joyous & free leading the world¹⁶ & first in peace, but not incapable of being first in War—a people great in the¹⁷ unbounded amplitude of its territories, tallied by the equally unbounded generosity of its spirit,¹⁸ both large enough to welcome the world.¹⁹

1. Preceding sentence crammed in at upper left in red ink on five lines before "I would" and above "*Excelsior*".. Deleted [*illeg.*] above "public"

2. Deleted: "good"

3. Preceding two words inserted above "tion" in "elevation" and "of" and "[*del.*] the" . Inserted and deleted: "rep" above "ra" in "[*del.*] race"

4. Inserted above "ce—" in "[*del.*] race—" and "an" in "[*del.*] and" [*del.*] . Deleted: "the race—and the" "the [*ins. but not del.*] a [*illeg.*] struggle effort for making preparing"

5. Deleted: "a great and copious myriads" ; inserted and deleted above "copious" : "future" ; inserted: "myriads" above "myr" in "[*del.*] myriads"

6. Deleted: "far superber"

7. Inserted with a finer-nibbed pen above "s" in "youths"

8. Preceding two words inserted above "nobler"

9. Deleted: "more athletic"

10. Inserted above "re" in "religious"

11. Preceding five words inserted on two lines above "igious" in "religious"

12. Text stops at this word in center of leaf, continues next line at left margin.

13. Deleted: "great athletic joyous" ; this line in the leaf begins with "—a" and breaks off in the center of the leaf after the deletion. The following insertions are on a caret: "Nation" ; the following inserted above and down to the right of "Nation" : "contributing the varied parts of a vast & inseparable Union"

14. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

15. Where WW intended to place these two words is conjectural. The present reading is the only arrangement that makes sense. Only a facsimile could do justice to the placement of the preceding thirteen words.

16. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

17. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

18. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

19. Deleted: "welcoming the whole world."

There Should Be.

Manuscript in Boston Public Library. Inscribed in black ink on a white wove scrap, $3\frac{3}{8}$ " x 8". Blue rules $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart. The looseness of the writing suggests that this was written after 1860, probably in 1872. See "It is no doubt impossible."

There should be *men's & women's* schools, as well as children's

Probably the Best.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #618). Inscribed in black ink on soft yellow paper, approx. 5¼" x 4¹³/₁₆". The writing suggests a date in the 1870s or later.

Probably¹ the best education never undertakes to finish or² crown³ but only to⁴ disencumber,⁵ & prepare the way⁶ & field, so that all is afterward admitted in its due proportions and assimilated and digested, and the seeds of⁷ observation and experience & study become fruitful

1. Original beginning partly trimmed. Deleted: "for Real" ; inserted: "The best" above "[del.] Real" and "ed" in "education" ; capital on "The" not printed.

2. Inserted in wordspace above "finish" and "crown"

3. Deleted: "any one" ; inserted and deleted above: "persons"

4. Deleted with horizontal lines above and below and slashes: "[ins. below] prepare persons them to inquire and grapple; in [three words ins. and del. above "to inquire and grapple"] perhaps disencumber them with the terrible [illeg.] [four words ins. and del. above "with the terrible"] that they may close in and inquire and work their way through [two words ins. above "ugh" in "through" and "for"] many years for themselves,—"

The text which follows appears to be written with a finer-nibbed pen than the deletion and preceding text.

5. Deleted: "&" ; inserted and deleted: "and" ; inserted: "&"

6. Two preceding words inserted.

7. Deleted: "ale"

XXI. Oratory.

Thought Never to Be.

Manuscript in Trent (20, #10) Scrap of irregular faded laid white paper, with faint vertical lines $\frac{5}{8}$ " apart. Inscribed in black pencil. On recto is "America needs her own poems." Torn across at bottom obliterating at least one word. Lines written with hanging indentation and may have been intended as verse. Cancelled with vertical stroke. The writing seems to indicate a date in the late 1850s or early 1860s. First printed in *CW*, III, 275-276.

*Thought¹ never to be² forgotten
in lectures*

That we, this age, pass through, (now)
the terrible transitions to the
new age ages

We are now going through the parturition

America is an illustration of it

Few see the result—few have any
faith in it,

Many desperately cling to the old age;

Yet continues³ the divine whirl, the contest,

1. Deleted: "running"

2. Preceding two words inserted above wordspace between "never forgotten"

3. Inserted above "the"

Lectures on the Future.

Manuscript in NYPL (Berg). Inscribed in column in black pencil on a white wove scrap, 6¹/₄" x 3³/₈". First published in *N&E*, 178 (Pt. IV, #130; *CW*, X, 34). The date is probably in the 1850s.

Lectures on
The Future /
as, for instance
The America of the Future,
The Church of the Future

Abrupt Sentences.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #962). Inscribed in black ink with black pencil as noted on white wove paper, 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The content and writing, as well as the phrase "Agonistic Arena," relate it to "*Restrain Gesture*," much of which was written after 1857.

*Abrupt sentences—Concise
Lectures (? Readings,)¹
Agonistic Arena²*

SHORT, LAPIDARY, and *fit for an original and* VITAL *style of* ELOCUTION (not taking³ more than an hour to be delivered.)⁴

The whole presentation, from its directness to *you, audience—from the amazing,⁵ splendid, athletic magnetism of its vocalisation*—and from⁶ the charm of its *abandon⁷ hauteur* and *imperative⁸ decision⁹* making, merely¹⁰ as an entertainment—attraction, something far¹¹ beyond any of the ordinary attractions of the¹² theatres, the minstrels, concerts, &c. —

1. Black pencil.
2. A fist at left points toward these three headings.
3. Inserted above "m" in "more"
4. Black pencil. Parenthesis in hanging indentation.
5. Deleted: "and"
6. Deleted: "its"
7. Deleted: "and"
8. Preceding two words inserted above "r" in "hauteur" and "decisio" in "decision"
9. Preceding eleven words in hanging indentation. At left a fist pointing to the entire passage.
10. Inserted above "as"
11. Deleted: "more"
12. Deleted: "plays" ; inserted above: "theatres"

Important Premise.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #962). Inscribed in black ink and black pencil as noted on a white wove leaf, 12½" x 8". The writing, in style and size, resembles that of "Important Announcement," as does the size of the paper. The paper of "Important Announcement" is, however, distinctly tan. This probably was written in the period of WW's greatest interest in oratory, between 1857 and 1860.

*Important Premise of Literary Com-
position for Elocutionary
Purposes, Lectures, &c*

That the literary form, the sentences (short, generally,) paragraphs, *all*, should¹ invariably be² made with reference to a perfect eligibility³ for declamatory effects, and an irresistible latent vocal power and effect—not theatrical, but more determined and live than that—/

Attend especially to the openings of
Lectures, Readings, &c.—⁴
Begin with suppressed power, still, kept
back,⁵/

Lecture on The Present Times
The Unsurpassed Grandeur
of the Present Times⁶
(as opposed to the carping and
despairing of Carlyle)⁷/

1. Deleted: "fa"

2. Deleted in black pencil: "so constituted as to fuse in with an" ; inserted and deleted in black pencil: "such" above "con" in "constituted" ; inserted: " made with reference to a perfect" above "[*del.*] fuse [*del.*] in [*del.*] with an eligibility"

3. Deleted in black pencil: "to" ; inserted in black pencil: "for" above wordspace between the deletion and "declamatory"

4. Hanging indentation.

5. Hanging indentation. Line almost across leaf from left.

6. Very large script as a heading.

7. Line almost across leaf from left.

Of Europe Asia &c⁸

While the⁹ (different representative events going on in Europe, and Asia, previous to America, or in the beginning of America¹⁰

8. Large script.

9. Large script.

10. Preceding twenty words in hanging indentation in five lines.

A Rule in Elocution.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). In black pencil on a scrap of laid white paper. Brown (faded blue?) rules $\frac{5}{8}$ " apart, top margin $1\frac{1}{8}$ ". Indecipherable $\frac{3}{4}$ " circular embossed stamp in upper left corner. The neat handwriting and the subject suggest a date in the late 1850s.

A rule in Elocution.

Not to¹ wobble or quiver or duck the head, but keep it easily and equably erect with steady grace,/

measured and slow—measured—measured—measured

²One part or spot, however small, there should be in every address where the speaker is *all out*.

1. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

2. Deleted at beginning of line: "To"

Short Lectures.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #962). Inscribed in black ink on white wove scrap, 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". On verso: "Mrs. Louisa Whitman, Portland av. first house north of Myrtle av. has—an airy and [*preceding four words del.*] a pleasant and healthy location—large, new house—[*ins.*] and several large [*ins.*] unfurnished rooms to let [*preceding two words ins.*] with board" . Mrs. W is listed at this address in Hope and Henderson's Brooklyn directory, 1859–1865. In 1865 and 1866, her address is 122 Portland, in 1868 and 1869 (if it is hers) at 1149 Atlantic, and in 1871 and 1872 at 107 N Portland. Mrs. W. moved to Camden to live with George and Lou in August, 1872 and died there May 23, 1873. It is worth noting that in 1859 and 1860 WW is listed as a copyist. Since the advertisement mentions a new house, the date of the verso and possibly the recto is probably between 1859 and 1860.

Short lectures —¹

—²A lecture need not occupy more than an hour, or at³ most seventy-five minutes, in its delivery—⁴Cull out from the MS mass of verbage—The elocution should be *full of pauses* and of that style of vocalism which makes a little matter go a great way in the delivery.—Yes—*short Lectures*

1. First at left, pointing right; one above pointing down at "*lectures*"
2. Deleted: "No"
3. Deleted: "not"
4. Deleted: "it" ; fist in the sentence, after the deletion, pointing right.

For Oratory.

Manuscript not found. Text from *N&F*, 121. Possibly a note for a book or article. No date can be assigned, but the topic, and the fact that it is a Bucke MS, suggest a date before 1860. First printed *N&F*, 121 (Pt. III, #131; *CW*, IX, 143-144).

For Oratory. It is great art in a man to be able to triumph on either side of an argument and get applause. But the highest art is to be able to triumph only on the right side without regard to applause.

Lectures Ego-Style.

Manuscript in NYPL (Berg). Inscribed in black ink on white wove paper 6½" x 3⅞". The handwriting is rather loose, suggesting a date near 1860. The arrangement here on the printed page only suggests WW's MS. First printed *N&F*, 179 (Pt, IV, #131; *CW*, X, 34-35).

Lectures

Ego-Style
First-person
style¹

—Style of composition

An animated² *ego-style*, "I do not think"—

"I perceive"—

— or something (involving self-esteem decision, authority)

— as opposed to the current *third-person style, essayism, didactic*,—removed from animation, stating general truths,³ in a didactic, well-smoothed

1. The two preceding phrases are written one above the other at the upper left corner.

2. Deleted: "egotism-style"

3. Deleted: "but"

Restrain Gesture.

Manuscript missing. LC, #88, lists sixty photostated items (pages, clippings, scraps) and a holograph scrap "Style of Lectures." The original is described as follows: "Original notebook made up of paper scraps, mostly blue, pasted inside the covers of an old book, includes a thirty-eight page pamphlet, C. M. Nairne's 'Oration Delivered Before the Philothean and Peithessophian Societies of Rutgers College' (1857)."

There are five sources for the present text: (1) The holograph scrap; (2) Thomas B. Harned's "Walt Whitman and Oratory," *CW*, VIII, 244-260; (3) Furness, 31-38 and passim; (4) William R. Finkel, "Walt Whitman's Manuscript Notes on Oratory," *AL*, XXII (March, 1950), 29-53; (5) Jean Catel, in *Rythme et langage dans la 1re édition des "Leaves of Grass"* (Paris, 1930), and "Whitman, Conférencier," *L'Ane d'or*, V (1926) also quotes a number of passages. All sources, especially Harned and Furness, are unreliable in details. The present text is based on one or the other as indicated in the notes, but all texts have been collated against all five sources. Since reconstruction of the original notebook is impossible, texts are presented in the following order: (1) holographs or photostats of holographs in order of LC photostats; (2) texts available only in *CW* or Furness, (3) texts based on Catel.

The only date on the manuscripts is May 31, 1858, Whitman's thirty-ninth birthday [*L*_{3372R} ff.]. In later life he kept his birthday as a day of special meditation and dedication. Nairne's pamphlet was published in 1857, and Bulwer-Lytton's inaugural address at Glasgow was delivered on January 15, 1857. These notes can thus be dated during or after 1857.

For further notes on oratory see "Friday April 24, '57," "Walt Whitman's Lectures," "List of things recognized," "June 26, '59" and "Hospital Note book," which is of January, 1863.

{3362} *Restrain Gesture*¹

Restrain and curb gesture. Not too much gesture. Animation and life may be shown in a speech by great feeling in voice and look. Interior gesture, which is perhaps better than exterior gesture.

The amount of all this about "interior gesture" and a flowing forth of power, simply is: that so much must have been generated, such an exhaustless flood of vitality, tone, sympathy, command and the undeniable clinch (all the product of

1. Only the heading and last few lines of this leaf are visible on the photostat as indicated. Text from Furness, 37-38. First printed, in a different arrangement, in *CW*, VIII, 246. It is possible that the paragraph beginning "Subordinate and keep back . . .," is part of this leaf, since Furness so prints it. Finkel, "Oratory," 39-40, argues for a source in Nairne.

long previous perfect physique through food,² air, and exercise, &c &c) that a subtle something equivalent to gesture and life, plays continuously³ out of every feature of the face and every limb and joint of the body, whether active or still.—

[3364]⁴ Be bold! be bold! be bold! Be not too bold! With all this life and on the proper emergency, vehemence, care is needed not to run into any melodramatic, Methodist Preacher, half-inebriated, political spouter, splurging, modes of oratory. At first all possessed, severe, full, as standing over the subject, perfect commander of it—not letting out all that is known at first—reserving the best till due occasion.

[3365R]⁵ Style of Lectures

Shorter, more abrupt paragraphs carefully fitted

*For Elocutionary Purposes,*⁶

For expressive Pauses.

For a Vocal Style⁷/

Short paragraphs

like Mr. Clapp's⁸ leaders.

[3367R]⁹ ? is a great

The greatest actor orator is he who¹⁰ contains always a crowded and critical audience in himself, and plays speaks to that invisible house more than to any other.¹¹

[3366R]¹²—Unflagging *vitality* and *determination* in every assertion, flight, suggestion, hazarding, withdrawing, inquiry, rebuke, moroseness, poetic, &c of an oration—*as shown and ejected in the vocalism of every word* expressing those parts—that is what makes the main of a great speaker.—

2. Succeeding text from LC [3362].

3. Inserted above "ys" in "plays" and "out"

4. Only left margin of MS shows on photostat. Text from Furness, 217. First printed in *CW*, VIII, 250.

5. An irregular scrap of white wove paper inscribed in black ink. It does not appear to have been pasted into the book. First printed in Furness, 37.

6. Preceding three words in printed script. Marked at the beginning of the line by a pointing hand.

7. Three words in printed script.

8. Henry Clapp, Jr. (1814–1875), "King of Bohemia" and editor of the NY *Saturday Press*, between 1858 and 1860.

9. The verso of this leaf appears on [3366]: "Harry Franklin the . . . sailor, that had the . . . affection of the heart— . . . with his dog on the . . . of the Fulton bank is going* to be married on . . . a day, and there is excitement and confusion that [*illeg.*] Oh all the" . . . The ellipses indicate words covered by the stub of an intervening page.

10. Deleted: "has the" ; inserted above: "contains"

11. First printed in *CW*, VIII, 250.

12. Printed as part of [3367R] in *ibid.*, 250–251.

[3368R] *For a great Voice—Diet
and Drink*

Other requisites being favorable, a great voice¹³ is attained also by the right diet and drink.—Fat, gluttony, swilling beer, gin, “soda,” coffee, or¹⁴ tea,—these, and the like of these, make the voice thick, put¹⁵ flem in the throat, cause coughing and irritation, sometimes very unseasonable and interruptive.—

Let the diet be vigorous and enough, but simple.

Drink water only.—Such are the rigid pre-requisites of a great voice.¹⁶

[369R] *A Lesson*

Must be supplied, braced, fortified at all points.— It must have its facts—statistics, materialism—its relations to the physical state of man, nations, the body &c. and to money-making and well being———

It must have its intellectual completeness—its beauty—its reasoning to convince—its proofs &c

—And finally it must have its reference to the Spiritual—to immortality—to the mystic in man—that which knows without proof, and is beyond materialism¹⁷

[3370] (Lessons (as for
instance

To—(so and so)

—To Spiritualists—

To Lawyers

To———/

?Why not mention myself by name, *Walt Whitman*, in my speeches—aboriginal fashion? —as in the speech of Logan?¹⁸ or that of Boh'ongahelas?¹⁹ “I appeal to any white man to day if ever he entered Logan's cabin” &c—Or “After suffering the Americans to insult you, you cannot frighten Boh'ongahelas”²⁰

[3372R] May 31. '58.

It seems to me called for to inaugurate a revolution in American oratory, to change it from the excessively diffuse and impromptu character it has,²¹ (an ephemeral readiness, surface animation, the stamp of the daily newspaper, to be

13. Inserted above “is”

14. Inserted above word-space between “coffee” and “tea”

15. Deleted: “irritation and flem” ; inserted: “flem” above “in”

16. First printed in *CW*, VIII, 252.

17. Finkel, “Oratory,” 42, unconvincingly claims a source in Nairne.

18. English name of Tah-gah-jute (c. 1725–1780), a Cayuga chief. His alleged speech was first printed in Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* (1784–1785).

19. Variously spelled: “Buckongahelas,” “Buokongahelas,” etc. He was the head chief and noted orator of the Delaware Indians in Ohio. He died ca. 1804.

20. First printed in Furness, 33, 36, which omits text after “speech of Logan?”

21. Deleted: dash.

dismissed as soon as the next day's paper²² appears.)—and to make it the²³ means of the grand modernized delivery of live modern orations, appropriate to America, appropriate to the world.—²⁴ [3371R] (May 31–2) This change is a serious one, and, if to be done at all, cannot be done easily.— A great leading representative man, with perfect power,²⁵ perfect confidence in his power, persevering, with repeated specimens, ranging up and down 'The States—such a man, above all things, would give it a fair start.— What are your theories?— Let us have the practical sample of a thing, and look upon it, and listen to it, and turn it about for to examine it.—

Washington made free the body of America, for that was first in order—Now comes one who will make free the American soul.²⁶

“Lectures” or “Lessons.”

The idea of strong live addresses directly to the people, adm. 10 c., North and South, East and West—at Washington,—at the different State Capitols—Jefferson (Mo.)—Richmond (Va.)—Albany—Washington &c—promulging the grand ideas of American ensemble liberty, concentrativeness, individuality, spirituality &c &c.²⁷

Yes, the place of the orator and his hearers is truly an agonistic arena. There he wrestles and contends with them—he suffers, sweats, undergoes his great toil and extasy. Perhaps it is a greater battle than any fought by contending forces on land and sea.²⁸

Subordinate and keep back, as with a strong hand, all gestures, except a few irresistible ones, and look carefully to the termination or subsiding of gestures, namely: the falling back of the hands, arms &c. into position after they have been put out of it.²⁹

Sweeping movements, electric and broad style of the hands, arms, and all the upper joints. These are to be developed just as much as the voice by practice.³⁰

The strong, yet flexible face. By persevering exercises, muscular, mental, copious, practice of face, all the muscles attain a perfect readiness of expression, terror, rage, love, surprise, sarcasm.³¹

22. Deleted: “is”

23. Deleted: “orations”

24. Text of this and of following from plate facing Furness, 34.

25. Deleted: “and”

26. Text from Furness, 35. Although it does not appear on his plate, he prints this sentence as part of the preceding entry. First printed in *CW*, VIII, 245, as a separate item.

27. Text from Furness, 33. First printed in *CW*, VIII, 245. See also”

28. Text from Furness, 37. First printed in *CW*, VIII, 245–246. Finkel, “Oratory,” 38–39, points out a source in Nairne.

29. Text from Furness, 37. First printed in *CW*, VIII, 245–246. WW's elaboration of a source in Nairne (Finkel, “Oratory,” 38–39).

30. Text from Furness, 38. First printed in *CW*, VIII, 246. Catel, *Rythme et langage* . . . , 45, prints “GESTURES” as a title and “Sweeping movements” in small capitals as a subtitle.

31. Text from Furness, 38. First printed in *CW*, VIII, 247. Catel, *Rythme et langage* . . . , 45, prints “GESTURES” as a title and “Strong yet flexible face” as a separate paragraph.

Animation of limbs, hands, arms, neck, shoulders, waist, open breast, &c.—the fullest type of live oratory—at times an expanded chest, at other times reaching forward, bending figure, raised to its fullest height, bending way over, low down &c.³²

The great conciseness of matter fit for the public, and the necessity that there should be no hasty thrusting of one word or thought before the preceding words or thoughts have had time to alight and remain upon all the hearers, makes it a main thing in oratory to preserve a style as if held by a strong hand, a determined, not hurried, not too pouring style of vocalism, but yet animated and live with full swelling, serious life.³³

“Style.”

Practice and experiment until I find a flowing, strong, *appropriate speaking, composition style*, which requires many different things from the written style.³⁴

A certain live, alert, self-possessed, slowness—as of one fully weighing what is to be said, and reserving himself for labor ahead, also determined to give every passage or word their fair proportion—also to drive every one chock up into the hearer.³⁵

First to inhale slowly ample breath, two or three times; speaking of the actors in the Theatre of Bacchus, in Athens where the pieces of Sophocles, Æschylus and Euripides were played—they observed a rigid diet in order to give strength and clearness to the voice.³⁶

No miracle recorded in the ancient Pythia or of Christ is any greater than those of perfect reading. A perfect reader must convey the same pleasure to his or her hearers that the best vocalism of the Italian singers does, just as much as the voice of Alboni, Bosio, Bettini, or Brignoli³⁷ does. There must be something in the very vibration of the sounds of the mouth, something in the movements of the lips and mouth, something in the spirituality and personality that produces full effects.³⁸

Develop language anew, make it not literal and of the elder modes, but elliptical and idiomatic.³⁹

32. Text from *CW*, VIII, 247. Catel, *Rythme et langage* . . . , 45, begins a paragraph at “at times and expanded chest . . .”

33. Text from *CW*, VIII, 247.

34. Text from Furness, 35. First printed in *CW*, VIII, 247. Finkel, “Oratory,” 39, argues for a source in Nairne.

35. Text from *CW*, VIII, 247. In Catel, *Rythme et langage* . . . , 54, the last phrase reads: “also to drive every shock . . .”

36. Text from *CW*, VIII, 248.

37. See the contemporary “A VISIT TO THE OPERA” (pp. 388ff.) for these singers.

38. Text from *CW*, VIII, 248.

39. Text from *ibid.*

. . . . elliptical style as not to explain and spread out, not to be afraid of ellipses. An audience of Americans, would they not soon learn to like a hidden sense, a sense only just indicated? As just to indicate what is meant and let the audience find it out for themselves. Whether the whole of the present style of orations, essays, lectures, political speeches &c. is not far below the level of American wants and must not be revolutionized.⁴⁰

The whole oration may be brief, yet illimitable by the manner, personality, style of me. Not hurried gabble, as the usual American speeches, lectures, &c. are, but with much breadth, such precision, such indescribable meaning, slow and with interior emphasis. Counterparting in the first person, present time, the divine ecstasy of the ancient Pythia, oracles, priests, possessed persons, demoniacs &c. This is for oratory, a great art, combining much physical with equally much mental, great control needed, great bodily purification, diet, strength and vocal copiousness.⁴¹

FOR ORATIONS

Talk directly to the hearer or hearers:

You so and so

Why should I be tender with you?

Have you not, etc., etc . . .⁴²

From the opening of the Oration & on through, the great thing is to be inspired as one divinely possessed, blind to all subordinate affairs and given up entirely to the surgings and utterances of the mighty tempestuous demon.⁴³

MONOTONY (IMPORTANT)

I think there is a (hitherto undiscovered) great art and effect in a certain monotony of pitch of voice in passages.⁴⁴

Talk only of what is insouciant and native and spontaneous and must inevitably be said, otherwise, silence.⁴⁵

a slower style with long intervals of pauses, as in reading a chapter from the New Testament, the death of Christ, with a long pause after each verse, and sometimes between connected words of the same verse.⁴⁶

40. Text from *ibid.* See Finkel, "Oratory," 49–50. Catel, *Rythme et langage* . . . , 55, prints as a title "AN ELLIPTICAL STYLE" and begins the first paragraph: "As not to . . ." . He further points paragraphs at "as just to indicate . . ." and "Whether the Whole of . . ." .

41. Text from *ibid.*, 248–249. See Finkel, "Oratory," 49–50.

42. Text from Catel, *Rythme et langage* . . . , 52, whose text is more complete than that of *CW*. See also "June 26 '59."

43. Text from Furness, 37. First printed in *CW*, VIII, 249. Finkel, "Oratory," 40, argues for a source in Nairne.

44. Text from *CW*, VIII, 249. Heading from Catel, *Rythme et langage* . . . , 55.

45. Text from *ibid.* Finkel, "Oratory," 39, argues for a source in Nairne.

46. Text from *ibid.*

an invariable rule for the commencement of a great oration, first, to inhale ample breath, to stand immobile and motionless, the head immobile and motionless, the usual duckings and wabblings altogether intermitted. Never commence with apologies. Let the gestures and excitements come up in their own time. Action of the hand, not too sudden—no saw movements—no wagging the forefinger; a large stately style depends very much upon the hand, arm and wrist.⁴⁷

One spinal idea from one brain, to each specific lecture, oration or address, concentrate toward that visible or invisible.⁴⁸

After a style of abandon and familiarity among those talked with in rooms, streets, the circle of friends &c. when stepped upon the platform, what a change! suddenly the countenance illumined, the breast expanded, the nostrils and mouth electric and quivering, the attitude imperious and erect—a God stands before you—the sound of the voice also joins in the wondrous transformation—it becomes determined, copious, resistless.⁴⁹

The audience—every⁵⁰ hearer, must strain just as hard to go along with you as you do in your oratory. To hurry and plough up the soil of your hearer, constantly dropping seed therein, to spring up and bear grain or fruit many hours afterwards, perhaps weeks and years afterwards.⁵¹

*Style for Northern
and Eastern
audiences*

simple, intellectual, strong with not much or any ornament, full of subtle senses and meanings aesthetic, depending upon the hearer himself to pick the meat out of the nut-shells.

Style for the West more declamatory and direct, with natural abandon and passion, the very intensity of rudeness, power and natural meanings.

style for the South, rich, full of tracery, poetical allusions, figures, musical strains flowing, but all of the very purest quality.⁵²

From practising loud pieces with the voice, I have fallen into a *serious fault of too strong and frequent emphasis*,⁵³ from repeating the Shakesperian passages,

47. Text from *ibid.*, 250.

48. Text from *ibid.*

49. Text from *ibid.*, 251. Finkel, "Oratory," 50–51, argues for a source in Sir James Mackintosh, "Character of Charles James Fox" in *History of the Revolution in England in 1688* (London, 1834), LXXVIII.

50. Furness, 212n54, begins: "Every hearer . . ."

51. Text from *ibid.*, 251. Finkel, "Oratory," 40–41, argues for a source in Nairne.

52. Text from *CW*, VIII, 251–252. WW is describing a style appropriate for regional audiences, the first being Northern and Eastern. The first heading, "Style for . . . audiences," is from Catel, *Rythme et langage* . . ., 56–57, as are the paragraph divisions. Catel prints it on the right side of the leaf, with the heading in three lines, as if following WW's layout.

53. Italics from Furness, 35.

Caesar & Richard 3d.⁵⁴ This is to be carefully seen to. Practise the elementary sounds continually. A great style of reading or declaring has the secret, sane, non-theatrical quality of the style of nature's workmanship—it cannot afford to emphasize the bark, like the actors, preachers, lawyers and political congressmen &c. do, it reaches the souls of men by pleasing channels, mysterious, penetrating, as the light, the air, beauty, the songs of birds reach the soul, without the soul being conscious of it. It does not startle. At first you find no remarkable attractions about the great master of orators, but yet there is something too—something you know not what—in the voice, in the easy, calm air, the very play of the lips, all the line of the face—the attitude at rest—at the outset, and for a minute or two no muscle of the body stirred, not a single one—only the muscles of the face—a strange light and life, however, darting from the eyes, and never for one moment intermitted; pretty soon, as some new point pays out, an almost imperceptible stir in that immobile body—in a minute more, perhaps the head shakes its hair as if away from the face, or as a horse tosses his mane, or a trained runner his head, when perhaps leaping, electric⁵⁵ upon the course, with irrepressible life and joy—now perhaps a silent pause, then that voice again, with vigor, but now the body co-operates, as a lover; soon a passage that seems to force its own way through every limb—not through the hands only, but through all the trunk, and through the feet, and anon a stern and harsh passage, crackling and smashing like a falling tree, many other passages of many different tones, but all converging sooner or later into the clear, monotonous voice, equable as water—sometimes direct addresses made to you, the hearer, without a pause afterward, as if an answer was expected, then perhaps for many minutes total abstraction and traveling into other fields, the vocalism limpid, inspired, no account made of the material place, the audience, but only of that other more spiritual world in which the speaker is now roaming.⁵⁶

the purest and most perfect cantabile, forms, or rather gathers the tone in the back of the mouth, and makes none of the fearful work with the mouth itself that gives such a distorted appearance to English singers. In the good Italian singer, the mouth, lips, cheek, &c. are at ease, perhaps illumined with a gentle smile even during astonishing vocal performances. What is done is draped, not evident to the hearer. The back of the mouth, the throat, great interior energy and muscular alertness are necessary, all under the espionage of a severe taste, permitting no extreme attempts, but pleasing and natural and simple effects—the glory of perfect art.⁵⁷

54. Furness, 35, and Floyd Stovall, "Whitman's Knowledge of Shakespeare," *SP*, 49 (1952), 651, support the reading of preceding words. Stovall adds that "from . . . 3d" is interlined. He dates this MS between 1857 and 1858.

55. *CW*, VIII, 253, reads: "alactric." WW may have intended "alacrative," "alacrious," or "alacritous," but since he liked "electric," the word in *CW* is possibly a misprint.

56. Text from *ibid.*, 252–254.

57. Text from *ibid.*, 254. Harned says the context concerns the beauty of the Italian singing voice.

Within, the memory, the fancy, the judgement, the passions all are busy; without, every muscle, every nerve is exerted; not a feature, not a limb, but speaks. The organs of the body attuned to the exertions of the mind, through the kindred organs of the hearers, instantaneously, and as it were, with an electrical spirit vibrate those energies from soul to soul. Notwithstanding the diversity of minds in such a multitude, by the lightning of eloquence, they are melted into one mass, the whole assembly actuated in one and the same way, become as it were, but one man, and have but one voice.⁵⁸

“All men are not born with genius, but every man can acquire purpose, and purpose is the marrow and backbone of genius—nay, I can scarcely distinguish the one from the other.” “With purpose comes the grand secret of all worldly success, which some men call will, but which I would rather call earnestness.”⁵⁹

The importance of public speaking is to say something. A speech that proves nothing, but deals only in passionate appeals, cannot be effectual except on rare occasions; that is, when the facts which constitute the ground of the appeals are well known or have been previously established by proof.⁶⁰

Men witness the prodigies of oratory, they are themselves the victims of its power, and suppose it wholly a boon of heaven. They have no idea of the midnight study and the toil by day, the severe discipline, the long and patient training which the fruits of eloquence have cost in their production; such, for instance, as Brougham, who, to catch a proper power of expression, first locked himself up for three weeks to the study, night and day, of the single oration “on the crown,” and then writing over fifteen different times his peroration before bringing it to its final shape.⁶¹

He lightened, thundered and agitated all Greece. His eloquence had those piercing and all-lively strokes that reach the inmost soul, and his discourse left always in irresistible incentive, a kind of spur, behind it in the minds of his auditors. He had the art of uniting beauty with strength, and making even severity itself, and

58. Text from Furness, 38. First printed in *CW*, VIII, 254–255. Finkel, “Oratory,” 44–45, gives a source in an unidentified book page entitled “*Sect. CCXXXVIII—The Perfect Speaker*,” which is an extract from Thomas Sheridan’s *Lectures on the Art of Reading* (London, 1775), I, 311–312.

59. Text from *CW*, VIII, 255. Harned’s attribution of the quotations to Bulwer-Lytton is confirmed by Finkel, “Oratory,” 33, who discovered a clipping in LC entitled “Purpose or Earnestness,” which consists of extracts from Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton’s *Inaugural Address* as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, January 15, 1857. Ironically, an untitled clipping with “Important Announcement” criticizes Bulwer’s address for its platitudes about The Battle of Life, The Spirit of the Age, and The Soul of Society.

60. Text from *CW*, VIII, 255. See Finkel, “Oratory,” 35, who points out that it is an extract from Nairne.

61. Text from *CW*, VIII, 256. Brougham is Henry Brougham (1778–1868), Lord Chancellor, noted for his elaborately contrived perorations. He edited Demosthenes’s, “Upon the Crown,” in 1840. Finkel, “Oratory,” 43–44, points out that it is an extract from Henry N. Day, “The Training of the Preacher,” *Biblical Repository*, 2d. Ser., 7 (July, 1842), 71–90.

the kind of harshness with which he spoke against the flatterers of the people, popular. There was no resisting the solidity of his arguments, or the sweetness of his words, whence it was said, that the goddess of persuasion, with all her graces, resided on his lips. He never spoke in public until he had besought the gods not to suffer any expression to drop from him either incongruous to his subject or offensive to the people. Whenever he was to appear in the assembly, before he came out of his house, he used to say to himself, "Remember Pericles, that thou art going to speak to men born in the arms of liberty; to Greeks, to Athenians."⁶²

lively, close, concise style, which expressed a great many ideas in few words. He was a strong reasoner and by that means prevailed over the most sublime eloquence.⁶³

lively, penetrating, and lovers of a hidden sense who valued themselves upon understanding an orator at half a word; and really did understand him. Phocion adapted himself to their taste, and in a matter of conciseness could surpass even Demosthenes.⁶⁴

The eloquent man is natural. His manner, his tones, his style, his argumentation, his feeling, his flight of fancy are all spontaneous results of his mind being fully occupied with his subject and with nothing else for the time being. A manner studied and artificial, tones that rise not from and correspond not with, the sentiments he utters; a style that attracts attention to itself and is not the transparent vehicle of his thoughts; reasoning that is far-fetched and fantastic, pathos that tends to start no tear because it finds no sympathy; and figures that neither elucidate nor adorn, constitute a mere parody of oratory, and fitted to provoke the mirth of wise men, if their disgusts did not stifle their laughter.⁶⁵

They have spoiled more speakers than they have benefitted, for the artificial tones, postures, stretchings forth of the hands and heavenward rolling of the eyes, exhibited by persons who attempt to put their elocution in practice, and their ambitious imitations of the speeches which they have parrotted for spouting, counterfeit nature more abominably than the great stiff, staring dolls that excite rustic wonder in the shop windows of a metropolitan hairdresser. One flash of real nature is worth a whole eternity of such mummery. If our attention to gesture and inflexion has been carried so far as to cure all awkwardness of tone and motion then we have really made a valuable acquisition. We can then give our feelings full play

62. Text from *CW*, VIII, 256–257. Finkel, "Oratory," 45–47, identifies it as an extract from "*Sect. CLXXXIII—Pericles*," an unidentified book page in LC.

63. Text from *CW*, VIII, 257. The reference is to Phocion (c. 402 B.C.–318 B.C.), an Athenian general and statesman. Finkel, "Oratory," 48–49, identifies it as an extract from "*Sect. CCXXI—Phocion*," an unidentified book page in LC.

64. Text from *CW*, VIII, 257. The reference is to the Athenians.

65. Text from *CW*, VIII, 258. Furness, 211n50, says it was part of the notebook. Finkel, "Oratory," 35–36, identifies it as an extract from Nairne.

without the risk of ungracefulness; but if our art and practice in vocal gymnastics go not so far as to conceal themselves by becoming a second nature, we had better rest contented with that which nature has originally bestowed upon us, and which she will certainly not fail to display, if we honor her with the faith of true men.⁶⁶

An eloquent man must be earnest and honest. His heart's desire is to communicate with the mind of his audience, to lay hold of it and wield it for some cherished purpose. Neither can his oratory be of the highest order unless his earnestness springs from thoroughly honest conviction and passionate love of truth. Let earnestness be pure and strong enough, and the man who is under its inspiration will never be chargeable with unlawful artifice or vain-glorious exhibition. The appropriateness of every element in his discourse will be in direct proportion to the singleness and intensity of his desire to enforce trust. He does not talk as a mere talker, he says what he has to say and is content. He speaks as if his sole concern were the truth and pertinence, not the beauty and brilliancy of what he utters.⁶⁷

There cannot be true eloquence without solid thought. Eloquence is not pretty sentences and ornate diction, neither is it, as some suppose, the power of dramatic anecdote, whether picturesque, pathetic, or ludicrous. Eloquence is not any of these, although they all may frequently, and with propriety, go along with it, but it is thought and demonstration clothed with sentiment, adorned as the goodly tree is, by the efflorescence of its own branches, not by garlands hung on, and above all, instinct with the fervor of a truth worshipper.

Declamation that has no substratum of substantial mind work is mere literary syllabub, frothy, windy, and in large doses sickening.⁶⁸

Lessons number them as Lesson No. 5, 41, 66

?—no matter what it is—In Geography, Language, Politics—a person (as Elias Hicks, Voltaire, Emerson, &c)— At end, *with energy and as a fruit or crowning flowerage*, with perfect, perhaps vehement vocalization give the morale, finale, amount, application, part in the ensemble, relation to the ensemble of the subject of that Lesson—⁶⁹

Some Lessons or Discourses—may be in *Parts* as with separate headings—*not* in the connected and unbroken style of the present Discourses of preachers, Lectures, &c founding a *new school* of Declamation Composition⁷⁰ far more direct, close,

66. Text from *CW*, VIII, 258–259. Finkel, “Oratory,” 36–37, identifies it as an extract from Nairne.

67. Text from *CW*, VIII, 259–260. Finkel, “Oratory,” 37, identifies it as an extract from Nairne.

68. Text from *CW*, VIII, 260. Finkel, “Oratory,” 37–38, identifies it as an extract from Nairne.

69. Text from Furness, 34.

70. Furness, 34, prints these as alternative readings above and below the line.

animated and fuller of live tissue and muscle than any hitherto—entirely different (of course) from the old style—and acting as Consuelo’s free and strong Italian style did in the singing of the respectable village church⁷¹

In “Lessons” (Orations) the new speaker need not (must not) spare himself “I have sinned” must run through some part of them, or may run through—Confession, Penance, an open exposition—⁷²

An orator should be a perfect posturist. Practice continually in an easy costume all sorts of strong and free movements of the arms, hands, fingers, shoulders, elbows, neck, bending the breast, the waist sideways, the head cast down looking up askant, half backward, peering forward, etc., etc., etc. . . .⁷³

There are perhaps hundreds of poses of the body which a perfect posturist will so as to fall into unconsciously.⁷⁴

Names of Lectures

To (so and so)

as

To Religious inquirers

To women⁷⁵

71. The heroine of George Sand’s *The Countess of Rudolstadt*, tr. Francis G. Shaw (Boston, 1847). The episode referred to may be vol. I, 71–72, or II, 334. Helen Price says that WW praised the episode(s) in 1856 (Bucke, 29–30).

72. Text from Furness, 36.

73. Text from Catel, *Rythme et langage* . . . , 46.

74. Text from *ibid.*

75. Text from Furness, 33.

—Was It Thought.

Manuscript in Boston University Library. Inscribed in black ink on white paper, 8" x 5⁷/₈", described by the Library as rag paper cut down from a larger sheet. Bucke calls attention to "To a Foil'd European Revolutionaire" (1856), but this MS seems to concern itself with the aftermath of liberty. Nevertheless the relationship between poetic and oratorical utterance is very close. Were it not for the stage directions one might take this as a poem sketch. The writing is hasty and rather large, but seems to be that of the 1860s. First published in *N&F*, 149 (Pt. III, #202; *CW*, IX, 202).

—Was it thought that all was achieved when Liberty was achieved (shaking the head no—no—no.)¹ Make a large part of lectures-meaning consist in significant gestures.²

When rage no more the red and circling rivers, with ?³ in every eddy
when the exiles⁴ that pined away in distant lands and⁵ died, have borne the⁶ fruit
they died for—

1. In two lines at left.

2. At right of preceding entry. Preceded by a pointing hand. Deleted: "When liberty is achieved—[*ins.*] When Where [*del.*] the rages no more the circling river [*del.* "s"] in whose eddies so many heroes went down."

3. Inserted above deleted: "death"

4. Deleted: "have"

5. Deleted: "borne"

6. Inserted above wordspace between "borne fruit"

The Broad and Sweeping.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #962). Inscribed in black ink with black pencil heading on white wove scrap, 6³/₈" x 4". The writing is in the flowing style of the 1860s.

The broad and sweeping method of the Italian masters in music.¹

Style./

Free, rich, *broad* and full of *strength* and suppleness²/ (as Consuelo's³ Italian method in the village church with Hadyn—which first confounded, then scandalized, then⁴ carried away and made enthusiastic the congregation;⁵/

Short lecture Broad, free, abrupt sentences—not descending to details—

1. In black pencil above and at right of "Style."
2. Line across leaf.
3. Deleted: "style of singing" ; inserted: "Italian method" above "[del.] style of"
4. Written over [*illeg.*]; deleted: "made"
5. Fist at left pointing up to preceding. The episode occurs in George Sand's *Consuelo*. See "Restrain gesture" (p. 2242).

XXII. Health.

Of Insanity.

Manuscript in Duke (38, #33). Inscribed in black ink on bright green wove paper 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The paper may be surplus wrapper stock from *LG* (1855). Final 102 words from *N&F*, 82 (Pt. III, #20; *CW*, IX, 63–64). Accompanying the MS is a clipping of Anon., "Life-Force, Its Philosophy," *Life Illustrated*, NS 2, no. 5 (May 31, 1856), 33, which is heavily underscored by WW. The date is probably 1856. First printed, except for first paragraph, in *N&F*, 82 (Pt. III, #20; *CW*, IX, 62–64).

Of Insanity—some are affected with melancholia—in these, the organ of Cautiousness will be found large:— Some fancy themselves the Deity—in these Self-Esteem predominates:— Some are furious—in these Destructiveness, or (more likely) Combativeness. But a small organ may become diseased, and often does so.¹

The Temperaments—four—lymphatic, sanguine, bilious, and nervous.—Depend on the condition of particular systems of the body.— Brain and nerves predominantly² active seem to produce the nervous temperament.— The lungs and blood vessels being constitutionally predominant give rise to the sanguine.— The muscular and fibrous systems being predominant give rise to the bilious, (which should more properly be called the fibrous,) temperament. The predominance of the glands and assimilating organs give rise to the lymphatic.—³

Lymphatic.—round form, soft muscle, fair hair, pale skin, sleepy eyes, inexpressive face. Brain languid—other organs ditto. The system—a great manufactory of fat.

Sanguine—well-defined form—moderate plumpness—firm flesh—chestnut hair—blue eyes—fair complexion—great fondness for exercise and air—Brain active.—

Bilious, (Judas in Lord's supper,) black hair, dark skin, moderate stoutness, firm flesh, harsh features — great endurance and *bottom*—

1. Space for about five lines. Edward Hungerford, "Walt Whitman and His Chart of Bumps," *AL*, 2 (January, 1931), 359, identifies this paragraph as from George Combe, *Lectures on Phrenology* (NY, 1841), 112.

2. An [*illeg.*] erasure above the line.

3. Hungerford, 359–360, identifies this paragraph as a paraphrase of Combe's *Lectures*. . . , 112–114.

Nervous —fine thin hair—small muscles—thin skin—pale countenance—bright eyes—great mental vivacity

These temperaments are seldom found pure, almost always *Mixed*—as nervous & bilious, in Lord Brougham.—⁴ This nobleman was engaged in a Court of Law all day—went to House of Commons at evening, remained there till 2 in the morning went home, wrote an article for Edinburgh Review—then went again to Court—then again to House of Commons—and only toward the next morning to bed—his vigor having⁵ been unabated all that time. Nervous and lymphatic are frequently combined, these give great alternations of activity and indolence. Prof. Leslie⁶ would, for a day or two, apply himself with vigor and success to scientific affairs—then as if the nervous energy were exhausted and the nutritive system came up he would sit and eat and doze and sleep, paying no attention to study—then again the nervous would come into preponderance. Nervous and sanguine give activity—first mental—the other physical. The nervous is a grave, thoughtful temperament—sanguine has hilarity and hope, lights the countenance, impels to motion and to animal gayety.

4. Lord Chancellor. See "*Restrain gesture*," n61 (p. 2239).

5. End of MS. Balance of text from *N&F*

6. Sir John Leslie (1766–1832), mathematician and natural philosopher.

To Present a Case.

Manuscript in LC (81, #s770, 814-815, 817). Inscribed in black ink on the verso of scraps of blue Williamsburgh tax forms. Accompanied by forty-nine clippings. A number of these are from a chapter, "Diseases of the Bronchial Tubes and Air Cells," apparently pp. 356-368 of a medical text. There are also two copies of [Russell Thatcher Trall], *The Science of Swimming* (NY: Fowler and Wells, 1849), 36 pp. These are numbered LC #'s 766-831 (omitting numbers of manuscripts). The collection is no longer mounted inside the covers of Orson Squire Fowler, *Fowler on Hereditary Descent* (NY, 1852 or 1853) as stated in *LC Cat*, 17. The clippings cover a range of material: diet, exercise, water cure, bathing, dress, and temperance. All are from crank journals. There are a few underscorings and some marginalia indicating the contents.

In 1898 Thomas B. Harned delivered an address to a meeting of the Walt Whitman Fellowship, "Whitman and Physique," based on this material. First publication was in *Conservator*, 10 (June, July, 1899), 53-54, 68-70, then in *Walt Whitman Fellowship Papers: Fifth Year*, 8 (1899), 43-53, and in *CW*, VIII, 261-274, in 1902. It is obvious that many manuscripts have disappeared from the collection since 1902. Possibly Harned gave them to admirers of WW. It has not been possible to discover whether they were there in 1949 or 1950, when William L. Finkel studied the material or to discover the source of Finkel's quotations.

Therefore the text here presented is based on that of the *Fellowship Papers* and the four surviving manuscript scraps. The *Fellowship Papers* text and the *Conservator* text are identical (with one exception). *CW* text has a fuller use of quotation marks. It is assumed that Harned read proof at least on the Fellowship version, but the form of all three may be due to Horace Traubel. Since the authority of all three is dubious, no collation is presented here.

Harned, of course, believed that he was dealing with original compositions, but William L. Finkel, "Sources of Walt Whitman's Manuscript Notes on Physique," *AL*, 22 (1950), 308-331, has demonstrated that, with two possible exceptions, the notes are not original WW material.

Insofar as the clippings are datable, they range as follows: 1845 (1), 1848 (2), 1849 (2), 1855 (1), 1856 (1), 1857 (1), 1860 (1). One clipping not used is dated 1857 by WW. Thus we have only an earliest possible date for each "manuscript." Since the manuscript scraps which remain are written on Williamsburgh tax blanks, they could not have been written earlier than 1857.

[814R-815R] is a transcription of material published in 1855 and 1857; [817R] has no discoverable source. The distribution of dates, however, coincides with what seems to have been WW's period of greatest interest in personal hygiene and health, as reflected in the first three editions of *LG*. They also coincide with the dates of his familiarity with the firm of Fowler and Wells. In 1849 he had a phrenological reading there and the firm published *LG* (1856).

[770R]¹ To present A Case² of³ the Condition of Perfect Health.

[814R]⁴ The persistent exercise, for developing and strengthening them, of the lower legs, and of the ankles and feet—No example is yet seen, (not in modern times hereabout at any rate,) of the power of endurance and [815R]⁵ performance of the legs—walking, running, leaping, supporting, &c.— The legs have a great deal to do even with the accomplishment of the work of the whole of⁶ the other parts of the body, and give grace and impetus to it.—

Walking, perfect walking, in man or woman, is a rare accomplishment⁷ more rare than fine dancing, and⁸ more desirable than the finest dancing.— Who ever sees a woman walk perfectly?— Who ever sees a man?—

[817R]⁹ Between the ages of 35 and 80 may be the perfection¹⁰ and realization of mortal life; rising above the previous periods in all that makes¹¹ a person better, healthier, happier, more commanding, more beloved, and more a realizer of love. The mind matured, the senses in full activity, the digestion even, the voice firm,¹² the walk untired, the arms and chest sinewy and¹³ imposing, the hip-joints flexible,¹⁴ the hands capable of¹⁵ many things,—the complexion and blood pure, the breath sweet, the procreative power¹⁶ ever-ready in man, the womb-power in

1. In black ink on verso of Williamsburgh tax form fragment. Harned, *Fellowship Papers*, 51, describes it as “written . . . as a preface to all these notes. . . .”

2. Original beginning deleted: “The” ; inserted: “To present A” above the deletion and “Case of”

3. Deleted: “a Specimen” ; inserted above: “the Condition”

4. On blue Williamsburgh tax form. Finkel, *AL*, XXII, 323–324, shows WW’s source almost certainly to be Russell L. Trall, *The Illustrated Family Gymnasium*, 2 vols. (NY, 1857), I, x, 30; II, 138–148, and *The Hydropathic Encyclopedia*, 2 vols. (NY, 1855), 369.

5. In black ink on verso of fragment of Williamsburgh tax form. Finkel, *ibid.*, 323–324, cites loosely parallel passages from Russell D. Trall, “Family Gymnastics,” *Water Cure Journal*, 22 (July, 1856).

6. Preceding three words inserted above “the” and “ot” in “other”

7. Deleted: “, and”

8. Deleted: “it is”

9. In black ink on a fragment of blue wove Williamsburgh tax form, with address across the top. Harned prints this in *Fellowship Papers*, 52–53. Finkel, *ibid.*, 328–330, has found no source but is skeptical of its originality. The only other example of a wove tax form in these MS is in “Employments” (p. 379).

10. Deleted: “and happiness of” ; inserted: “and realization of” above “ness” in “[del.] happiness” and “mortal”

11. Deleted: “one” ; inserted above: “a person”

12. Deleted: “and”

13. Preceding two words inserted above “est” in “chest” and “imp” in “imposing”

14. Finkel, *ibid.*, 328, errs in finding this phrase in “I Sing the Body Electric.” Cf., however, “I Sing the Body Electric,” sec. 2, ll. 13–14.

15. Deleted: “all” ; inserted above: “many”

16. Deleted: “perfect—” ; inserted above “ers” in “power” and “[del.] perfect” : “ever-ready [illeg. del.]” Insertion continued: in man,—[del.] the womb-power in women—” above “the inward organs all” and “swe” in “sweetly” . A dash after [del.] “perfect” is not printed.

woman—the inward organs all sweetly performing their offices;—¹⁷—during those years the universe presents its riches, its strength, its beauty, to be¹⁸ parts of a man, a woman.— Then the body is¹⁹ ripe, and the soul also and all the shows of nature are attained²⁰ and the production of thought in books.

Among the physical causes may be mentioned first, a weak, unstrung, and feeble organization, which wanting the stimulus of warm blood, of a free circulation, and of quick transmissions of nervous energy, predisposes the individual to desire artificial excitements. What pity may we well feel for the flabby, lymphatic, half-grown, puny creatures, called men and women, of whom earth is full! What wonder that such morbid abortions are tempted to kindle within their sluggish systems some sparkles of genial life, by transient exhilaration!

Next to a state of half-health, may prevalent habits of life be spoken of, as a predisposing cause of intemperance. Foul Miasms from dirty streets, ill-ventilated and ill-lighted houses, deficient and bad food, absence of baths, irregular hours, producing alternate feverishness and torpor, which all but force the sufferers from these abuses to periodical stimulation.

Overwork and idleness come next in the enumeration of the physical causes of intemperance. Incessant, monotonous drudgery, produces an exhaustion of the muscular and nervous system, from which the natural cure is some powerful excitant. The sense of weariness²¹ which follows excessive labor, is almost insufferable. And blame for the drunkenness so common among the working classes of all countries, may fairly be referred back to the task-masters, who compel this violation of natural laws, by the repugnant toil they impose.

Closely connected with this cause, is the last which can now be mentioned. It is the want of sufficient rest and relaxation. How much that word Recreation means! Can we not learn from the observation of children, what a surplus of bodily vigor joy can give? Had men more play, they would be too full from within of animal spirits ever to feel the need of external excitement.

God's elixir of life is wondrously compounded of sunlight, and pure air and water; of the perfume of flowers, of music, and the continual change of hours and seasons.

We drive each other to quaff the fiery fountain²² which bubbles up from hell, by robbing one another of the exhaustless animal joy, which our Creator would pour upon us from all living and moving things. To drink to fulness of the nectar which Nature distills, is to be intoxicated with health. Drunkenness is the exact opposite of this.

17. Deleted: "all" ; inserted: "during those years" above the deletion and "the"

18. Deleted: "a"

19. Deleted: "realized" ; inserted above: "ripe"

20. Preceding two words inserted above "re" in "nature" and "and the"

21. Source (Finkel, *ibid.*, 311) continues "and weakness"

22. Reading based on source in Finkel, *ibid.*, 311, and in *Conservator*, 10 (June, 1899), 53. Harned prints "mountain" in *Fellowship Papers*, 45, and *CW*, VII, 264.

2. Among the mental causes of Intemperance, may be placed first, the want of habits of observation and reflection. The active brain sends forth along the nerves of motion, a constant, invigorating impulse, and gathers up from the sensitive nerves ever-varying impressions. But a dull brain makes the body heavy and inelastic. An uneasy sense of latent mental power makes the uncultivated man struggle against the brutal lethargy which he finds creeping over him. He delights in the quickening of his thoughts, which stimulants for the moment produce.

Closely connected with this cause, a second may be found in the mechanical²³ nature of most kinds of labor. A slight effort of mind is required to gain skill in a branch of industry; but afterwards, there follows but a series of repeated experiences.²⁴ No new lessons are learned, no new volitions made. Nature, gently, by her living laws, would stimulate the mind to ever-fresh discoveries, and fresh inventions, which bring serene delight. But routine baffles the powers of thought; attention flags amidst unvarying toil; and reason is dizzied by the²⁵ perpetual recurrence of the same petty details. Is it wonderful, that men so gladly escape from their noisy workshop²⁶ onto the high grounds of fancy and wit? Exciting drinks seem to set free their prisoned talents, open wide prospects, and break up the plodding crowd of common thoughts. Sad is it to be obliged to confess, that in our present modes of labor, multitudes find their only hours of anything like a poetic or ideal state of mind, when met to talk with boon companions.

And this brings up to view a third mental cause of intemperance. It is the want of constant, free intercourse with other minds. Conversation is one of the most delicious stimulants which life affords. A new mind opened to us, is better than a novel. Our own familiar thoughts reflected from one²⁷ another's experience, seem to gain a new gloss and brightness. Images and echoes multiply the charm of sights and sounds. But how little opportunity, life, as now arranged, allows for habitual intercourse of mind with mind. Untaught, dull from drudgery, prejudiced and proud men meet in society, oppressed with false shame and taciturn habits. Drink breaks down the barriers, brings them to an intellectual level and quickens self confidence, while disarming criticism. Men filled with facts and suggestions, have a conscious wealth of mind; it is a delight to them; and they feel small temptation to seek the feverish visions of intemperance, which mock their less cultivated fellows with a show of thought. They drink too often of living springs to be deceived by a mirage.

3. Among the moral causes of Intemperance comes first, that most prolific one, unhappy homes. How many a woman has been led to drown the degrading consciousness, that she has given her life to one unworthy of her, in the delirium of intoxication! Disappointment and despair in heartless marriage are too intolerable. And how many a man is driven to the club or the hotel, by the sneer, and

23. Word in italics in source (Finkel, *ibid.*).

24. Source reads: "experience" (Finkel, *ibid.*).

25. Source reads: "a" (Finkel, *ibid.*, 312).

26. Source reads: "work-shop of life" (Finkel, *ibid.*).

27. Not in source (Finkel, *ibid.*).

the scowl, and petty usurpations of a wife. The dreariness of a home where the indifference and hate are the Penates,²⁸ may well account for, though they cannot excuse, a resort to temporary self-forgetfulness. Deprived of the most longed-for sources of constant excitement in reciprocated love, how easy is the surrender to a transient joy. When home, too, is merely the place, as it too often is among the poor, where the weary partners come to pour out upon each other, or upon their children, the hoarded spleen of the day, and to aggravate by recriminations, care and anxiety already too oppressive, how tempting seems the careless revelry of the gin-shop and bar-room.

A second, and a very common moral source of intemperance, is the want of pure and ennobling public amusement. Even the savage shows in his passion for festive meetings, how strong is our instinct to seek social pleasures amidst a multitude. The civilized man manifests this tendency yet more. The mere presence of a crowd, gathered to behold a spectacle, is a powerful excitement, no matter how trifling is the occasion that summons them together, nor how wanting in genius and grace are the people. But most of our public gatherings are of a kind that leave a feeling of vacuity. The show and treat are pure.²⁹ It is no wonder, then, that artificial stimulants are brought in to waken an enthusiasm, which the scene itself cannot give. There is a rude address to the senses in our amusements, rather than a delicate appeal to the imagination and taste, and through them to the judgment and heart. We jostle each other in selfish scramble, because unaccustomed to refined joy. There is so little in the modes of the meeting to call out courtesy and high bred disinterestedness, that the chief thought is of selfish indulgence. The fit accompaniment of our holidays is the booth. And it need excite no surprise, that at the end of a day of pleasure, the heels of many are lighter than their heads.³⁰

Sir Isaac Newton, when composing his celebrated treatise upon optics, confined himself to water and a vegetable diet, to which abstemious mode of living may be ascribed the great age, eighty-five, to which he attained. John Locke is instanced as another case of intellectual activity under like conditions. Never eat or drink to gratify the varieties of appetite, but merely to support nature.³¹

Nature created our bodies hardy and robust and capable of resisting the common influences of cold and the fatigues necessary in the ordinary duties of life. Most of the diseases arise from effeminate life, or too great indulgence of the Passions. We enervate, and render ourselves inadequate for our duties, by a soft, inactive, luxurious mode of life. The man surrounded by plenty or superfluity, and by all the

28. Source reads: "The dreariness of a home, where indifference or hate are the *Penates*," (Finkel, *ibid.*).

29. Source reads: "poor" (Finkel, *ibid.*, 313).

30. Finkel, *ibid.*, 309-313, points out the source in an unidentified newspaper reprint of part of "The Temperance Reform," *Harbinger*, 1 (July, 1845), 91-93. WW's clipping is in this MS (sheets #830-831).

31. Finkel, *ibid.*, 316, points out source in an 1830 address by David Hosack reprinted in "Abstinence an Aid to Study," *Water Cure Journal and Herald of Reform*, 1 (May, 1848), 70-71.

delights of existence, falls in the midst of them. Too close rooms by day and night—too much nightly clothing—too little bodily exercise—and that not in the rustic air.³²

To sedentary persons, violent, sudden and fitful exercise is always injurious, and such are gymnastic performances. The exercise of the student should be regular, gentle, deliberate, always stopping short of fatigue. One hour's joyous walk with a cheerful friend, in street or field or woodland, will never fail to do a greater or more unmixed good, than double the time in the most scientifically conducted gymnasium in the world. There are individual cases where the gymnasium is of the most undeniable benefit, but the masses would be better for having nothing to do with them.

Eat³³ moderately and regularly of plain, nourishing food, well prepared; spend two or three hours every day in the open air regardless of all weathers, in moderate, untiring activities. Everyone knows that exercise of the body increases circulation of the blood. The violent exercises in gymnasiums, as almost if not universally conducted hitherto, produce a violent flow of blood, of nutrient particles, to the various muscles which are brought into most active exercise and being carried thither faster than they can be taken up, unmixed harm is the result. Hence the lifelong disablements and even deaths which have resulted from gymnastic performances and other violent exercises. Thus it is that the sudden, violent, fitful, exhaustive exercises of ordinary gymnasiums are unwise, hurtful, dangerous. To derive from muscular exertion a high degree of health and manly vigor, it should be moderate, continuous, regular, in the open air, and should be pleasantly remunerative beyond the mere benefits of the exercise itself.³⁴

Cleanliness and exercise, both so necessary to health, are combined with a high degree of enjoyment in the practice of this art. The importance of frequent ablutions can scarce be overrated. He was almost a believer in water as a preventive of disease and in swimming as its most practical application. Swimming is an exercise which brings more muscles into action than any other, and the body being supported by an equal pressure on every part the action is harmonious.³⁵

32. The source is a quotation from Robert Dick (1810–1878), *Diet and Regimen*, 1st ed. (Glasgow, 1838, 2d ed. 1839). *National Union Catalog* does not list an American edition. Finkel, *ibid.*, 317, says WW found the paragraph in "Useful Advice," *Water Cure Journal*, 6 (October, 1848), 92–93, which he clipped. Finkel reports clipping in LC. Not found.

33. In *CW*, VIII, 269. Harned begins "'Eat. . . .'" ; *Fellowship Papers*, 49 reads "eat. . . ."

34. Finkel, *ibid.*, 321–322 points out source in [Russell B. Trall, M.D.] *The Science of Swimming* (NY, 1849), 5–6. Two copies are in LC 81.

35. Harned is obviously interpolating. Finkel, *ibid.*, 319–320, points out a source in a clipping of an open letter by Dr. William D. Hall, editor of *Hall's Journal of Health* in *NY World*, (September 25, 1860). The *World* clipping is in this MS (#769A).

Hard study is generally thought to be adverse to health and conversely unhealthy students are thought or think themselves to be identical with hard students. Paleness of countenance, nervous weakness and headache are cultivated or affected because they are supposed to indicate superior intellectual gifts. Dangerous fallacy which has cost many a good fellow his life! No man or woman either ever killed himself or herself with hard study. Not a bit of it. But many a lazy fellow, fond of intellectual occupation with physical inaction, has fallen a victim to disordered digestion and crazed nerves, all the time laboring under the grievous mistake that he was one of those favorites of the gods who die young, because they are too ethereal a temperament to stand the rude shock of such a miserable world as this. Why, the world is a brave world—worthy to be the dwelling place of the noblest creatures God ever made. It is too good for the simpleton who does not know how to take care of himself, who mistakes neglect of body for culture of mind, who goes moping and moaning about because his breakfast sits uneasily on his weakened stomach; thinking it to be proof that he is too delicate or too refined for the hardships of human condition. Up, man, dreamer, fool—go plunge into the health giving, joy inspiring waves of yonder ocean, while summer lasts; take a cold shower bath in winter; walk long distances, if you have the time, swing dumb bells if you have not. Cold water, vigorous exercise, hard study—these are the conditions of moral, mental and bodily health. All kinds of devils, as well as the blue devils, flee before these mighty enchanters. Even the leader of them all, the old prince of darkness, fears dumb bells, cold water and an active brain more than he did Martin Luther's inkstand.³⁶

A sound mind in a sound body ripening into perfect manhood. Longevity is but a law of nature.³⁷ If we die early it is more likely to be our fault.

Between the years of forty and sixty a man who has properly regulated himself may be considered in the prime of life. His matured strength of constitution renders him almost impervious to the attacks of disease and experience has given soundness to his judgement. His mind is resolute, firm and equal. All his functions are in the highest order. He assumes mastery over business, builds up a competence on the foundation he has formed in early manhood, and passes through a period attended by many gratifications. Having gone a year or two past sixty he reaches a viaduct called the "Turn in Life," which, if crossed in safety, leads to the valley of old age, round which the river winds. The system and powers having reached their utmost expansion, now begin to close like the flowers at sunset or break down at once. One injudicious stimulant, a single fatal excitement, may force it beyond its strength.³⁸

36. A verbatim reproduction of an unidentified clipping in this MS (sheet #s 811–812) (Finkel, *ibid.*, 324–325).

37. Finkel, *ibid.*, 326, says source of this sentence is "Longevity—Is It the Law of Nature?" an unidentified clipping of 1857 (this MS, sheet # 818–820).

38. Clipping in this MS (sheet #816). Harned uses quotation marks in *Fellowship Papers* but not in CW, VIII, 273. Except for the first two sentences, an extract from "The Turn of Life," *Water Cure Journal*, 8 (December, 1849), 172. (Finkel, *ibid.*, 326–327.)

Important Announcement!

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg). Inscribed in black ink on tan wove paper, approx. 12½" x 8". Both leaves cancelled with vertical stroke. On verso of "A prostitute—large" [1,4]. With it an untitled clipping criticizing Bulwer-Lytton's Glasgow Inaugural Address ("Restrain Gesture"). Since Thomas B. Harned read his paper "Whitman and Physique" to the Walt Whitman Fellowship, May 31, 1898 ("To present A Case"), WW's interest in health and hygiene has been well known and is, of course, implicit in *LG*. It has not been noticed, however, that he proposed at least one "original" series of articles on the subject. Harned thought that the notes he was using dated back to the 1840's, but they could not have been written earlier than 1855. The writing of this MS is flowing and suggests a date in the early 1860's. The fact that WW is uncertain of when and where the articles will appear suggests that it was written in 1859–1860 when he was unemployed.

Important Announcement!

A first Class Original Work on
MANLY TRAINING

We commence this shall commence next¹ week a series of articles which cannot be better indicated than by the aim stated in their own heading,

*To teach the science of a sound
and beautiful body.*

This work is not only original, and of a high degree of literary merit, but goes into full practical details, giving that specific advice in all departments of manly training for health, whose results, if faithfully followed, would be, for every man who reads it,

A Noble and Manly Physique

The articles, which we shall continue from week to week, contain many things of direct application to²

Young men, Mechanics Operatives in Factories All Employees in-doors,
Farmers, Gentlemen³/

1. Preceding three words written above "commence this"

2. The beneficiaries of the articles are listed in two columns separated by a line down the middle of the leaf.

3. End of the first column. The slash indicates the line down the leaf.

Clerks Actors, Vocalists, and all public performers. Lawyers, Preachers, &c. Literary Persons. Middle-aged and elderly men, &c. &c.

To these—to all—the facts, laws, [*illeg.*]⁴ the[?] above work [2] will be of priceless value.— For what can be more to a man *than a perfect condition of health and strength?*

These articles are for *the People*; all can not only appreciate them, but easily follow them.— Technical and medical terms are avoided.— After once commencing them they will be found of most engrossing interest.— They give the great subject of training for health its due position, not as something merely for an occasion here and there, to fit a man for a race, a prize-fight, &c; but as

*A system for general and continual
use among young and middle-aged
men.*

This point is argued with consummate eloquence and ability.—

We have said enough, we are sure, to make the reader look with interest upon these valuable articles,—which will be continued for some weeks.

4. About five words are lost in the tatters at the bottom of the leaf.

A Live Work.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #190). Inscribed in black ink on two sheets of tan wove paper, approx. 9" x 7" (badly torn at bottom and [1] trimmed at sides) and 11¼" x 7¾". Both leaves cancelled with two vertical slashes. On versos pp. [2] and [3] of "A prostitute—large." Probably refers to the same projected series on physique WW announced in "Important Announcement." The date is also probably of the early 1860s.

*¹A live work now being published
every week in the*

*Manly HEALTH and TRAINING
with Off-hand Hints on their Condition*

"To teach the science of a sound and beautiful body" is the motto of this work[?] every[?] young and middle-aged man in America[?] should read it.—

Among others, the following are some [?] of [?] the topics on which it treats:² appetite steady reason must assume the helm. fine Animal Man. All[?] study, and no Physique, is death. Athletism[?] vitality[?] in its relation to health. Training[?]-which, [illeg.] full sense, [illeg.] entire theory[?] [illeg.] excellence [illeg.]³/ Present condition of the health of the masses The great American evil, digestion. Simple and hearty food, [illeg.] condiments Excessive brain action When ought a man to [illeg.] primest condition[?] [illeg.]?⁴

[2] [illeg.] Birth-influences—Breeding superb men. Regular occupation Vegetable diet—it can never become general Exercises, games, and off-hand contrivances Development of the strength of the legs. Swimming and bathing Training for the Voice Gymnastic schools. Curious virtue of outdoor air Early rising Night eating Drinks—hot liquids A word to men in deficient health⁵/

1. In black pencil, deleted at top of page: "For a placard"
2. Topics arranged in two columns.
3. End of first column: bottom of page torn off.
4. End of second column; bottom of page torn off.
5. End of first column.

[*Illeg.*] Medicines—Do they do any[?] good? Beauty—What is it more than
health, and a sound physique? The senses. The feet. Plenteous
Breathing Dry rubbing the body Walking Could cities be as healthy
as the country? Could there be an entire nation of vigorous and sound men?
 Strength of future Americans General rules for eating and drinking
 Conclusion—the purpose[?] of all⁶

—The above work, which is original, and full of practical details, is written
in a masterly manner—and is intended mainly for American young men.— It
will be continued, week after week in the

6. End of second column.

Since These Articles.

Manuscript in *LC* (#74, sheet #551). Inscribed in black pencil on irregular and torn white wove scrap. The topic suggests this was written in 1859 or 1860. First printed in part in Furness, 56.

Since these articles were commenced[?] [*illeg.*] have seen some very indignant¹ rebukes in various papers on the [*illeg.*] of the physical degeneracy of[?] the American race—But the truth is/

There will be in America as great specimens of men, as fine horses, [*specimens*]² as in any other part of the world/

The moral of the late fight—endurance is *the main thing*—not a splurge at first

1. Delete: “disclaimers [?]” ; inserted below: “rebukes”
2. Ditto in MS.

Index

Index

- ABC**, 546hn, 885hn, 886n, 1070hn
AL, 39hn, 141n, 249n, 263n, 266n, 344hn, 434n, 453hn, 457n, 459hn, 474hn, 834, 871hn, 1365hn, 1409hn, 1432hn, 1572hn, 1624hn, 1712hn, 1787hn, 1788hn, 1812hn, 1816hn, 1824hn, 1827hn, 1830hn, 1835hn, 1840hn, 1841hn, 1843hn, 1846hn, 1858hn, 1860hn, 1878hn, 1886hn, 1892hn, 1894hn, 1917hn, 1920n, 1922n, 2008hn, 2013n, 2014hn, 2020hn, 2021hn, 2023hn, 2024hn, 2231hn, 2231hn, 2249n
 "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads" (WW), 1058hn, *see* "At the Ferry Houses, 1060n, 1092n, 1233n, 1531hn, *see* "The name of this," 1543hn, *see*, "I hope to go," 1812hn
 A battle (WW), 515, 515n, *see*, Antietam, "The Artilleryman's Vision"
 Abbot, Jack, 453, 495, 495n, *see*, "W Whitman Portland av."
 Abbott, Dr. Henry (proprietor, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities), 138n
 Abbott, John Stevens Cabot (*au.*, *The History of the Civil War in America*), 703, 703n
 "Abe Debevoise" (WW), 253n, *see* Ike Debevoise
 A Book (WW), 354
 "A Boston Ballad" (WW), 2124n
 "about Names" (WW), 1679
 "About 12 last night" (WW), 722
 "about 2100 enlisted" (WW), 716
 "Abraham Lincoln" (WW), 776
Abraham Lincoln and Walt Whitman (Barton), 480hn, *see*, "return my book," 504n, *see*, *Sight at the Lacy House*, Glicksberg, 885hn
 "Abraham Lincoln's Religion" (Herndon), 770hn
 "Abraham's visit to Egypt" (WW), 138n, 2022
 Abrams, Jarvis, 494
 "A Broadway Pageant" (WW), 833n
 "—a brother" (WW), 685
 "Abrupt sentences" (WW), 2224, *see*, "Restrain Gesture"
 "Absalom Swanger" (WW), 571n, 619n, 654, 659hn, *see*, "Albion F. Hubbard," "MEMORANDA OF A YEAR (1863)"
 Academy (London), 1167hn, 1167
 Academy of Music (NY), 392, 392n, 540n, *see*, Donizetti, Gaetano, *Il Trovatore*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, "a m Dr. L B Russell," 1840hn, 1840
 "a cañon (Kanyon)" (WW), 1957
 "A Case from Second Bull Run" (WW), 605n
 "A Character" (WW), 301, 302n
 Acheman, Milton, 25 5th av. (driver), 496, 496n, *see*, "Addresses," 838, 838n, *see*, "return my book"
 "A Child's Reminiscence" (WW), 833n
 Achor, James M, co C, 14th Indiana, 448, 448n, *see*, "Hospital book 12," 730, 730n
 Achor, Mrs Nancy, 730
 "A City Walk" (WW), 1292
 Ackely, Phebe, 9, 9n, *see*, Pintard, Phebe
 Ackerman, Dave (carman ?), 255, 255n, 482, *see*, "return my book"
 "A Clear Midnight" (WW), 1058hn, *see*, "At the Ferry Houses," 1061n, 1093n, *see*, "Gossip of Early Candle light"
 "A cluster of poems" (WW), 1360, *see* "A string of poems," "Calamus Leaves," "Poems. A cluster (same)," Theory of a Cluster," "Poems, a cluster of Poems," 1361hn
 "A Connecticut Case" (WW), 521n, 593n, *see* Boardman, Henry D.
 "A Contralto Voice" (WW), 1057n, *see*, Johnston, Col. John R.
 "A COUNTRY AUCTION" (WW), 966hn, *see*, "To reduce everything," 1001, *see*, "Down by the Creek," 1095hn
 "A Crude Notion" (WW), 1288
 (Adams Express office) (Washington), 821
 Adams House (Boston), 427
 Adams, Jay C. (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 605, 605n
 Adams, Joseph, 1051
 Adams, Sam—63 Broadway . . . , 255
 Adams st. (family residence), 10, 10n, 209
 "Adding Insult to Injury," 1021hn, *see*, "NY Tribune"
 Addison (Joseph, essayist), 219
 "Additional Note, 1887, to English Edition 'Specimen Days'" (WW), 1196hn
 "Addresses" (WW), 206n, 252n, 344hn, 422n, 449n, 490n, 495n, 496n, 539n, 632n, 644hn, 667n, 668n, 761n, 800n, 808hn, 810n, 811n, 812n, 813n, 815n, 816n, 818n, 819n, 820n, 822n, 825n, 830, 890n, 895hn, 917hn, 958n, 1035n, 1162n, 1163n, 1164n, 1405hn, 1517n, 1718n
 "(add to some excerpt" (WW), 2106
 "Adieu for the present," (WW), 599
 "Adj McKee" (WW), 502n, *see*, McKee, Adj't. Abm W., 694n, 697, 699n, 709n
Adventures in the Wilds of the U.S. and British America (Tanman), 247, 247n

- "Aeschuylus" (WW), 1890
 "Aesthetics" (WW), 1884, *see, Lectures on the History of Literature*
 A. F. Boyle, 815, 825, 837
 "A few facts about the 51 New York Veteran" (Bateman), 683, *see, 51st NY Volunteers, "Shephard's Rifles,"* 704n, 711n
 "A fine warmish afternoon" (WW), 472
 "Africa" (WW), 1971
 "After all is said and done" (WW), 183
 "After All, Not to Create Only" (WW), 827n, 897hn, *see, "As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free"*
 "After an Interval" (WW), 932hn
 "After First Fredericksburg" (WW), 500n, 505n
 "After reading a Ballad" (WW),
 "After Sixty-?? Five" (WW), 1201, 1227hn
 "After the Supper and Talk" (WW), 1139hn
 "A full reg't" (WW), 642
 "A gap now" (WW), 945
 Agassiz, Alexander, 1391, 1391n, *see, Agassiz, Louis*
 Agassiz, Louis, 519, *see, Guyot, Arnold Henry, 1390hn, 1391n, see, Agassiz, Alexander*
 Agate (Kansas), 1040, 1040n
 "aged about 35," 502n, *see, Butler, Lieut. Frank, 686*
 "a good word" (WW), 1702
 "a good new word" (WW), 1694
 A. H. Hayes (a publisher of New Orleans *Crescent*), 86, 86n, *see, Crescent, Daily Crescent*
 A. Heineman & Co., 816n
 A. H. Rome & Bros (Brooklyn printers), 831, 831n, *see, Rome, Andrew*
 Aiken, Frank the actor, 1012, 1012n, *see, Sprague, Alonzo*
 "Aircud. Airdrift" (WW), 196
 Akerman, A. T. (Assistant Attorney General), 827, 827n
 Akers, Elizabeth Allen (composer, "Rock me to Sleep"), 869n
 "A lad of 18" (WW), 658, *see, Stilwell, James S., "September & October,"* 725n
 "A large, good-looking woman" (WW), 244
 Albany Bill, 261
Albert Brisbane (Redelia Brisbane), 495n, *see, Brisbane, Albert*
 Albert, (Mrs Jones's son) (laborer or mechanic ?), 248, 248n
 "Albion F. Hubbard" (WW), 643, *see, Hubbard, Albion F, 654hn, 659hn*
 Alboni, Marietta, 388hn, *see, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA,"* 390n, 396, 396n, 397, 1268hn, 1268
 "albot Wilson" (WW), 11n, 13hn, 83hn, 101hn, 102hn, 104n, 111n, 112n, 113n, 125n, 128n, 131n, 139n, 142n, 161hn, 188hn, 260n, 443n, 495n, *see, Talbot, Jesse, 2011n, 2147n*
 Al (carpenter . . . , 253, 253n, *see, Union Ferry*
 Alcott, Annie, 847
 Alden, W. L., 833, *see, Citizen* (NY)
 Aldrich, Herbert Camden, 818
 Aleck, 252
 Aleck (big, young . . . , 257
 Aleck (tall (34), 259
 "A Legend of Life and Love" (WW), 468hn
 "A Letter from Brooklyn" (WW), 1393n
 Alexander, Alice R, 1035, 1037
 Alexander, Ephraim (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 672, 672n
 Alexander, Lt, 738
 Alexandria (Virginia), 510, *see, 100? ^ days fighting, 567, 683, see, 51st NY Volunteers, 712, 713, 743hn*
 Alger (*au., Poetry of the East*), 1578n, 1891hn, 1891
 "A live work" (WW), 2257, *see, "Important Announcement!"*
 Al Johnston, *see, Johnston, John H.*
 Alison, Wm, 753, 753n
 "All about a proof reader" (WW), 1124hn, 1134, 1163n
 "All others have adhered" (WW), 303
 "all the nations" (WW), 2057
 "All these are supplied" (WW), 859hn, 1708
 "All this while" (WW), 1127
 "All through writings" (WW), 360
 Allen Clapp & Co. Penn Ave . . . , 605n
 Allen, Gay Wilson, 4hn, 7n, 36hn, 55hn, 55n, 86n, 207n, 241n, 246hn, 344hn, 351n, 407n, 446n, 489n, 534n, 540n, 552n, 554n, 668n, 822n, 885hn, 891, 891hn, 936n, 960hn, 978hn, 1136hn, 1436hn, 1447hn, 1456n, 1497, 1526hn, 2088hn
Allgemeine Zeitung, 1179n, see, Freiligrath, Ferdinand, 1517n, 1839hn
Allibone's Critical Dictionary of English Literature, A Supplement to (Kirk, John Foster), 434n
 "Allude to the Suez Canal" (WW), 927, 928hn
 "A LOOK AROUND THE HOUSE" (WW), 393, *see, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA"*
 Alphonso, 253, 253n
 "A main part of the greatness' (WW), 365, *see, "O I see now," "Uncollected Manuscript Fragments"*
A Man at Auction (WW), 147, 147n, *see, Memorials*
 "A March in the Ranks Hard-Prest, and the Road Unknown" (WW), 651hn
 "Ambition" (WW), 468hn
 Ambler, Mr., 815
 "a m Dr. L B Russell" (WW), 447n, *see, Russell, Dr. LeBaron, 479hn, 480n, 488n, 489n, 490n, 502n, 522n, see, "return my book," 523n, 540, 544hn, see, Recitation, 552hn, see, "Hospitals / Culpepper," 553n, 572, 583n, 602hn, see, "Walt*

- Whitman Soldier's," 603n, 606n, 607n, 608n, 610n, 620n, 626hn, 630hn, *see*, "from Hooker's command," 633n, 647n, 663hn, 666n, 667n, 668n, 670n, 677hn, 678n, 702n, 727n, 813n, 819n, 827n, 838n, 842n, 914n, 1712hn, 2193n
- "Amer. Literature" (WW), 1612
- Amer Moore, 620, 620n, *see*, Moore, Sarah A, Williams, Ellis, "Some Specimen Cases"
- "(America)" (WW), 2151
- "America has been called" (WW), 1593, 1603hn
- "America, (I to myself)" (WW), 1453, *see*, "Dec. 23. 1864"
- "America needs" (WW), 152n, 1587, *see*, Preface, 1855
- "*America to the Old*" (WW), 1405, *see*, "By Blue Ontario's Shore," "Poem of the Many and One," "As I Ponder'd in Silence," "Proud Music of the Storm"
- Americana*, 453hn, *see*, "W. Whitman Portland av.," "Important Ecclesiastical Gathering at Jamaica, L. I.," Glicksberg, 456n
- "American American" (WW), 314
- "American Boys" (WW), 354
- American Catalogue, The*, 1035n, *see*, Leypoldt, Frederick
- American Celt (New York), 240
- American Institute (NY), 827, 827n, *see*, Tallman, S. D., 879hn, 897
- "American literature must" (WW), 1586
- American Mercury*, 128hn, 897hn, 1846hn, 2114hn
- "American National Literature" (WW), 1275n, *see*, *North American Review*, 1729hn, 1827hn
- American News Company, 872, 872n
- "American opera" (WW), 148, 148n, *see*, "memorials"
- "American people, The" (WW), 316hn
- Amer[ican] Photo-Lithographic Co. (Brooklyn), 833, 833n, 834, 834n
- "AMERICAN POETS" (WW), 1712hn, 1733, 1735hn
- American Phrenological Review*, 1760hn, 1771hn
- American Primer* (WW), 266n
- American Queen*, 1679, 1679n, *see*, *Town Topics*
- American Review*, 211, 211n
- American Scholar*, 581hn, 923hn, 1041hn, 1025hn, 2160hn
- Am Tract Society (Boston), 424
- American Whig Review*, 95n, 257n, *see*, "Bells and Pomegranates," 1738hn, 1746n, 1770hn, 1780hn, 1795n, 1796n
- "America's Mightiest Inheritance," 155, *see*, *Life Illustrated*, 1626hn, 1682hn
- "—Amid the ardent speculations" (WW), 2216
- "Amid the problems" (WW), 2215
- "Amid the vast" (WW), 1575
- "A Model Hospital" (WW), 836
- "A modern 'poem'" (WW), 1571
- "Among French convicts" (WW), 1689
- "Among my special" (WW), 1136, 1163n
- "among workers" (WW), 1701
- Amos, James, . . . conductor 7th st, 814, 841
- "Amount of Salt Made" (WW), 368hn, *see*, "Salt works"
- Anacreon (*au.*, "Midnight Visitor, The"), 1054hn
- An American Primer* (WW), 1624hn, 1665hn
- "An Indian Bureau Reminiscence," (WW), 530n, *see*, Indian Bureau, 785hn, *see*, "REAL AMERICAN RED MEN"
- "Ancient History" (*eds.* Arnold, Talfourd), 248, 248n, *see*, *The History of Greece, The History of the Roman Republic, Encyclopedia Metropolitana*
- "And as here" (WW), 1428
- "and bending over" (WW), 596, *see*, "*Hours in Our Military Hospitals*"
- Anderson, Billy, 453, *see*, "W. Whitman Portland av."
- Anderson & Archer (NY binders of 1867 LG), 835, 835n
- "And here in this article" (WW), 1547
- "and of a perfect equality" (WW), 1073hn, *see*, "(for Ottawa lecture)," 1076hn, 1077, *see*, "If my address to night," "A Zollverein between U.S. and Canada"
- "and out; and one" (WW), 586, *see*, "They are frequently changed," "Our Wounded and Sick Soldiers," 587hn
- "And perhaps one of the works?" (WW), 2103
- Andrews, John D (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 671
- & sounds *Sights*, 514, 514n, *see*, "A Sight in Camp in the Daybreak Gray and Dim"
- "And there is the meteor-shower" (WW), 282hn, *see*, "The shower of meteors," "Pictures," 1307, *see*, "Other names of Venus"
- "And there, further south" (WW), 313
- "And to the soul" (WW), 171
- "Andy Johnson," 823
- Andy, 841, *see*, Chew, Miss Becky
- "An Egotistical Find" (WW), 1052hn
- "An ended day" (WW), 1261hn, 1263hn, 1422hn
- "An English and an American Poet" (WW), 1760hn, *see*, *American Phrenological Review*, Tennyson, 1771hn
- "Anent of Bull Run" (WW), 1187n, *see*, *Weekly Graphic* (NY)
- "a new doctrine" (WW), 331
- "A new love story" (WW), 46hn, 876
- "A New Way & The True Way" (WW), 1614, *see*, "The History," 1979hn, 1981hn
- "A New York Soldier" (WW), 654
- "A Night Battle Over a Week Since" (WW),

- "A Night Battle Over a Week Since" (*cont.*)
533n, *see*, Hooker, General Joseph, Chancellorsville, battle of, 725n
- "Animal life" (WW), 2002, 2003hn
- "Animals," says George Elliot (WW), 381
- "AN IMPOSITION" (WW), 664
- Annals of the New York Stage* (Odell), 255n, 389hn
- Annapolis (Maryland), 499, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, Camp of Construction, "return my book," 683, *see*, 51st NY Volunteers, 762
- Année Terrible* (Victor Hugo), 1856hn
- "An Old Man's Rejoinder" (WW), 811n
- "An Ossianic ¶" (WW), 1806, *see*, *Foreground*, 1808hn
- Ansley, Henry (Washington jeweller), 843, 843n
- anti-draft riots of July 1863 (NY), 607n
- Antietam, 503, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, *Antietam—the fight on the bridge*, 17th Sept., Antietam Creek, 511, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fighting* . . . , Antietam, battle of, 517, *see*, *A battle*, 710
- Antietam, battle of, 511, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fighting* . . . , 683, 689hn, 689, *see*, 51st NY Volunteers, 731hn, *see*, "Brooklyn 14th"
- Antietam Creek, 505, *see*, *Antietam—The fight at the bridge*, 17th Sept., 511, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fighting* . . .
- Antietam—The fight at the bridge*, 17th Sept. (WW), 505, 505n, *see*, "return my book," Antietam, Antietam Creek, 511n, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fighting* . . .
- "Any thing like a full" (WW), 333hn, 959, 1243, *see*, "Army Hospitals and Cases"
- "? a ¶ for *Specimen Days*" (WW), 1066, *see*, "(? Preface 'Footsteps'"
- "a ¶ of specific mention" (WW), 333hn, 1251
- "A Perfect School" (WW), 2202
- "A Poem theme" (WW), 1342
- "A poem which is minutely described" (WW), 304, *see*, "I Sing the Body Electric," "Memorials"
- "A poem which more familiarly addresses" (WW), 338
- "A Poets' Recreation," 1010hn, *see*, "visit to NY '78," "Death of William Cullen Bryant," *Tribune* (NY), "New York visit"
- "A Poet's 68th year," (WW), 333hn, 835n, 1182n, 1232
- "A Poet's Western Trip," 1036n, *see*, *Star* (Washington)
- Appel, Sam'l A., Co B. 51st Penn. Vol., 502, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero
- "Appendage. Appendant, Appendix" (WW), 896
- Appendix to "return my book," 484n, 490n, 524, *see*, Stoddard, Richard Henry, Roosa, Dr. D. B. St. John
- Applegate, Dan, 481, 481n, *see*, "return my book"
- Applegate, George (fruitseller or butcher?), 227, 227n, 249, 249n, 256, 256n, 481, 481n, *see*, "return my book"
- Appleton's *Annual Encyclopedia* for 1892 (Steadman), 39hn
- Appleton's *American Cyclopedia*, 39hn
- Appleton's *Cyclopedia*, 1356hn, *see*, Mr. Goodfellow
- Appomatox campaign, 683, *see*, 51st NY Volunteers, 727, *see*, Culpepper, Virginia
- "APPOINTMENT OF HARLAN" (WW), 797hn, *see*, Harlan
- "April 8, '84" (WW), 1175hn, 1196
- "April 7" (WW), 624, *see*, "Noah Laing," "Armory, now ward E"
- "April '63. Washington" (WW), 1961, 1965hn, 1966hn
- April [Thursday] 30 [186] 3 Fast day, 532, 532n
- "A prostitute" (WW), 46hn, 401, 404hn
- "A Quartet of Opinions" (WW), 1274
- Aquia Creek, 501, *see*, *Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade*, 510, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fighting* . . . , Fal-mouth
- Arabian Nights* (tr., Burton), 1973hn
- Arctander, Emil, 811n, *see*, Schmidt, Rudolf
- "Area—doubles" (WW), 1989
- "Are not the United" (WW), 2213
- Argus printing office Towanda, Pa, 819
- "A Riddle Song" (WW), 1108n
- Aristideo, 453, 453n, 495n, *see*, "return my book"
- Aristides, 5th av., 495, 495n
- Arkhurst, John, 1349hn, 1349, *see*, "Whole poem—Poem of Insects," "Mr. A"
- Arkhurst, Mr., 2051hn, *see*, "Mr. A.," *see*, "Whole Poem—Poem of Insects"
- Armory Hospital (Washington), 447n, 519-521, *see*, Armory Square Hospital, 522, 534, 569, 570, 728n
- "Armory, now ward E" (WW), 574, 574hn, *see*, "Hours In Our Military Hospitals," 599hn, "Adieu for the present," 624hn, *see*, "April 7"
- Armory Square Hospital (Washington), 449n, *see*, Boyd, Justus F., 530, *see*, Minzey, Clinton, 531, *see*, Howell, Henry, 535, 536, 539n, *see*, Stillwell, James S., 554, 566, 570, 571, 583, 593, 598, 603, 607, 614, 631, 632n, *see*, Branch, Erskine, 680, *see*, "Ward K Armory Sq"
- Armstrong, 1205 Fst., 815
- Armstrong, Joseph (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 624
- Army & Navy Journal*, 613, *see*, "September & October 1863"
- "Army Hospitals and Cases" (WW), 1199hn, *see*, *Century Magazine*, 1223hn, 1223, 1243hn
- "Army of Tennessee" (WW), 781
- Army of the Potomac, 533n, Chancellorsville, battle of
- Arnold, George B., 832, 832n

- Arnold, Matthew (*au.*, "Joubert"), 1718, 1718n, 1854hn
- Arnold, Talfourd, 248, 248n, *see* "Ancient History"
- Arthur, 251
- "A rule in Elocution" (WW), 2227
- "a schoolmaster" (WW), 46hn, 97
- "A Sight in Camp in the Daybreak Gray and Dim" (WW), 509n, *see*, *Va, on the Falmouth side, Friday, Dec. 26th, '62*, 513n, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fighting . . . , Sight at daybreak*, 514, *see*, & sounds *Sights*, 541n
- "A Silent Little Flower—the Coreopsis" (WW), 1032n, *see*, "the RR we go on," 1040n, *see*, "Wapalingua Chief"
- "A simpler system of the Table" (WW), 369, 1718n
- A. Simpson & Co. publishers & printers (NY), 833n
- "A Song for Occupations" (WW), 73n, 79n, 113n, 140n, 144n, 190hn, 234n, 235n, 240n, 305hn, *see*, "Iron works," 452hn, *see* "[illeg.] of America!," 1302n, 1311hn
- "A Song of Joys" (WW), 102n, 240n, 278n, *see*, "Poem of Joys," 1305n
- "A Song of the Rolling Earth," (WW), 102hn, 104n, 150n, 267n, 306hn, *see*, "In—This is the Earths," 659
- "A special edition of Leaves of Grass" (WW), 1171
- "A Spinal Thought" (WW), 2097, *see*, "Religion,—the noblest"
- "A string of poems" (WW), 1360hn, *see*, "A cluster of poems"
- "A Summer Invocation" (WW), 1103, *see*, "Though Orb Aloft Full Dazzling"
- "A Talent for conversation" (WW), 295
- "A tip-top caricature" (WW), 248n, 333hn, 903
- "A VISIT TO THE OPERA" (WW), 145n, 148n, 388hn, 389hn, 391, 540n, 1037n, 1064n, 1268hn, 1942hn, 1943hn, 1944hn
- "A volume—(dramatic machinery)" (WW), 1350, *see*, "Old theory started"
- "A Warble for Lilac Time" (WW), 871hn, *see*, "branches and twigs"
- "A Whitman Collector Destroys a Whitman Myth" (Feinberg), 55n, 100n
- "A Whitman Notebook," 128hn
- "A Woman Waits for Me," (WW), 243n, 412hn
- "A Word Out of the Sea" (WW), 1234
- "A World's Show" (WW), 1065n
- "A Zolverein between U.S. and Canada" (WW), 1077hn
- "As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free" (WW), 813n, 816, 816n, 819n, 897hn, *see*, "After All, Not to Create Only," 900hn, *see*, "(is any Preface needed?)," 1399hn, 1445
- "As Democracy and Science" (WW), 2159
- "As half-caught echoes" (WW), 1416, *see*, "Drift Sands"
- "as I couldnt and cant rest" (WW), 982, *see*, "Two Rivulets"
- "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life" (WW), 414hn, *see*, "Sea Winrows," 415hn, "Sands and Drifts," 1309hn
- as if "One's-Self" (WW), 508, 508n, *see*, Auslander, "return my book"
- "As in every show" (WW), 2214
- "As I Pondered in Silence" (WW), 1405hn
- "—As now are given" (WW), 1998
- "As of the orator" (WW), 149n, 209hn, 213n, 214n, 216n, 533n, 2132n, 2192, *see*, "Autobiographical Data," "Song of the Broad-Axe"
- "ask any of Kilpatricks" (WW), 791
- Ashton, T. Hubley (U.S. Assistant District Attorney), 797, 798, 799, 801, 801n
- ". . . As the highest" (WW), 1567
- "Asia" (WW), 1982
- "Aspirations" (WW), 1368, *see*, "Whoever You Are Holding Me Now in Hand," "Theory of a Cluster"
- Asselineau, Roger, 405n, *see*, "M," "June 26 '59," 885hn (*au.*, "Un Inédit de Walt Whitman: 'Taine's History of English Literature'") 1075n, 1888hn
- "Assurances" (WW), 283hn
- "Assyria & Egypt," (WW), 1927, *see*, "Egypt (and probably)," 2037hn
- ". . . As the highest" (WW), 1567
- "As to his conservatism" (WW), 1727
- "As to Shakespeare's" (WW), 1738, *see*, "Translators of Homer"
- "Astor House" (WW), 1022, *see*, "Wicked Architecture," "English runic"
- Astor, John Jacob, 1268
- "Astronomy" (WW), 1805
- Atcherson, 705, *see*, "51st Sims Pooley"
- "(at front, Culpepper" (WW), 734
- Athalie*, 1840hn, 1840, *see*, "Louis 14th," *Putnam's Magazine*, Rachel
- Athanassi, Haji, 889n
- Atlanta*, 719, 719n, *see*, "John Faron," Commodore Rogers, *Weehawken*
- Atlanta (Georgia), 722, *see*, Sherman, Major General William Tecumseh
- Atlantic cable, 1440hn
- Atlas of Modern and Ancient Geography* (Smith), 1616hn
- "at night as the engineer" (WW), 1208
- "Attached to" (WW), 1252
- "At the close of the war" (WW), 1216
- "At the Ferry Houses" (WW), 1058, 1176hn, 1875hn
- Attorney General's Office (WW's place of employment, 1865-1871), 40, 479hn, *see*, "return

- Attorney General's Office (*continued*)
 my book"
- Auber, Daniel (composer), 1040n
- Aubin, Mr., 1856hn, *see*, *Année Terrible*
- Aubin, N., 827, 827n, 1384hn, *see* Aubin, Mr.
- Audubon the Naturalist, 247
- Augur Gen'l Hospital (Alexandria, Virginia), 713,
 756, *see*, Camp Augur
- "August & September / Brooklyn City Hospital"
 (WW), 717hn
- August (Gus), 250
- "Aug 9 '79" (WW), 1024
- "Aug. 7. '81" (WW), 1113
- "Aug: 20 '81" (WW), 1114
- "Aug 24 '81" (WW), 1125
- Augusta, Dr. Alexander T., 609, *see*, Dr. Augusta
- Aunt S. (WW's aunt), *see* Whitman, Sarah
- aunt Kitty Henry, 447
- "AU REVOIR" (WW), 395, *see*, "A VISIT TO
 THE OPERA"
- Aurora* (NY), 217n, 218, 1712hn
- Auslander, Joseph, 459hn, 459n, 460n, 461n,
 462n, 463n, 478hn, *see*, "William Giguee," 480n,
 482n, 483n, 484n, 486n, 487n, 489n, 490n,
 491n, 492n, 493n, 494n, 496n, 497n, 498n,
 508n, 519n, 520n, 522n, 529hn, *see*, "return
 my book"
- Austin Baldwin & Co. (New York), 824
- "Author of the Neibelungen Leid" (WW),
 1812hn, 1815
- "Autobiographical Data" (WW), 3, 8hn, 11, 36hn,
 209, 2125hn, 2132n, 2192hn, 2195n, 2196n,
 2197n, 2198n
- "Autobiographical Note" (WW), 36hn
- Autobiography* (Henry James, *ed.*, Dupee), 704n
- Autobiography* (Lyman Beecher), 761, 761n
- Autobiography* (Zschokke), 1831hn, 1831, 1831n,
 1832n
- "*Autumn nights*" (WW), 1088
- Avery, Clara (WW's maternal great aunt), 22
- Avery, John (cousin of WW's mother), 815, 815n,
see, Avery, Sarah
- Avery, John W., 309 Water, 701
- Avery, Lt. Col, 835
- Avery, Margaret (cousin of WW's mother), 815,
 815n, 909, 909n, *see*, Wm Avery
- Avery, Robt., 843, 843n
- Avery, Sarah (cousin of WW's mother), 815,
 815n, *see*, Avery, John
- Avery, Wm (cousin of WW's mother), 815, 815n,
see, Avery, Margaret
- B**abbitt, Cale, 538
- Babbitt, Caleb H. (Mason General hospital, Bos-
 ton), 541, 541n, *see*, "Hospital Note book," 572,
 572n, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell," "Bailey D
 Damon," "September & October," 613, 613n,
 672, 672n
- Babbitt, Mary A, 572
- Babcock, Lt, of the 51st, 744, *see*, Whitman,
 George Washington
- Babcock, Wm E, 694
- Babylon (Long Island) (Whitman residence), 10,
 210, 211
- Bachi, Hannibal, 540n, *see*, *Lucretia Borgia*, "Dr.
 L B Russell"
- "(back) through Pennsylvania" (WW), 1042
- "Back to ten thousand" (WW), 2067
- "Back to Washington" (WW), 604n, *see*, Miller,
 Chas., 787n
- Bacon, Delia, 1751hn, *see*, Baconian theory,
 Shakespeare, "I think it probable,"
- Bacon, E. M., 837
- Bacon, Francis (Lord Verulam), 219
- Baconian theory, 1751hn, *see*, Bacon, Delia,
 Shakespeare, "I think it probable," *Putnam's
 Monthly*, "Shakespeare—Bacon's Cipher"
- "Bad Wounds—The Young" (WW), 804hn
- Bailey, Elisha, co B, 450
- "Baily D Damon" (WW), 248n, *see*, Price, Mrs.
 Abby, 431n, *see*, Mrs. Price, 443hn, 446n, 447n,
 488n, 517n, *see*, *A battle*, 529n, *see*, "Dr. L B
 Russell," 530n, *see*, Sawyer, Serg't Thos P.,
 535n, *see*, Kirkwood, James B., 537n, *see*, "J. T.
 Trowbridge Somerville, Mass." 538n, *see*, Price,
 Mrs. Abby, 541n, *see*, Fox, Elijah, 572, 603n,
see, Mitchell, Dr., 605n, 614n, 620n, 645n, *see*,
 Cunningham, Oscar H, 647n, *see*, Brooks,
 Livingston J., 701n, 744n, 760n, 791hn, 819n,
 826n, 842n, 909n
- Baken, Dr's Smith &, 485, *see*, "return my book,"
 New York Hospital
- Baker, A., 227, 227n
- Baker & Taylor Co: New York, 1728
- Baker, E. S. (WW's Washington landlady), 538n,
see, "Washington October 16 1883," 539, *see*,
 "Washington 1863
- Baker, Frank, 821
- Baker, Geo. H., 1215, 1215n
- Baker, Jesse E, 820, 832
- Baker, Jo (23) fine head . . . , 261, 261n
- Baker, May & Frank, 815
- Baldwin, Bird L., 816
- Baldwin, George E, 671
- Baldwin, Mrs. Eliza C., 820, 820n
- Baldwin, J. C., 958, 958n
- Baldwin, Jo, 828
- Baldwin, Joseph C., 820n, *see*, Baldwin, Mrs. Eliza
 C.
- Baldwin, Thomas (*coau.*, *Complete Pronouncing
 Gazetteer on Geographical Dictionary of the
 World* . . .), 1993hn, *see*, Thomas, J.

- Baldwin, Capt W M, 731
 Baldwins, The, . . . clothing store . . . , 483, *see*,
 "return my book"
 Ball, Lewin, 843
 Ball, Wm, 843, 843n
 "Ballads of the People," 544hn, *see*, *Recitation*,
Westminster Review
 "Ballet of Feminine Loveliness," 532n, *see*, Far-
 vacer, Mlle. Sophie, Washington Varieties
 Ballou, Mrs. Eveline, 534, 534n, *see*, "from
 Hooker's command," 632, 632n, *see*, "a m Dr.
 L B Russell"
 Ballou, W. H. (journalist), 1224hn, 1224, *see*,
Daily Post (Camden)
Ballou's Pictorial Magazine, 352hn, *see*, "My
 Poems, when complete"
 Baltimore (Maryland), 756, 806
 "Baltimore" (WW), 806
 Bander Collection, 190hn, *see* "Do you know what
 music does"
 "Banjo Poem" (WW), 1328, *see*, memorials
 Banks, Major-General Nathaniel P., 641hn, 641,
see, "First reg't Louisiana," 678n, *see*, Red River
 expedition, Congdon, Stephen F, Porter, Ad-
 miral David, Gen Banks
 "Banner at Day-Break" (WW), 1447hn, *see*, "Dec.
 23. 1864," 1456n
 Barbauld, Anna Letitia, 507, 507n, *see*, "Life!
 we've been long together"
 Barker, Dr., 485, *see*, "return my book," New
 York Hospital
 Barnes & Co. contractors (Washington), 521, *see*,
 Kinney, Abner C.
 Barnet, David, 258, 258n
 Barnet (elder), David, 482, *see*, [*Barnet*] younger,
 Sam
 [*Barnet*] younger, Sam, 482
 "Barnum," 840, 840n, *see*, Barnum, P. T.
 Barnum, Miss Kate, 460
 Barnum, P. T., 244hn, *see*, Tom Thumb, *see*,
 "Barnum"
 Baroness Burdett-Coults, 1264hn, 1264
Barracks and Tents (WW), 589, *see*, "I go around,"
 591, 591n, *see*, "The Army Hospitals"
 Barret, Dennis (Armory Square Hospital, Wash-
 ington), 530, 530n, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpeper"
 Barrett, Wilson, 1234, 1234n, *see*, Grundy, Sid-
 ney
 Barrett, N. H., 832, 832n
 Barrus, 1187hn, 1513hn
 Barry, W H, 604n
 "Barthold Niebuhr" (WW), 1816hn, 1838, *see*,
 "resumé—(from Bunsen)," Niebuhr, Bart-
 hold, 1916n
 Bartlett, Dr., *see*, Dr. Bartlett
 Bartol, Horace V, 2d, auditor's office, 829
 Bartol, Rev. C. A., 829
 Barton, Russell, 839, 839n
 Barton, William E. (*au.*, *Abraham Lincoln and
 Walt Whitman*), 480hn, *see*, "return my book,"
 504n, *see*, *Sight at the Lacy House*, 885hn
 Barrow, Geo. W., 845, 845n
 Basler, Roy P. (*ed.*, *Walt Whitman's Memoranda
 During the War & Death of Abraham Lincoln*,
 659hn
 Bateman, James S. (*au.*, "A few facts about the
 51 New York Veteran"), 683, *see*, 51st NY
 Volunteers, "Shephard's Rifles"
 Bates, Charles, 720
 Bates, Edward, 1266hn, 1266
 Bates, James, 694, 694n, *see*, "Nov 17—'64," 701,
 701n, *see*, "Some interesting items," "51st Abm
 McKee"
 Bates, Samuel Penniman (*au.*, *The Battle of Get-
 tysburg*), 774hn, 774
 Bathgate, H. J., 1163n, *see*, Ruskin, John
 Bat-ra-chom a om a chy, 264, 264n
 Batrachomyomachia, 264n
 "Battle of Bull Run, The" (P.G.T. Beauregard),
 1692hn, *see*, *Century Magazine*
Battle of Gettysburg, The (Bates), 774hn, 774
 "Battle of Naseby, The," 544hn, *see*, *Recitation*,
Westminster Review
 Battle of South Mountain, 511
 Baulsir, John, 256, 256n, 490n, *see*, "return my
 book," Baulsirs, The, Johnston, J. and Wal-
 lace, James W., 494, *see*, Abrams, Jarvis
 Baulsir, Walt, 259, 259n
 Baulsirs, The, 490n, *see*, "return my book," J.
 Baulser's crew, "My Passion for Ferries,"
 Baxter, Sylvester (supporter of WW and re-
 viewer of *LG* 1881), 1133n, *see*, *Herald* (Bos-
 ton), 1163, 1163n, *see* Guernsey, Frederick,
 1182, 1182n, 1233, 1233n
 Bayne, Peter (*au.*, "Walt Whitman's Poems"),
 1059, 1059n
 Bazalgette, Leon (*au.*, *Walt Whitman. L'Homme
 et Son Oeuvre*), 1544hn, *see*, "on the other side"
 Beacon st. (Boston), 427, 427n, *see*, "English
 runic"
 Beall, Robert, 821, 821, 895
 Beasley, Jake (Jacob Beasley), 253, 253n
 Beauregard, P.T.G. (Confederate general),
 1692hn, 1692
 Bechtel, John (Armory Square Hospital, Wash-
 ington), 608
 Beck, James, 840
 Beckhurts, Herman, 1034
 "bed 29—Ward D" (WW), 570n, 649, *see*, Moore,
 Amster D
 Bee, Gen., 1692
 Beebe & Co. (dealer in "Yankee notions"), 423,
 423n, *see*, "English runic"

- Beebe, Elisha (ward G Armory Hospital, Washington), 519
- Beecher, Lyman (*au.*, *Autobiography*), 761, 761n
- Beeman (Brooklyn Hospital), 718, 718n
- "Behind all art" (WW), 811n, 1580, *see*, *SDC*
- Behrend, Fred Otto, 833n, *see*, Behrens, Otto
- Behrens, Fred. O., 833, 833n, *see*, Behrend, Fred Otto, Behrens, Otto
- Behrens, Otto, 833n, *see*, Behrens, Fred O.
- Bellew, Frank (cartoonist and illustrator), 248, 248n, *see*, "A tip-top caricature," 903hn, 903
- Bellini, Vincenzo, 391n, 396n, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA"
- "Bells and Pomegranates" (WW), 257n, 430hn, 1714hn, 1770hn, 1830n
- Bembridge, Wm J, 813n
- Bemis, Mrs Harrison, 728, *see*, Hall, Ira
- Ben Carman, 249
- Ben (19) (tall— . . . , 256, 256n)
- Bender, hatter 211 Race st Phil., 1034
- Benedict, Mrs. Asenath, 844, 844n, *see*, Brown, Sevillon
- Bennett, Isaac, deck hand, . . . , 489, *see*, "return my book"
- Bentley, F. O., 1233
- Benton, Rev E A (Chaplain of 51st NYV), 708, 708n, 709, 709n
- Benton, Henry (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 630, *see*, Benton, Mrs W. R.
- Benton, Thomas Hart, 1049, 1049n
- Benton, Mrs W. R., 630, *see*, Benton, Henry
- Bentzon, Thérèse (*au.*, "Un Poète Americain Walt Whitman," *Revue des Deux Mondes*), 812, 812n, 902hn, *see*, Madame Blanc, 909n, 1517, 1517n
- Berenson, Mary Whittall Smith, 1234n, *see*, Smith, Robert Pearsall
- Bergman, Herbert (*au.*, "Walt Whitman in New Jersey. An Uncollected Essay"), 991hn, *see*, "RR jaunt Spring of '77," 1553hn, *see*, "Whitman and Tennyson," (*au.*, "Whitman and Tennyson"), 1756hn, 1759hn, 1760hn, 1763hn, 1766hn, 1767hn
- Berlin (Virginia), 511, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fighting* . . .
- Bernard, Edward G. (*au.*, "Some New Whitman Manuscript Notes," 811hn, 1365hn, 1409hn, 1410hn, 1572hn, 1892hn)
- Berry, John, 601, *see*, "Ward H. bed 37"
- Berz, Eduard (*au.*, "Walt Whitman zu seinem siebstigten Geburtstag"), 1274hn, *see*, *Deutsche Presse*, "A Quartet of Opinions" (Germany)
- Bettini, Alessandro, 395, 395n, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA"
- Bertucca-Maretszek, Apollonia, 390, 390n, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA"
- Biachi, Hannibal, 540, 540n, *see*, *Lucretia Borgia* (Donizetti), "a m Dr. L B Russell," Academy of Music (NY), Maretszek, Max, Medori, Giuseppe, Mazzoleni, Francesco
- Bible Animals* (Wood), 941hn, *see*, *Wood's Bible Animals*
- Biblia*, 1039hn, *see*, "Walt Whitman's Notes of His Western Trip"
- Bielby, Marie Le Baron, 827, 827n, *see*, Dr. Bielby
- Bigelow, John, 1012, 1012n, *see*, Bryant, William Cullen, *Evening Post* (NY), "NY Visit"
- Big Frank (driver, Philadelphia), 817, 817n
- Bill, big bony Yankee . . . , 253
- Bill, big dark complexioned . . . , 253
- Bill (engineer Union), 251
- Bill . . . (formerly Madison Jo, 249
- Bill (4th av.) . . . , 259
- Bill, *Gilbert L.*, 487, 487n, 490, 490n, *see*, "return my book," Cohn, Aaron B.
- "Bill Guess, died" (WW), 199, 201hn, 250n
- Bill [Jones], 258, 258n
- Bill (Moses), 249
- Bill (tall stout . . . , 258
- Bill (36) Dunham . . . , 255, 255n
- Bill (23) . . . (5th av), 250
- Billings, Hammatt (Boston architect), 427n, *see*, "English runic," Mechanics Hall
- Billings, Mr (Boston), 422
- Billy (beautiful— . . . , 261, 261n
- Billy (138, 4th av) . . . , 258
- Billy (tall young . . . , 259
- Biographical Note* (WW), 36, 333hn
- Birchett, Alexander Camp little boy, 827
- Birnback [?], 543
- Birney, Col (enlisted blacks in Maryland), 537, *see*, "Dr. L B Russell"
- "Birth of Hercules" (WW), 138n, 174hn, 2020hn, 2023
- Black Horse Garden, 462, *see*, "William Giggee"
- Blackmore, Charles, 845
- "Blacks" (WW), 626hn, 635
- Blackwood's Magazine*, 381n, *see*, "Mr. Gilfil's Love Story," *Scenes of Clerical Life*
- Blaine, James G., 1204hn, 901, *see*, Sherman, Mr
- Blair, Francis Preston, 915, 915n
- Blake, William, 1502hn, 1502, *see*, "Of William Blake," 2100hn
- Bland, James, 498
- Blank, James Arnold, Books and Paper, Philadelphia," 99hn, *see*, "Old Mr and Mrs M"
- Blankman, Dr. M. A. (Washington physician), 834, 834n
- Blamire, J. L., 839, 839n, *see*, George Routledge & Sons
- Blodgett, Harold W., 56n, 226hn, 228n, 238n, 239n, 240n, 958n, 1497
- Blood, Henry A., 844, 844n, *see*, Blood, Mrs. Henry A., 846n, 890n, *see*, Bullard, Jennie
- Blood, Mr & Mrs., 1221 I. near Franklin Sq., 825

- Blood, Mrs. Henry A., 844, 844n, *see*, Bullard, Jennie, Blood, Henry A., 846n, *see*, the Bloods, 890n, *see*, Bullard, Jennie
- bloody Mary, 214
- "Bloom" (WW), 201, 299hn, 678n, 1406n
- Bloom, Gilbert, carman, 201hn
- Bloom, Mrs., 257, 257n, *see*, "W Whitman Portland av."
- Bloom, (Nat.) Nathaniel (WW's friend), 201hn, *see*, Bloom, Gilbert, 678n, 833, 833n, *see*, Pfaff's, 838, 838n, 1020, 1020n, 1405hn, 1406
- Bloomfield (Virginia), 511, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting* . . .
- Blunt, General James Gillpatrick, 636, *see*, "Gen Blunt," 1st Kansas Colored Volunteers
- Boarding House, cor 4½ & E Street (Washington), 521, *see*, Rabbett, Mrs
- Boardman, Emma [:] 434 Arch st., 847
- Boardman, Henry D (Campbell Hospital, Washington), 486n, *see*, "return my book," 521, 521n, *see*, "Hospital Note book," "A Connecticut Case," "Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers," 569, *see*, "I buy it by the pound," 593, *see*, "Hospital Note book," "A Connecticut Case"
- Boatright, Mody C. (*au.*, "Whitman and Hegel"), 2011n, *see*, *U Tex Stud Eng*, 2012n
- Bob—(hermaphrodite, 250, 250n
- "Boccaccio" (WW), 492, *see*, "return my book," lectures on Dante, Dante, 1858
- Boemann, Fred., 831
- Boerman, Terry, 253, 253n
- "Bohn's Scientific Library," 458, *see*, "Index of Dates," "W. Whitman Portland av."
- Bogle, Mrs., 445
- "Boldness—Nonchalant ease" (WW), 321
- Bolingbroke, Viscount St. John, 219
- "bonanza" (WW), 1677
- "Bonaparte Webber" (WW), 789
- Bond, Mrs., 70 west 14th st . . . , 495
- Bonnard, 494n, *see*, "[illeg.] Dick Hunt," *see* "Sam Bonnard—Frank Bonnard"
- Bonnard, Sam, 262, 262n, *see*, "Sam Bonnard—Frank Bonnard"
- Bonnard's, Mrs. (boarding house), 211
- Bonsall, Henry L., Jr. (editor, *Camden Daily Post*), 1036, 1036n, *see*, Bonsall, Henry L., Sr.
- Bonsall, Henry L., Sr., 1036n, *see*, Bonsall, Henry L., Jr.
- Bonteca, Dr. (Harewood Hospital, Washington), 806
- Boody, Aaron (father of Serg't John W. Boody), 450
- Boody, Serg't John W. battery M, 450, *see*, Boody, Aaron
- "Book of Letters ? Poem" (WW), 271, 271n, *see*, "Messenger Leaves (LG)," To One Shortly to Die," "To a Common Prostitute"
- "Book-learning is good" (WW), 144n, 322
- "Books, as now produced" (WW), 1594, *see*, "Literature. The tendency," 1603hn
- "Books to be had of" (WW), 1246
- Booth, Edwin, 1194hn, 1268hn
- Booth, John Wilkes, 1268hn
- Booth, Junius Brutus, 1194hn, 1268hn, 1268, *see*, Booth, Edwin, Booth, John Wilkes
- Borley, Pleasant (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 618, 618n, *see*, Epton, Pauline Borley
- Borton, Walter, 1233
- Bosio, Angiolina, 396, 396n, 397, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA"
- Boston, 33, 36, 37, 38, 419hn, 1110hn, *see*, "on to Boston"
- Boston After Bullfinch* (Kilham), 419hn, *see*, "English runic"
- Boston Architecture, 1637-1954* (Hitchcock, Henry Russell), 419hn, *see*, "English runic"
- "*Boston Art Museum*" (WW), 1129
- Boston, A Topographical History* (Whitehill), 419hn, *see*, "English runic"
- "Boston Aug 28 '81" (WW), 1118hn, 1126
- Boston Common, 427n, 428, *see*, "English runic"
- Boston Directory . . . for the Year Commencing July 1, 1861, The* (Adams, Sampson, and Company), 419hn, 420n, 423n, *see*, "English runic," 1120hn, 1123hn, 1663n
- "Boston '81" (WW), 1124
- Boston Literary World*, 1712hn
- "Boston of To-Day" (WW), 811n
- Boston Stereotype Foundry (printer of 1860 *LG*), 420n, 1139hn
- "Boston Street Cars" (WW), 1118, 1121hn, 1122hn
- Boston Type Foundry, 420, 420n, *see*, "English runic," 421, 421n, *see*, Rogers book
- "Boston with its rich" (WW), 1115
- Botta, Mrs. Anne Lynch, 813, 813n, *see*, "O Star of France"
- Bottsford, Chas (donor to WW's hospital fund), 608, 609
- Bouccault, Dion (*au.*, *Shaughraun, The*), 984hn, 986n
- Boughton, Charles, 761
- Bowen, Dr. Chas. H. (surgeon, Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 830n, 830n, 841, 841n
- Bowers, Fredson, 43, 246hn, 252n, 264n, 268n, 278n, 335hn, 353hn, 363hn, 406n, 412hn, 928hn, *see*, "The Earliest Manuscript of Whitman's 'Passage to India' and Its Note-book" (NYPL), 929n, 1362hn, 2100hn
- Bowers [?] 57 Henry [?], 463, *see*, "William Giggee"
- Bowery, 482, 482n, *see*, "City Photographs," 484

- Bowery Boys, 483n, *see*, "return my book," *Man of Destiny, The*
- Bowery Savings Bank, The, 483, *see*, "return my book"
- Bowery theatre, 483, 483n, *see*, "return my book," "City Photographs," Glicksberg, Eddy, Edward,
- Bowman, Steele, 843, 843n
- Bowman & Belwett, 52 Barclay st N.Y., 824
- Boyd, Corp. Justus F. (WW's friend in Washington), 449, 449, *see*, Armory Square Hospital, 554, 554n, *see*, "Walt Whitman, Soldier's," 566, 566n, 600, 600n, 604, 604n, *see*, "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz," "take (Marg. D Valois)," O'Connors, "Hospitals / Culpepper"
- Boyd, James—Union ferry, 499, 499n
- Boyden, Courtland Van Buren, 1192, 1192n
- Boyden, Elias W, 1192, *see*, Boyden, Courtland Van Buren
- Boyden, Washington, 1192, *see*, Boyden, Courtland Van Buren
- Boyle, A. F., 815, 825, 837
- Boylston st (Boston), 427, *see*, "English runic"
- "Boz and Democracy" (WW), 468hn
- Bozarth, W. W., 816
- Bradford [printer], 487, *see*, "return my book," *Mead, William*
- Bradford, William, 577n, *see*, "Wednesday 4th March"
- Bradley, Garretson & Co. (Philadelphia publisher), 941hn, 941, *see*, Wood, Rev. J. G.
- Bradley, Sculley, 56n, 1233n, *see*, *Walt Whitman's Backward Glances*, Stevenson, John A., 1531hn
- Brady, Matthew (photographer), 538, 538n, 882n
- Brady, Matthew B., 785 Broadway, 825, 825n, 841, 841n, *see*, Brady, Matthew (photographer)
- Brainard, Erastus, 1037, *see*, *Press* (Philadelphia)
- Branch, Erskine (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 632, 632n, *see*, *Brief Sketch of the Experience of a Union Soldier in the Late War*, "D. W. Wilder," "Addresses," 815, 815n, *see*, "from Hooker's command," 846, 846n
- "branches & sprigs" (WW), 871, *see*, "A Warble for Lilac Time," "This Compost"
- Branch, The, 483, 483n, *see*, "return my book," Hyer, John, Yankee Sullivan
- Brandy Station (Virginia), 727, 727n, *see*, Kilpatrick, Gen. Hugh Johnson
- Brasher, Thomas L., 158hn, *see*, *Whitman as Editor of the Brooklyn "Eagle"*
- "Breast Sorrel" (WW), 363hn, 364
- "Breathjuice—Airscent" (WW), 195
- Breed, Rev. Mr., 458, *see*, "W. Whitman Portland av."
- Breeze's Express, 433
- Bremner, Archie [?], London Ontario, 1164
- Brennan, Charles, 51st NY, 696
- Brick Pomeroy (Buck Pomeroy), 847, 847n, *see*, Pomeroy, Marcus Mills
- "Bridge of Sighs, The" (Hood?), 544hn, *see*, *Recitation*
- Brief Description of New-York, A* (Denton), 457n, *see*, "W. Whitman Portland av."
- Brief Sketch of the Experience of a Union Soldier in the Late War* (Branch), 632n
- Briggs, Mrs. George W. (contributor to WW's hospital fund), 449, 449n
- Brigham, H. F. (Lincoln Hospital, Washington), 728
- "Bright were the gleams" (WW), 401hn, *see*, *La Dame aux Camelia* (Dumas fils), *La Traviata* (Verdi)
- Brignoli, Pasquale (Pasqualino), 395, 395n, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA," "The Dead Tenor"
- "? Bring in from" (WW), 1245
- "bring in the thought" (WW), 971
- Brinton, Daniel G., 1234, 1234, *see*, Dr. Brinton
- Brisbane, 260, 261n, *see*, "return my book"
- Brisbane, 829, 829n
- Brisbane, A., 823, 823n
- Brisbane, Albert (*au.*, "Cosmic Aspirations"), 494, 494n, *see*, Brisbane, Redelia, "[illeg. Dick Hunt]," "D. W. Wilder," *see*, Brisbane, A., 823, 823n, 829, 829n, *see*, Schlieker, Mrs Ann E.
- Brisbane, Redelia (*au.*, *Albert Brisbane*), 495n, *see*, Brisbane, Albert
- Bristed, Chas Astor (author), 914, 914n
- Bristol, 1186hn, 1186
- Britain (early history of), 220, 1894
- "British Born died" (WW), 1799, *see*, "Language. Religion. Numismatics"
- British Classical Authors, The* (Herrig), 1773hn, 1775hn, 1781hn
- "British human beings" (WW), 259
- "British in China" (WW), 259n, 1977, 1981hn
- British Museum, 491, 492, *see*, "return my book," Inferno, The
- Brittan, Prof. S. B., Newark N Jersey, 828, *see*, Brittan (Samual Byron Brittan)
- Brittan (Samual Byron Brittan), 260, 260n, *see*, *Spiritual Age, The*, Brittan, Prof. S.B.
- Brizzard, G. ("Brissard") (*ed.*, Voltaire), 1846hn, *see*, Swinton, William
- "Broadaxe" (WW), 201hn, 299, *see*, "Song of the Broad-Axe, "Bloom"
- Broadway Magazine*, 835, 835n, 1401n
- Broadway railroad application, 445, 445n, *see*, Stewart, A. T.
- "Broadway Sights" (WW), 1065n
- Brochure (WW), 436, 436n, *see*, "81 Clerman"
- Brokmeyer, Henry C., 1036, 1036n
- Brooklyn, 10, 11, 11n, 22, 36hn, 37, 39, 40, 41, 43, 209, 210, 211, 499n, 523, 537n, 540,

- 686hn, 687hn, 731, 736, 747, 1197, 1539
 Brooklyn City directory, 10n, 55n, 57n, 71n, 82n, 98n, 100n, 199n, 206n, 210n, 226, 238n, 246hn, 248n, 249n, 251n, 252n, 253n, 254n, 255n, 256n, 257n, 258n, 259n, 261n, 262n, 431n, 433n, 445n, 481n, 535n, 608n, 609n, 666n, 823n, 826n, 827n, 837n, 844n, 1188n, 1349hn
 "Brooklyn 14th" (WW), 720n, 731, 733, *see*, Durycia's Zouaves, 14th National Guard of the State of New York, 734
 Brooklyn Hospital, 717, 718
 Brooklyn Institute, 247, *see*, Maury, Lieut Matthew Fontaine
 "Brooklyn Jan 19 & 20" (WW), 747
 Brooklyn Military Gardens, 94hn, 94
 "Brooklyn Regiments" (WW), 736
 Brooklyn Savings Bank, 815, 904, 917, 918, 1069
 "Brooklyniana" (WW), 32hn, 459hn, 462n, *see* Brooklyn *Standard*, "William Giggee," 464hn, *see*, Feinberg, Charles A., "In the latter part," 1185hn
 Brooks, Livingston J. (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 541, 541n, 570, 570n, 647, 647n, *see*, Liv J Brooks, "Ward A, bed 47" "Baily D Damon," "Hospital Note book," "a m Dr. L B Russell," 667, 667n
 Brooks, Margaret, 647, *see*, Brooks, Livingston J.
 Brookville (Maryland), 511, *see*, 100 ? \wedge days fighting . . .
 Brother Jonathan, 218n, 468, *see*, Vedder, Elihu, "Ambition," "Death of the Nature Lover," "A Legend of Life and Love" "Boz and Democracy"
 Brower (Brower's Garden), 462, 462n, *see*, "William Giggee"
 Brower, John, 671
 Brown, Charles H. (*ed.*, with Joseph Jay Rukin, *Walt Whitman of the New York Aurora*), 217n
 Brown, Charles (Broadway Brownie) (carman), 248, 248n
 Brown, Ezra, 487, *see*, "return my book," *Mead, William*
 Brown, Ford Madox (Pre-Raphaelite painter), 812, 812n, *see*, Gilchrest, Mrs. Anne, "Rossetti," 909, 909n, 1108hn
 Brown, I. K., Serg't, 448
 Brown, James C. (51st NY Volunteers), 685n, *see*, Brown, Sergeant James C., "51st NY May 15," Hospital book 12," 712, *see*, Brown, Lt's Jas. C., 727n, 728, 728n
 Brown, John, 460, *see*, "William Giggee," 492, 492n, *see*, "return my book," Merriam—, Villard, Oswald Garrison
 Brown, John (boarder at the Whitman's house on Portland Avenue), 416hn
 Brown, Lt's Jas. C. (Finley Hospital, Washington), 712, *see*, Brown, James C., 727, 727n, *see*,
 Brown, Sergeant James C.
 Brown, Sergeant James C. (Finley Hospital, Washington) 685n, Brown, Serg't, *see*, Hospital book 12, Brown, James C., 727n, Brown, Lt's Jas. C., 728, 728n
 Brown, Lew (Lewis K Brown) (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 530, 530n, *see*, "Baily D Damon," 531, 539, 540, 540n, *see*, Brown, Lewis Kirk, Brown, Lewy
 Brown, Lewis Kirk (Lewy) (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 540, 540n, *see*, Brown, Lew, Brown, Lewy, 562, 562n, *see*, "Thursday, 19th Feb 1863," "Hospitals / Culpepper," 606, 606n, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell," 610, 610n, *see*, Elkton, Jane McCarley, 669, 672n
 Brown, Lewy (Lewis Kirk Brown), 539, *see*, Brown, Lew, Brown, Lewis Kirk, 669, 669n, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell"
 Brown, Serg't, 685, 685n, *see*, Brown, Sergeant James C., Brown, James C.
 Brown, Mrs Emiline D, 671, *see*, Nickerson, Edwin P
 Brown, Mrs. Mary, 1238hn
 Brown, Nicholas, 1265, 1265n
 Brown, Sevillon, 842, 844n, *see*, Benedict, Mrs. Asenath
 Brown, T. C. and G. C., 832
 Brown's (boarding house), 211, 211n
 Browne, John X, 24 Beekman st. New York, 828
 Brownie, 249, *see*, Jakey
 Brownie, 251
 Browning, Robert, 961
 Brumby, Thos, Co E 55th Ohio (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 571
 Brundage, Cale (driver), 817, 817n
 Brunel, Charles, 497
 Brush, Conklin (related to WW ?), 535, 535n
 Brush, Hannah (WW's paternal grandmother), 8n, 11n, 12, 16, 19n, *see*, Whitman, Hannah
 Brush, 20
 Brush, Maj., 9
 Brush, Tredwell (brother of Hannah Brush), 12
 Brush, Tredwell (father of Hannah Brush), 12
 "Brutish human beings" (WW), 1976
 Bryan, Judge Geo. S., 818
 Bryan, Mr, 915, *see*, Bryan, Thomas Barbour
 Bryan, Thomas Barbour, 915n
 Bryant, 961, 1730hn
 Bryant, C. O. B., 1215
 Bryant, Edmund, 252, 482, *see*, "return my book," [Bryant], Melville, Dr. Bryant
 Bryant, G. J. F. (Boston architect), 427n, *see*, "English runic," Faneuil Hall Market [Bryant] Melville, 482, *see*, "return my book," Bryant, Edmund, Dr. Bryant
 Bryant, Robertson M., 481

- Bryant, S. S., Int. Revenue, 818
 Bryant, William Allen, 1012, 1012n, *see*, "Death of William Cullen Bryant," "New York visit," Bigelow, John, *Evening Post* (NY), 1268
 Brynhild, 883, *see*, Wagner
 "Bubble, bubble" (WW), 1425
 Buchanan, 909, 909n
 Buchanan, James, 347hn, *see*, Col. Parker's Squa Mother
 Buchanan, Robert, 811, 811n, 835, 835n, *see*, Strahan & Co. publishers, Rossetti, Swinburne, 1526hn, *see*, *Daily News* (London), "PERSONAL"
 Bucke, Dr. Richard Maurice (WW's biographer and editor), 3, 4, 20hn, 27n, 48hn, 50hn, 95hn, 96n, 100hn, 121hn, 123hn, 163hn, 164hn, 170n, 172hn, 181hn, 186hn, 196hn, 202hn, 205hn, 222hn, 303hn, 307hn, 323n, *see*, "Book-learning is good," 328hn, 340hn, *see*, "Notes on the Text of Leaves of Grass," 343, 356n, 363hn, 364hn, 365hn, 371hn, 372hn, 374hn, 378hn, 411hn, 414hn, 415hn, 471hn, 863hn, 865hn, 892, *see*, Doyle, Peter George, 894, 981hn, 1035, 1036, 1036n, 1037, 1050, 1050n, 1070hn, 1070, 1079hn, 1079, 1162, 1197, 1238hn, 1239, 1250hn, 1285, 1292hn, 1307hn, 1324hn, 1326hn, 1335hn, 1346hn, 1348hn, 1357hn, 1358hn, 1362hn, 1364hn, 1367hn, 1436hn, 1513hn, *see*, "Walt Whitman," 1521hn, 1531hn, 1534hn, 1536hn, 1537hn, 1539hn, 1552hn, 1564hn, 1575hn, 1587hn, 1588hn, 1616hn, 1714hn, 1738hn, 1751hn, 1769hn, 1783hn, 1838hn, 1875hn, 1876hn, 1927hn, 1976hn, 1985hn, 1999hn, 2009hn, 2028hn, 2032hn, 2034hn, 2071hn
 Bucke, Mrs Jessie M. (Bucke's wife), 1081, 1081n
 Buckley, J. A. (*tr.*, *Iliad*), 1752hn
 Buckley, Theodore Alois (*tr.*, *Works of Virgil, The*), 1878hn
 Buffon, 1853hn
 Bufford's Lith 201 Broadway, 825
 Bulfinch, Charles, 419hn, *see*, *Boston After Bulfinch*, 424n, *see*, "English runic," India Wharf, 426n, *see*, "English runic," Franklin street, Tontine Crescent
 Bull Run, 501, 501n, *see*, *Regiments of Ferrero's Brigade*, 503, *see*, Col. Robert B. Potter, 510, *see*, 100 ? ^ days fighting, 683, *see*, 51st NY Volunteers, 710, 731hn, 731, *see*, "Brooklyn 14th," 1692
 Bullard, Jennie, 844n, *see*, Blood, Henry A., 890, 890n, *see*, O'Connor, William D., Bullard, Sarah Jane Wollstonecraft
 Bullard, Sarah Jane Wollstonecraft, 890n, *see*, Bullard, Jennie
 Buner, Charles, 761, 761n, *see*, Bunker, Lt Charles
 Bunker, Lt Charles, 720, 720n, 761n, *see*, Chas Bunker
 Bunker Hill monument (Boston), 426
 "(Bunsen)" (WW), 1917, 1578n
 Bunsen, Christian Charles Josias (*au.*, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*), 1632, 1632n, 1927hn, *see*, "resume—from Bunsen," 1924hn, 2031hn, *au.*, *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History . . .*), 1916hn, *see*, "Bunsen—the native name," 1917hn, 1920n, 2031hn
 "Bunsen—the native name" (WW), 138n, 1916hn
 Buonarroti, M. Angelo, 489, 489n, *see*, "return my book," da Vinci, Leonardo, Harford, John S.
 Burdette, Peter, 498
 Burdine, Eugene (printer, Treasury Department), 821
 Burchard, Jas., 901
 Burgess, G. H. (donor to WW's hospital fund), 608
 Burke, Edmund, 826, 841,
 Burke, R. M., 847, 847n
 Burnhams (Boston book store), 427, 427n, *see*, "English runic"
 "(Burns)" (WW), 1144
 "Burns as Poet and Person" (WW), 1233, 1233n, *see*, *North American Review, Critic*
 "(Burns) God Knows" (WW), 1142
 "(Burns) his wordly" (WW), 1141
 Burns, Robert, 460, 544hn, *see*, "John Anderson," *Recitations*, 1140hn, 1145, 1146, 1185hn
 "Burns says" (WW), 1146
 "Burns unused [?]" 1147
 Burnside, General Ambrose, 454, 454n, *see*, Whitman, George W., 51st NY Volunteers, 503, 830, 831n
 Burroughs, Chauncey, 831, 831n, *see*, Burroughs, John
 Burroughs, John, 26hn, 32hn, 53hn, 766hn, 816, 816n, 831, *see*, Burroughs, Chauncey, 837, 872hn, 872, 875, 891, 912hn, 913, 913n, *see*, *Wake Robin*, 1013, 1013n, 1035n, 1036, 1036n, 1037n, 1050, 1050n, 1096hn, 1187hn, 1234, 1234n, *see*, *Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person*, 1274hn, *see*, "A Quartet of Opinions (America)," 1505hn, *see*, "John Burroughs," 1513hn, *see*, "Song of the Sunlands," "Introduction to the London Edition," "Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person," 1520, 1712hn
 "Burst in lecture" (WW), 809
 Burt, Mrs. Edwin, 632
 Burton, Sir Richard (*tr.*, *Arabian Nights*), 1973hn, 1973
 Burton, Wm (*au.*, "culture of the observing Faculty"), 761, 761n
 Burver, David, . . . with the 47th in Baltimore, 494
 Bush, Alonzo S (Co A 1st Indiana Cavalry), 529, 529n, 541, 541n, 670, 670n, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell," Shara, Capt, 672, *see*, Larr, Alfred

- "But amid these inquiries" (WW), 2066, *see* Wood, William
- "But Only pond-babble" (WW), 861hn, 1005, 1006hn, *see*, "Only Reader dear"
- "But this complete rupture" (WW), 1546
- "But when a voice" (WW), 2170
- Butcher shop in the woods* (WW), 514, *see*, *Sights—The Army Corps*, . . .
- Butler, Gen. Benjamin F., 549, 549n, 915, 915n
- Butler, Lieut. Frank, 502, 502n, *see*, "aged about 35," 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, 686
- Butler, Mike, 256, 256n
- Butler, Mike, stone cutter, . . . , 482, *see*, "return my book"
- Butler, Wm (the boy shot), 572
- Butt, George W., 444n, *see*, Butt, Mrs.
- Butt, Mrs., 444, *see*, "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz," Butt, George W.
- Butterworth, Thos. (ward G Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 519
- B. Westermann & co. German Booksellers, 837, 837n
- "By Blue Ontario's Shore" (WW), 154n, 234n, 236n, 240n, 308hn, 308n, 322n, 417hn, *see*, "Poem ? Or," 417n, 435n, 1347hn, 1405hn, 2043hn, 2147n, 2149n
- "By Thine Own Lips, O Sea" (WW), 1187hn, *see*, "With Husky-Haughty Lips, O Sea!"
- Byng, Admiral John, 218, 218n
- Byrd, Mrs A. M., 793, *see*, Byrd, Thos. J.
- Byrd, Thos. J. (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 793, *see*, Byrd, Mrs. A. M.
- "Byron born at Dover" (WW), 239n, 310hn, 310n, 1779
- Byron, Lord, 310hn, 1803hn
- CPP**, 1544hn
- CPW**, 502n
- CW** (Bucke et al.), 46hn, 48hn, 50hn, 96n, 101hn, 119hn, 156hn, 157hn, 159hn, 160hn, 161hn, 162hn, 163hn, 164hn, 168hn, 169hn, 172hn, 175hn, 177hn, 179hn, 180hn, 182hn, 184hn, 186hn, 194hn, 194n, 195hn, 196hn, 198hn, 199hn, 201hn, 202hn, 203hn, 204hn, 222hn, 241n, 271n, 293hn, 294hn, 295hn, 296hn, 301hn, 302hn, 303hn, 304hn, 305hn, 306hn, 307hn, 308n, 309n, 316n, 321hn, 322hn, 324hn, 325hn, 326hn, 327hn, 328hn, 329hn, 330hn, 331hn, 333hn, 336hn, 338hn, 344hn, 349hn, 350hn, 351hn, 353hn, 354hn, 355hn, 357hn, 358hn, 359hn, 360hn, 362hn, 364hn, 365hn, 367hn, 368hn, 371hn, 372hn, 373hn, 375hn, 376hn, 377hn, 378hn, 380hn, 382hn, 383hn, 384hn, 385hn, 387hn, 412hn, 413hn, 415hn, 451n, 471hn, 519n, 521n, 537n, 575hn, 578n, 588hn, 610n, 682hn, 700n, 717hn, 815n, 830n, 862hn, 976hn, 1026hn, 1079hn, 1262hn, 1307hn, 1308hn, 1311hn, 1314hn, 1315hn, 1322hn, 1325hn, 1329hn, 1330hn, 1331hn, 1333hn, 1336hn, 1338hn, 1339hn, 1342hn, 1343hn, 1344hn, 1349hn, 1350hn, 1351hn, 1353hn, 1355hn, 1359hn, 1362hn, 1366hn, 1369hn, 1371hn, 1372hn, 1383hn, 1428hn, 1432hn, 1436hn, 1444hn, 1453hn, 1507hn, 1521hn, 1531hn, 1536hn, 1555hn, 1556hn, 1557hn, 1558hn, 1563hn, 1564hn, 1565hn, 1566hn, 1569hn, 1586hn, 1587hn, 1588hn, 1590hn, 1592hn, 1593hn, 1594hn, 1596hn, 1603hn, 1604hn, 1605hn, 1614hn, 1615hn, 1616hn, 1619hn, 1620hn, 1730hn, 1739hn, 1741hn, 1751hn, 1752hn, 1754hn, 1771hn, 1772hn, 1773hn, 1775hn, 1775hn, 1779hn, 1780hn, 1781hn, 1782hn, 1783hn, 1785hn, 1786hn, 1787hn, 1788hn, 1790hn, 1791hn, 1793hn, 1794hn, 1797n, 1806hn, 1808hn, 1812hn, 1813n, 1816hn, 1824hn, 1827hn, 1829hn, 1830hn, 1835hn, 1837hn, 1838hn, 1840hn, 1841hn, 1842hn, 1843hn, 1853hn, 1857hn, 1858hn, 1859hn, 1860hn, 1865hn, 1872hn, 1875hn, 1876hn, 1877hn, 1878hn, 1879hn, 1884hn, 1885hn, 1886hn, 1890hn, 1916hn, 1917hn, 1919hn, 1920hn, 1921hn, 1922hn, 1924hn, 1927hn, 1937hn, 1941hn, 1942hn, 1970hn, 1971hn, 1974hn, 1976hn, 1977hn, 1978hn, 1979hn, 1980hn, 1981hn, 1982hn, 1983hn, 1984hn, 1985hn, 1988hn, 1996hn, 1997hn, 1998hn, 1999hn, 2001hn, 2008hn, 2009n, 2013n, 2014n, 2020hn, 2021hn, 2022hn, 2023hn, 2024hn, 2028hn, 2030hn, 2031hn, 2032hn, 2033hn, 2034hn, 2037hn, 2046hn, 2049hn, 2055hn, 2057hn, 2060hn, 2065hn, 2067hn, 2071hn, 2085hn, 2090hn, 2096hn, 2115hn, 2118hn, 2136hn, 2138hn, 2139hn, 2140hn, 2141hn, 2142hn, 2146hn, 2150hn, 2158hn, 2222hn, 2223hn, 2229hn, 2231hn, 2231n, 2231hn, 2232n, 2233n, 2234n, 2230n, 2236n, 2237n, 2239n, 2240n, 2241n, 2243hn, 2246hn, 2250n, 2253n
- Cahall, Sam'l—driver, 816
- "Calamus" (WW), 194hn, 268n, 273n, 313n, 364hn, 412hn, *see*, "A String of Poems," 415hn, *see*, "Sands and Drifts," 421, 810n, 815n, 845n, *see*, *South Sea Idylls*, 845, 845n
- Calamus* (WW), 892
- "Calamus Leaves" (WW), 268n, *see*, "Live Oak with Moss," 1360hn, *see*, "A cluster of poems," 1362hn
- "Calamus Roots" (WW), 364hn
- Calder, Elton (*au.*, "Personal Recollections of Walt Whitman"), 523n
- Caldwell, Henry, Stone Cutter, 841
- Caldwell, Captain William (captured with George Washington Whitman), 705, 705n, 779, 779n
- Calhoun, Lewis, 498, 498n, *see*, Calhoun, Peter, Forrest, Edwin, *Metamora*
- Calhoun, Pete (NY driver), 822, 822n

- Calhoun, Peter, 496, 496n, *see*, Myers, James, 498, 498n, Calhoun, Lewis, Forrest, Edwin, *Metamora*,
 Calhune, Peter, 831, *see*, Strain, Daniel
California, Indoors and Out (au., Farnham, Elija), 1949hn
Californian, The, 1136hn
 Callaghan, Cornelius, 831,
 Calvin, 214
 Campbell Hospital (Washington), 728, 728n
 Camden (New Jersey), 25, 32hn, 37, 38, 40, 41, 935, 1196, 1198, 1248
 "Camden Glenwood" (WW), 994, *see*, "RR jaunt Spring of '77"
 "Camden, March 19, 1884" (WW), 1195
 "Camden, N. Jersey & Delaware" (WW), 952, *see*, "OLD TIME GLEANINGS," "MEMORANDA (Old & New)," "West Jersey Letters," 966hn, *see*, "To reduce every thing," 991hn, 999hn, 1004hn, 1005hn, 1184hn
 "Camden Nov. 6 '90" (WW), 1272
Camden's Compliment to Walt Whitman (Horace Traubel), 1248hn, 1255hn
 Camoens, Luis de, 220, 220n,
 Camp Augur (Alexandria, Virginia), 756
 Camp H (Campbell Hospital, Washington), 520, 521, *see*, Gardiner, Richard, Boardman, Henry D
 Camp of Instruction, 499, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, Annapolis, "return my book"
 Campbell Hospital (Washington), 519, 520, 522, 534, 569, 578n, 582, 592, 603, 603n, 728, 728n,
 Campbell, Emerson cond. Myrtle av., 824
 Campbell, Jack . . . formerly policeman, now carpenter), 481, *see*, "return my book"
 Campbell, John (carman?), 249, 249n,
 "Canada lecture" (WW), 1073hn, 1078, *see*, "(for Ottawa lecture)"
 canon ornamented (type face), 421, 421n, *see*, "English runic"
 Canon Saxon Open (type face), 421n, *see*, LG 1860, Rogers, *Specimens*
 canon scribe text shade (type face), 420, *see*, "English runic"
 "Canteloupe. Muskmelon" (WW), 328
 Canterbury Hall (Washington), 532n, *see*, Farvacer, Mlle. Sophie,
 Capen, phrenol. 922 Chestnut, 817
 Capital Hill (Washington), 1017, *see*, Olmstead, Frederick Law
Capt. Elias Elementary Course of Gymnastics, 248, 248n
 "Capt Duncan Richmond" (WW), 720, 720n, 742
 Capt J F S Gray, 618, 618n, *see*, "Addresses," 668, 668n, *see*, Gray, Fred, Gray, John Frederick Schiller,
 "Capt John Williams" (WW), 13hn, 17hn,
 Capt. S. Sims & Company G, 500, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, Roanoake, "return my book," Sims, Capt. Saml. H., 701
 Captain Cook (exchanged chaplain carrying a letter from George Washington Whitman), 747n, *see*, Cook, Capt. William
 Cargill, Oscar, 885hn, 887n, 888n
 Cariss, Mrs. Josephine born Horrocks, 828, *see*, Cariss, Wm
 Cariss, Wm, 828, *see*, Cariss, Mrs. Josephine
 Carleton, Seg't nathaniel, 732
 Carll, Lemuel, 5, *see*, Colyer, Hannah
 Carll, Sarah (daughter of Sarah Whitman), 5,
 Carlon, Henry (donor to WW's hospital fund), 609
 Carlow, Henry, 538, 538n, *see*, "Walt Whitman Soldier's"
 "Carlyle, born 1795" (WW), 1789, *see*, Stovall, *Foreground*, 1812hn, 1815hn, 1818n, 2162hn
 "Carlyle from American Points of View" (WW), 2009
 Carlyle, John A. (*tr.*, *Dante's Divine Comedy. The Inferno*), 1578n, 1861hn
 Carlyle, Thomas, 379hn, *see*, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, "Dr. Francia," 529n, *see*, *Sartar Resartus*, "Carlyle, born 1795," "Carylyle from American Points of View," "Dr. L B Russell," 853hn, 890n, "Carlyle vol 1," 1552hn, 1805hn, 1805, 1812hn, 1815hn, 1824hn, 1824n, 1830hn, 1833hn, 1834hn, 1835hn, 1841hn, 2188n
 "Carlyle vol 1" (WW), 1204hn, 1511, *see*, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays. Collected and Republished by Thomas Carlyle*, 1993hn
 Carnegie, Andrew, 1265, 1265n
 "Carnet de Notes de Whitman," *L'Ane d'Or* (Catel), 479hn, *see*, "return my book," 529hn, *see* Dr. L B Russell, 760hn
 "Carol of Harvest for 1867" (WW), 1401, 1401n, *see*, "PENITENZIA," *The Galaxy*, "Passage to India"
 "Carols Closing Sixty-Nine" (WW), 1250, *see*, "Sands at Seventy"
 Carpenter, E. D. (Elliott D. Carpenter ?), 260n
 Carpenter, Edward (English social thinker), 817n, 1163, 1163n
 Carpenter, Elliot, 494
 Carpenter, John, 499
 Carpenter, Jonathan, 25 4th av. . . . , 490
 Carpenter, Major, 543
 Carpenter, S. R., 519
 Carr, Theodore M.—Deserted, 492
 Carse, Mr., 816, 816n
 Carson, Thomas J. (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 573
 Carter, Albina H (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 666, *see*, Carter, Robert
 Carter, Mrs Sally M, 730, 730n, *see*, Hague, James
 Carter, Robert, 39hn, 666, *see*, Carter, Albina H

- Carver Hospital (Washington), 447, 447n, *see*, "Hospitals Ensemble," 450, 603, 633,
- Case, Lyman W., 453n, *see*, Case, Mrs
- Case, M H (Mayor of Topeka, Kansas), 1038n, 1043, 1050, 1050n
- Case, Mrs., 423, 423n, *see*, "English runic," "W. Whitman Portland av.," "return my book," 453, 453n, *see*, Case, Lyman W
- Case, Mrs., 54 Greenwich St . . . , 495, *see*, Case, Mrs. (above)
- Cases—one from Connecticut (WW), 584, *see*, "My Visits and distributions"
- Castle Garden, 258, 258n
- Caswell, Smith (John Burrough's farmhand), 1013, 1013n, 1035, 1035n, 1051, 1051n
- Catalogue of Collection of Books Letters and Manuscripts by Walt Whitman (G. M. Williamson), 879hn, 1719hn
- Cate, George Fulton au. car, 839
- Catel, Jean, 405hn, 407n, 408n, 409n, *see*, "Whitman Conferencier, *L'Ane d'Or*, 431hn, *see*, "Tête de Walt Whitman par liu-même," *L'Ane d'Or*, 479hn, 529hn, *see*, "Carnet de Notes de Whitman," *L'Ane d'Or*, 602hn, 717hn, *see*, "Walt Whitman pendant la Guerre de Sécession," *Revue Anglo-Americain*, 760hn, 762n, 763n, 2061hn, 2082hn, 2231hn, 2236n, 2237n, 2242n
- "Catholics have now such numbers" (WW), 348
- Catlin, George (painter and acquaintance of WW), 241n
- "Caught in the Act" (illustration by H. Wolf (Wolf), 1166hn, *see*, "The Squirrel's Highway"
- Caulfield, J. P., 840, 840n
- "Caution" (WW), 1588
- C. Cammack & Son (Washington tailors), 847, 847n
- "Cedar Apples" (WW), 1100hn, *see*, "May 17 '81—Glendale"
- Cedar Mountain battle, 614, *see*, Fox, Elijah, Jackson, Stonewall
- "Cedar-Plums Like-Names" (WW), 1088hn, *see*, *Autumn nights*
- Cedar Run, 501, *see*, *Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade*, 510, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fighting* . . .
- "Centennial Ed'n" (WW), 974
- Centennial Edition (LG) (WW), 1527hn, 1529hn
- "Centennial Song" (WW), 968hn, *see*, "Century Thoughts"
- Centerville (Virginia), 502, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, 510, *see*, 100 ^ *days fighting* . . .
- Century Magazine, 1012n, *see*, Tilder, Richard Watson, 1035, *see*, Johnson, Robert Underwood, 1096hn, 1103hn, *see*, *Scribner's Monthly*, Holland, Josiah Gilbert, 1199hn, 1223hn, 1223, 1233, 1233n, *see*, "Army Hospitals and Cases," 1243hn, 1692hn,
- "Century Thoughts" (WW), 968, *see*, "Centennial Song"
- "Cervantes" (WW), 460, 1872, *see*, *History of Spanish Literature* (Ticknor)
- Chace, Alonzo, 839,
- Chamberlain, Judge Mellen, 2002hn
- Champollion, Jean Francois, 1633, 1633n
- Chancellorsville, Battle of, 533n, *see*, Hooker, General Joseph, Chancellorsville, battle of, "The Wounded from Chancellorsville," "A Night Battle Over a Week Since," "from Hooker's command," 598, *see*, "'63 May 14," 630, *see*, from Hooker's command," 633n, 670n, 921hn
- Chancellorsville (Virginia), 533n, *see*, Hooker, General Joseph, Chancellorsville, battle of
- Chandler, Allen (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 632
- Chandler, Zechariah, 915, 915n
- Channing, William Ellery, 539n, *see*, Channing, Dr. William F., O'Connor, W.D., O'Conner, Mrs. W.D., 914n
- Channing, Dr. William F., 539, 539n, *see*, Channing, William Ellery, O'Connor, W.D., O'Connor, Mrs. W.D., 609, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell," 838, 838n, 914, 914n,
- Channing, William Henry (Chaplain of the House), 519, 519n, *see*, Sanitary Commission, "The President's Proclamation," *Daily Morning Chronicle*, 545, *see*, Emancipation Proclamation,
- Chantilly, battle of, 510, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fighting* . . . , 683, *see*, 51st NY Volunteers, 704, *see*, Reno, Major General Jesse, 731hn, *see*, "Brooklyn 14th"
- Chantilly (Virginia), 502, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, 510, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fighting*, 710
- "Chanting the Square Deific" (WW), 205hn, 431n, *see*, "81 Clerman," Quatuor . . . , 442n, 1301n
- Chants Democratic, 421, *see*, Long Primer, Johnson's book
- Chapin, Stephen, 847, 847n
- Chapman & Hall publishers, 841
- Chapman, Frederic, 82n
- "Characteristics of Shelley," 1780hn, *see*, *American Whig Review*
- Charles xxxxxxxxx, 490, 490n
- Charles Dickens in America* (Wilkins), 1087n
- Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, 218, 218n
- Charleston Bridge (Boston), 426, *see*, "English runic"
- Charley (East Broadway . . . , 261
- Charley—elderly Classon av . . . , 253
- Charley—filmy eyes . . . , 254
- Charley Hine (Charles Hine ?) (painter of portrait used in LG 1860), 444, 444n, *see*, Hine, Charles
- Charley (Mr Rider's boy . . . , 252

- Charley—131 (4th av), 258
 "Charley Parker," (WW), 500, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col.
 Ferrero, Fredricksburgh "return my book"
 Charley—ropemaker, 253
 ? Charley (tallish . . . , 261
 Charley 22 (fireman . . . , 256
 Charley Warren McGinley driver, 816, 816n
 Charleton, Mr, 823
 Chas Bunker, 687hn, *see*, "Chas Bunker's mother," 720, *see*, Bunker, Lt Charles
 "Chas Bunker's mother" (WW), 687, *see*, "Sims, Pooley," "John Faron," "Hugo Oscar Fritsch," 720n, *see*, Bunker, Lt Charles, 761n
 Chas G. Whiting, 821
 Chas. W. Eldridge, *see*, Eldridge, Charles W.
 Chase, Rev Geo L, 828
 Chase, Salmon P. (Secretary of the Treasury), 554, 554n, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper," 663hn, 663, 666n, 778n
 Chatham, Earl (William Pitt), 218, 218n
 "Chaucer," 1783hn, *see*, *North British Review*
Chaucer and Selections from His Poetical Works (Deshler), 1783hn
 Chauncey, Charles W., 494, 494n
 Chauncey, Dr. & Mrs. Chas, 491, 491n, *see*, "return my book," "Omnibus in Paris Talk"
 "Cheap looking glasses" (WW), 57n, 161
 Cheesebrough, J. C. (donor to WW's hospital fund), 609
 Cheney, Mrs (Boston), 426, *see*, "English runic"
 Chesson, Charles, 832, *see*, Chesson, Wilson
 Chesson, Mrs Nancy, 831n
 Chesson, Mrs. Naomy, 832
 Chesson, Wilson, 831n, 832, 849
 Chevalier, Wm, printer Camden, 818
 Chew, Miss Becky (Andy's friend), 841
 Chicago Magazine, 260, 260n
 Child, Josiah (WW's British sales agent), 1163, 1163n, *see*, Trübner, 1167hn, 1167
 "Children of Adam" (WW), 153, 196hn, 259hn, 412hn, *see*, "A String of Poems," "Theory of a Cluster," 842n
 Childs, George W. (owner, Philadelphia *Eagle*), 1036, 1037n, 1082, 1082n, 1215, 1215n, 1267
Child's Reminiscence by Walt Whitman, A (Mabbott and Scott), 422n
 Chilton, Mrs., 248, 248n
 Chipman, Mrs. (boarding house), 217, 217n
 Chipman, Norton Parker, 915, 915n
 Choate, Rufus (lawyer, politician, orator), 426, 426n, *see* "English runic"
 Choate, Warren, 901
 Chris 964 Madison av . . . , 498
 Chris Pike, 256
 "Christians Mistake" (Mullock), 761
 Christman, Henry, 845n, *see*, Dan Christman's Restaurant
 Christman, Philip, 829
Christmas Afternoon, 1862, 507, 507n, *see*, "return my book"
 "Christmas night" (WW), 676, 721hn,
Christopher Columbus. His Portraits and Monuments (Curtis), 1129hn
 Christy, Mrs Adeline, 620, *see*, Christy, Herbert, Christy, Lucius
 Christy, Herbert (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 620, *see*, Christy, Mrs. Adeline, Christy, Lucius
 Christy, Lucius (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 620, *see*, Christy, Herbert
Chronicle (Philadelphia), 1153hn
Chrysal; or, The Adventures of a Guinea (Charles Johnston), 435n
 Church, C. A., 837
 Churchman (New York), 240
Cid, The (WW), 440, 440n, *see*, "81 Clerman," Ticknor, George, 1872hn
Cincinnati Gazette, 838, *see*, Reid, Whitelaw
Citizen (NY), 833, 833n, *see*, Alden, W. L.
 Citizen's bank . . . , 483, *see*, "return my book"
City News (Brooklyn), 453hn, 456n
 "City Photographs" (WW), 445n, *see*, Hospital Charter, 478hn, *see*, New York Hospital, *Leader* (New York), 482n, 483n, 485n, *see*, Markoe, Dr Thomas, 491n, *see*, Omnibus in Paris Talk,
 "City Photographs. The Broadway Hospital," 484n, *see*, "return my book, *Leader* (NY), "Velsor Brush,"
 City Wharf st. (Boston), 425
Civil War and Reconstruction, The (J. G. Randall), 1374hn
Civil War Day By Day, The (Long), 727n
Civil War Letters of George Washington Whitman, (Loving), 743hn
 Clapp, H., jr., 825, 825n
 Clapp, Henry (writer, associate of WW's at Pfaff's), 434n, *see*, Gardett (Charles D.), 462, 462n, *see*, *Saturday Press*, "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," "William Giggee," 527, *see*, *Saturday Press* set, 833, 833n, 842n, 1221n
 Clare, Ada (Jane McElheney, journalist and actress, Pfaffian friend of WW), 432, 432n, 453, 453n, *see*, "81 Clerman,"
 Clark, Asia Booth (*au.*, *The Elder and Younger Booth*), 1194hn
 Clark, George Pierce (*au.*, " 'Saerasmid' an Early Promoter of Walt Whitman," *AL*), 434n
 Clark, Henry, 827, *see*, White, Mrs
 Clark, Henry H (proofreader and head, book printing department, Rand & Avery, 1124, 1130, 1130n, 1132, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1136n
 Clark, James (Drunkard . . . , 250, 250n
 Clark, James Henry, M.D., 239n, *see*, *Sight and Hearing, How Preserved and How Lost: A Popular Handbook*

- Clark, Oscar (clerk), 250
 Clark, Mr, 828, *see*, Green, Wm
 Clark, W. F., 901
 Clarke, Benj, 844, 844n
Clarke, William Henry, . . . on Fort Greene, 494
 Clarry Whitacker, 1035, 1035n
 Classon and Myrtle Aves, in Brooklyn, 1841hn
 Clauson, C. F., 829, 829n, *see*, Schmidt, Rudolf
 Claxton, Remson, & Haffelfinger (Philadelphia Publishers), 828, 828n
 Clayton, Pete, 256
 Clement, Townsend, 845, 845n
 Clements printing office, 210
 Clements, Samuel E., 210n, *see* *Long Island Patriot*,
 Cleveland, Grover, 1204hn
 Clifton, Percival de, 252
 Clinton, Col., 835, 835n
Clipper (New York), 240
 Close & Bell, 483, *see*, "return my book"
 Clouden, Chas H (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 667, *see*, Clouden, Eliza
 Clouden, Eliza, 667, *see*, Clouden, Chas H
 Cluss, Ludolf, architect, 842, 842n
 "A cluster of poems" (WW), 413hn
 "Cluster of Sonnet-Poems" (WW), 1363
 Clymer, 205 Pennsylvania av., 521
 Coburn, Mrs V O, 1167hn, 1167, *see*, "Mrs V O Coburn"
 Cochran, Norris, Jr., 826
 Cochran, William (carman), 489, 489n
 Coddling, Martin H., 631
 Coe, Norman D, 6th cavalry Maine, 673n
 "Coffee from Kaffa" (WW), 1668
 Coffee, T. J., 831
 Cogswell, Fred, 843, 843n
 Cohen, Wm (Harewood Hospital, Washington), 729
Cohn, Aaron B., 487, 487n, *see*, "return my book," Fort Edward, N.Y., *Bill, Gilbert L.*, 490, 490n
 Colburn, John, 811,
 Cold Harbor, 710, 710n, 740hn, 740
 Cold Spring (Long Island), 13, 18,
 Cole, Lucien, 554
 Coleman, Frank, 838
 Colein, Wm. H., engineer Treas. Building, 823, 823n
 Coleman, G. H. (donor to WW's hospital fund), 608
 Colgan, Dominick, 255, 255n, 257, 257n, *see*, Little Dominick
 Colgate, C. G., rep. N.Y. stock ex., 901
 "Collect" (WW), 776hn, *see*, "Abraham Lincoln," 777hn, *see*, "Sketch over rapidly," 810n, 1024hn, *see*, " ? Echoes & Drift," 1065n, 1544hn, 1544
 College Courant—New Haven, 815
 Collier, John Payne (*au.*, *Works of William Shakespeare*), 1741hn, 1743hn, 1745n, 1747n, 1754hn
 Collins, Cha. E., 522
 Collins Line, 336hn, 336, *see*, On the Other Side
 Collins, William (*au.*, "the Passions"), 544hn, *see*, *Recitation*
 "Col. Halpine" (WW), 701n, 808n, 833n
 Col. J. W. Forney, *see*, Forney, Colonel John Wien
 "Col. Parker's squa mother" (WW), 284n, 347, 1266hn
 Cotton, Rev. E., 844, *see*, Hennesey, W. J.
 Col. Potter, 503, 503n, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, "Martin Weaver," Potter, Col. Robert B., 518, 518n, *see*, Journal of Commerce, *A battle*, "Martin Weaver"
 "(Colorado)" (WW), 1675
 Columbian Hospital (Washington), 536
Columbian Magazines, 211, 211n
 Columbus, 460, 460n, *see*, Ticknor, George,
 Colyer, Andrew (eldest son of Hannah and Richard Colyer), 4
 Colyer, Charles (younger son of Hannah and Richard Colyer), 5,
 Colyer, David (driver), 844, 844n
 Colyer, Hannah (Sarah Whitman's daughter), 4, 5
 Colyer, Richard (Hannah Whitman's husband), 4, 5
 "Come, let us not" (WW), 2045
 "Come Philander" (WW), 1387hn, *see*, "One [?] Song"
 "comes it" (WW), 1760hn
comic side of death, The (WW), 520, 520n, *see* Ford, Joshua, "return my book"
 "Coming to discuss" (WW), 1496, *see*, "Orbic Literature," "DEMOCRATIC VISTAS"
 "Commencement" (WW), 2138, *see*, *Representative Men* (Emerson)
Commercial (Cincinatti), 961hn, *see*, "W.J.R.," "WEALTH OF POETS"
 Commercial st. (Boston), 424, 424n, 425, 425n, 427, *see*, "English runic"
 Commodore Rogers, 719, 719n, *see*, "John Faron," *Weehawken, Atlanta*, 720
 "Comm: of 'Elias Hicks'" (WW), 2039
 "Companions" (WW), 1351hn, 1358, *see*, "There Was a Child Went Forth"
 Company K, 51st NY Volunteers (George Washington Whitman's company), 727, 727n, *see*, Sturges, Lt, Whitman, George Washington
 "Compared to the vast" (WW), 2051hn, 2052, *see*, "Rel? outset"
Compendium of the War of the Rebellion, A (Dyer), 731hn
Concise Bibliography of the Works of Walt Whitman, A (*aus.*, Carolyn Wells and Alfred L. Goldsmith), 1277hn, 1686hn

- Complete Poems and Prose of Walt Whitman*, 32hn, 841n, 1240hn, *see*, "The head," 1246, *see*, "WALT WHITMAN COMPLETE"
- Complete Pronouncing Gazetteer on Geographical Dictionary of the World . . .* (coauth., J. Thomas and Thomas Baldwin), 1993hn
- Complete Prose Works*, 1445, 1885hn
- Conant, B, 25 Stuyvesant st N.Y. (physician), 814
- Conant, S.S., 827, *see*, Harper, J.W., Jr.
- "(? Conclusion" (WW), 1685, *see*, "with arriere-threads"
- "? conclusion sentence" (WW), 1697
- Condensed Specimen Book from the Boston Type Foundry*, 419hn, 419n, *see*, "English Runic," LG 1860, John K. Rogers & Co.
- "confession to make" (WW), 662, *see*, "MEMORANDA OF A YEAR (1863)"
- Confessions* (Rousseau), 1624hn, 1843hn, 1846hn, *see*, Swinton, William (tr. Voltaire's *Confessions*)
- Congdon, Stephen F 26th Conn, 678
- Congress st. (Boston), 428, *see*, "English runic"
- Congreve, 219,
- Conk, Col, 737
- Conklin, Serg't Chas, 732
- Conklin, Jacob W., 1188, 1188n
- Conks, Col., 493
- Connelly, Jimmy & Pat, 844
- Connor, Barney, 846
- Consuelo* (George Sand), 83hn, 83
- Conservator*, 363hn, 364hn, 414hn, *see*, "Notes on the Text of *Leaves of Grass*" (Bucke), 1292hn, 1318hn, 1319hn, 1324hn, 1326hn, 1332hn, 1335hn, 1337hn, 1346hn, 1348hn, 1357hn, 1358hn, 1364hn, 1367hn, 1368hn
- Contemporary Review*, 1059, 1059n, *see*, Bayne Peter, 1805hn, 1805
- "content to the ground" (WW), 370
- Continue This, 511, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting . . .*
- Contraband Relief Association of Washington, 535n, *see*, Keckley, Elizabeth, *contrabands, Negro's Civil War, The*
- contrabands (freed slaves), 535, 535n, *see*, Emancipation Proclamation, Contraband Relief Association of Washington, *Negro's Civil War, The*
- Conway, 909, 909n, *see*, Conway, Moncure D.
- Conway, M. D. (intermediary between WW and Rosetti), 831, 831n, 1163, 1163n
- Conway, Moncure D., 834n, *see*, Mr. Philp, 836n, *see*, Morley, John, 850hn, *see*, O'Connor, William D., 1497, 1500n
- Converse, Harding & Co. (drygoods merchant), 423, 423n, *see*, "English runic"
- Cook, E. T. (coauth., *Works of John Ruskin, The*), 1222hn, *see*, Wedderburn, Alexander
- Cook, Herbert, 845
- Cook, Capt. William, 743hn, *see*, Whitman, George Washington, 747n, *see*, Captain Cook
- Cooke, Henry David, 915, 915n
- Cooke, Jay, 915n
- Cooke, R. P., 260, 260n
- Cooke, R. P., M.D. (Dentist), 494
- Cooley, Geo W (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 570
- Coon, David (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 632
- Cooper, Bub, 453
- Cooper, Chas (driver), 817
- Cooper, James Fenimore, 1268
- Cooper, Peter, 1267, 1267n
- Cooper, Rob., 41 Troy, 495, 495n
- Cope's Tobacco Plant*, 1163n, *see*, Lewin, Walter, 1167hn, *see*, Fraser, John, "Three Young Men's Deaths"
- Corlow, Henry (donor to WW's hospital fund), 608, 608n
- Cornell, Ezra, 1267, 1267n
- Cornell, Jim, 548n
- Cornell, Joseph*, 493, *see*, "return my book," (Erie),
- Cornish (tow head) . . . , 255
- Cornwell, Judge James H., 837
- "Corp. Justus F. Boyd . . . Mr. Sumner," 604n, *see*, Boyd, Corp. Justus F.
- Corr, Patrick, 256
- "*Corrections in Plates*" (WW), 1277, 1282hn
- Correspondence* (Miller), 3, 22n, 25hn, 28hn, 39hn, 55n, 71n, 146n, 201hn, 247n, 257n, 260n, 347hn, 351n, 416hn, 423n, 424n, 428n, 431n, 432n, 446n, 447n, 449n, 453n, 460n, 468hn, 479hn, 480n, 481n, 487n, 490n, 491n, 495n, 502n, 505n, 519n, 529n, 530n, 531n, 534n, 535n, 536n, 537n, 538n, 539n, 541n, 549n, 552n, 554n, 563n, 570n, 572n, 594hn, 604n, 605n, 607n, 608n, 609n, 618n, 619n, 645n, 666hn, 667n, 668n, 672n, 678n, 700n, 702n, 704n, 705n, 706n, 717hn, 721hn, 725n, 727n, 760n, 778n, 779n, 791hn, 811n, 812n, 813n, 814n, 815n, 816n, 817n, 818n, 819n, 820n, 821n, 822n, 825n, 826n, 827n, 828n, 829n, 830n, 831n, 832n, 833n, 834n, 835n, 836n, 837n, 838n, 839n, 842n, 844n, 845n, 853hn, 885n, 890n, 891, 900hn, 909n, 917hn, 936n, 938n, 939hn, 958n, 960hn, 998hn, 1001hn, 1018hn, 1027hn, 1035n, 1036n, 1037n, 1051n, 1057n, 1064hn, 1081n, 1082n, 1082n, 1096hn, 1105hn, 1136hn, 1162n, 1163n, 1164n, 1167hn, 1169hn, 1182n, 1199hn, 1204hn, 1211n, 1233n, 1241hn, 1264hn, 1414hn, 1497, 1500n, 1526hn, 1530hn, 1712hn, 1759hn, 2002hn, 2105hn, 2165hn
- "Cosmic Aspirations" (Albert Brisbane), 494n, *see* "To India"

- Cosmos Indicopleustes, 1916, 1916n
 Cotrel, Thomas (donor to WW's hospital fund), 609, 609n
 Coues, Elliott, 846n
Countess of Rudolstadt, The (George Sand), 61n, 83hn, 2011n, 2242n
 Courier, Sunday, 239
 Courtland (Street) (NYC), 433n
 Covert, Richard D., 98, 98n
 Covert, Richard D.?, 10, 10n
 Cox, G. C., photographer, 1234, 1234n
 Craig, Wm., 259, 259n
 Craik, George L. (*coau.*, *Pictorial History of England*), 1894hn, *see*, MacFarlane, Charles, 1905hn
 Cranberry St. (residence), 10, *see*, First Presbyterian Church, 210,
 Crane, Rev. Mr., 458, *see*, W. Whitman Portland av.
 Cranford, Capt. (Brooklyn 14th), 734
 Crary, Alfred (donor to WW's hospital fund ?), 671, 671n, *see*, Lane, Moses
 Crary, Charles (donor to WW's hospital fund), 609
 Crawford (Martin Jenkins, or William Harris ?), 212, 212n
 Crawford, Thomas, 559n, *see*, "Goddess of Liberty"
 Crayon, 239n
 Creland, Jim, 819
 Cremer, Jas (Finley Hospital, Washington), 728
Crescent (New Orleans), 37, 86n, *see*, *Daily Crescent*
Critic, 820n, *see*, Gilder, Jeanette L., 1105hn, 1106hn, 1114hn, 1140hn, 1180n, 1232hn, 1233n, 1531hn
Critical and Miscellaneous Essays. Collected and Republished by Thomas Carlyle (Carlyle), 379hn, *see*, "Dr. Francia," 1511hn, *see*, "Carlyle vol 1," 1552hn, 1812hn, 1815hn, 1830hn, 1833h 1834hn, 1835n, 1841hn
 "Criticism" (WW), 1445, 1796n
 "Criticism" (WW), 1491
 Croghan, Dr. P. (Washington physician), 825, 825n
 Crook, Crawford Alexandria boy, 824, 824n
 Crooks eating saloon, 483, *see*, "return my book"
 Crosby, Eugene, 821, 821n, 1081, 1081n
 Crosier, James P., 726
 "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry" (1856) (WW), 113n, 142n, 143n, 144n, 165hn, 167n, 228n, 229n, 230n, *see*, "Full poem," "George Walker," 231n, 232n, 240n,
 Crowe, Milton (West Jersey Railroad), 1210
 Crowell, John, 461
 Crummatly [?], Herbert, 673
Crusader and Feminist: Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm (ed., Larsen), 565n, *see*, Swisshelm, Jane Grey, Minnesota massacre
 Crystal City Plate Glass Works, 1035, 1036, *see*, Neal, Geo: F.
 Culbertson, Cooley (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 673
 Culbertson, Walter (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 621
 Culpepper (Virginia) (headquarters of The Army of the Potomac, 510, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fighting . . .*, 552n, 677hn, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper," 723hn, 723, 723n, 724, 727n,
 Culpepper Station (Virginia), 501, *see*, *Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade*
 "Culture of the observing Faculty (Wm Burton), 761, 761n
 Culver, James H. (ward G armory hospital, Washington), 521, 521n, 570, 570n, *see*, "Hospital Note book," "return my book"
 Culver, Wm, 252, 252n, 481, 481n, *see*, "return my book," "[illeg.] Dick Hunt"
 Cumberland Street (residence), 8hn, 11,
 Cummings, Thomas, 494
 Cunningham, Helen S, 621, 621n, 670, *see*, Cunningham, Oscar H.
 Cunningham, Jim, 250
 Cunningham, John, 257, 257n
 Cunningham, Oscar (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 448, 448n, 570, 570n, *see*, "June 20-'63," 621n, *see*, Cunningham, Helen S, 645, 645n, 670, 680
 Curphey, James, 814, 814n
 "CURRENT CRITICISM" (WW), 333hn, 872
Currier and Ives (Peters), 108n
 Currier & Ives, 260n
 Currier, Nathaniel, 260n, *see*, Ives, Mr., Currier & Ives
 Curry, John W. colored letter carrier, 847, 847n
 Curtin, Gen (51st NYV), 669
 Curtis, Mr. Albert, drummer, Co D 39th Mass Vols, 673n
 Curtis, Charles N. N.Y. Cavalry Co H, 673n
 Curtis, George William, 901, 901n
 Curtis, Margaret, 537, 537n
 Curtis, William Ellery (*au.*, *Christopher Columbus. His Portraits and Monuments*, 1129hn, *see*, "Boston Art Museum"
 "Custer's Last Rally" (WW), 1115hn, *see*, "Mulanvany Article," *Tribune* (NY), Taft, Robert A.
 Custom house (Boston), 424, 424n, *see*, "English runic"
 Cutler, Dr., 485, *see*, "return my book," New York Hospital
 C. W. Tufts, 841
 C. W. Waldsea, 702n
Cyclopedia of Geography (Knight), 248

- DA**, 500n, *see*, "Shebangs," 1078n, 1678hn
- DAB**, 206n, *see*, Youmans, Edward Livingston, Good, Harry Gehman, 1267n
- DD**, 1081n
- DN** (White), 3, 43, 46, 113n, 248n, 264n, 266n, 657n, 810hn, 815n, 830hn, 832n, 890n, 892, 935, 906hn, 1024hn, 1108hn, 1110hn, 1232hn, 1247hn, 1705hn, 1829hn, 2067hn
- D-T**, 517n, *see*, *A battle*, 813n, 1399hn, *LG* (1871), 1401, 1401n, *see*, *LG* (1867), *LG* (1871)
- DV** (WW), 659hn, 675hn, 813n, 856hn, 857hn, 860hn, 863hn, 868hn, 900hn, 1399hn, 1573hn, 1721hn, 1752hn, 2009hn, 2091hn, 2121n, 2136hn, 2154hn, 2162hn, 2164hn
- Daggett, Albert, 826, 826n
- Daily Advertiser* (London, Ontario), 7n, *see*, Van Velsor, Alonzo, 1073hn
- Daily Chronical* (Washington), 843, 843n
- Daily Conservative Leavenworth Kansas, 836, 836n, *see*, "D. W. Wilder"
- Daily Crescent* (New Orleans), 86n, *see*, *Crescent*
- Daily Eagle* (Brooklyn), 502n, *see*, Lowerie, John, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, "Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers"
- Daily Graphic* (NY), 1108n
- Daily Journal* (Lawrence, Kansas), 1028hn, *see*, Thacher, T. D.
- Daily Morning Chronicle* (Washington), 519n, *see*, Channing, William Henry, 532n, *see*, April [Thursday] 30 [186]3 Fast day, 840, 840n
- Daily News*, 239
- Daily News* (London), 1526hn
- Daily Post* (Camden), 1036n, *see*, Bonsall, Henry L., Jr., 1224hn
- Daily Times* (Brooklyn), 345hn, *see*, Municipal Legislation, 381n, *see*, "Animals," says George Eliot, 389hn, 1436hn, 1842hn
- Daily Union* (Brooklyn), 531n, *see*, Howell, Henry, 735, *see*, 139th New York Volunteers,"
- Dally, Mike, 256, 256n, 258, 258n, *see*, Talley, Mike
- Dalton, James (sailmaker or carman?), 250, 250n
- Dalton, James (Engine . . . , 259
- Damascus (Maryland), 511, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting* . . .
- Damon, Baily D (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 666, *see*, "Baily D Damon," "a m Dr. L B Russell"
- Dan [(Irish)], 260
- Dana, C. A. (*coed.*, *New American Encyclopedia*), 1882n, *see*, Ripley, George
- Dana, Charles A (author and editor), 1163, 1163n, *see*, *Tribune* (NY), *Sun* (NY), *Household Book of Poetry*
- Dan Christman's Restaurant, 845, 845n, *see*, Christman, Henry
- Dan'l Spencer* (Spencer, *pere*, 487, 487n
- "Dante," 479hn, 491, 492, *see*, "return my book," *Inferno*, lectures on Dante, Boccaccio, "*Paradise, the*," Doré, (Paul) Gustave), 594, 594n, *see*, "Spring of '59," 1860hn, 1860
- Dante's Divine Comedy, The Inferno* (tr. Carlyle, John A.), 1578n
- Danville (Virginia) (Where George Washington Whitman was imprisoned and released), 743hn, 747, 749, 750, 751, 753hn, 761, 762
- Dark Blue, The*, 897n, *see*, Roden, Noel
- Dartmouth College, 819, 819n, *see*, "As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free"
- "*Dated July 22 1882*" (WW), 1172
- "Dating Whitman's Early Notebooks" (Stovall), 53hn, 138hn,
- Dave, 251
- Dave—black eyes, 25, 261
- Dave, coachman, 253, 253n
- Dave [*Jones*], 258, 258n
- Davenport, Adolphus (actor), 255, 255n, *see* Jennings, Ansel, Weston, Lizzie
- Davenport, John, 252, 252n
- David McKay, Philadelphia, 38, 1069, 1264
- Davids, Richard, 817
- da Vinci, Leonardo, 489, *see*, "return my book," Buonarroti, M. Angelo, Harford, John S.
- Davis, A. J., 227, 227n
- Davis, A. J., 137 Spring st., 257, 257n
- Davis, Andrew Jackson (spiritualist), 827, 827n, *see*, Davis, Mary F.
- Davis, Charles (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 670, *see*, Davis, Miss Eliza
- Davis, Col. (8th N.Y. Cavalry), 621
- Davis, Miss Eliza, 670, *see*, Davis, Charles
- Davis, Jimmy, 845, *see*, MacFarland, James Davis
- Davis, John, policeman, 829
- Davis, Luther Calvin, 258
- Davis, Mary F., 827, 827n, *see*, Davis, Andrew Jackson
- Davis, Mrs. Mary Oakes (WW's housekeeper in Camden), 1232, 1232n, 1234, 1238hn, *see*, Mapes, Mrs., 1239, 1248, 1285, 1286
- Davis, Maurice, 846
- Davis, Hon. Thomas, 840, 840n, *see*, Price, Mrs. Abby
- Davis, William, 250, 250n
- Davy, Capt. George, 720, 720n, 731, 731n
- "Day and Night" (WW), 753
- "Daybook" 3, 32hn, 960hn
- "Daylight" (WW), 377hn
- D. C. Holly Real Estate, 257, 257n, *see*, Holly, W. C.
- Dearing, Mark (Judiciary Hospital, Washington), 729
- "Death of Abraham Lincoln" (WW), 773hn, *see*, "? for Address," 776hn, *see*, "Abraham Lincoln," 777hn, *see*, "Sketch over rapidly," 810n, 1065n, 2123n

- "Death of an Aged Lover" (WW), 342
 "Death of Longfellow" (WW), 1730n
 "Death of the Nature Lover" (WW), 468hn
 "Death of Thomas Carlyle" (WW), 1090hn
 "Death of William Cullen Bryant" (WW), 1010hn, *see*, "visit to NY '78," "A Poets' Recreation"
 "Deaths 51 NYV" (WW), 695
 "deathsman" (WW), 1670
 Debevoise, Abe, 253, 253n, 482, *see*, "return my book," [*Debevoise?*], Ike
 [*Debevoise?*], Ike (Isaac), 253, 256n, 482, *see*, "return my book," Debevoise, Abe
 Debevois 38 Hampden st, 613, *see*, "September & October 1863"
 "Debris" (1860) (WW), 138hn, 146n, 148n,
 De Bevois, Lt Col Wm (Brooklyn 14th), 732, 732n
 De Camp Hospital (David's Island, New York), 806
 "Dec. '73, and Jan. '74" (WW), 770, 771hn
 "? Dec. '62 Friday 26th Brigade Drill" (WW), 500n, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, 515, *see*, 100 ? ^ days fighting, 2d brigade, 2d division, 9th Army Corps, Ferrero, Col. (gen.),
 Dec. 21 '62 (WW), 501, *see*, *Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade, 51st New York Col. Ferrero*,
 "Dec. 23. 1864" (WW), 1447, 1453hn, 1454hn, 1456n, 1458hn
 "Dec 23—'64" (WW), 712hn, 743
 "Dec 22 '79" (WW), 1053
 Deggs, Wm A., 810, 810n
 De Kay, Charles (literary editor, *NY Times*), 1012, 1012n, *see*, "New York visit"
 Delay, James, 845
 Delvan House (Washington), 499, 499n
 "Dem Vistas" (WW), 1059n, 1175hn, 1176
 Deming, Mr (lawyer . . . mother is a Whitman, 492
 "Democracy" (WW), 541n, *see*, *Galaxy, Finale for Democracy*, 594hn, *see* "These Hospitals," Stone, Horatio, *Galaxy*, 835n, 856hn
Democrat, 211, 211n
Democratic Review, 150n, 211, 217, 405n, 1712hn, 1714hn, 1796n
 "Democratic Vistas" (WW), 1449n, 1539
 "DEMOCRATIC VISTAS" (WW), 144n, 242n, 541n, 594hn, 859hn, 868, 874, 879, 1075n, 1140hn, 1445, 1496hn, 2154hn, *see*, "Dem Vistas"
 Dempsey, Pete (laborer?), 227, 227n,
 Dempster, Pete, 251, 251n
Denike, Charles, met on Fort Greene, 494, 494n, 498, *see*, Dilks, Henry,
 Denison, Mrs E J, 614
 Denny, Wm, 815
 Dent, George (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 614, 667
 Denton, Danl (*au.*, *Brief Description of New York*), 457, 457n
 Department of the Interior, 760n, 880hn
 Department of Justice (WW's place of employment, 1871-1872), 479hn, *see*, "return my book"
 Derby & Jackson (printer), 247, 247n, *see*, Young's Political History
 D'Erviex, Miss M Mary, 1083
 "Describing the death" (WW), 375
 "deserter arrested" (WW), 696, 699hn
 Deshler, Charles (*au.*, *Chaucer and Selections from His Poetical Works, Selections from the Works of Geoffrey [sic.] Chaucer*), 1783hn
 Deveraux, E. C. (agent, Kansas Pacific Railroad), 1038n, *see*, Forney, Colonel John Wien
 DeVaughn, Addison Wood (conductor), 846
 De Vere, Schele (*au.*, *Outlines of Comparative Philology*), 1894hn
 De Walden, Thomas B. (*au.*, *The Man of Destiny*), 483n, *see*, "return my book," Eddy, Edward, Greenwich Theater
 DeWitt, Robert M., 261n, *see*, Rob't DeWitt
 D F Wright, 701, 701n, 702, 702n, *see*, Capt D. F. Wright, 703
Dial, 1712hn
 Diamond Atlas (C. S. Francis), 247,
 "Diary Notes 26 September" (WW), 110hn, *see*, "on to Boston"
 "Diary of the War" (WW), 388hn
 Dick, Robert (*au.*, *Diet and Regimen*), 2253n
 Dickens, 308hn, 1087, 1087n, 1099hn
Dick Sullivan, 487, *see*, "return my book"
Dictionary of Americanisms, The (Randolph), 2122n
 "Dictionary of Dates" (Haydn), 458n,
 "Diderot" (WW), 1841, *see*, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, "Phrase," 1857hn
 "Did you ever think" (WW), 451
Diet and Regimen (Dick), 2253n
 "Difficult as it is" (WW), 1611
 "'Dilation' in Whitman's Early Writing" (Rosenthal), 62n
 Dilks, Henry, 498, *see*, Danike, Charles,
 Dilley, Eugene (Finley Hospital, Washington), 728
 Dillingham, Chas F, 1163, 1163n
 Dillingham, Mr., 1524n
 Dimon, Theodore Dimon, State Department, 836
 "—Discuss the case" (WW), 2217
 "Distant Sounds" (WW), 1009hn, *see*, "Evening sights"
 "Distinctive and without relation" (WW), 1582, 1609hn
 "distinctness every syllable" (WW), 48
 "Dithyrambic trochee" (WW), 355
 "Dithyrambus. Dithyramb" (WW), 357
 "? divide into two" (WW), 1674
 Dix Hills, 10, 11, 210, 218,
 Dixon, Edward H. (editor, *Scalpel*), 240, 240n

- Dixon, P J (Harewood Hospital, Washington), 729
- Dixon, Sam'l, 447, 447n, *see*, U.S. Insane Asylum
- Dixon, Thomas, 836, 836n, *see*, Rossetti, William Michael, Scott, William Bell,
- Dr. Abbott, 138, *see*, Abbott, Dr. Henry
- Dr. Abbott's Museum, 850
- Dr. Augusta (Dr. Alexander T. Augusta) (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 530, 530n, *see*, "Walt Whitman Soldier's," 531,
- Dr. Bartlett (Ward E, Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 574, *see*, "Armory, now ward E"
- Dr. Bielby, 827, 827n, *see*, Bielby, Marie Le Baron,
- Dr. Brinton, 1234, 1234n, *see*, Brinton, Daniel G.
- Dr. Bryant, 482, *see*, "return my book," Bryant Edmund, [*Bryant*], Melville
- "Dr. Bucke's travels" (WW), 1079
- Drinkard, Dr. D. W. (WW's physician in Washington), 812, 812n
- Dr. Francia, 379hn, 379, *see*, Francia, José Gaspar Rodriguez, Carlyle, Thomas
- Dr. F. S. Gray, 844, 844n, *see*, Gray, Fred (John F.S.),
- Dr. L B Russell, (Dr. Le Baron Russell, one of WW's Boston benefactors), 529, 529n, 537, 677hn, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell," Russell, Dr. Le Baron
- "Dr. Priestly" (WW), 2032
- Dr. Ruggles (Edward), 260, 260n, 463, 463n, *see*, "William Giggee," "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz," Ruggles, Dr.
- "Dr W G Metcalfe" (WW), 1083, 1164n, *see*, Metcalfe, Dr. W. G.
- Doctrine of Science* (Fichte), 2007n
- Dodd, D. M., 247
- Dodds Express Office, 838
- Dodworth, Allen, 139, 139n
- Dolan, Patrick policeman 6th ward, 826
- Dole, William P. (Commissioner of Indian Affairs), 785hn, 785, 785n
- Dolliver, Adelbert, co B 11th Penn, 614, 672, *see*, "September & October"
- Dominick Colgan's, 255, 255n, 257, 257n
- Donaldson, Miss, 821, 821n, *see*, O'Connor, Mrs. W. D.
- Donaldson, Thomas (*au.*, *Walt Whitman the Man*), 484n, *see*, "return my book," Roosa, Dr. D. B. St. John, 529n, 537n, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell," 663hn, *see*, "Friday Dec 11 '63," 1285
- "(Done openly) Military parade" (WW), 340
- Donizetti, Gaetano (*Lucrezia Borgia*), 390n, 395n, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA," 396n, 540n, *see*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, "Dr. L B Russell," 815n, 892, *see*, *Poliuto*
- "do nothing" (WW), 2199
- "(Do not this enough for a poem" (WW), 350
- Don Quixote*, 492n, *see*, "return my book," Doré, (Paul) Gustave, 1873, 1874, *see*, "Cervantes"
- "Don't forget" (WW), 920
- "Don't read my books" (WW), 1507
- Doolady, Michael (WW's agent), 846, 846n, *see*, M. Doolady, 917hn, 918
- Doolittle, Mr & Mrs., 845
- Doré (Paul), Gustave, 492, 492n, *see*, "return my book," Dante, "Paradise, the," *Don Quixote*, *Paradise Lost*, *Divine Comedy*, *The*,
- Doremus tailor, 431
- Doty, Wm, 569
- Doty & McFarland 123 William, 825, 825n
- Double Paragon Scribe Text Shaded (type face), 420n, *see*, "Enfans d'Adam"
- "doubtful ab't" (WW), 33hn, 1219
- Dougherty, Thomas, 454, *see*, Hart, Mary,
- Dougherty, Wm, 817
- dough-faces, 2122, *see*, Randolph, John, "Dough-Face Song"
- "Dough-Face Song" (WW), 2122n
- Douglas, Lt. Col. H. Ford, 609
- Douglass (Washington florist), 825, 825n
- Douglass, Rev. Ebenezer, Bridgewater Mass, 613, *see*, Douglass, R D
- Douglass, R D, Bangor Theo Seminary Maine, 613, *see*, Douglass, Rev. Ebenezer
- Douglass, Wm B—"Billy" (Washington), 811, 812
- Dowden, Professor Edwaard (*au.*, "Poetry of Democracy: Walt Whitman, The"), 812, 812n, 813n, 909, 909n, *see*, *Westminster Review*, 958, 958n, 1164, 1164n, *see*, "Jeff Mary Han," 1179, 1179n, 1274hn, *see*, "A Quartet of Opinions," 1517
- Dowling, Col., Chief of Cherokees, 821, 821n, *see*, Downing, Lewis, 824
- "Down at the Front" (WW), 505n, *see*, *Sight at the Lacy House*—, 508n, *see*, *Va. On the Falmouth side, Friday, Dec. 26th, '62*, 723hn, 725n, *see*, "Hospital book 12"
- "Down by the Creek" (WW), 1001, *see*, "A COUNTRY AUCTION," 1004hn,
- Downing, Joe, 254
- Downing, Lewis, 821n
- Doyle, Edward (Peter's brother), 891
- Doyle, Francis M., 783hn, 783, *see*, "POLICEMAN DOYLE," Doyle, Peter, 891
- Doyle, James (carman), 494, 494n
- Doyle, James (Peter's brother), 891
- Doyle, Peter George (conductor, WW's young Washington friend), 561n, 783hn, *see*, "POLICEMAN DOYLE," 810n, 815n, *see*, Alf. R. Thornett, 815n, 821, 823n, 822n, 823n, 836, 836n, 837n, 841n, 842n, 845n, 885hn, 887n, 888n, 890n, *see*, Vaughn, Fred, 891, *see*, Edward (Doyle), James (Doyle), 892, 893, 901hn, 917hn, 919, 958, 958n, 960hn, 1035, 1050, 1050n, 1081, 1127hn, 1162hn, 1164, 1164n,

- 1180, 1180n, 1210n, 1239, 1285, 1287, *see*,
Appendix to "Epictetus," 891
- "Do you ask me" (WW), 208
- "Do you know what music does" (WW), 113n,
187hn, 190
- "Do you suppose religion" (WW), 2084
- "D. P. Holloway Dead," 829
- Drake, A. B., 1163n, *see*, Drake, Mrs A B
- Drake, Mrs. A B, 1163, 1163n, *see*, Drake, A. B.
- Drake, Theodore A., (donor to WW's hospital
fund), 609, 609n
- "Drama in France, The," 1840hn, *see*, "Louis
14th," *Putnam's Magazine*
- "Dress Circular" (Marcy, William Learned),
347hn, *see*, Col. Parker's Squa Mother, 1266hn
- Drexel (Anthony), 1265, 1265n
- "DRIFT & BUBBLES" (WW), 967
- "Drift Sands" (WW), 1060n, 1415, 1416hn,
1417hn, 1418hn, 1419hn, 1420hn
- "*Drift Sands* As we" (WW), 1417, *see*, "Sands
and Drifts," "Drift Sands"
- "*Drift Sands* Ripple" (WW), 1418
- Drinkard, Dr. William B. (WW's Washington
physician), 812, 812n, 938hn, *see*, Grier, Dr.
Matthew J.
- Drops of my Blood* (WW), 363, 364hn
- Dr. Ruggles (Edward), *see*, Ruggles, Dr.
- "Drum Taps" (WW), 37, 443n, 1517
- "*Drum-Taps*" (WW), 611hn, *see*, "September &
October 1863," 761, 833n
- "Dryden," (WW), 219
- "Dryden" (WW), 1782
- Ducke, William (WW's escort and driver), 1181,
1181n, 1234, 1235n
- Dudley, Edward, 1211, 1212n
- Dudley, Uriah H., 678, 678n
- Dumas, Alexander, *père*, 600n, *see*, "take (Marg.
D Valois)," *Marguerite de Valois*
- Dumas *filis* (*au.*, *La Dame aux Camelias*), 401
- Dunbar, Mary, 258n
- Dunbar's, 258, 258n
- Dunn, Oliver, Cond. N.Y., 844
- Dupee, Frederick W. (*ed.*, Henry James, *Auto-
biography*), 704n, *see*, "Sketches of Edward F.
Ferrero"
- Durand, Asher B. (painter), 1209hn, 1209
- Durand, John (editor of *Crayon*), 239, 239n
- "*During 1863, '4 and '5*" (WW), 1261, *see*, "An
Ended Day," "He went out with the Tide,"
1263hn
- Durell, Dick (conductor and driver), 821
- Durkee, Eugene R., 609n, *see*, E. R. Durkee
- Durkee, Mrs. E. R. (donor to WW's hospital
fund), 608
- Duryea's Zouaves, 733, *see*, "Brooklyn 14th"
- "Dutch Traits of Walt Whitman" (Kennedy),
28hn, *see*, "Going back far enough," 30hn,
31hn
- Dwight, Benjamin W., 57, 57n
- D. W. Wilder (Kansas Journalist), 610n, *see*,
"D. W. Wilder," Wilder, Abel Carter, 810hn,
810, *see*, office Monitor pub. Co. Fort Scott,
Kansas, 810n, Rochester (NY) *Express*, 836,
836n, *see*, *Daily Conservative*, Leavenworth
Kansas, 1028hn
- "D. W. Wilder" (WW), 3, 32hn, 82n, 249n, 257n,
351n, 432n, 444n, 446n, 447n, 453n, 481n,
489n, 490n, 459n, *see*, Brisbane, Albert, 531n,
534n, *see* Knowler, Benjamin, 570n, *see*, Mr.
Ramsdell, Chief Clerk, 610n, 632n, 644hn, *see*,
Wm E Vandermark, 657n, *see*, Winterstein,
Manville, 668n, 678n, 810 (*see*, *DN*), 830hn,
831n, 832n, 834n, 835n, 836n, 838n, 839n,
841n, 846n, 847n, 890n, 891, 892, 900hn,
909n, 917hn, 958n, 960hn, 1027hn, 1035n,
1036n, 1050n, 1051n, 1081n, 1164n, 1517n,
1530hn,
- Dwyer, George (Armory Square Hospital,
Washington), 680
- Dwyer, Thaddeus, 492
- Dyer, Frederick H. (*au.*, *A Compendium of the War
of the Rebellion*), 731hn
- Dyer, John N. (librarian, Mercantile Library, St.
Louis), 1049hn, 1049
- EP & F**, 10n, 46hn, 211n, 217n, 405n
- Eagle* (Brooklyn), 37, 55n, 71n, 158hn, 211, 227n,
249n, 461, 531n, *see*, Howell, Henry, 532n, *see*
Vliet, Amos H., 537n, *see*, King Allen, 578n,
see, Hinkle, Frank, 610n, 659hn, 732n, 1163,
1163n, *see*, Kinsella, Thomas, 1163n, *see*, Por-
ter, Linn B, 1712hn, 1732hn, 2204hn
- Eagle* (Philadelphia) 1036n, *see*, Childs, George
W.
- Eagle Trail (Kansas), 1040, 1040n
- Eagleston, Larry (*driver 5th av. N.Y.*), 838
- Earle, Wm H., co F, 2d New Jersey, 553
- "Earliest Manuscript of Whitman's 'Passage to
India' and Its Notebook, The" (Bowers), 928hn
- Eastlake, Tom, 816
- Eaton affair, The, 423, 423n, *see*, "English runic,"
"William Eaton"
- Eaton, Ray Palmer, 818
- Eaton, William, 423n, *see*, "English runic," The
Eaton affair
- Eaton, Wyatt, 1012, 1012n, *see*, Society of
American Artists
- Ebbit, H, 901
- E. B. Elliott Bureau of Statistics Treasury, 828,
828n
- Eberle, Henry (Armory Square Hospital, Wash-
ington), 631
- Ebert, Henry A., 810
- E. B. Myers & Chandler, 831
- "? Echoes & Airs" (WW), 926
- "? *Echoes & Drift*" (WW), 1025, *see*, "Collect"

- "Echoes Voices of latter years" (WW), 1177
 Ed: Lindell (Camden ferry), 1035, 1035n, 1036
 Eddy, Edward, 483, 483n, *see*, "return my book,"
 Greenwich Theater, *Man of Destiny*, *The*
 Edgarton, Mrs (boarding house), 211, 211n
Edinburgh Review, 1795n, 1795n, 1796n, 1812n,
 1813n, 1818hn, 1821hn
 "Editorial for insertion" (WW), 1942, *see*, *Times*
 (Brooklyn), 1943hn
 "Edmund Spenser" (WW), 1791
 "Edmund Spenser" (WW), 1739hn, 1791, *see*,
 "What name"
 "Education" (WW), 1990
 "Education" (WW), 1988hn, 1990
 "Education in Our Schools (Anna Traubel),
 2204hn
Edward Livingston Youmans (Fiske), 910n
 Edward (25) . . . printer in N.Y. Times, 255
 Edwards, Charles, 449
 Edwards, Charles . . . (died June 64), 255, 255n
 Edwin ? handsome letter carrier (Washington),
 811, 812
 Egbert, Tom, conductor, 252, 252n, 481, *see*,
 "return my book," "[*illeg.*] Dick Hunt"
 "Egypt (and probably)" (WW), 138n, 1927hn,
 2037, *see*, "Assyria and Egypt"
 "Egyptian religion" (WW), 138n, 1927hn, 2028
 Egyptology, 198hn
Egypt's Place in Universal History (Bunsen), 1632n,
 1924hn
 E. H. Eggleston (Finley Hospital, Washington),
 534
 Eichholtz, 845, 845n, *see*, Eichholtz, Augusta
 Eichholtz, Augusta, 845n, *see*, Eichholtz
 "Eidolons" (WW), 1407hn
 "1880 Notebook" (WW), 928hn
 "1855-I have looked" (WW), 1772
 "(1854) *Alexander Smith*" (WW), 813n, 1771, *see*,
 "An English and an American Poet," *LG*
 (1855), Maud (Tennyson)
 "1848 New Orleans" (WW), 84hn
 "1863—23 February" (WW)
 "1873. Nov. 20. Camden" (WW), 22n, 25,
 "81 Clerman" (WW), 250n, 263n, 431, 431n,
 453n, 459n, 481n, 486n, 489n, 495n, 825n,
 1301n, 1872hn, 2149n
 "'81 (*Leaves of Grass*)" (WW), 1131
 "'81 (*Leaves of Grass* finished)" (WW), 419hn,
see, "English runic"
 87th N.Y. Vol., 628, *see*, Howell, Benj. G.
 Einstein, Ed, 820, 820n
 Eitner, Walter H. (*au.*, *Whitman's Western Jaunt*),
 1028hn, *see*, "Missouri Kansas trip," 1041n
 "(Elan E. Kelsey)," 600n, *see*, "take (Marg. D
 Valois)," Miller, Chas., 604n, 787, *see*, Kelsey,
 Elan E., Kelsey, Eugene
 Elder, Willie T, 1038n
 Eldridge, Charles W. (WW's Boston publisher,
 Thayer and Eldridge), 499n, 531, 531n, *see*,
 Hapgood, Major Lyman, "Walt Whitman
 Soldier's," "D. W. Wilder," 540, 540n, 692,
 692n, 827, 827n, 1187, 1188n, 1229hn, 1230,
 1414hn
 "Election Day, November 1884" (WW), 1204n,
see, "If I should need to Name, O Western
 World"
 111 New Hamp, 501, *see*, *Regiments in Ferrero's*
Brigade, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, 506, *see*, *Fal-*
mouth. Tuesday morning Dec. 23 '62, 508, *see*,
Va. on the Falmouth side, Friday, Dec. 26th '62,
 512, *see*, 100 ? ^ days fighting . . . , Freder-
 icksburgh, battle of, 515, *see*, "? Dec. '62 . . .
 Brigade Drill," Ferrero, Col. (Gen.)
 Eliot, George, 381
 Elkton, Jane McCarley, 610, *see*, Brown, Lewis
 K
 Elliot, John, 609, *see*, Elliot, Saml
 Elliot, Saml (Armory Square Hospital, Wash-
 ington), 609, *see*, Elliot, John
 Ellis, Edward Robb (*au.*, *The Epic of New York*,
 272n, *see*, "Make A Poem," Great Police Riot
 Ellis, F. S. (British publisher), 811, 811n, 823,
 823n
 Ellis, Mike, . . . cor of Lexington av. & 32d
 st . . . , 454
 Elmer, James McGlenn, 818
 Elmes, Webster, 904n, 904
 E. L. Townsend, Brady's Photo Gallery (Wash-
 ington), 841
 Elverson, John, young man on Fulton ferry,
 812
 Emancipation Proclamation, 535n, *see*, contra-
 bands, 545hn, *see*, "The President's Procla-
 mation"
 "Employments" (WW), 379, 1835hn
 "Emerson" (WW), 1718
 Emerson, Edward (*au.*, *Emerson in Concord*),
 1712hn, *see*, Emerson, Ralph Waldo
 "Emerson Essays" (WW), 1712
 "Emerson/Idaho" (WW), 1381hn, *see*, "Sword/
 Calls"
Emerson in Concord (Edward Emerson), 1712hn
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 53hn, 226hn, 235n, 243,
 248n, 266, 267n, *see*, "Emerson's Essays—1st
 series," 425, 529n, *see*, "Dr. L B Russell," 539,
 599hn, *see*, "Adieu for the present," 802hn, 802,
 961, 1268, 1712hn, 1714, 1715, 1716hn, 1718,
 1720, 1721hn, 1724, 1725, 1728hn, 1728,
 1729hn, 1729, 1730hn, 1796, 1796n, 2138hn,
see, "Representative Men," *see*, Emerson's Books,
 "Emerson's Essays—1st series," *English Traits*
 "Emerson's Books, (The Shadows of Them),"
 1712hn, *see*, *Boston Literary World*
 "Emerson's 'Constant Way of Looking at Whit-
 man's Genius'" (Loving), 1712hn
 "Emerson's Essays—1st series," 267n
 E. M. Howell Hoffman House, 826
 Emma Kate (dead), 828

- Emery, Mrs. S. H., Jr., 826, 827, 827n
 Emory Hospital (Washington), 537n
 Emory, John, 1058, 1058n
 "Emory Valley," (WW), 1960, *see*, Emory, W. H.
 "(Emory) Whatever population" (WW), 1945, *see*, Emory, W. H.
 Emory, W. H. (*au.*, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance . . .*), 1945hn, *see*, "(Emory) Whatever population," 1952hn, *see*, "Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey, 1957hn, 1959hn, 1960hn, *see*, "Emory Valley"
Encheiridion, 886n, *see*, Epictetus
Encyclopedia Americana, 931, 931n
Encyclopedia Britannica, 1785hn, 1988hn, 1988n, 2007hn, 2007n, 2013n
Encyclopedia Metropolitana, 248n, *see*, "Ancient History"
 "Enfans d'Adam" (WW), 420, 420n, *see*, Saxon ornate, Double Paragon Scribe Text Shaded, Open Scribe Text, *see*, "English runic," 421, 421n
 Eng. Phil, 817
 "English runic" (WW), 419, 481n, 843n, *see*, Phillips, Geo. S., 1022hn, *see*, "Astor House," 1712hn
 English scribe text (type face), 420, 420n, *see*, Double Paragon Scribe Text Shaded, "English runic"
English Traits (Emerson), 246n
 "Enoch Pratt" (WW), 1265, *see*, "Names of great givers," "Matthew Vassar"
Epic of New York, The (Ellis), 272n
 Epictetus, 886n, *see*, *Encheiridion*
 "Epictetus" (WW), 490n, *see*, Vaughn, Fred B., 816n, 844n, 885, 960hn, 1050n
 "E Pluribus Unum" (WW), 848
 Epton, Pauline Borley, 619, *see*, Borley, Pleasant
 "Era of Queen Mary" (WW), 1913
 E. R. Durkee (donor to WW's hospital fund), 608, 609n, *see*, Durkee, Eugene R.
 (Erie), 493, 493n, *see*, "return my book," Fargo, Alanson, *Cornell, Joseph*
 Erie Railroad, 336hn, 336, *see*, On the other side
 Eschylus, 883
 Essays on Poetry and Poets (Noel), 897n, *see*, "A Study of Whitman"
 "Ethiopia Saluting the Colors" (WW), 1401, 1401n, *see*, "PENITENZIA," "Passage to India"
 "Ethnology" (WW), 1616hn, 1620, *see*, "Language," 1712hn, 1812hn, 2059hn
 Etten, Charley, 259
 Ettinger Jos (Lieut), 448
Études Anglaises, 1375hn, 1376hn, 1888hn
Etymologian Linguae Anglicanae (Skinner), 1639n
 Eugene, 254
 Eugene C., 1050, 1050n
 "Europe bounded" (WW), 1979hn, 1981, *see*, "Europe inland lakes," "A New Way & The True Way"
 "Europe. Cape Clear" (WW), 1980, *see*, "Language"
 "Europe inland lakes" (WW), 1979, *see*, "A New Way & The True Way," "Europe bounded," 1981hn
 "Europe, the 72d and 73d Years of These States" (WW), 932hn
 European Express Co., 60 Broadway, New York, 813, 832
 Evans, Edward . . . 23d st. . . . , 499
 Evans, John, 256, 256n, *see*, Woodbury Times
 Evans, John (Washington), 520
 Evans, John, . . . drum corps 13th Reg't . . . , 494, *see*, "return my book"
 Evans, Martin, 256, 256n, 482, 482n, *see*, [Evans] [:], Norris,
 [Evans] [:], Norris, 482
 Evans, Thos, was two years at sea . . . , 494
 Evans, Wm, 427, 427n, *see*, "English runic," "Mr Snow's story"
 Evans's News Bureau, 840
 Everitt, Edward (teacher, statesman, orator), 426, 426n, *see*, "English runic"
 "Ever the Dawn!" (WW), 1056, *see*, "From Noon to Starry Night"
Evening Post (NY), 22n, 1012n, *see*, Bryant, William Cullen, Bigelow, John
 "Evening sights" (WW), 1009, *see*, "Distant Sounds," 1014hn, 1014n, *see*, "July 14 '78—Sunday"
Evening Union (Washington), 614, 614n
 "even in the old attack" (WW), 940
 "—Even now Jasmund" (WW), 1432, 1886hn
 Everett, 774hn, 774,
 Everett, Frank M. (conductor), 846
 Everett [*Rev. Mr.*], 458, *see*, "W. Whitman Portland av."
 "Every accession" (WW), 158
 "Every great artist" (WW), 372
 Ewell, Robert, conductor, 837
Examiner (London), 2126n
 "Excerpts &c Strike" (WW), 1150
 "Exhibition of the Works of Walt Whitman, An" [Feinberg], 1024hn
 Eyre, Ellen, 263n, *see*, Grey, Miss Ellen, Hollis, C. Carroll, 446n, 488, 488n, *see*, "return my book," Swezey, Frank, "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz"
- F&C&I** (Ghodes and Silver, eds.), 4, 9n, *see*, National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, 12hn, 16hn, 17hn, 20hn, 22n, 23hn, 25hn, 84hn, 88hn, 100hn, 281hn, 308hn, 310hn, 310n, 311hn, 388hn, 676hn, 721hn, 753hn, 1030hn, 1070hn, 1150hn, 1151hn, 1153hn, 1161hn, 1196hn, 1215hn, 1218hn,

- FC&I (continued)
 1219hn, 1220hn, 1539hn, 1723hn, 1814hn,
 1818hn, 1846hn
 "Face to the front" (WW), 1118hn, 1120, 1123hn
 "Facing West from California's Shores" (WW),
 279n, *see*, Hindostan, from the western sea
 "Facts in the matter of Worthington" (WW), 827n,
 1096hn, *see*, *A Magnificent Farce*, 1229
 Fairchild, Colonel & Mrs. Charles F., 1211, 1211n
 Fairchild, General, 1211n, *see*, Fairchild, Colo-
 nel & Mrs. Charles F.
 Fairfax Court House (Virginia), 510, *see*, 100 ? \wedge
days fighting . . .
 Fairfield, C. F., 844, *see*, Reynolds, Walker W.
 Falls, Alex J., 821n
 Falls, Mr., 951 mass av. n.e., 821, 821n, *see*, Falls,
 Alex J.
 Falmouth (Virginia), 499n, *see*, "return my book,"
 500n, 501n, 502, *see*, *Regiments in Ferrero's*
Brigade, 505n, 506, *see*, *Antietam—the fight at*
the bridge, Falmouth—Tuesday morning Dec. 23
'62, 508, *see*, *Va. on the Falmouth side, Friday,*
Dec. 26th, '62, 510, *see*, "100 ? \wedge *days fight-*
ing . . .," Aquia Creek, 512, 513, *see*, 100? \wedge
days fighting . . ., Fredericksburgh, battle of,
 517n, *see*, *A battle*, 523, 683, *see*, 51st NY
 Volunteers
Falmouth—Tuesday morning Dec. 23 '62 (WW),
 506, *see*, Falmouth, 51st NY Volunteers,
 Faner, Robert D. (*au.*, *Walt Whitman and Opera*),
 389hn
 Faneuil Hall (Boston), 425n, *see*, "English runic,"
 Commercial st
 Faneuil Hall Market (Boston), 427, 427n, *see*,
 "English runic," Bryant, G.J.F.
Fanfulla della Domenico (Nencioni), 1514
 "Far and Near at 59" (WW), 1016hn, *see*, "Sun-
 day '79"
 Fargo, Alanson, 482, *see*, "return my book," 493,
 493n, *see*, "return my book," (Erie)
 Faris, Thomas (NY photographer), 823, 823n,
 826, 826n
 Farley, Mr., Am. News Co., 825
 Farmer, Thos, 696
 Farnham, C. H., 837
 Farnham, Eliza (*au.*, *Life in Prairie Land, Cali-*
fornia, Indoors and Out, etc.), 495, 1949hn, *see*,
 "Nov. '57—Talks," 1949
 Farnum, A M, 837
 Farnum, George J (Finley Hospital, Washing-
 ton), 449, 449n, *see*, "Hospital book 12," 729,
 729n
 Farnham, John, 826, 845
 Faron, John, 719, *see*, "John Faron," *Tecumseh*,
 Commodore Rogers, *Weehawken, Atlanta*, 720
 Farquhar, George, 219
 Farrand, Mrs C A, 621, *see*, Minor, Fulton
 Farrell, John D., 845
 Farvacer, Mlle. Sophie (Washington prostitute?,
 "artiste"), 479hn, 480, 480n, 532n (various
 spellings of last name), *see*, "return my book,"
 "Dr. L B Russell," Washington Varieties,
 Canterbury Hall, Metropolitan Rooms, "Ballet
 of Feminine Loveliness," 543, 543n
 Farwell, Leroy, 673, *see*, Farwell, Reuben
 Farwell, Reuben (correspondent with WW), 446,
 446n, 447, 447n, 671, 671n, 673, 828, 828n,
 831, 831n
 "father Jesse Hubbard" 807
 Father Taylor, 1414hn, *see*, "Father Taylor (&
 Oratory)"
 "Father Taylor (& Oratory)" (WW), 1223hn,
 1223, *see*, *Century Magazine*
 Fauriel, Claude (*au.*, *History of Provençal Poetry*),
 1812hn, *see*, "The *Neibenlungen Leid*" 1821hn,
 1821n, 8122n
 Fayerweather, Daniel, 1265, 1265n
 Fayetteville (Virginia), 512, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days*
fighting . . .
 "Feb 18—James Flucker" (WW), 665, *see*,
 Flucker, James
 "Feb: 9 '80" (WW), 1057
 "Feb. 25th 1857" (WW), 262n, 351
 "Feb. 25, 26, 27, & 28" (WW), 751, 762n
 "February 1864" (WW), 677
Fellowship Papers (Harvard), 2250n, 2253n,
 2254n
 Ferguson, John, driver 14th st, 814
 Feinberg, Charles E., 55n, 58n, 100hn, 206hn,
 207n, 464hn, 478hn, *see*, "Notes on Whitman
 Collections and Collectors," 488n, 490n,
 1024hn (*au.*, "A Whitman Collector Destroys
 a Whitman Myth"), 1065n
 Felt, 455 Broome st (bookseller), 825, 825n
 Felt, Francis B. (bookseller), 838, 838n
 Felt, Oliver S., publisher, 837
 Felton, C. C. (*au.*, *Greece, Ancient and Modern*),
 1890hn
 Fender, David, 816
 Fenton, Reuben Eaton, 915, 915n
 "Ferdusi" (WW), 1552, *see*, *Critical and Miscel-*
laneous Essays (Carlyle), 1858hn, 1860hn,
 1864hn
 Ferguson, Geo W, co D, 449
 Ferguson, James, 521
 Ferguson, John, driver, 837
 Ferrero, Col. Edward (Gen.), 499, 500n, *see*,
 "Sketches of Edward F. Ferrero," 51st N.Y. Col.
Ferrero, 510, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting* . . .,
 515, *see*, "? Dec. '62 . . . Brigade drill," 2d
 brigade, 2d divison, 9th Army Corps, 700,
 700n, *see*, Potter, R B, 704, 704n
 Ferrero's Brigade, 482, 428n, *see*, Whitman,
 George Washington, Sturges Divison, 499n, *see*,
 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, Ferrero, Col. (Gen.),
 Ferris, Geo T. (*au.*, "Great Singers"), 1059

- Ferris, Mr., 254
 Ferris, Mrs. (Catherine A.), 423, 423n, *see* "English runic"
 "Feuillage" (WW), 131n
 Fichte, Johann Gotlieb (*au.*, *Doctrine of Science*), 2007, 2007n
 Field, Reverend K., 258
 Field, Wm N Schenectady (lawyer), 494, 494n
 Fields, James T., 1036n, *see*, Burroughs, John
Fifth Avenue Journal, 903hn
 "Fifth Corps" (WW), 782
 "51st Abm McKee" (WW), 694, *see*, "Adj McKee," 697hn, 699n, *see*, Lt Ab'm KcKee, 701n
 51st at Night; 20th Dec. (WW), 500, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero
 "Fifty-first New York City Veterans," 479hn, 684, *see*, "return my book," *Times* (NY), 689hn, 691hn, 705n, *see*, Whitbeck, Lieut Martin,
 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero (WW), 499, 499n, *see*, Ferrero, Col. Edward (Gen.), "Sketches of Edward F. Ferrero," "? Dec. '62 . . . Brigade Drill," 500, *see*, "Charley Parker"
 "51st N Y May 15" (WW), 685n, 706n, 711n, 712, 754n
 "(51st N Y V)" (WW), 702n, 708, 709n
 51st NY Volunteers, 454n, *see*, Whitman, George
 Washington, Burnside, General Ambrose, 482, 482n, *see*, New Bern North Carolina, 499n, 501, *see*, *Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade*, Newbern, 502, 503, 504, *see*, *Regimental Inspection Parade*, Potter, Col. Robert B., 505, 506, *see*, *Antietam—The Fight at the bridge*, 506, *see*, Falmouth, *Falmouth*, *Tuesday morning Dec. 23 '62*, 508, *see*, *old flag of the 51st*, *The Va. on the Falmouth side*, *Friday, Dec. 26th '62*, 509, 512, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting . . .*, Fredericksburgh, battle of, 2d brigade, 2d division, 9th Army Corps, 51st Penn., 21st Mass., 11 New Hamp., 35th Mass., 515, *see*, "? Dec. '62 . . . Brigade drill," Ferrero, Col. Edward (Gen.), 518n, 537, 537n, 602hn, 603, 603n, 683, *see*, Shephard's Rifles, Bull Run, Chantilly, battle of, Vicksburg, Wilderness battles, Poplar Springs Church, Appomatox campaign, Alexandria, Va., Annapolis, 692, 704n, 743hn, 756, 758, 779n
 51st Pa., 501, *see*, Dec. 21 '62, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, *Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade*, Reno, Major General Jesse, "Sketches of Edward F. Ferrero," 503, 505, *see*, *Antietam—The fight at the bridge*, 506, 509, *see*, *Falmouth. Tuesday morning Dec 23 '62*, 510, 511, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting . . .*, 512, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting*, Fredericksburgh, battle of, 515, *see*, "? Dec. '62 . . . Brigade drill," Ferrero, Col. Edward (Gen.),
 "51st Sims Pooley" (WW), 705, *see*, "Sam'l M. Pooley," 761n, 779n
Fighting at F [Fredricksburg], *The*, 508, 508n
Fight of a Book for the World, The (W. S. Kennedy), 815n, 1136hn, 1137hn, 1218hn, 1285hn, 1517n
Finale for Democracy (WW), 541, 541n, *see*, "Democracy," "A Sight in Camp in the Day-break Gray and Dim," "return my book"
 "Finally, have me not" (WW), 2167
 Finkel, William R. (*au.*, "Walt Whitman's Manuscript Notes on Oratory"), 2231hn, *see*, *AL*, 2231n, 2233n, 2236n, 2237n, 2239n, 2240n, 2241n, 2249n, 2251n, 2252n, 2253n, 2254n
 "Finland" (WW), 1985, *see*, "(Independent & Chinese) *Tartary*"
 Finley Hospital (Washington), 534, 727, 727n, 728, 728n,
 Finley 107 25th st, 614
 "1st [:] Democracy" (WW), 859, 1622hn
 1st Kansas Colored Volunteers, 636hn, 636, *see*, "Gen Blunt," "the 1st Kansas" 637hn, 637
 "First paying" (WW), 1104
 First Presbyterian Church, 10n
 "First reg't Louisiana" (WW), 641, *see*, Banks, Major General Nathaniel P.
 "First to me comes the People" (WW), 382
 Fish, Hamilton, 915, 915n
 Fisher, Charley, 259
 Fisher, Mrs Mary Wager, 1164, 1164n
 Fisher, Valentine (Lincoln Hospital, Washington), 728
 d'Fisheur, Maximilian (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 606, 606n, *see*, "Hospital Scenes and Persons"
 Fiske, John (*au.*, *Edward Livingston Youmans*), 910
 Fitch, George, 200, 200n, 201hn, 201
 535 15th St. NW (WW's address, March 1871), 479hn, *see*, "return my book," "Payments to Mrs. White"
 Fitch, Mr, 901
 Fitz, Mr., 444n, *see*, "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz"
 Fitz, Mr. & Mrs., 237 Fifth st., 495, 495n, *see*, "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz"
 F. J. Huntington & Co. (book dealers, NY), 832, 832n
 Flaescher, 810
 Flanagan, George, 206,
 "Flanges of Fifty Years" (WW), 1389hn
 "Flanges of Five Years" (WW), 1389hn, 1419hn,
 "Flanges of Sixty-Five" (WW), 1419hn
 Flood, John, 822, 822n, 838n, 839, 839n
 Flower, Cyril (First Baron Battersea), 813, 813n, *see*, Tennyson, Alfred, 846
 Floyd, Albert, 829
 Fluker, James (Mt. Pleasant Hospital, Washington), 665, *see*, "Feb. 18—James Flucker"
 Flushing, 217,
 Folger, Capt. Geo, 444, *see*, Phelon, Capt.

- “(fo tramp & strike)” (WW), 1151
 Folk, Billy, 251, 251n
 “For Abraham Lincoln” (WW), 775
 “? for Address” (WW), 773
 “? for beginning” (WW), 1682, *see*, “America’s Mightiest Inheritance,” “Our Language and Future & Literature,” *Rambles Among Words*
 “for criticism” (WW), 333hn
 “for criticism L of Grass” (WW), 1536, 1537hn
 “for Dem Vistas” (WW), 861, *also*, 863, 866hn, 1005hn
 “for Dr B’s criticism” (WW), 1539
 “For dropping” (WW), 1321
 “For example, whisper” (WW), 163
 “For Funeral piece” (WW), 768hn, 769, *see*, “When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom’d”
 “for Hospital article” (WW), 1199, *see*, “Army Hospitals and Cases”
For Idé og Virkelighed, 900hn, 1516n
 “for introductory” (WW), 856
 “for lecture” (WW), 1375hn, 1376, 1378hn
 “for lect on Literature” (WW), 1591
 “for Motto—Don’t like” (WW), 1222
 “for Motto page 45” (WW), 333hn
 “(for name?” (WW), 1688
 “for Note” (WW), 947
 “For one thing” (WW), 2166
 “(for Ottawa lecture)” (WW), 1073, *see*, “It is said,” “If my address,” “and of a perfect equality” “Canada lecture”
 “—for political article” (WW), 2154
 “for Preface to Starry Night” (WW), 980, 978hn
 “For remember that” (WW), 2047, *see*, “Song of Myself”
 “for *Sequella*” (WW), 1178
 “for *the Notes*” (WW), 1892
 “for there is another” (WW), 2056, *see*, “The ideas of growth”
 “for The Strike & Tramp” (WW), 1156
 “for Tramp & Strike” (WW), 1160
 “for war memoranda” (WW), 949, *see*, “*Memoranda During the War*”
 “(for Words) (WW), 1699
 “for Words” (WW), 1704
 “For years” (WW), 850
 Ford, Joshua (Campbell Hospital, Washington), 519, 520, *see*, *comic side of death*
Foreground of “Leaves of Grass,” The (Stovall), 95hn, 239n, 269n, 389n, 1625hn, 1712hn, 1714hn, 1731hn, 1769hn, 1789hn, 1791hn, 1806hn, 1816hn, 1818hn, 1824hn, 1842hn, 1843hn, 1846hn, 1884hn, 1885hn, 1890hn, 1924hn, 2009hn, 2034hn
 Forman, H. Buxton, 909, 909n
 Forman, H. Buxton (London publisher), 811, 811n, 1530hn, *see*, “*To Getter up*”
 Forner, F. J., 845
 Forney, Colonel John Wien (WW’s host as far as Lawrence, Kansas), 828, 828n, 1027hn, *see* “JWF remark’d,” *Daily Morning Chronicle, Progress*, 1028hn, 1038n, *see*, E. C. Devereaux, 1050, 1050n, 1082, 1082n, 1171hn, *see*, *Progress* (Philadelphia),
 Forrest, Edwin, 498n, *see*, Calhoun, Lewis, Calhoun, Peter, Stone, John Augustus, *Metamora*, 1268
 Forrest, J. B., engraver, 262
 Forster, John (*au.*, *Life of Charles Dickens*), 1099hn
 Forster, John (*au.*, *Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England*), 158hn
 Fort Benson, 613, *see*, M Jessup
 Fort Edward, N.Y., 487, 487n, *see*, “return my book,” *Cohn, Aaron B.*
 Fort Greene, 249, 249n, 493, 494,
 Fort Hamilton, 486
 Fort Monroe, 501, *see*, *Regiments in Ferrero’s Brigade*, 753
Fortnightly, 850hn
Fortnightly Review, 836n, 841, 841n, *see*, Morley, John
 Foskett, William, co D Brooklyn 14th, 731
 456 Sixth St. (WW’s address in Washington, D.C.), 479hn, *see*, “return my book,” “a m Dr. L B Russell”
 “405 Stevens st” (WW), 1023
 460 Royden Street, Camden, 1068hn, 1069
 431 Stevens st. Camden (WW residence), 1023hn, *see*, “405 Stevens st.”
 14th Brooklyn, 624,
 14th National Guard of the State of NY, 733, *see*, “Brooklyn 14th”
 Fortieth National Industrial Exhibition, 897hn, *see*, “As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free”
 Fowler, L. N. (brother of O. S. Fowler, phrenologists), 302hn
 Fowler, O. S. (brother of L. N. Fowler, phrenologists), 302hn, *see*, “Morality and talent,” Fowler and Wells, 302,
 Fowler and Wells (distributors of *LG* 1855, 1856), 206hn, 207, 207n, 238n, 260, 260n, 302hn, *see*, Fowler, L. N., Fowler, O. S., 822n, *see*, Wells, S. R.
 Fox, Elijah, 3d Wisconsin, 540, 541, 541n, *see*, “Baily D Damon,” 614, 614n, *see*, Jackson, Stonewall, “Bailey D Damon,” 621, *see*, Fox, Miss P. J., Fox, Mrs Mary S
 Fox, George Lafayette, 884, 884n
 Fox, Mrs Mary S, 621, *see*, Fox, Elijah D
 Fox, Peter, 838
 Fox, Miss P. J., 621, *see*, Fox, Elijah
Fra Diavolo (composer, Daniel Auber), 1040, 1040n
 “France, the Eighteenth Year of These States” (WW), 932hn
 “Frances Wright” (WW), 344, 495n, *see*, Wright, Francis

- Francia, José Gaspar Rodríguez, 379hn, *see*, "Dr. Francia," Carlyle, Thomas
- Francis, C. S. (*ed.*, *Diamond Atlas*), 247,
- Francis, Lewis (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 676
- "Francis Wright" (WW), 248n, 453, 453n,
- Frank (Beeswax) (bus driver), 248, 248n, *see*, "Memorials," 481, 481n, *see*, "[illeg.] Dick Hunt"
- Frank (kindling Wood), 252
- Frank (30) 4th av. . . ., 255
- Franklin (Ben), 425, *see*, "English runic"
- Franklin, Chas. W., Washington boy, 826
- Franklin Evans; or, The Inebriate*, 217n
- Franklin street (Boston), 426, 426n, *see*, Tontine Crescent, Bulfinch, Charles, 428, 429, *see*, "English runic"
- Fraser, Bob (mason?), 249, 249n
- Fraser, John (*ed.*, *Cope's Tobacco Plant*), 1167hn, 1167
- Fraser's Magazine*, 2188n, *see*, "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question, An" (Thomas Carlyle)
- Frazee, Capt A B (superintendent, Camden ferry), 1051, 1051n
- "Fred Gray Association," 490n, *see*, "return my book," Fritsch, Hugo Oscar, Chauncey, Charles, Pfaff's, 534n, *see*, Gray Fred, Knowler, Benjamin, 668n, *see*, Gray, John Frederick Schiller, Capt J F S Gray, 760n, 1020n, *see*, Bloom, Nathaniel
- "Fred McReady, Brooklyn" (orderly sargeant in the 51st NY Volunteers), 537n
- Fred Meyer & sons (New York lithographer), 884
- Frederick City (Maryland), 511, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting* . . .
- Fredericksburgh, battle of, 512, 512n, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting*, 2d brigade, 2d division, 9th Army Corps, 533n, *see*, "Dr. L B Russell," 534, *see*, Hooker, General Joseph, 598, *see* "'63 May 14," 619n, 633, 633n, 658hn, *see*, Meade, George C., "A lad of 18," 683, *see*, 51st NY Volunteers, 710, 731hn, *see*, "Brooklyn 14th"
- Fredericksburgh (Virginia), 500, *see*, 51st New York Col. Ferrero, "Charley Parker," 501, 501n, 502, *see*, *Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade*, 503, 506, *see*, *Antietam—the fight at the bridge*, 507, 508, 508n, *see*, *fighting at F, The*, 512, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting*, *Fredericksburgh, battle of*, 518, 710
- "Frederick Schlegel" (WW), 247n, 1816hn, 1837, 1884hn
- "Free Cider" (WW), 320
- Freedman, Florence B. (*au.*, *Walt Whitman Looks at the Schools*), 44hn, 45hn
- Freedman's Savings and Trust Company (Washington), 917, 918
- Freeman, Miss Jennie, 828
- Freeman, The* (Brooklyn), 37,
- Freeman, Thos B, 820, 820n, *see*, Freeman, Wm
- Freeman, Wm, 820, *see*, Freeman, Thos B
- Freiligrath, Ferdinand (translator of WW and German poet), 837n, *see*, B Westermann & co., 839n, 839n, 879hn, 879, 1179, 1179n, *see*, "Walt Whitman," *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1274hn, *see*, "A Quartet of Opinions" (Germany), 1517, 1517n, 1718, 1718n, 1829, 1829n, 1839hn, 1839
- French & Richardson (bookstore, Washington), 833, 833n, 834, 834n
- "French Revolution" (WW), 219, *see*, "Autobiographical Data"
- "Friday April 24, '57" (WW), 1554
- "Friday Dec 11 '63" (WW), 488n, 663, *see*, Donaldson, Thomas, 666n, 668n
- "Friday Feb 13th 1863" (WW), 554, 554n, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper," King, Senator Preston
- "Friday, Feb 20th '63" (WW), 564, *see*, Sumner, Senator Charles
- "Friday night Feb 13th" (WW), 554, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper"
- Friedman, Florence B. (*au.*, "New Light on an Old Quarrel: Walt Whitman and William Douglas O'Connor"), 540n, *see*, O'Connor, Mrs. W. D., O'Connor, William D.
- Fritsch, Hugo Oscar (WW's Pfaffian friend), 490, 490n, *see*, "return my book," Pfaff's, "Fred Gray Association," "a m Dr. L B Russell," "Hugo Otto Fritsch," "D. W. Wilder," 531, 531n, *see*, Pfaff's "return my book," 760, 823, 823n, *see*, H. Fritsch
- Fritzinger, Walt Whitman, 1286, *see*, Fritzinger, Warren
- Fritzinger, Warren (WW's nurse), 1286
- "from Hooker's command," 502n, *see*, Lowerie, John, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, 529n, *see*, "return my book," "Walt Whitman soldier's," 533n, *see*, Hooker, General Joseph, 534n, 535n, 630, 815n, 1377n
- "From Noon to Starry Night" (WW), 978hn, *see*, "is any Preface needed?," 1056hn, *see*, "Ever the Dawn!"
- "From Washington, Military Anxieties . . ." (WW), 735, *see*, *Daily Union* (Brooklyn),
- Front st. (residence), 10
- Fry, Mrs, 846, *see*, Jeffers, William
- Fulgham, *see*, Fulgham, W. B., Jr.
- Fuller, Edward, 842
- Fuller, Hall's farm cavalry camp (Washington), 499
- Fuller, Margaret (*au.*, *Papers on Literature and Art*), 1491, 1712hn, 1769hn, 1796, 1796n, *see*, "Criticism," 1806hn, *see*, "Things and Thoughts in Europe. No. V," 1806

- Fuller, Mrs, cor 183 Fulton av. Brooklyn, 499
 "Full of Life Now" (1860) (WW), 268n, *see*,
 "Calamus," "Poem"
 "(Full poem)" (WW), 230, *see*, "George Walker,"
 "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry"
 "*Full Tide and Ebb*" (WW), 1422, 951hn, *see*, "the
 intellectual," "He went out with the tide," "An
 Ended Day"
- Fulton, 1185hn, 1185
 Fulton ferry, 6, 33, 102, 102n, 228, 228n,
 Fulton (st.), 10n, *see*, Reid, Gil, 55n, 88hn
 "Funeral piece A.L." (WW), 764hn
- Furness, Clifton Joseph (*ed.*, *Walt Whitman's
 Workshop*), 113n, 115n, 116n, 120hn, 138hn,
 142n, 148n, 149n, 151n, 152n, 155n, 171hn,
 176hn, 187hn, 188hn, 208hn, 213n, 214n,
 325hn, 341hn, 348hn, 387hn, 389hn, 395n,
 400hn, 405hn, 407n, 408n, 409n, 417hn, 417n,
 419hn, 431hn, 435n, 437n, 438n, 443hn, 446n,
 529hn, 533n, 1115hn, 1116hn, 1118hn,
 1119hn, 1120hn, 1121hn, 1122hn, 1123hn,
 1125hn, 1134hn, 1156hn, 1160hn, 1399hn,
 1401n, 1445, 1458hn, 1466hn, 1481hn,
 1482hn, 1486n, 1488n, 1497, 1526hn, 1527hn,
 1534hn, 1591hn, 1846hn, *see*, "Walt Whit-
 man's Politics," 1851n, 1990hn, 1992hn,
 2044hn, 2048hn, 2051hn, 2052hn, 2053hn,
 2054hn, 2058hn, 2061hn, 2063hn, 2064hn,
 2066hn, 2076hn, 2077hn, 2094hn, 2095hn,
 2097hn, 2104hn, 2114hn, 2147hn, 2149n,
 2191hn, 2233n, 2234n, 2236n, 2237n, 2238n,
 2239n, 2242n, 2259hn
- Furness, Horace Howard (*ed.*, *New Variorum
 Shakespeare*), 1036n, 1164, 1164n, 1215, 1215n
- GBMF**, 391n, 395n, 436n, 811n, 1082n
- Gafney, John (Finley Hospital, Washington), 728
- Gainsville (Virginia), 510, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fight-
 ing* . . .
- Galaxy*, 813n
- Gall, J., 21 Union Sq., 825
- Galligan & Townsend (real estate dealers, Wash-
 ington), 822, 822n, 832, 832n
- Gangewer, Allen H., 824, 824n, 847, 847n
- Gardette (Charles D.) (Philadelphia writer), 434,
 434n, *see*, "With Antecedents," *Saturday Press*.
- Gardiner, Richard (Ward 6. Camp H, Washing-
 ton), 520, *see*, Gilliland, Major
- Gardner, Alexander (photographer), 824, 824n,
 882, 882n, *see*, Brady, Matthew
- Garfield, James A., 1127hn, 1127, 1268
- Garrets and Pretenders* (Parry), 460n, *see*, "Wil-
 liam Giggee," Mullen, Edward F. (or J.)
- Garrison, Jack, 249, 249n
- "? Gases (and waters)" (WW), 2059, *see*, "Eth-
 nology," "The Air"
- Gaskell, John W. (Patent Office Hospital Ward,
 Washington), 520
- Gasprell, Harry, 1050
- Gates, Dr. William, 840
- Gatin [?], C., saloon, 453, *see*, "W. Whitman
 Portland av."
- Gaylord, Mrs. (—nurse), 570, 570n, *see*, "Items
 from My Note Book"
- Gazette* (Cincinnati), 546
- Geiger, Thomas H. B. (Armory Square Hospi-
 tal, Washington), 550hn, 550, 550n, *see*, "(Jan
 63) (in Armory, Ward H)," "Walt Whitman
 Soldier's," 604, 604n, 606, 606n
 "Genealogical Notes" (WW), 3,
- Gen. Banks, 614, *see*, Cedar Mountain battle, 641,
see, "First reg't Louisiana," Banks, Major-
 General Nathaniel P.
- "Gen. Blunt" (WW), 636, *see*, Blunt, General
 James Gilpatrick,
- Gen. McDowell, 549, *see*, McDowell, Irvin
- Gen Meade, 725, 725n, *see*, Meade, Gen. George
 C.
- "General description" (WW), 682
- "General Suffrage, Elections, &c" (WW), 2164hn
- "Geoffrey Chaucer" (WW), 1783, *see*, "Chau-
 cer," *North British Review*
- "Geo. born" (WW), 757, *see*, Whitman, George
 Washington, Tillary street,
- Geo Stafford, *see*, Stafford, George
- Geo W Warren & Co (drygoods) (Boston), 426,
see, "English runic"
- Geographical and Historical Views of the World* (S.
 G. Goodrich), 1616hn
- George (Beaugard), 497
- George, coarse complex . . . , 254
- George I, 219
- George Fitzhugh* (Harvey), 2123n
- George (not Jo), 259
- George Routledge & Sons (publishers), 835, 835n,
see, Routledge, George, 839n
- George II, 218
- George VII, 347hn, *see*, Col. Parker's Squa
 Mother,
- George, (sulky . . . , 253
- George III, 218
- George, 30 hostler, 1211
- George (22) . . . , 256
- George 23d st. . . . , 453
- "George Walker," (WW), 144n, 167n, 226, 235n,
 236hn, 249n, 257n, 269n, 481n, 812n, 1624hn,
 1712hn, 1835hn
- "George Walker Edward Smithson" (WW), 3,
 249n
- German Literature* (Gostwick), 1597, 1597n,
 1812hn, 1816hn, 1818hn, 1829hn, 1837hn,
 1838hn, *see*, "The Celebrated Old," 2007n,
 2011n
- "German Literature of the Fourteenth and Fif-
 teenth Centuries" (Carlyle), 1833hn, *see*, *Crit-
 ical and Miscellaneous Essays*

- "German poet" (WW), 1839, *see*, Giebel, Immanuel, "IS WALT WHITMAN'S POETRY POETICAL?"
- German text ornamented (type face), 421, 421n
- "Germany, or even Europe" (WW), 2165
- "Get Emerson's remarks" (WW), 1712hn, 1720
- Gettysburg, 731hn, *see*, "Brooklyn 14th," 794hn, 1374hn
- Ghodes, Clarence (*au.*, "Whitman and Emerson"), 1712hn, *see*, SR
- Gibbs, Serg't John E (Finley Hospital, Washington), 728
- Gibson bros. printers 271 Penn av. Washington D.C., 832
- Gibson, Walter Murray (author), 1976hn, 1976
- Gibson, William Hamilton (*au.*, "The Squirrel's Highway")
- Giebel, Immanuel (poet), 1839, 1839hn, *see*, "German poet"
- "Gift—Money—Discrimination" (WW), 582hn, *see*, "My Visits and distributions"
- Giggee, William, 432, 432n, *see*, "William Giggee," 445n, 459, 493, 493n, *see*, "William Giggee," "Vigil Strange I Kept on the Field One Night," 611hn, *see*, "September & October 1863"
- Gilbert, Amos (*au.*, *A Memoir of Francis Wright*), 344hn, *see*, Frances Wright
- Gilchrist, Mrs. Anne (*au.*, "A Woman's Estimate of Walt Whitman"), 811, 811n, 812n, 813, 909, 909n, 958, 958n, 984hn, 986n, 1001hn, 1018hn, 1035, 1036, 1036n, 1037, 1037n
- Gilchrist, Herbert, 1037, 1037n, *see*, Gilchrist, Mrs. Anne
- Gilchrist, John, Myrtle av. car, . . . , 496
- Gilder, Jeanette L., 820n, *see*, *Critic*
- Gilder, Richard Watson (poet, critic and editor, friendly to WW), 1012, 1012n, *see*, *Scribner's Monthly*, *Century*, "New York visit," 1036, 1036n, 1096hn, 1223hn, 1223
- Giles, David S. (soldier) (Campbell Hospital, Washington), 486n, 519, *see*, "return my book," 521, 521n, *see*, "Hospital Notebook," "Items from My Note Books," 522, 569
- Giles, John H., 521, *see*, Giles, David S.
- Gillen, James, policeman Fulton ferry N.Y. . . . , 496
- Gill, Jack, 255, 255n
- Gillan, James, 261, 261n
- Gilley, John, 448, *see*, Gilley, Michael, Sheldon, Mary Gilley
- Gilley, Michael, 448, *see*, Gilley, John, Sheldon, Mary Gilley
- Gilliland, Major, 520, *see*, Gardiner, Richard
- "Give Me the Splendid Silent Sun" (WW), 1383hn, *see*, "Poem of the Sun Light"
- "give phrases, names" (WW), 1205
- Gladstone, 462, *see*, "Homer & the Homeric Age," "William Giggee"
- Glaspell, J., 1038n
- Glenn, James (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 620,
- Glicksberg, Charles I. (*au.* *Walt Whitman and the Civil War*), 436n, 443hn, 443, 453hn, *see*, "Walt Whitman, the Journalist," 456n, 459hn, 467hn, 478hn, 479hn, 480hn, 482n, 483n, 484n, 485n, 486n, 492n, 493n, 499n, 500n, 501n, 502n, 503n, 504n, 506n, 507n, 508n, 509n, 510n, 511n, 512n, 513n, 514n, 517n, 518n, 520n, 523n, 529hn, 531n, 539n, 600hn, 602hn, 603n, 604n, 605n, 606n, 608n, 609n, 611hn, 622hn, 624hn, 624n, 644hn, 648hn, 649hn, 651hn, 651n, 654hn, 654n, 670n, 676hn, 682hn, 717hn, 735, 743hn, 760hn, 762n, 763n, 789hn, 790hn, 793hn, 877hn, 955hn, 1203hn, 1261hn, 1612hn (*au.*, "Walt Whitman in 1862," *AL*), 478hn, 484, 493n, 518n, (*au.*, "Walt Whitman in New Jersey. Some Unpublished Manuscripts," 991hn, 996hn
- Globe* (Boston), 897hn, 1127hn, 1131hn
- Globe-Democrat* (St. Louis), 1050
- "Glossary . . . of Words (Nares)" (WW), 1639n
- G. M. Williamson (*au.*, *Catalogue of a Collection of Books . . . Walt Whitman*), 1719hn
- "Go into the Subject" (WW), 1673
- "Go on" (WW), 1008
- "God Abdicates" (WW), 2079hn, 2089
- "Goddess of Liberty" (sculptor, Crawford, Washington), 559, 559n, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper"
- Godey, Walter (WW's substitute in the office of the Solicitor of the Treasury), 810, 939hn
- Godfrey, Edward, 820, 820n,
- Goen, Charley, 261, 261n
- Goethe, 1210n, 1579hn, 1579, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828,
- "Goethe" (WW), 1827, *see*, "American National Literature," "Goethe's Complete Works"
- "Goethe's Complete works" (WW), 43hn, 1824, *see*, *Poets and Poetry of Europe* (Longfellow), *Prose Writers of Germany* (Hedge), 1827hn
- "Goethe 1750-1832" (WW), 1824hn
- "Going back far enough" (WW), 28hn, *see*, "Dutch Traits of Walt Whitman," *In Re*, 31
- Golden, Arthur (ed., *Walt Whitman's Blue Book*), 431n, 435n, 800hn, 924hn
- Golder, George, 258
- Goldsmith, Alfred L. (*coau.*, *Concise Bibliography of the Works of Walt Whitman*, A), 1277hn, *see*, Wells, Carolyn, 1686hn
- Goldsmith, Oliver, 1785hn, 1785, *see*, Macauley, "Oliver Goldsmith," *Encyclopedia Britannica*
- Good Gray Poet*, *The* (O'Connor), 1183hn, *see*, Walt Whitman (Bucke)

- Good, Harry Gehman, 206n, *see* Youmans, Edward Livingston, *DAB*,
 "good *prefatory* passage" (WW), 1067, *see*, *SD*
 "(good statement" (WW), 2141
- Goodale, David (*au.*, "Some of Walt Whitman's Borrowings"), 344hn, 2024hn
- Goodall, Frederick, 497
 "Good-Bye my Fancy" (*GBF*) (WW), 1275, 1544hn
- Goodenough, Mr and Mrs (boarded Edward Whitman), 1202, 1214hn
- Goodfellow, Mr., 260, 1365hn, 1356, *see*, "husking—Last huskers," Appleton's *Cyclopedia*
- Goodrich, S. G. (*au.*, *Geographical and Historical Views of the World*
 "Goshek," *see*, Gostwick, Joseph
 "Gossip of Early Candle light" (WW), 1092, *see*,
 "A Clear Midnight," "My Book and I," "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads," "October Nights"
- Gostick, Joseph, 247, 247n, *see*, Gostwick, Joseph
- Gostwick, Joseph "Goshek" (*au.*, *German Literature*), 1597n, 1812hn, *see*, "[illeg.] Dick Hunt," 1816hn, *see*, "Our own account," "Barthold Niebuhr," "Frederick Schlegel," "SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES" "Kant—Enc. Brit.," "[illeg.] Dick Hunt," 1818hn, 1829hn, 1837hn, *see*, "Frederick Schlegel," 1838hn, 2006hn, 2007, 2007n, 2011n, 2012n, 2015n, 2017n
- Gottschalk, Louis Moreau, 152n
 "Gower, born 1326" (WW), 1786
- Graball, 496n, *see*, "Johnny, Graball," "memoirs"
- Grace, Capt. Wm. H. (editor), 841, 841n
- Gracie, Geo, 840
- Graham, 10, 10n
- Graham, John 150th Pen vol Presidents guard, 671
- Granger, Judge T. N., 670, 670n
- Grant, Rena V. (*au.*, "Livesay-Whitman Manuscripts, The"), 1034hn
- Grant, Gen. Ulysses S., 749, 750, 778, 911, 1268, 1403, 1403n
- Gray, Fred, (John F. S.), 534, 534n, *see*, Capt J F S Gray, Gray, John Frederick Schiller, Fred Gray Association, Pfaff's, 842, 842n, 844, 844n, *see*, Dr. F. S. Gray
- Gray, Henry W. printer M st., 822, 822n
- Gray, James Bookbinder (binder of 1867 *LG?*), 818, 818n
- Gray, John W (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 672, 673n, *see*, Muzzey, Lieut Loring W
- Gray, John Frederick Schiller, 534n, *see*, Gray, Fred, Capt J F S Gray, 668, 668n, *see*, Fred Gray Association, Pfaff's
- Gray, Johnny, 252, 252n
- Gray, Tom (Thomas F. Gray, car man ?), 249, 249n
- Gray, Thos, 487, *see*, "return my book," Pfaff's, Raffele's
- Graynor, Mark, 489
 "great American Personalities" (WW), 1266, *see*, "La Fayette Aaron Burr"
- "Great are the Myths" (WW), 153n, 330hn, *see*, "In remarks," 474hn
- "Great Army of the Sick" (WW), 588hn, *see*, "I go around," *Times* (NY),
 "The great Construction" (WW), 354hn, 359hn,
- Great Police Riot, 272, 272n, *see*, *Make a poem*, Wood, Mayor Fernando, Ellis, Edward Robb, *Times* (Brooklyn),
- Great primer ornamented (type face), 420, 420n, *see*, "English runic," 421, *see*, "Calamus"
- "Great Singers" (Geo T. Ferris), 1059
- Great Sioux Uprising, *The* (Oehler), 565n, *see*, Swisshelm, Jane Grey, Minnesota massacre
- Greece, *Ancient and Modern* (Felton), 1890hn
- Greeley, Horace, 905hn, 1712hn
- Green, Miss Anna (ward I, Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 605
- Green, Anne E., 455, *see*, "W. Whitman Portland av."
- Green, Chas., 497
- Green, Col, 462, 462n, *see*, "William Giggee"
- Green, Mrs Emily T, 148 Fulton st Pittsburgh Pa, 621
- Green, Jim, driver, 838
- Green, S. W., printer, 813
- Green, Wm., 828, 828n
- Green, Wm G., Treas clerk, 847, 847n
- Greenough, Horatio, 150n
- Greenwich Theater, 483n, *see*, "return my book," Eddy, Edward,
 "Greenwood Cemetery" (Brooklyn) (WW), 1393, *see*, "The Soul's Procession," Eyre, Ellen
- Grey, Miss Ellen, 263, 263n
- Gridley, Courtland, formerly 5th av. . . . , 498
- Grier, Dr. Matthew J., 936hn, *see*, "June 2, '74 visited Dr. Grier," 938hn, 938, 938n
- Grier, Edward F., 54hn, 61n, 834n, *see*, "Walt Whitman, the *Galaxy* and 'Democratic Vistas,'" "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!"
- Griffith, W., 257, 257n
- Grimes, John, co B 7th Penn, 570, 570n
- Grimm, Jacob, 1652, 1652n, 1655
- Grisi, Giulia, 1064, 1064n, *see*, Mario, Giuseppe
- Griswold, Rev. Rufus Wilmot (*au.*, *Prose Writers of America*), 1796, 1796n, *see*, *Democratic Review*
- Groce, George C. (*coau.*, *The New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860*), 460n, *see*, "William Giggee," Mullen, Edward F. (or J.), Wallace, David H.,

- Groenenmeyer (Lieutenant, 51st NY Volunteers), 712
- Grosh, Margaretta T., 1179n, *see*, "Mrs Grosh"
- Grosh, Mr., 814, 814n
- Grote, George (*au.*, *History of Greece*), 474hn, *see*, *Silence*, 1885hn, 1886hn, 1890hn, 2023hn
- "ground where you may rest" (WW), 204
- Grover, Joseph (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 572
- Grover, William, 650, *see*, "William Grover," "William Grover, shot for desertion," "Hospital Note book"
- Groves, Thos H, co C, 737, *see*, "*Thos H. Groves*"
- "Growth of Leaves of Grass, The" (Lovell), 350hn, 1026hn
- Grumm, Lieut Joseph H, 731, 731n, *see*, Grummon, Lt Joseph H
- Grummon, Lt Joseph H, 720, 720n, *see*, "John Faron"
- Grundke, John (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 248, 571, 571n, *see*, "John Grundke," 648hn, 648, *see*, "Hospital Note book"
- Grundy, Sidney, 1234n, *see*, Barrett, Wilson
- Gryer, Charles, 498
- "Guardian," 219, *see*, Steele, Sir Richard
- Gueey, John, 497, 497n
- Guernsey, Frederic R, 1163, 1163n, *see*, *Herald*, (Boston) Sylvester Baxter
- Guese, William, 199n, *see*, Guess, Bill
- Guess, Bill, 199, *see*, Guese, William
- Gummere, David, 1355 Malboro st Kensington Philadelphia, 543
- Gumperts, Mr (Washington tailor), 838, 838n
- Gurd, Miss Matilda A. (Wm J. Gurd's sister), 1081, 1081n
- Gurd, Robert, 1081, 1081n
- "Gurd, William J" (Dr. Bucke's brother-in-law), 1081, 1081n
- Gurd, Wm J (Mrs. Bucke's brother), 1081, *see*, Gurd, Miss Matilda A.
- Gurney's (NY photographic studio), 823, 823n, 826, 826n, *see*, V.M.W. Horton
- Gurowski, Count Adam, 549, 549n
- Gus Julian, 821
- Gus White, 259
- Guyot, Arnold Henry, 519, 519n, *see*, Smithsonian Institute, Agassiz, Louis
- G W Childs (Philadelphia newspaper owner), 1050, *see*, "G W Childs"
- "G W Childs" (WW), 817n, 818n, 827n, 1027hn, 1035n, 1050, 1082n
- ton), 600, 600n, *see*, "Walt Whitman Soldier's," 603,
- Haas, William, 603
- Hablock's school, 255, *see*, Jim, Allen
- Haertter, Jonathan (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 679, *see*, "Jonathan Haertter"
- Hagerman, Jas. J, 813
- Haggerty, James & Mrs., 845
- Hague, James, co H—1st Delaware, 449, 449n, *see*, "Hospital book 12," 730, 730n, *see*, Carter, Mrs Sally
- Haines, William, 838, 838n
- Hale, Senator John Parker, 547, 547n
- Hale, Robert S., 815
- Halers, Willy, 845, *see*, Hedge, Traverce
- Half-Hours with the Best Authors* (Charles Knight), 1780hn, 1782hn, 1790hn, 1853hn
- Hall, Albert driver, 824
- Hall, Dr., 610, 610n
- Hall, Edwin, 836
- Hall, Geo. H (painter), 490, 490n
- Hall, Ira, co I 93 NY Vol, 728, *see*, Bemis, Mrs Harrison
- Hall, Dr. James C., 828, 828n
- Hall, John (Mt. Pleasant Hospital, Washington), 728
- Hall, Thos J (fruit dealer, Leadville, Colorado), 1035, 1051, 1051n
- Hall, Thomas J., 1038n
- Halleck, Fitz Greene (Knickerbocker poet), 1268hn, 1268
- Hallam, Henry (*au.*, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe . . .*), 1739hn
- "? Hallam D'Israel" (WW), 1773, *see*, "Letters of Junius," *British Classical Authors, The* (Herzig), 1775hn
- "Halls of Gold and Lilac" (WW), 1108n, *see*, "Riddle (rough draft)"
- Halpine, Charles G., 808hn, 808, *see*, "Col. Halpine"
- Halpine, Col, 34 Hammond, 701, 701n, *see*, "Col Halpine," Halpine, Charles G., 808hn, 808
- Halpine, Gen. Chas. G., 833, 833n, *see*, "Col. Halpine," Halpine, Col.
- Hamblin, 447
- Hamblin, Louisa M (wife of Wm Hamblin), 4501, *see*, Hamblin, Wm
- Hamblin, Wm, co D, 450, *see*, Hamblin, Louisa M
- Hamilton, C. A. (medical student, Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 605
- Hamilton, Ed., 823
- Hamilton, Miss Evelina S., 834, 834n, *see*, Hamilton, Jeremiah G.
- Hamilton, Jeremiah G., 834n, *see*, Hamilton, Miss Evelina S.
- Hamilton, Lydia, 816
- Hamilton, Richard, 841
- H. S.,** *see*, Stafford, Harry
- H. Starr & co. 22 Moorgate st. London, 824
- Haas, Levi (Armory Square Hospital, Washing-

- Hamilton, William, 815, 815n
 Hamlin, Hannibal, 843, 843n
 Hammerick, Holger, 829, 829n
 Hammicks on steamboat "Young America," 521
 Hamp's brother (Hanford Pelham?), 487, 487n,
see, "return my book," Pelham, Thomas
 Han (WW's sister), *see*, Whitman, Hannah Louisa
 Hancock, Major General Winfield Scott, 778,
 778n, *see*, "Maj Gen Hancock," 794, 1374hn,
 Hancock House (Boston), 427, 427n, *see*, "En-
 glish runic"
 Handy, Theodore at Flaesch's, 810, 810n
 Hank—in George Douglass . . . , 258
 "Hannah Brush, (My Grandmother," (WW), 16,
 16n, 20n, 103n
 Hannah, Henry Nelson, 261, 261n, 494n, *see*,
 "[illeg.] Dick Hunt," 495,
 "Hans Sachs" (WW), 1834, *see*, Sachs, Hans
 Hapgood, Major Lyman S. (U.S. Paymaster), 499,
 499n, *see*, Reid, Cody M., 531, 531n, 548, 602,
 602n, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell"
 Harbaugh, Lewellyn (Washington conductor),
 822, 822n
 Hardenburghs, 10, 10n
 Hardie, John, 1035
 Harding, Geo., 824, 826, 826n, 846
 Harding, Wm, 824
 Harewood Hospital (Washington), 448, 448n,
 603, 728n, 806
 "Harewood Jan 24 '66" (WW), 831n, 849
 Harford, John S. (*au.*, *The Life of Michael Angelo*
Buonarroiti), 489n
 Harlan, James (Secretary of the Interior), 797hn,
 797, 798, 799, 800, 800n, 801
 Harland, Mrs Thos., 839, 839n
 Harned, Augusta (wife of Thomas B. Harned),
 1285hn, *see*, "The last will and testament,"
 1287
 Harned, Thomas B. (Camden lawyer), 125n,
 499n, 1235, 1235n, 1239, 1285hn, 1285,
 1436hn, 2231hn, *see*, "Walt Whitman and
 Oratory," 2250n, *see*, *Fellowship Papers*, 2253n
 Harper, J. W., Jr., Harper's, publishers, 827
 Harper, Olive, 958, 958n
Harper's Gazetteer, 1950hn, 1950, *see*, *Mc-*
Culloch's Universal Gazetteer
Harper's Magazine, 240, 240n, 969hn, *see*, "Pref-
 ace," 1116hn, 1116, 1785hn
Harper's Weekly, 905
 Harpers (book publishers), 761, 761n, 827, 1212,
 1950hn
 Harris, Charley H (Finley Hospital, Washing-
 ton), 449, 449n, 729
 Harris, Harden C (Finley Hospital, Washing-
 ton), 729
 Harris, Miss (head nurse), 605
 Harris, W. T., 1035n, *see*, *Journal of Speculative*
Philosophy, "St. Louis Hegelians," 1163, 1163n
 Harrison, Gabriel, 260n
 Harrison, Mrs. Lucretia Wood, 673, *see*, Wood,
 Calvin B
 Harrison's, 260, 260n
 Harry, conductor, 250
 "Harry L Stafford" (WW), 818n, 960, 1014hn
 Harry (the old fellow, starter . . . , 487, *see*,
 "return my book"
 Hart, Mary, 454, *see* Dougherty, Thomas
 Hart, M. C., 840, 840n, 897hn, 901hn, 1027hn,
see, Forney, Colonel John Wein
 Hart, Robert (Philadelphia driver), 1179
 Hartman, Jerry, co B, 448
 Hartnett, Patrick Richard, 1053
 Harvey, Tom (car man ?), 250, 250n
 Haskell, Erastus (Armory Square Hospital,
 Washington), 571, 571n, 619, 619n, 654, 654n,
see, "Absalom Swanger"
 Haskell, Mr., 831n
 Haskell, Samuel, 654, *see*, Haskell, Erastus
 Haslam, Louisa Orr (wife of George W. Whit-
 man), 27, 27n, 828, *see*, Mr. Haslam, Lou's
 father
 Haswell, C. H. (engineer), 443, 443n
 Haswell's Engineers' & Mechanics Pocket Book
 Harpers, 1037
 Hatch, Robert (Armory Square Hospital, Wash-
 ington), 631
 Hathaway, Dan'l, 455, *see*, "W Whitman Port-
 land av."
 Hatteras, 499-500, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero,
 "return my book"
 Haviland, Dr., 667, 667n
 "Have We a National Literature" (WW), 1275n,
see, *North American Review*
 Haverlin, Carl, 764hn, 764n, *see*, "The strange
 events"
 Hay, John (Lincoln's secretary), 539, 539n, *see*,
 Whitman, Andrew Jackson
 Haydn, T. J. (*au.*, "Dictionary of Dates"), 458,
 458n, *see*, "W. Whitman Portland av."
 Hayes, L., 901
 Hayes, Mrs. Walter, 352hn
 Haynes, Tom (driver), 250
 Hayter's Ale Cellar, 482, *see*, "return my
 book"
 Hazard—(or Hazell)—, 489-490
 Hazelton, George C. (*au.*, *National Capital: Its*
Architecture, Art and History, The), 552hn, *see*,
 "Hospitals / Culpepper"
 Head, Major (Brooklyn 14th), 732
 Heade, Martin Johnson (painter), 427, 427n, *see*,
 "English runic"
Heads & Headlines: The Phrenological Fowlers
 (Stern), 206hn,
 "Health does not tell any more" (WW), 373
 Healy, Chas (carman), 845, 845n, *see*, Henley,
 Charles

- Healy, Michael, 1036
 Hearne, Henry, 226, 226n
 Hedge, Frederick H. (*au.*, *Prose Writers of Germany*), 1824hn, 2006hn, 2012n, 2016n
 Hedge, Traverce (conductor), 845, *see*, Halers, Willy
 "Hedge's *Prose Writers of Germany*" (Sister Mary Eleanor), 2009n
 Hegel, 2009hn, 2009
 "He has not" (WW), 1506
 Heine, Heinrich, 307, 886, 886n
 Held, Charles, 251, 251n, 481, 481n, *see*, "return my book," "[*illeg.*] Dick Hunt," 1829hn, *see*, Held, Mr.
 Held, Charley, 256, 256n
 Held, Mr., 1829hn, 1829, 1829n, *see*, Held, Charles, "16th Sept"
 Helpers, David, 496, *see*, Calhoun, Peter
 Hempel, C. T. (*trans.*, *Schiller's Complete Works*), 455, 455n, *see*, "W. Whitman Portland av."
 Hempstead (Long Island) (Whitman residence), 10, 210, 456, 540
 Henley, Charles "Curly," 844, 844n, *see*, Healy, Chas
 Henry, Arthur, 35 West 43rd st. N.Y. (driver), 432n, 825, 825n
 "Henry D. Howell" (WW), 531n, 610n, 628, *see*, Howell, Henry D.
 "Henry 8th" (WW), 214, 1908hn
 Henry I, 220, 221
 Henry IV, 347hn, *see*, "Col. Parker's squa mother"
 Henry II, 221
 "Henry VII" (WW), 1905
 Henry, Peters, 836, 836n
 Henry st. (near Cranberry) (family residence), 10, 10n, 210
 Henry near Fulton, 10n,
 Henry's—next door, 458,
 Hennesey, W. J., 844
Herald (Boston), 1050, 1130n, *see*, Baxter, Sylvester, 1163n, 1233n
Herald (NY), 479hn, *see*, Whitman, George Washington, 546, 578n, 808hn, 831n, *see*, Geo. Alfred Townsend, 842n
 "here are vast mountains" (WW), 388hn, 1942hn, 1944, *see*, "The New Inland America"
 "Here in America" (WW), 1158
 Hermans, Charles (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 673
 "Hermit Thrush" (WW), 764hn, 766hn, 766
 Herndon, H. W., 771
 Herrig, Louis (Ludwig) (*au.*, *British Classical Authors, The*), 1773hn, 1775hn, 1781hn
 Herring, Col. & Mrs., 847
 Herring, Louis, painter, &c. . . . , 498, 498n
 Herschell, J. F. W. (English astronomer), 2003hn
 "Herschel's Theory" (WW), 2003, *see*, J. F. W. Herschell
 "he was from Owego" (WW), 697hn, 708n, 709
 "He went? out with the tide" (WW), 1263, *see*, "An ended Day," "During 1863 '4 and '5," 1422hn
 Hewitt, Abram Stevens, 238, 238n
 Hewlett, Edward (husband of Harriet), 5, *see*, Hewlett, Harriet
 Hewlett, Harriet (daughter of Hannah and Richard Collyer), *see*, Hewlett, Edward, 5
 H. Fritsch, 833, 833n, *see*, Pfaff's Fritsch, Hugo Oscar
 Heyde, Charles (Hannah Louisa Whitman's husband and a painter), 17hn, 17, 27, 264n, 427, 427n, *see*, "English runic, 819n, 1036, 1036n
 Heyde, Hannah Louisa Whitman (WW's sister), 531, 551n, *see*, Whitman, Hannah Louisa, Heyde, Charles, 1068, 1238, 1285
 H. H. Furness, *see*, Furness, Howard
 "Hiawatha" (Longfellow), 442, 442n, *see*, *The Cid*, 1730hn
 Hibbard, Mrs., 258, 258n
 Hibshman, Thomas J., 847n, *see*, Thos. Jeff. Hibshman
 Hibsman
 Hicks, Caleb E. (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 604, 604n
 Hicks, Charley, 259
 Hicks, Elias, 1268hn, 1268
 Hicks General Hospital (Baltimore), 806
 Hicks, Mrs. (Ann?) (boarding house keeper), 246, 246n,
 Higbee, Rev. Mr., 458, *see*, W. Whitman Portland av.
 Higgenbottom, Dr., 720, *see*, Faron, John
 High street (Boston), 429, *see*, "English runic"
 Hildreths, Mrs., 257
 Hill & Newman (donors to WW's hospital fund), 608
 Hill, G. W., 260, 260n, *see*, Hill, George W.
 Hill, John, night watchman Treas, 823, 823n
 Hillard, Kate, 815, 815n, 817, 817n
 Hindostan, from the western sea (WW), 279, 279n, *see*, "Facing West from California's Shores"
 Hindreth, Susan S. (boarding house keeper), 257n
 Hine, Charles (painter of portrait used in *LG* 1860), 431, 431n, 444n, *see*, Hine, Charley, 819, 819n, 823, 823n, 828n, *see*, Hine, Mrs. Chas, 829n, 837, 837n, 919
 Hine, Mrs. Chas, 828, 828n, *see*, Hine, Charles, 829, 829n,
 Hines 174 10th av. (artist), 453, 453n, *see*, *LG* 1860, 495, *see*, "81 Clerman," Hine, Charles
 Hinks, Wm, 901
 Hinkle, Frank, Surgeon Ward No. 6 (Campbell Hospital, Washington), 578n, *see*, "Wednes-

- Hinkle, Frank (*continued*)
 day 4th March," "Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers"
- Hinsline, William 3d Auditor's office, 837
- Hinton, Louis J., 836, 836n, *see*, Hinton, Richard J.
- Hinton, Richard J. (journalist, friend of WW), 427n, *see*, Soule, Silas S, 432, 432n, 810n, *see*, "The Poet Walt Whitman," 834n, 836n, 1028hn, *see*, *Kansas Magazine*, "The Mystic Trumpeter," 1513hn
- "His earliest printed plays" (WW), 1712hn, 1743, *see*, "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry," "Homer and Shakespeare," 1751hn, *see*, "I think it probable," 1752hn
- "His idea of God" (WW), 1723
- "His theory is" (WW), 1545
- Historical Annals of Cornelius Tacitus, The*, (Murphy), 1921hn
- History of Ancient Art* (Winkelman), 247, 247n
- History of Ancient Art, tr. from the German of John Winckelman, The* (Lodge), 247n
- History of Book Publishing in the United States, A* (Tebbel), 238n
- History of English Literature* (Taine), 1075n, *see*, Asselineau, "Un Inédit de Walt Whitman: 'Taine's History of English Literature'"
- History of Greece*, 248n, *see*, "Ancient History,"
- History of Greece* (Grote), 474hn, *see*, *Silence*, 1885hn, 1886hn, 1890hn, 2023hn
- History of North American Birds, A* (*aus.*, Baird, Brewer, and Ridgeway), 1080, 1080n, *see*, "Sparrows—Swallows"
- History of Provençal Poetry* (Fouriel), 1812hn, *see*, *Edinburgh Review*, 1821hn
- History of Spanish Literature, The* (Ticknor), 440n, *see*, *The Cid*, 460, 460n, 1868hn, 1872hn
- History of the Civil War in America, The* (Abbott), 703n
- History of the Girondists* (Lamartine), 214n
- History of the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, Long Island* (McDonald), 456n, *see*, "Important Ecclesiastical Gathering at Jamaica, L.I.," "W. Whitman Portland av."
- History of the Roman Republic*, 248n, *see*, "Ancient History"
- History of the Russian Empire* (Karamsin), 1988n
- History of Spanish Literature* (Ticknor), 440n, *see*, *The Cid*, 460n, *see*, "William Giggee,"
- Hitchcock, Maj-Gen., *see*, Maj-Gen Hitchcock
- H. J. Bathgate, 1163, 1163n, *see*, Ruskin, John
- H. J. Ramsdell, 836, 836n
- H. J. Raymond, 814, 814n, *see*, Raymond, Henry J.
- "H. M. Irwin late of Sunday Herald" (WW), 810, 810n
- Hoare, Rev. John N., 812, 812n
- Hogan, Dr., Drug store . . . , 487, 487n, *see*, "return my book," Hogan, Dr M. K.
- Hogan, Dr M. K., 484, 485, *see*, "return my book," New York Hospital, 487n
- H. O. Houghton 135 Washington st. Boston, Mass, 822
- Holland, Josiah Gilbert (*ed.*, *Century Magazine*), 1103hn, 1103
- Holland, R. A., 1036n
- Holley, W. C., 257, 257n, *see*, D. C. Holly Real Estate
- Hollis, C. Carroll, 246hn, 263n, *see*, "Whitman's 'Ellen Eyre,'" Grey, Miss Ellen, 263n, 266n, *see*, "Whitman and William Swinton," 263n, 267n, 268n, *see*, "Whitman's Word-Game," 271n, *see*, "Poem of American Names," 489n, *see*, Sweezey, Frank, "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz," 834n, *see*, "R. J. Hinton: Lincoln's Reluctant Biographer" (*Cent Rev.*), 1432hn, *see*, Whitman and William Swinton: A Cooperative Friendship" (*AL*), 1624hn, 1625hn, 1843hn, 1846hn
- Holloway, Emory (*au.*, "Notes from a Whitman Student's Scrapbook"), 581hn, 923hn, 1041hn, 1205hn, *see*, *Am Schol*, 2160hn (*au.*, "Pictures"), 1295hn (*ed.*, *UPP*), 53hn, 55hn, 56n, 67n, 71n, 98n, 102hn, 106n, 124hn, 124n, 128n, 149n, 190hn, 209hn, 209n, 210n, 211n, 388hn, 389hn, 405hn, 405n, 407n, 408n, 409n, 410n, 431hn, 453hn, 455n, 457n, 478hn, *see*, "return my book," 479hn, *see*, "return my book," "The City Dead-House," 499n, 885hn, 887n, 897hn, 1301n, 1302n, 1303n, 1304n (*au.*, "Whitman His Own Press Agent," *Am Merc*), 897hn (*au.*, "Whitman Pursued" *AL*), 489n, *see*, "return my book," Sweezey, Frank, Eyre, Ellen, 499n (*au.*, "Whitman's Embryonic Verse"), 1295hn
- Holman, Geo. J., Hospital Steward . . . , 529
- Holmes, John A. (ward G Armory Hospital, Washington), 519, 519n
- Holmes, Luciana (ward G Armory Hospital, Washington), 519
- Holmes, William Gordon (*au.*, *Vocal Physiology & Hygiene*), 1058n
- Home Journal—Shak[?], 247
- Homer, 233, 233n, 266, 883, 1080n, 1752hn
- "Homer and Shakespeare" (WW), 1743hn, 1752, *see*, "His earliest printed plays"
- "Homer & the Homeric Age" (Gladstone), 462, *see*, "William Giggee"
- Homosexual Tradition in American Literature, The* (Martin), 1881hn
- Hood, Thomas (*au.*, "The Bridge of Sighs"), 544hn
- Hooker, General Joseph E., 533, 533n, *see*, Army of the Potomac, Chancellorsville, battle of, "The Wounded from Chancellorsville," "A Night Battle Over a Week Since," "from

- Hooker's command," 534, *see* Fredericksburgh, 630n
- Hopkins, Johns, 1267, 1267n
- Horace Carman, 823
- "Horace L. Traubel" (WW), 1276, *see*, Traubel, Horace L.
- Horner, Henry (ward G Armory Hospital, Washington), 519
- Horrocks, Aunt Libby (born Haslam), 828, *see*, Mr. Haslam, Lou's father, Haslam, Louisa Orr
- Horton, Charles H., 423, *see*, "English runic"
- Horton, John & Rebecca, 82, 82n
- Horton, V. M. W., 823, 826, *see*, Gurney's
- Hosmer, Burr C., 822, 822n, *see*, Massa, F. H., 828
- Hosmer, William Henry Clyde (*au.*, *Yonnonidio, or Warriors of the Genesee . . .*), 1211n
- "Hospital Book 12" (WW), 268n, 448n, 449n, 537n, 552n, 610n, 685n, 702n, 723, 731, 791hn, 820n
- Hospital Charter (New York Hospital, also called Broadway Hospital), 445, 445n, *see*, "City Photographs"
- "Hospital Note book" (WW), 479hn, 486n, 521n, 605n, 644hn, *see*, Vandermark, Wm E, 645n, *see*, Cunningham, Oscar H, 647n, *see*, Brooks, Livingston J., 648hn, *see*, "John Grundke," 649n, 650n, 651hn, 651n, 819n, 830n,
- "Hospital note book, No 13" (WW), 443hn
- "Hospital Perplexity" (WW), 587hn, *see*, "They are frequently changed"
- "Hospital Scenes and Incidents" (WW), 682hn
- "Hospital Scenes and Persons" (WW), 605n, 606n, 678n
- "Hospital Visits" (WW), 682hn, *see*, "General description"
- "Hospitals / Culpepper" (WW), 449n, 479hn, *see*, "return my book," 530n, *see*, Barrett, Dennis, 552, *see*, "return my book," "a m Dr. L B Russell," "Walt Whitman Soldier's," 604n, 605n
- "Hospitals Ensemble" (WW), 447n, 448n, 586hn, *see*, "and out; and one,"
- Hotten, John Camden (British publisher), 835, 835n, 1502hn, *see*, "Of William Blake"
- Hough, James H. (Brooklyn carpenter), 823
- Houghton, First Baron, 802hn, 802, *see*, Milnes, Richard Monckton
- Houghton (Boston . . .) (Henry O.?), 453, 453n, 495, 495n
- "Hours in Our Army Hospitals" (WW), 477, 574hn, 575, 579hn, *see*, "Sights You See," 581hn, *see*, "Mem. Hospitals," 582hn, *see*, "My Visits and distributions," 586hn, *see*, "and out; and one," 588hn, *see*, "I go around," 592hn, *see*, "I buy it by the pound," 594hn, *see*, "These hospitals," 596hn, *see*, "and bending over," 597hn, *see*, "'63 May 14," 599hn, 659, *see*, "MEMORANDA OF A YEAR"
- "house corridor," (WW), 563, 563n, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper"
- Household Book of Poetry (Dana), 1163n
- Hovey, C F, 423, *see*, "English runic"
- "How are vast mountains" (WW), 1944
- "—How different" (WW), 1574
- "How gladly" (WW), 169
- "How I Get Around at Sixty and Take Notes" (WW), 1105hn, *see*, *Critic*, 1106hn
- "How I Made a Book" (WW), 1233n, *see*, "My Book and I," *Press* (Philadelphia), "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads"
- "How Leaves of Grass Was Made," 391n, 1233n, *see*, "My Book and I," *Star* (NY), "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads"
- "How little posterity really knows" (WW), 333hn, 1183
- "How many deeds" (WW), 1262
- "How mean a person" (WW), 180
- "How much there is" (WW), 1687
- "(How will it do" (WW), 1354
- "How would it do" (WW), 1138
- Howard, Charles, 761
- Howard, Frank, 822,
- Howard, Garaphelia, 824, 824n, *see*, O'Connor, Mrs W. D.
- Howard, George (driver), 843, 843n
- Howe[?] House, 496, *see*, Mr. Marsh, Wallace, Ross
- Howe, Col. Frank E. (Boston friend of WW), 454, 454n, *see*, Whitman, George Washington, 51st NY Volunteers, 1163, 1163n
- Howe, Lester B., 847
- Howell, Benj. G., co. D 87th N.Y. Vol. . . . , 628, *see*, "Henry D. Howell," Howell, Henry D., Nelson Hospital, Yorktown
- Howell, Henry D., 25 Sanford st. Brooklyn, 628, 628n, *see*, "Henry D. Howell," "Dr. L B Russell," "Walt Whitman Soldier's"
- Howells, 737 Broadway (New York), 678
- Howells, Mr, 520
- Howland, Edwd, 1215
- Howland, John D. (Washington painter), 841, 841n
- Hoyt, Tippy (NY driver?), 822, 822n
- Hubbard, Albion, 643, *see*, "Albion F Hubbard"
- Hubbard, father Jesse, 807, *see*, "father Jesse Hubbard"
- Hubbard, Wm, 630, *see*, Hubbard Lieut Wm
- Hubbard, Lieut Wm (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 630, *see*, Hubbard, Wm
- Huber, John (Campbell Hospital, Washington), 728
- Hudson, H. N., 95n

- Hudson, Mrs. Sarah A, 535, 535a, *see*, "from Hooker's command," 633,
 Hughes, Mr (Reading Railroad ticket agent), 1188, 1188n
 "Hugo Oscar Fritsch" (WW), 490n, 566n, *see*, Knapp, Albert, 687hn, 702n, 705n, 743hn, 749n, 751hn, 760, 764hn, 800n, 831n
 Hugo, Victor, 137, 827, 961, 1180, 1384hn, 1856hn
 Hull & Humes (Washington grocers), 823, 823n
 "Human and Animal Magnetism" (WW), 271n
Human Body and Its Connexion with Man, Illustrated by the Principal Organs (Wilkinson, James John Garth), 246hn
 "human feet, awaits us" (WW), 56n, 113n, 188
 "Humanity sees God" (WW), 2079hn, 2080, *see*, "Religion—the noblest"
 Humbolt, William von, 1627n
 Humphrey, Orlando (Brooklyn Hospital), 718, 718n
 Hunt, Dick, 246, 246hn,
 Hunt, Dr, friend of Dr Bucke's, 1037
 Hunt, Leigh, 239, 239n, *see*, "What is Poetry," *Stories from Italian Poets*, 1780, *see*, "Leigh Hunt"
 Hunt, Richard, 246, 480, 480n, *see*, "[illeg.] Dick Hunt"
 Hunt, Richard Morris (architect), 425, 425n, 1010n, *see*, "English runic," "visit to N Y '78"
 Hunt, T Sherry, 1081, 1081n
 Huntington, Daniel, 1209hn, 1209
 Huntington, Long Island (WW's birthplace), 1197
 Huntington, Mrs, Congress street, 822
 Huntington village, 5, 6, 20, 23, 36, 210, 211, 487
 Huntington, William S., 822n
 Hurd & Houghton (Boston publishers), 824, 824n, 827,
 Hurlburt, Pierre P (Campbell Hospital Washington), 519
 Hurst, Lt., 835
 Hurt, Henry, 837, 837n, *see*, Doyle, Peter George
 Huse, Frederick (Campbell hospital, Washington), 519
 "husking—'fast huskers'" (WW), 1356
 Husted, Wm, 258, 258n
 Hutchinson, Wm (i.e. "John Sands), Philadelphia journalist, 820, 820n
 Hyer, Henry, 259, 259n
 Hyer, John (prize fighter), 483, 483n, *see*, "return my book," Yankee Sullivan (Gillie?), Branch, The
 Hyer, Tom, 254, 254n, *see*, Hyer, John
 Hymer, Fred, 815
Hyperion (Keats), 1770hn, *see*, *American Whig Review*
 "Hyperion of Keats, The" (T. D. Whelpley), 1795n, *see*, *American Whig Review*
 "I am back again" (WW), 1963
 "I am not at all" (WW), 2218
 "I am writing" (WW), 1111, 1112hn
 "I buy it by the pound" (WW), 522n, *see*, Mafield, Janus, 569n, *see*, Boardman, Henry D, 582hn, 582n, *see*, "My Visits and distributions," 592, *see*, "My Visits and distributions," "Hours in Our Military Hospitals"
 "(I can call up" (WW), 1273
 "I commenced Leaves of Grass" (WW), 1445, 1458hn, 1480hn, 1482hn, 1484, *see*, "Whisperings"
 "I did not go" (WW), 1047
 "I do not expect" (WW), 332
 "I do not feel" (WW), 2158
 "I go around" (WW), 588, *see*, "The Army Hospitals," "The Great Army of the Sick," "Hours in Our Military Hospitals"
 "(I had just before" (WW), 1043
 "I have found" (WW), 1052, 1352hn
 "I hope to go" (WW), 1543, *see*, "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads"
 "I know a rich capitalist" (WW), 54hn, 56n, 108n, 113n, 115n, 128, 138n, 1301n
 "I know not how others" (WW), 2160
 "I know well enough" (WW), 362
 "I only take" (WW), 1542
 "I say of all dicta" (WW), 2062, *see*, "Premonitory lectures," "Understand then," 2063hn
 "I say That" (WW), 1444
 "I say that Democracy" (WW), 361
 "I say that if once" (WW), 384
 "I say that the Spirit" (WW), 435n, 2147, *see*, Preface, 1855, "By Blue Ontario's Shore," "albot Wilson"
 "I shall treat" (WW), 1698
 "I Sing the Body Electric" (1856) (WW), 57n, 62n, 103n, 115n, 141n, 144n, 147n, 149n, 151n, 152n, 153n, 174hn, 196hn, 233n, 304hn, 316hn, 352n, 412n
 "I slowly walk alone" (WW), 965
 "I suggest inquiringly" (WW), 333hn, 1218
 "I tell you greedy smoucher!" (WW), 113n, 123
 "I think all" (WW), 1565
 "I think it probable" (WW), 1751, *see*, "His earliest printed plays"
 "—I think the mind" (WW), 2212
 "I would consider" (WW), 1157
 "Ice cream" (WW), 638, 691hn
 "Idaho. Capt. Mullen's map" (WW), 1718n, 1961hn, 1967

- “—Idaho means” (WW), 1964
 “Idea of a Poem” (WW), 1371, *see*, “Night on the Prairie”
 “Idea of New Poem” (WW), 1410
 “idea of piece—Sword-Calls” (WW), 1381
 “idea of reconciliation, The” (WW), 399hn, 399
 “Identical with” (WW), 174
 “*Idle Days and Nights of a half-Paralytic*” (WW), 1018hn, *see*, “(? Preface “Footsteps”
Idylls of the King (Tennyson), 883
 “If I could speak” (WW), 2158
 “If my address to night” (WW), 1076, *see*, “and a perfect equality,” 1077hn
 “If I should need to blame, O Western World” (WW), 1204, 1204n, *see*, *Press* (Philadelphia), “Election Day, November, 1884”
 “If the following presents” (WW), 333hn, 1110hn, 1149
 “If you have in you” (WW), 2042
 Ike, 494n, *see*, “[*illeg.*] Dick Hunt,” Sirall, Franklin
 Ike (boy Myrtle) . . . , 261, 495
 Ike (5th av.), 259
Il Trovatore (Verdi), 540n, *see*, “a m Dr. L B Russell,” Medori, Giuseppina, Mazzolini, Francesco, Academy of Music (NY),
Iliad (tr. Buckley), 1752hn
 Iliias (Americana) in Nuce (Carlyle), 853hn, *see*, “Thos Nelson & Sons”
 [*illeg.*] Bemer, 1164
 “[*illeg.*] comes it that” (WW), 1766
 “[*illeg.*] composite &” (WW), 2083
 “[*illeg.*] Dick Hunt” (WW), 102n, 150n, 199n, 206n, 226n, 227n, 230n, 281hn, 344hn, 351n, 442n, 445n, 478hn, 480n, *see*, “return my book,” 481n, 494n, 495n, *see*, Brisbane, Albert, 495n, 667n, 811n, 827n, 1352hn, *see*, “Poem L’Envoy,” 1624hn, 1712hn, 1812hn, 1816hn, 1829hn, 1976hn, 1977hn
 “[*illeg.*] Egyptian Sesostris” (WW), 2021, *see*, Wilkinson, Sir John Gardner, “One of the Lessons Bordering Broadway”
 “[*illeg.*] Nature all so real” (WW), 2044, *see*, “In Rel”
 “[*illeg.*] of America!” (WW), 452,
 “[*Illeg.*] of these poems” (WW), 1429
 “[*Illeg.*] speaking” (WW), 1755
 “[*Illeg.*] the [*illeg.*] I see” (WW), 1408
 “[*Illeg.*] Voltaire’s readable” (WW), 1855
 “[*illeg.*] words in page” (WW), 1247, *see*, “Mrs Grosh”
 Illman Bros Eng Printers 605 Arch st Phil, 820
Illustrated Chicago News, 837
 “Illustrated Mediterranean” 1370hn, 1370, *see*, “Thos Nelson & Sons”
Illustrated News (NY), 422n, 425
 “Immortality was realized” (WW), 138n, 1922, 1924hn, 2021hn
 “Important Announcement!” (WW), 401hn, *see*, “A Prostitute,” 2255, 2257hn
 “Important Ecclesiastical Gathering at Jamaica, L.I.” (WW), 453hn, *see*, “W. Whitman Portland av.,” *City News* (Brooklyn),
 “*Important Premise*” (WW), 2225
 “In a brief passage,” (WW), 1577
 “In a few years” (WW), 2111, *see*, “profuse acts”
 “In a poem” (WW), 1336
 “In account of 51st” (WW), 689
 “In America the dangers” (WW), 1153
 “in Armory Ward C” (WW), 615n, 657, *see*, Winterstein, Manville
 “In at through” (WW), 884
 “In [?] Boston” (WW), 1120hn, 1123
 “in bloom” (WW), 112
 “in fancy picture in *Harpers*” (WW), 33hn, 1166
 “in final resumé” (WW), 2091, *see*, *DV*
 “In future *Leaves of Grass*” (WW), 385
 “[In general civilization” (WW), 1583
 “In highest Noon” (WW), 1094, *see*, “Though Orb Aloft Full Dazzling.”
 In Lectures” (WW), 1605, *see*, “Really what has America,” 2095hn
 “in life” (WW), 922
 “in *Mem of A.L.*” (WW), 768, 769hn
In Memoriam (Tennyson), 1538n
In metyphysical points (WW), 172, 322hm
 “(In Notes if convenient)” (WW), 1275
 “In Paths Untrodden (1860) (WW), 406n, *see*, “June 26 ’59”
 “In Poem” (WW), 1345, *see*, “Poem of Kisses”
 “In Poem of Existence” (WW), 1339
 “In remarks” (WW), 330
In Re Walt Whitman (eds., Bucke, Harned, and Traubel), 28hn, 30hn, 31hn, 900hn, 1288hn
 “In rel.” (WW), 2044hn, 2082, *see*, [*illeg.*] “Nature all so real”
 “in some places” (WW), 1959
 “Interview with Peter Doyle,” *Calamus*, 891
 “In the creative fields” (WW), 975
 “In the latter part” (WW), 464
 “In the plentiful feast” (WW), 1603hn, 1604, *see*, “Literature, The Tendency”
 “In the present state” (WW), 160
 “In the region” (WW), 1951
 “In these impromptu notes” (WW), 988, *see*, “New Themes Entered Upon”
 “In the slave states” (WW), 2144
 “In the West” (WW), 1323, 1352hn *see*, “Poem L’Envoy”
 “In—This is the Earths” (WW), 306
 “In those days” (WW), 1559
 “In view of that progress” (WW), 2105

- "In *Western Texas*" (WW), 1968
 "Incidents for Soldier" (WW), 634
 "(Independent & Chinese) *Tartary*" (WW), 1978, 1985hn
Independent (New York), 240
 "*Index of Dates*" (ed., Rosse), 458, *see*, "Bohn's Scientific Library," "W. Whitman Portland av."
 India Wharf (Boston), 424, 424n, *see*, "English runic," Bulfinch, Charles
 Indian Bureau (Department of Interior), 530n, *see*, "An Indian Bureau Reminiscence," 785hn, 785, 786, 800n, 880hn
 "Indian Summer" (WW), 1320
Indian Treaties, 1778-1883 (Kappler), 821n
 "Indianer" (WW), 1993, *see*, "Carlyle Vol. 1"
 Infant (WW's brother), 17, 18, 27,
Inferno (Dante), 1860hn, 1861hn, *see*, Carlyle, John, 1861hn
 Ingle, Mrs., 842, 842n, *see*, Riley, Miss Kate C
 Ingram, Wm (friend of WW's in Philadelphia), 812, 812n, 820, 820n
 "Inquirers" (WW), 2096, *see*, "Rel. In Rel."
 "INSCRIPTION. at the entrance" (WW), 1477, *see*, "One's-Self I Sing," 1481hn
 "Inscription To the Reader" (WW), 1445, 1446, *see*, "Introduction No. 5," 1475hn
 "Inscriptions" (WW), 1445, *see*, LG (1872)
 "Insects, The" (WW), 283hn,
 "Inside Front and Back Covers of Whitman's Earliest Known Notebook: Some Observations on Photocopy and Verbal Descriptions, The" (Shephard), 55hn
 "Interview" (WW), 797, 800hn, 800n
 "Into the study" (WW), 1581
 "Introduction" (WW), 1445, 1454, 1458hn
 "Introduction" (May 31, 1861) (WW), 1447hn, 1454, *see*, "Introductory," "Dec. 23. 1864," 1458hn
 Introduction to *Leaves of Grass*, 1445
 "Introduction No. 1" (WW), 1453hn, *see*, "Dec. 23. 1864"
 "Introduction No. 3" (WW), 1447hn
 "Introduction No. 5" (WW), 1466hn
 "Introduction No. 6" (WW), 1475hn
Introduction to the Literature of Europe . . . (Italian), 1739hn
 "Introduction to the London Edition" (WW), 834n, 835n, 909n, 958n, *see*, Rossetti, William Michael, 1163, 1445, 1497, 1513hn, *see*, Burroughs, John, 1760hn
 "Introductory" (WW), 1454hn, 1458, *see*, "Introduction," "I Commenced Leaves," "Dec. 23. 1864,"
 Irish American, 239
 "Iron Works" (WW), 305, *see*, "A Song for Occupations"
 Irwin, H. M., 810
 Irwin, John J. (Grocer, Putnam av. . . .), 453,
 Irwin, John J. (Lieut. . . .), 495, 495n, *see*, "W Whitman Portland av."
 "Isaac Joseph" (WW), 11n, 12
 "(is any Preface needed?)" (WW), 978, *see*, "for Preface to *Starry Night*," "Two Rivulets," Preface to *Starry Night*," "From Noon to *Starry Night*," 980hn
 "Is it enough" (WW), 1608
 "Is Literature forever" (WW), 1561
 "IS WALT WHITMAN'S POETRY POETICAL?" (WW), 333hn, 812n, 815n, 839n, 900n, 909, 958n, 1513, 1839hn
 "is wider than the west" (WW), 168
 "*Italian Music and Method*." (WW), 394, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA"
 "*Italian Singers in America*" (WW), 388hn, 389hn, 391n, 395n, 396, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA"
 "Items from My Note Books" (WW), 521n, 569n, 570n
 "IT HAS BEEN GOOD FUN" (WW), 333hn, 905
 "It is among these" (WW), 805
 "It is an army" (WW), 698
 "It is best" (WW), 1075, 2163hn
 "It is curious" (WW), 28hn, 30
 "It is generally believed" (WW), 721, 753hn
 "It is generally supposed" (WW), 1063, *see*, "Unpublished Notes and Letters"
 "It is no doubt impossible" (WW), 2204
 "It is not" (WW), 1541
 "It is not that" (WW), 1563
 "It is probably a spasm" (WW), 1283
 "It is quite indifferent" (WW), 1595
 "It is said" (WW), 1074, *see*, "for Ottawa lecture"
 "It seems to me" (WW), 50
 "It was not the old custom" (WW), 343
 "It was twelve years" (WW), 772
 "It were unworthy" (WW), 182
 "It will seem strange" (WW), 1143
 "It would seem" (WW), 1728
 Ives, Mr., 260, 260n, *see*, Currier, Nathaniel, Currier & Ives
 Ives, Percy, 1162n, *see*, Mrs Leggett
 I. W. Starr & Son's foundry, 823, 823n, *see*, Whitman, George

 Jack (bus driver), 248, 248n, *see*, "memorials"
 Jack (Davis), 254, *see*, Pat Newman's
 Jack (5th av.), 253
 Jack (5th av.) . . . beard black, 255
 Jack (5th av German birth), 261
 Jack (. . . 4th av.), 251
 Jack (4th av), 259
 Jack (policeman), 251
 Jack—red faced, 258

- ?(Jack) Riley, 261
 Jack (tallish young Bleecker . . . , 261
 Jack—(20), 250
 Jackson, Andrew, 1268, 1709hn
 Jackson L ——— . . . , 261
 Jackson, Stonewall, 614, 614n, 921hn, 1692
 Jacob Ramsburg and Sons, 832n, *see*, T. C. & G. G. Brown
 Jacobson, E. P. (Washington lawyer), 840, 840n
 Jacobson, Mr., 835
 Jake (75 Broadway 49th, 250
 Jakey (James), 249
 Jamaica (Long Island), 217, 456, 458,
 James, Bill (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 605
 James Buchan & Co, 844
 James (Doyle), 891, *see*, Doyle, James
 James, Henry (*au.*, *Autobiography*), 704n, *see*, Dupee, Fredrick W.
 James (Same boy . . . , 252
 Janson, F. G., 827
 “Jan. 11, ’85. *At J.M.S.’s*” (WW), 1207
 “(Jan 63) (in Armory, Ward H.)” (WW), 550, *see*, Armory Square Hospital, “(Jan, 63) Thos A. Morrison,” 551hn, 579hn
 “(Jan. 63) Thos A. Morrison” (WW), 550hn, *see*, “(Jan 63) (in Armory, Ward H),” 551, 579hn
 “Jan 12. Walter Whitman” (WW), 44
 “Jan 21, 1865” (WW), 700n, 701n, 706
 “January Searle,” 422, 422n, 843n, *see*, Phillips, Geo. S.
 Janviers, Mr. De., 814, 814n
 “Japanese women” (WW), 315
 Jarvis, Zaire (WW’s great uncle), 23, *see*, Whitman, Phoebe,
 Jay 815, 252
 Jay (5th v.), 249
 J. Baulser’s crew, 490, 490n, *see*, “return my book,” *Myers, George*, Baulsirs, The, Baulsir, John, “My Passion for Ferries”
 Jean Paul (Richter, Jean Paul), 233, 233n
 “Jean Paul Frederick Richter” (Carlyle), 1835hn, 1836n
 “Jean Paul Frederick Richter Again” (Carlyle), 1835hn, 1835n
 Jeff, *see*, Whitman, Thomas Jefferson,
 “Jeff Mary Han” (WW), 811n, 822n, 847n, 958, 1164n
 Jeffers (or Jeffries), Elijah, boy of 14, 819
 Jeffers, William (conductor), 846, *see*, Mrs. Fry Jeffersonton (Virginia), 572, *see*, 100? ^ days fighting . . .
 Jeffreys, Rev Henry Scott, 1163
 Jellison, William, A., Company H 6th Me Reg, 673n
 Jenkins, Capt Daniel E (51st NY Volunteers), 702, 708, 708n, 715, 715n, *see*, “Some interesting items,” 720, 720n, 761, 761
 (Jenkins?), Charles, 498
 Jenkins, Danl E, 705, 705n, 720, 720n, *see*, Jenkins, Capt Daniel E
 Jenkins, Dr., 485, *see*, “return my book,” New York Hospital
 Jenning, Ansel, 255, *see*, Davenport, Adolphus
 Jennings, J. E., 603, 603n, 619, 619n, *see*, “September & October,” “Walt Whitman Soldier’s”
 Jerry,—police . . . , 253
 Jessup, Edward, 844
 Jewett, Chas., 23d st., 845
 J. H. Crane & Co. (wholesale fruit & produce dealers in Washington), 831, 831n
 J. H. Johnston, *see*, Johnston, John H.
 Jim, Allen, 255
 Jim, (boy with Johny Gray), 252
 (Jim Fory), 845
 Jim (Jubal Cain), 254, 254n
 Jim, Le—255, 255n
 Jim, (looks like Chatman, 253
 Jim (new policeman), 250
 “J. J. Rousseau” (WW), 1843, 1845hn
 J. M. S., 820, 820n, *see*, Scovel, James Mattlack
 J. M. Scovel, *see*, Scovel, James Mattlack
 Jo, 251
 Jo (Lane) starter . . . , 259
 “Jo Swinton” (WW), 333hn, 812n, *see*, Swinton, John, 1082n, 1215
 John, 249
 “John Anderson” (Burns), 544hn, *see*, *Recitations John Brown* (Villard), 492n, *see*, “return my book,” Brown, John, Merriam—
 John Brownie, 261
 John Collamore China & c (Boston), 424, *see*, “English runic”
 John Dutchman . . . , 371hn
 John E Potter & co., 1212
 “John Faron,” (WW), 687hn, 702n, 719, 731n, 742hn, 761n
 “John Grundke” (WW), 571n, *see*, Grundke, John, 648, *see*, “Hospital Note book”
 John K. Rogers & Co., 419hn, *see*, “English runic,” LG 1860
 “John Lefferts” (WW), 693,
 John, Mrs, 1050
 John st. (WW’s boarding room), 211,
 John W. A. (Boston), 422
 Johny (24) 4th av . . . , 259
 Johnny, Annie, 817
 Johnny, Ben (Annie’s twin brother), 817
 “Johnny, Graball,” 496, 496n, *see*, Graball,
 Johnny ([lame] . . . , 252
 “Johnny Ludlow” (WW), 983, *see*, “Wood, Mrs. Henry”

- Johnny (red faced . . . , 254
 Johnson, 727 Sansom (Phila), 817
 Johnson, Dan'l (Armory Square Hospital, Wash-
 ington), 728
 Johnson, John Newton, 817, 817n
 Johnson, Hiram (Armory Square Hospital,
 Washington), 630
 Johnson, Hugh, 818n
 Johnson, Jim, 253, 253n
 Johnson, Lorenzo (*au.*, *Memoria Technica*),
 1614hn, 1617n
 Johnson, Mrs N M, 1187, 1187n
 Johnson, Robert Underwood (editor), 1035, *see*,
Century Magazine
 Johnson, Samuel, 1788hn, 1788
 Johnson, *Specimens*, 420n, 421n, *see*, *Specimens of*
Printing Types . . .
 Johnson st. (residence), 10, 10n, *see*, Covert,
 Richard D., 210,
 Johnson, Thomas Newton, 1050, 1050n
 Johnson, Wm., formerly 51st N.Y. Reg Vol.,
 824
 Johnson, Mrs. W. R., 821, 821n
 Johnson's book, 420, 420n, *see*, Johnson, *Speci-*
mens, 421
 Johnston, Albert E., 1020, 1020n, *see*, Johnston,
 John H.
 Johnston, Charles (*au.*, *Chrysal; or, the Adventures*
of a Guinea), 435n
 Johnston 434 Penn n 15th, 816
 Johnston, Ida, 1036, 1036n *see*, Johnston, John
 H. Johnston, Jack
 Johnston, Jack, 1036n, *see*, Johnston, John H.,
 Johnston, Ida
 Johnston, John H., jeweler 150 Bowery, NY (close
 friend of WW's, *au.*, with J. W. Wallace, *Vis-*
its to Walt Whitman), 490n, *see*, "return my
 book," Baulsir, John, 817, 817n, 819n, 891,
 1020n, *see*, Johnston, Albert E., 1036n, *see*,
 Johnston, Ida, Johnston, Jack, 1081, 1081n, *see*,
 "N Y Mott Haven," 1162, 1162n, 1234, 1234n,
 1239, 1264hn, 1285
 Johnston, Col. John R (artist), 1057, 1057n
 Johnston, Mrs., NY, 1050, 1050n
 "Jonathan Haertter" (WW), 679
 Jones, 841, *see*, Linton, William J.
 Jones, Albert (Cack Jones sons), 481
 Jones, Ball & Co. (Boston), 426, *see*, "English
 runic"
 Jones, Elisha, 254, 254n, 258, 258n, 482, *see*,
 Jones, Elisha, Bill & Dave
 Jones, Elisha, Bill & Dave, 482
 Jones, Mrs., 253, 253n
 Jones, Paul, 294
 Jones, Wm. H., Dover, New Jersey, 433
 Jordan, Lieut., 838, *see*, Jordan, Mrs.
 Jordan, Lt Jas (Brooklyn 14th), 732
 Jordan, Mrs., 838, *see*, Roe, Mrs Mary, Jordan,
 Lieut.
 Jordan, March & Co. (dry goods merchant), 423,
 423n, *see*, "English runic"
 Jordan, Lt Col Robt B (Brooklyn 14th)
 "Jos Sprage" (WW), 439, 439n, *see*, "81 Cler-
 man"
 Jos: W Hall Fruit dealers Leadvill, Col, 1035,
 1036, 1036n
 Jos W Thompson, 1036
 Joubert, Joseph (French writer), 1854, *see*, "with
 the fever, "Joubert" (Arnold)
 "Joubert" (Arnold), 1718, 1718n, 1854hn
 "Joubert; or a French Coleridge," 1854hn, *see*,
Living Age
 Jourdan, Col James, 732
Journal of Commerce, 240, 518, *see*, Potter, Col.,
A battle
Journal of Speculative Philosophy, The, 1035n, *see*,
 Harris, W. T.
 J. T. Trowbridge, *see*, Trowbridge, John Town-
 send
 "J. T. Trowbridge has called" (WW), 663hn, 668,
 802, 1164n
 Judge Lander (Washington lawyer), 846, 846n
 Judiciary Hospital (Washington), 448, 448n, 566,
 610, *see*, Dr. Marsh, 728n
 "July, by the Pond" (WW), 333hn, 981
 "July 14 '78—Sunday" (WW), 960hn, 1009hn,
see, "Evening sights," 1014
 "July 30 '1865" (WW), 793
 "Jun. 2 '74 Visited Dr. Grier" (WW), 936hn, 938,
see, Grier, Dr. Matthew J.
 "June 20—'63" (WW), 448n, 570n, 645
 "June 21, '63" (WW), 570n, *see*, Thomas, Wm
 C., 646
 "June 26 '59" (WW), 401hn, 405, 405n, 411hn,
see, "The Bell"
 "June 23d '57" (WW), 259n, 1974, *see*, Pierson,
 Elias
 "July 30 1885" (WW), 1213
 Justin (Chousey) boy . . . , 254
 Justin 17 (boy, blacksmith . . . , 256, 256n
 JWF, *see*, Forney, Colonel John Wien
 "J W F remarked" (WW), 828n, 1027, *see*, "G
 W Childs"
 J W. Johnston & Co. 535 Chestnut Phil, 1037
- K**aibler, George, 823
 Kalorama Hospital, 806
 Kanawha Salt Works Virginia
 "Kansas & Colorado Trip" (WW), 811n, 818n,
 829n, 847n, 1034, 1041hn, 1043n, 1050n,
 1051n, 1082n, 1164n
Kansas Hist Q, 1115hn
Kansas Magazine, 428n, *see* Silas S. Soule, 834n,
see, Hinton, Richard J., 1028hn

- "Kant—Enc. Brit." (WW), 1816hn, 2007, 2009hn
 Kant, Immanuel, 1506hn, 1506, 2008hn, 2008, 2009
 Kappler, Charles J. (*comp.*, *Indian Treaties, 1778-1883*), 821n
 Karamsin, Nikolai Mikhailovich (*au.*, *History of the Russian Empire*), 1988, 1988n
 Kates, J N (Mont's boss), 1179, 1179n, *see*, Stafford, Montgomery
 Kayser, Harry, 10 So 2d Phila, 1210, 1210n, 1212
 Kearney & Gregg, 483, *see*, "return my book"
 Kearney, John (driver, Haddington, N.J.), 818
 Keats, 308hn,
 "(Keats died)" (WW), 1780, *see*, "The Life and Writings of Percy Bysshe Shelley," "Characteristics of Shelley,"
 "Keat's poetry" (WW), 1770, *see*, *Hyperion*, "Bells and Pomgranates"
 Keickley, Elizabeth, 535n, *see*, Contraband Relief Association of Washington
 Keeler, Corp. Geo. (Stanton Hospital, Washington), 534
 Keen, Edward 87 Jackson st N.Y., 694
 Kellam, Ben, 820
 Keller, Elizabeth, 1285hn, *see*, "The last will and testament," 1287
 Kellum, Hiram, 254, 254n, 257, 257n
 Kelly, Henry (carman), 488, 488n
 Kelly's Ford, 510, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fighting . . .*
 Kelsey, Elan E., 787, *see*, "(Elan E. Kelsey)"
 Kelsey, Eugene, 787, *see*, "(Elan E. Kelsey)"
 Kelso, R, 1211
 Kelton, Lieut. Allen C., 813
 Kemble, Howard, 1059
 Kennedy, *see*, Kennedy, William Sloane
 Kennedy, John A., 834n, *see*, Kennedy, Mrs. John A.
 Kennedy, Mrs. John A., 834, 834n, *see*, Kennedy, John A.
 Kennedy, William Sloane, (*au.*, *Fight of a Book for the World, The*), 28hn, 29hn, 30hn, 31hn, 969hn, 1163, 1163n, 1220hn, 1223hn, 1285hn, 1517n, 1521hn
 Kennedy, W. S. (*au.*, *The Fight of a Book for the World*), 815n, 1136hn, 1136, *see*, *Saturday Evening Post*, "A Study of Walt Whitman," 1137hn, 1207hn, 1215hn
 Kent, Jos C, 614
 Kepler, 460
 Kern, Mr., 829
 Kerr, A. L., 813, 813n, *see*, Kerr, Andrew
 Kerr, Andrew, 813n, *see*, Kerr, A. L.
 Kerr, Howard (*au.*, *Mediums and Spirit Rappers, and Roaring Radicals: Spiritualism in American Literature, 1850-1900*), 257n
 Kerr, Mrs. Anna M., 829, 829n
 Ketchum, Ansel, 253, 253n
 Kiernan, John, 251, 251n
 Kilham, Walter H. (*au.*, *Boston After Bullfinch*), 419hn
 Killmer, Henry G., 206, 206n, 839, 839n
 Killmer, Henry J., 206hn
 Kilpatrick, Gen. Hugh Johnson, 727, 727n, *see*, Meade, Gen. George C., Brandy Station
 Kilpatrick, Major General Judson, 791hn, 791, *see*, "ask any of Kilpatrick's"
 Kimball, John (conductor), 846
 Kimball, R. B. (lawyer), 248n,
 Kinery [?] (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 632
 King, Allen (soldier in Emory Hospital, Washington), 537, 537n, *see*, "Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers"
 King, Senator Preston, 552, 552n, 554, 554n
King's Handbook of Boston (Moses King), 419hn, *see*, "English runic"
 King, Storrs, (butcher, Fulton market?), 249, 249n
Kingsley, Chas., 487, 487n, *see*, Pfaff's, 489, 489n, *see*, "return my book"
 Kingsley, Wm. C. (donor to WW's hospital fund), 609
 Kinney, Abner C., 521, *see*, Barnes & Co. contractors
 Kinney, Tom (coachman), 493, 493n
 Kirkby, 26hn, 26, 26n
 Kirk, John Foster (*au.*, *A Supplement to Allibone's Critical Dictionary of English Literature*, 434n
 Kirkwood (White Horse), 818
 Kirkwood, James B. (Brooklyn water works engineer), 535, 535n, *see*, "Baily D Damon," 537, 537n, 666, 666n, 667, 667n
 Kirkwood, James P. (donor to WW's hospital fund), 608, 608n, 619, 619n
 Kirkwood, Mrs (boarding house), 499
 Kinsella, Thomas (editor, *Brooklyn Eagle*), 1163, 1163n
 Kittletas, Cornelius, 524
 Knapp, Albert (Judiciary Hospital, Washington), 566, 566n, *see*, "Hugo Oscar Fritsch," 761, 761n,
 Kneeland, Abner (*ed.*, *Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary*), 1842hn
 Knight, Charles (*ed.*, *Half Hours with the Best Authors*), 1780hn, 1853hn
 Knight, Chas (*au.*, *Cyclopedia of Geography*), 248
 Knight, Joseph P. (composer, "Rock'd on the Cradle of the Deep"
 Knortz, Karl, 1274hn, *see*, *A Quartet of Opinions*
 Knott, Wm (driver), 825
 Knower & Platt, 678n, *see*, Knower, Benjamin
 Knower, Benjamin, 534, 534n, *see*, Fred Gray Association, "Mrs. J. H. Wright," "D. W. Wilder," 678n, *see*, Knower & Platt, Pfaff's, 819, 819n

- Koon, John, Myrtle av car 113, 499
 Korf, John, 825, *see*, Korf, Wm
 Korf, Wm, 825, *see*, Korf, John
 Kossabone, Mary (wife of Garret Van Velsor and WW's maternal great grandmother), 9n, 14, 15
 "Kossuth in America" (WW), 1065, *see*, "(Specimen Days) Grisi"
 Kossuth, Louis, 1065, 1065n, *see*, "Kossuth in America"
 Krebs, Rev. Dr., 458, 458n, *see*, W. Whitman Portland av.
 Kreider, Miss Catherine, 548, 548n
 Kroell, J, 846n
 Kurtz, W. (artist), 842, 842n
 Kurtz, William (photographer), 1399hn, *see*, "PENITENZIA," 1400, 1402n
- "Laconic New Yorkers"** (WW), 1676
La Dame aux Camelias (Dumas, *filis*), 401hn, *see*, "Bright were the gleams"
La Favorita (Donizetti), 395n, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA," Bettini, Alessandro,
 Lafayette, 32hn, 33, 34, 35,
 "LaFayette Aaron Burr" (WW), 391n, 1194hn, 1266hn, 1268, 1310hn, 1712hn
 "Lafontaine" (WW), 1853, *see*, Knight, Charles "Lafayette in Brooklyn" (WW), 3, 32hn, 32, 333hn
 "La Gazza Ladra" (Rossini), 390n, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA," 870
 La Grange (de la Grange), Anna, 388hn, 391n, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA," 396, 396n, 397
 Laidlaw, Lefferts, 254, 254n
 Laing, Margaret C, 629, *see*, Laing, Noah
 Laing, Noah (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 624hn, 629, *see*, Shotwell, A. K., Laing, Margaret C, "Noah Laing," 632
 Lake, Howard, 820
 Lamartine, Alphonse de, 214n, *see*, *History of the Girondists*
 Lambert, Tom, 258, 258n, 482
 Lamson, A. T., 206hn, *see*, "Left 5 At Jones"
 Landon, M D 3d Auditor's Treasury Dept, 510, 603
 Landsberger & Co: Wine Merchants—San Francisco, 1036
L'Ane de' Or, 405hn, 431hn, 479hn, 529hn, 760hn, 2061hn, 2082hn, 2231hn, *see*, Catel, Jean
 Lane, Mr, 532, *see*, Lane, Moses, 609
 Lane, Mrs. (donor to WW's hospital fund), 609
 Lane, Moses (Brooklyn water works, donor to and fund raiser for WW's hospital fund), 531, 531n, *see*, Whitman, Jeff, 534, 534n, 535, 536, 538, 583, 583n, *see*, "My Visits and distributions," 671, 671n, *see*, Crary, Alfred, 813, 813n
 Langhorne, John (*coed.*, *Plutarch's Lives*), 1747n, *see*, Langhorne, William, 1879hn,
 Langhorne, William (*coed.*, *Plutarch's Lives*), 1747n, *see*, Langhorne, John, 1879hn
 "Language" (WW), 1616, 1620hn, 1971hn, 1980hn, 1981hn
 "Language. Religion. Numismatics" (WW), 1799hn
 Lanier, Sydney, 1526hn
 "L'Année Terrible" (Victor Hugo), 1384hn
 Lanman, Charles (*au.*, *Adventures in the Wilds of the U.S. and British America*), 247, 247n
 Larr, Alfred, 672, *see*, Bush, Alonzo
 Larson, Arthur J. (*ed.*, *Crusader and Feminist: Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm*), 565n, *see*, Swisshelm, Jane Grey, Minnesota massacre,
 "Last of the War Cases" (WW), 388hn, 645n, 791hn, 793hn
 "Last Will & Testament" (WW), 1238, *see*, "The last will and testament"
 "(late in Sept)" (WW), 970
La Traviata (Verdi), 396n, *see*, Verdi, 401hn, *see*, "Bright were the gleams"
 "latter part of Aug" (WW), 666hn, 717
 Laughlin, John, 844
 Lavalette, George, 254
 Lawn, Mike, Pete Lawn, 453, 495, 495n
 Lay, Mrs (owner from whom WW bought house at 328 Mickle Street, Camden), 1195, 1195n
 L B Russell, 537, 537n, *see*, "Dr. L B Russell," Russell, Dr. Le Baron
Leader (New York), 88hn, 239n, 445n, 478hn, *see*, "City Photographs," 484n, *see*, "City Photographs," "Velsor Brush," 808hn
 "Leading Characteristic" (WW), 359
 Leaf, G. (Adams Express office), 821
 Leake, Arabella, 2441 North 10th st Phila, 1210, 1210n
Leaves of Grass, 30, 37, 38, 41, 43, 53hn, 430, 525 (Appendix), 663, 666n, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 872, 874, 879, 900hn, 902, 903hn, 978, 998, 1069, 1070hn, 1169hn, 1172, 1173, 1197, 1228, 1246, 1275, 1432, 1445, 1498, 1499, 1543, 1797n
Leaves of Grass: Comprehensive Readers Edition (*eds.*, Blodgett and Bradley), 56n, 71n, 78n, 79n, 81n, 110n, 113n, 116n, 130n, 132n, 133n, 134n, 146n, 148n, 150n, 154n, 155n, 271n, 365hn, 442n, 443n, 513n, 763n, 1061n
Leaves of Grass (1855) (WW), 40, 54hn, 55hn, 101hn, 102n, 110n, 138hn, 139n, 153n, *see*, "Great Are the Myths," "Children of Adam," 190hn, 206hn, 238n, 260n, 302hn, 303hn, 822n, 831n, 1741hn, 1771hn
Leaves of Grass (1856) (WW), 140n, 167n, 233n, 238n, 260n, 302hn, 308hn, 822n,
Leaves of Grass (1860) (WW), 113n, 246hn, 271n, *see*, "Messenger Leaves," "Leaves of Grass No. 13," 415hn, 419hn, 420n, 421n, 422n, 430hn,

- 431n, 433n, 434n, 435n, 444n, 453n, 470hn, 1096hn, *see*, "Nov: 26 1880 R Worthington"
- Leaves of Grass* (1867) (WW), 486n, 835n, 1401n, 1497
- Leaves of Grass* (1871) (WW), 1399hn, *see*, "The Author's Edition," 1401n
- Leaves of Grass* (1872) (WW), 813n, 932hn, 1445
- Leaves of Grass* (1876) (WW), 813n, 841n, 969hn, 1526hn
- Leaves of Grass* (1881) (WW), 32hn, 268n, 419hn, 1093n, 1130hn, 1277hn
- Leaves of Grass* (1889) (WW, "Pocket-book Edition"), 1252hn, 1253hn, 1254hn
- Leaves of Grass* (1891-92) (WW), 1277hn, 1544hn, copies consulted by Grier, 1281
- Leaves of Grass Imprints*, 422n, *see*, Phillips, George S., 434n
- Leaves of Grass Including a Facsimile autobiography variorum readings of the poems and a department of Gathered Leaves*, 36hn,
- "Leaves of Grass No. 13" (WW), 271n, *see*, LG 1860
- Le Charlier, Joseph, No. 8 8th st. . . . , 495
- "Lecture 'law' 'lex'" (WW), 2031
- Lectures* (WW), 571, 571n, *see*, "Hospital Note book," "Restrain Gesture"
- "Lectures Ego-Style" (WW), 2230
- lectures on Dante, 492, *see*, "return my book," "Boccaccio"
- "Lectures on The Future" (WW), 2223
- Lecture on the History of Literature* (Schlegel), 1837hn, 1884hn
- "Lect. (To Women)" (WW), 341
- Ledger (New York), 240
- Ledger* (Philadelphia), 1082n, *see*, Childs, George W.
- Leech, William A., Co I 5th Wise Vol., 673n
- Lee, Ophelia
- Lee, R H, 2 Lieut 16 N.Y. Battery, 522
- Lee, Wm F., 829
- Leesboro' (Maryland), 509, *see*, *Va. on the Fal-mouth side, Friday, Dec. 26th, '62*, 35th Mass., 510, 511, *see*, 100 ? ^ days fighting . . .
- Le Fanu, Sheridan (*au.*, *Uncle Silas*), 761n
- "Left 5 at Jones" (WW), 206, 445n
- LeGendre, Lt. Col. Charles W (commander, 51st NY Volunteers), 702, 702n, 727, 727n, *see*, "Some interesting items"
- Leggat Brothers, books, 241, 241n
- Leggett, Mrs, 1162, 1162n, *see*, Ives, Percy
- "Legislation (inviting examples)" (WW), 2114, 2131n
- Lehman, Dr., 480, 480n, *see*, "return my book"
- "Leigh Hunt" (WW), 1790, *see*, "What is Poetry?"
- Leisenring, B Benj, co C, 449
- Leland, Charles G. (*au.*, "Pictures of Travel"), 307n
- Leland, Geo., 255, 255n, *see*, McEvoy, Tom
- Lelkens, Daniel, 1211
- Leman, M, 431, 431n, *see*, "return my book"
- Lenau, Niembsch (Austro-Hungarian poet), 1829hn, 1829, *see*, "Niembsch, Lenau"
- Lennon, Pandon, 252, 252n
- "Leo contains the Sickle" (WW), 1084hn, 1085, *see*, "Other names of Venus," "mention talk of an old mariner," 1086hn
- Leonard, C. A., 423, 423n, *see*, "English runic"
- Leopold Furman hot air furnace (Boston), 424, *see*, "English runic"
- Leo (22) (fireman), 249
- Leonard, Frank, 1986, *see*, "The English Masses"
- Leslie's Illustrated News, 239
- Leslie, William, 498
- Les Origines de la Langue François* (Menagé), 1639n
- Lester, Frank, 743, *see*, Lester, Mrs, Whitman, George Washington
- Lester, Mrs, 743, *see*, Lester, Frank
- "Letter from Walt Whitman," 1073hn, *see*, *Daily Advertiser* (London, Ontario),
- "Letter from Washington, Our National City . . ." (WW), 537, 537n, *see*, *Times* (NY)
- "a m Dr. L B Russell," 578n, *see*, "Wednesday 4th March"
- "Letter Impromptu" (Phillips), 422n
- "Letters of Junius" (WW), 1773hn, 1773hn, 1775
- Letters of Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke to Walt Whitman, The* (Lozynsky), 1081
- Levi, Mr., bookseller 339 Chestnut, 821
- Leviness & Weber 164 Fulton st. Brooklyn, 816n, 817
- Lewes, G. H. (*au.*, *Life and Works of Goethe, The*), 1210n, 1579hn
- Lewin, Walter, 1163, 1163n, *see*, *Cope's Tobacco Plant*
- Lewis, 843
- Lewis, Chas, 847, *see*, Smallwood, Miss
- Leypoldt, Frederick (editor), 1035, 1035n, *see*, *Publisher's Weekly, The, Publishers' Trade List Annual, American Catalogue, The*
- Libbey, Walter (painter of WW's portrait), 919
- Libby, James, 238n, *see*, Libby, Miss
- Libby, Miss, cor Willoughby & Duffield, 238, 238n, *see*, Libbey, James
- Libby Prison (Richmond, Virginia) (where George Washington Whitman was imprisoned before transfer to Salisbury, North Carolina), 743hn, 747, 762
- Liberty St. (family residence), 10
- Liborius, E R O, 695, *see*, "Deaths 51 NYV," private Liborious
- Lick, James, 1265, 1265n
- Liebenan, Lieut. A J, (Lebenau?), 447, 447n, 448, 448n

- Liebenau (or Liebenan), A. J., 826, 826n
 Liebenau (Liebenan?), Capt A.J. 159 West 40th Street, 678n
Library of American Literature (au., E. C. Stedman), 835n
 "Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers" (WW), 502n, *see*, Lowerie, John, *51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, Daily Eagle* (Brooklyn), 519n, *see*, Thurer, Henry, 521n, *see*, Boardman, Henry D., 537n, *see*, King, Allen, 578n, *see*, Hinkle, Frank, 659hn, 700n, 732n, 830n
Life and Work of Goethe, The (Lewes), 1210n, 1579hn
Life and Writings (Mazzini), 1913hn
 "Life and Writings of Percy Bysshe Shelley," 1780hn, *see*, *North British Review*
Life Illustrated, 260, *see*, Fowler and Wells, 388hn, 389hn, 494n, 1626hn, 1816hn, *see*, "The celebrated old," 1842hn, 1942hn, 1943hn, 2021hn
Life in Prairie Land (Farnham, Eliza), 1949hn
Life of Charles Dickens (Forster), 1099hn
Life of Michael Angelo Buonarroti, The (Harford), 489n, *see*, "return my book"
Life of Torquato Tasso, The (Wiffen), 1865hn
 "Life! we've been long together" (Barbauld), 507, 507n, *see*, "return my book"
 "Light" (WW), 1407
 Lillie, Darius, co G 44th New York, 448, 448n, *see*, "Hospital book 12," 730, 730n
 Lillie, Mrs Lucinda, 730n, *see*, Lillie, Darius
 Lilly, Chester H. (Patent Office Hospital, Washington), 521, 521n, *see*, "Hospital Note book," 569, 569n, *see*, "Items from My Note Books," "return my book"
 Lilly, James E (father of Stephen Lilly), 450
 Lilly, Stephen, co L, 450, *see*, Lilly, James E
 Lincoln, Abraham, 539, *see*, Lincoln, President 656hn, 759, 768, 774, 775, 776, *see*, "Abraham Lincoln," 1266, 1268
 Lincoln Hospital (Washington), 448, 728
 "Lincoln Material" (Holloway), 885hn
 Lincoln President 532n, *see*, April [Thursday] 30 [1863] Fast day
 Lincoln's death, 762, *see*, "Hugo Oscar Fritsch," 762, 763
 Lindenmuller's Hall, 484, *see*, "return my book"
 Lindley, Thomas (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 620, 620n
 Lindsey, Ed. (Sterling, Rice Co., Kansas), 1035n
 line [Long] primer (type face), 421, 421n, *see*, "Chants Democratic," "Johnson's book"
 Lininer, John (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 667, *see*, Lininger, Philip, Lininger, Henry
 Lininger, Henry, 667, *see*, Lininger, John, Lininger, Philip
 Lininger, Philip 667, *see*, Lininger, John, Lininger, Henry
 Linton, William J. (wood engraver, New Haven, Connecticut), 812, 812n, 841, 841n, 1164, 1164n
 Lion, Oscar, 128hn,
 Lippard (George) (novelist and lecturer), 434, 434n, *see*, "With Antecedents"
Lippincott's Monthly Magazine, 1223, *see*, "My Book and I," 1275, 1275n
 Lipstay, Paul (correspondent for Hungarian newspapers), 815n 819n, 909, 909n
 Lisenard street, 100, 100n
 "List of men who re-enlisted in the 51st" (WW), 753n
 "List of serviceable" (WW), 1696
 "List of things recognized" (WW), 1440
 Litchalt, Ab'm, 254, 254n
Literary Review, 1491hn, *see*, "Criticism"
 "Literature" (WW), 1597, *see*, "The Eighteenth Presidency!," 1812hn, 2120hn
 "(Literature)" (WW), 1729, *see*, "poetry To-Day in America," "American National Literature"
Littérature du Moyen Age (M. Villemain), 1293hn, *see*, *Literature of the Middle Ages*
 "Literature it is certain" (WW), 1557
 "Literature means" (WW), 1601
Literature of the Middle Ages (Villemain), 1293hn, *see*, *Westminster Review*, *Literature du Moyen Age*
 "Literature. The tendency" (WW), 1594hn, 1595hn, 1603, *see*, "America has been called," "There is something very bitter," "In the plentiful feast," "Books, as now produced," 1604hn
 Little Compton, 678
 Dr. Little, 485, *see*, "return my book," New York Hospital
 Little Dominick (Dominick Colgan's son), 255, 255n
 Little, William, 247n
 Little, William A. (au., "Walt Whitman and the *Nibelungenlied*"), 1432n, 1812hn, 1818hn, 1818n
 Littlefield, Mr., 89 High, 826
 "Live Oak Leaves" (WW), 412hn
 "Live Oak with Moss," 268n, 273n, 1362hn, *see*, "Calamus Leaves"
 "Livesay-Whitman Manuscripts, The" (Grant), 1034hn
 "live work, A" (WW), 401hn, *see*, "A prostitute"
 "LIVING PICTURES" (WW), 1311, *see*, "A Song for Occupations"
 Livingston, Luther D, Maine reg't., 571, 571n, *see*, "Walt Whitman Soldier's" 605, 605n, *see*, "Hospital Note book"
 Liv J Brooks, 541, 541n, *see*, Brooks, Livingston J.
 Lloyd, Henry, 3hn, *see*, "Geneological Notes" (WW),
 Lloyd, Wallace (policeman), 845

- Loag, Sam'l, printer (Philadelphia), 819, 819n
 Lockitt, Joseph & Co., 255n, *see*, Edwards, Charles
 Locke, John, 219
 "Locust whirring" (WW), 964
 Lodge, G. Henry, 247n, *see*, *History of Ancient Art . . .*, *see* Winkelman, John
 "Lofty sirs!" (WW), 2110
 Logan, John C (Brooklyn Hospital), 717
 Loghran, First Lieutenant (51st NY Volunteers), 711, 711n, 712
 London Canada June 1880 1070
 "London—1880" (WW), 1070, *see*, "Sparrows—Swallows)
London Magazine, 961hn, 961
 London Sun 112 Strand, 837
 Longaker, Daniel (WW's doctor in Camden, *au.*, "Sickness and Death of Walt Whitman, The," 1288hn, *see*, *In Re Walt Whitman*
 Long, E. B. (*au.*, *The Civil War Day By Day*), 727n
 Long, Mr.—tall part Indian, 821, 824, *see*, Dowling, Col.
 Longfellow (*au.*, "Hiawatha"), 442, 442n, *see*, *The Cid*, 961, 1268, 1730hn, 1730, 1796n, 1824hn *see*, *Poets and Poetry of Europe*, 1829hn, 1830hn
 Long Island Historical Society, 256n
Long-Islander, 4hn, 36hn, 36, 487, 487n
Long Island Patriot, 210n, *see*, Clements, Samuel E.
Long Island Star, 210n, *See*, Spooner, Colonel Alden
Long Island Star, 210n
 Long Jack (7th av.), 250
 Longstreet 510, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting . . .*
 "LONG STUDY AND PRACTICE NEEDED TO MAKE A SINGER" (WW), 394, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA"
 Long Swamp, 210
 Long wharf (Boston), 424, 424n, *see*, "English runic"
 Loon, John . . . fish market Fulton Market, 499, 499n
 Looney, John, 840
 Lopez, Anthony, 695, *see*, "Deaths 51st N Y V"
 Lord Houghton, 1164, 1164n, *see*, Milnes, Richard Monckton
 Lorenzen, Miss Marey, 1083
 "Louis 14th" (WW), 1840
 Louis (Probasco), 536n, *see*, Probasco, Samuel, Whitman, Thomas Jefferson,
 "Loveblows, Loveblossoms" (WW), 181
 Lovetsville (Virginia), 511, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting . . .*
 Loving, Jerome M. (*ed.*, *Civil War Letters of George Washington Whitman*), 743hn, 797hn, *see*, "Whitman and Harlan—New Evidence"
 Loving, Jerome (*au.*, "Emerson's 'Constant Way of Looking at Whitman's Genius,'" 1712hn
 Low, Thomas B, 725
 Lowenfels, Walker (*au.*, *Walt Whitman's Civil War*), 701hn, *see*, "some interesting items," 744hn
 Lowerie, John, 502, 502n, *see*, "Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers," 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, "from Hooker's Command"
 Lowery, John (Carver Hospital, Washington), 633, 633n
 Loyd, D. C., 836
 Lozynsky, Artem (*au.*, "Walt Whitman in Canada"), 1070hn, 1073hn, 1081n, *see*, *Letters of Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke to Walt Whitman, The*
 L. P. Freud (Patent Office), 812, 812n
 Lucas, John, 1029 Race street, 828n
 "Lucretius" (WW), 1888
 "Lucrezia Borgia" (Donizetti), 390, 390n, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA," 540, 540n, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell," Medori, Giuseppina, Mazzolini, Francesco, Academy of Music (NY).
 Ludlow, Johnny, 983, *see*, "Johnny Ludlow"
 Luffkin, Jonathin B., 498
 Lund, John T. (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 530, 553, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper"
 Luther, 266
 "Lycurgus" (WW), 1919
 Lyman, Mr. (Boston), 422
 Lynch, Thos (driver), 824

 "M" (WW's lover? mother?), 405n,
 MDW, 586hn, 659hn, 810n, 856hn, 943hn, 998hn, 1206hn
 MLN, 2009n
 MLQ, 54hn, 79n, 766hn
 M St. (#472) (WW's address in Washington, D.C., 1867-1868), 479hn, *see*, "return my book"
 Mabbott, Thomas O. (coauthor of *A Child's Reminiscence by Walt Whitman*), 422n, *see*, Silver, Rollo G.
 Macarty, Jack, co. I 2d N.Y. artillery, 480
 Macauley, Thomas Babington, 1785hn, *see*, Goldsmith, Oliver, 1788hn, *see*, Johnson, Samuel, *Encyclopedia Britannica, Harper's Magazine*
 Macdonough, 841, *see*, Linton, William.
 Macdonough, J., 846n
 Macfarland, James Davis, 845, *see*, Davis, Jimmy
 Mac Farlane, Charles (*coau.*, *Pictorial History of England*), 1894hn, *see*, Craik, George L., 1905hn
 Mackey, John (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 554, 554n, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper," "Walt Whitman Soldier's," 605, 605n, "Hospital Scenes and Persons," "Case from Second Bull Run, A," 605, 605n
Macmillan's Magazine, 853n, *see*, Carlyle

- Macpherson, 1050
 Macpherson, General James B., 626, 676hn
 Macpherson, James (*au.*, *Poems of Ossian*), 1433n
 Macready, John (Nicaragua Jack . . . , 492, 492n,
 Madame Blanc, 902hn, *see*, Bentzon, Thérèse
 Mafield, Janus (Campbell Hospital, Washing-
 ton), 522, 522n, 593, 593, 593n, *see*, "return
 my book,"
 Magee, Frank, battery 2, 450, *see*, Magee, Mary
 Susan
 Magee, Mary Susan (sister of Frank Magee), 450
 Maggie, Ashland, 847
Magnificent Farce, A (Newton), 1096hn, *see*, "Nov:
 26 1880 R Worthington," "*Facts in the matter
 of Worthington*"
 Maguire, James C., 901n
 Maguire, Mr., 901, 901n, *see*, Maguire, James C.
Mail and Express (NY), 484n, 524, *see*, Stoddard,
 Richard Henry
 "Maine" (WW), 1933
 (Maj. Richardson), 840
 "Major Gen" (WW), 640, *see*, Strong, Major Gen
 George C.
*Maj. Gen Ambrose Burnside & the Ninth Army
 Corps* (Woodbury), 830-831
 "Maj Gen Hancock" (WW), 794, *see*, Hancock,
 Major General Winfield Scott, 1374hn
 Maj-Gen Hitchcock, the U.S. Commissioner of
 Exchange, 749, 749n, *see*, "Hugo Oscar
 Fritsch," 750, 751hn, 751, 752, 761, 762, 762n,
see, "NIGHT OF FEBRUARY 17"
 "make a conclusion" (WW), 950, *see*, "*Memo-
 randa During the War*"
 "make a fuller point" (WW), 804
 "*Make a poem*" (WW), 272, 1411
 "Make no quotations" (WW), 159
 "Make Picture of America" (WW), 2149n
 "Make the Works" (WW), 525
 Malbone, Ralph, 462, 462n
 Mallory, Capt George, 720, 720n, 731, 731n
 Malone (*au.*, *Plays and Poems*), 1739hn
 Malone, Mrs. Harriet Erwin (Saml. Erwin), 481
 "Manahatta Lectures" (WW), 407n
 Manassas (Virginia), 510, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fight-
 ing* . . .
 "man boy child" (WW), 316
 "Manhattan," 228, 228n
Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians
 (Wilkinson), 141n, 1922n, 2020hn, 2021hn
*Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North
 American Indians* (Catlin), 241n
Man of Destiny, The, (DeWalden), 483, 483n, *see*,
 "return my book," Eddy, Edward
 "Man of Gigantic Stature," (WW), 178
 Mansion House Hospital (Alexandria, Virginia),
 678, *see*, "Mrs H. J. Wright"
Manual of the City of New York (official city
 handbook), *see*, Valentine's, 241n,
 Manuscript, Autograph Letters . . . Bucke . . .
 (Morley), 332hn,
 Mapes, Mrs., 1238hn, *see*, Davis, Mrs. Mary,
 1285
Mapping the American West (Wheat), 1961hn,
 1967hn
 Marble Collegiate Church, 128hn
 "March in the Ranks Hard-Prest and the Road
 Unknown" (WW), 517n, *see*, *A battle*
 Marcy, Edward, 347n, *see*, "Dress Circular," Col.
 Parker's squa mother
 Marcy, William Learned, 1266hn, 1266
 Maretzek, Max, 540n, *see*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, "a m
 Dr. L B Russell"
 Marg. Avery, 909, 909n, *see*, Avery, Margaret
Marguerite de Valois (Dumas, *pere*), 600n, *see*, "take
 (Marg. D Valois)"
 Mario, Giuseppe, 395n, "A VISIT TO THE
 OPERA," 1064, 1064n, *see*, Grisi, Giulia, 1184,
 1184n
 Market (st.) (Boston), 425, 425n, *see*, "English
 runic," Parris, Alexander
 Markham, Miss Anne J., 920hn
 Markoe, Dr Thomas, 485, 485n, *see*, "return my
 book," New York Hospital, "City Photo-
 graphs,"
 Marchand, Charles, 819
 Marlboro Hotel (Boston), 427, *see*, "English runic"
 Marler, George (April 29—driving No. 8 on 4th
 av. . . . , 488
 Marlor, James, 1212, 1212n
Marriage of Heaven and Hell (Blake), 2100hn
 Marsh, Capt (51st N Y V), 699
 Marsh, Dr. (Judiciary Hospital), 610
 Marsh, Mr., . . . "Doc" or Doctor . . . , 496, *see*,
 Howe [?] House, Wallace, Ross
 Marshall, 841, *see*, Linton, William J.
 Martha (15) . . . , 256
 Martha, in Burrough's saloon, 482
 Martin, John D (donor to WW's hospital fund),
 538, 608, 608n, 609
 Martin, Robert K. (*au.*, *Homosexual Tradition in
 American Literature, The*), 1881hn
 Martin, Wm, 815
 "Martin Weaver" (WW), 503n, *see*, Potter, Col.,
 51st N.Y. Col Ferrero, 518n, *see*, *A battle*, Pot-
 ter, Col., 699n, 700, 701n, 704n
 Marvin, J. B. (*au.*, "Walt Whitman"), 847n
 Marvin, Joseph B., Internal Revenue Bureau and
 journalist, *au.*, article on WW in *The Radical
 Review*, 835, 835n, 958, 958n, 995hn, 995,
 1035, 1035n
 Mary's (boarding house), 211
 M A Sevelle Watches, 820
 Mason, Capt., 762, 762n
 Mason, J. W., 743hn
 Mason, Mr., 252, 252n
 Mason General Hospital, 541, 613, 672

- Massa, F. H., 822, 822n, *see*, Hosmer, Burr C.
- Massey, Gerald, 1772hn, 1772
- "mastery the horse" (WW), 222
- Mastering of Whitman, The* (John B. Moore), 1712hn
- "Mat" (Martha E. Whitman, wife of Thomas Jefferson Whitman), *see*, Whitman, Martha E. mother of Jessie Louisa Whitman
- Mat. Frontouse [?], Goodhue co. Minn., 827
- "Mathematics" (WW), 1616hn, 1619
- Matthew, Alexander 206, 206n
- Matthew, Joseph Chesley (*au.*, "Walt Whitman's Reading of Dante"), 491n, *see*, Inferno, *The, Inferno*, Caryle, John, *Univ Texas Stud Engl*
- Matthews, George, 256, 256n
- "Matthew Vassar" (WW), 1264, 1265hn
- Maude* (Tennyson), 1771hn
- Maurier, Albert J. (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 571, 571n
- Maury, Lieut Matthew Fontaine (oceanographer), 247, 247n
- Maverick, Mr & Mrs, 829
- May, Mattie, 821n
- May, Mrs., 708 13th st., 821, 821n, *see*, May, Mattie
- "May 15 1865" (WW), 711
- "May 2—'63 *A Night Battle*" (WW), 921
- "May 17 '81—Glendale (WW), 1100, *see*, "Cedar Apples," 1102hn
- "May 16, 17 '81" (WW), 1101, *see*, "Sunday Morning, early May '84," 1102hn
- "May 10 '79" (WW), 678n, 1020
- "May 13 to 26 '81 (WW), 1102, *see*, "May 16, 17 '81," "May 17 '81"
- "May 27 '65" (WW), 713
- Mazeppa* (Byron), 1803hn, 1803, *see*, "the picture"
- Mazzini, Giuseppi (*au.*, *Life and Writings*), 1913hn
- Mazzoleni, Francesco, 540, 540n, *see*, *Lucrezia Borgia* (Donizetti), "a m Dr. L B Russell," Academy of Music (N.Y.), Marezek, Max, Bachi, Hannibal, Medori, Giuseppina,
- McBride, Neil (conductor), 497, 497n
- McCafferty, Jack (Mt. Pleasant Hospital, Washington), 603
- McCallum, Capt Alexander, co E 8th Penn Cav, 730
- McClellan, Mrs. J. O., 844n, *see*, Dr. Stone
- McClellan, Mr & Mrs J. O., 844, 844n
- McClure, Anna E., 826
- McClure, J. E. (a publisher of the New Orleans *Crescent*), 86, 86n
- McClusky, Felix, 251, 481, *see*, "return my book"
- McConnell, Wm, 262, 262n
- McCook, John J., 845, 845n
- McCoon, Jack, 258
- McCord, John (driver), 844, 844n
- McCoy, John S. (Co G, 147th NY Vol), 570
- McCulloch's Universal Gazetteer*, 1950hn, *see*, *Harper's Gazetteer*
- McCulloch, Hugh (Secretary of the Treasury), 778, 778n
- McDonald, Frank (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 674, 674n
- McDonald, Rev. James M., 456, 456n, *see*, "Important Ecclesiastical Gathering at Jamaica, L.I.," "W. Whitman Portland av."
- McDonald 335 Broadway . . . , 257
- McDonough, Eliza, 248n
- McDonough (Peter?), 248, 248n
- McDougall, Alexander, 465, *see*, "In the latter part," "The Liberty Boys"
- McDougal stereotyper, 761, 761n
- McDowell, Irvin, 549n, *see*, Gen. McDowell
- McElheney, Clare, 432n, *see*, Clare, Ada
- McElroy, Mrs. Eliza, 573
- McElroy, Sol, 495
- McEvoy, Tom, 255, 255n
- McEwen, Campbell* . . . fireman, 489,
- McFarland, William H., 673n
- McFetridge, Johnson Love, 1060
- McGinley, Charley Warren (driver), 816
- McGuire, Chas. A., 841
- McKay, David, 1172hn, *see*, Rees Welch & Co., 1174, 1213, 1228hn, 1228, *see*, LG (1881), 1241hn, 1241, 1242hn
- McKee, Lt Ab'm, 699, 699n, *see*, "51st Ab'm, McKee," "Adj McKee," McKee, Adj't Abm W.
- McKee, Adj't Abm W. (adjutant of 51st NYV) 502n, 694hn, 697, 699n, 709n, *see*, "he was from Oswego," "51st Ab'm McKee," "Nov 17 '64," "return my book," "Adj McKee," *51st NY Col. Ferrero*
- McKee, Dr., 485, *see*, "return my book," New York Hospital
- McKibben, Gilbert (colonel, 51st NY Volunteers), 706n, *see*, McKibbern, Capt.
- McKibbern, Capt, 706, *see*, McKibben, Gilbert
- McKnight, Mrs. S. R., 838, 838n
- McIntyre, Capt., 628, *see*, 87th N. Y. Vol.
- McLaughlin, James, 816
- McMakin, Patrick, 496,
- McManus, James, 818
- McMonord [?], Chs. S. (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 534
- McNamee, John (donor to WW's hospital fund)
- McNelly, John, . . . return'd from the war, 494
- McNutt, Archibald (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 620, 620n, 621
- McOwen, James, 498
- McPherson, James M. (*au.*, *The Negro's Civil War*), 535n, *see*, contrabands
- McRae, John C., 831, 831n, 847, 847n
- McReady, Frederick B (51st NY Volunteers), 502, 502n, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell," 702n, 727, 727n

- McWalters, Geo S., policeman, 846, 846n
- M. Doolady (N.Y. bookseller, publisher, and distributor of *LG*), 818, 818n, 835, 835n, 846, 846n, *see*, Doolady, Michael
- Mead, Sarah (WW's maternal great aunt), 22, 22n, 25
- Meade, Gen. George G. (commander, Army of the Potomac), 658hn, *see*, "A lad of 18," 725, 725n, 727, 778, 778n,
- Mead, William* . . . book canvasser, 487, 487n, *see*, "return my book," Pelham, Thomas,
- Mead, Willard*—April drives 25 4th av. . . . , 488, 488n
- Meade (wardmaster, Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 672
- "meantime, plans failing" (WW), 1445, 1480, *see*, "Whisperings," "I Commended Leaves of Grass," 1486n
- Mechanics Hall (Boston), 427, 427n, *see*, "English runic," Billings, Hammatt
- "Med Cophosis" (WW), 46hn
- "Mediums" (WW), 335hn, *see*, The Poem
- Mediums and Spirit Rappers, and Roaring Radicals: Spiritualism in American Literature, 1850-1900* (Kerr), 257n
- Medori, Giuseppina, 540, 540n, *see*, *Lucrezia Borgia* (Donizetti), "a m Dr. L B Russell," Academy of Music (NY), Maretzek, Max, Bachi, Hannibal, Mazzolini, Francesco
- Meeker, William, 226
- Meighan, Timothy, 259
- Meigs, Gen. Montgomery C. (quartermaster general), 554, 554n, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper"
- Melville [*Bryant*], 252, 252n
- "Mem. Hospitals" (WW), 581
- "Memo" (WW), 333hn,
- Memoir of Francis Wright, A* (Amos), 344hn, *see*, Wright, Frances
- "*Memoranda During the War*" (WW), 477, 575hn, *see*, "MEMORANDA OF A YEAR," 922hn, 935, 943hn, *see*, "Origins of Attempted Secession," 947hn, 949hn, *see* "for war memoranda," 950hn, *see*, "make a conclusion," 2126n
- "MEMORANDA OF A YEAR (1863)" (WW), 423n, *see*, English runic," Redpath, Mr., 477, 58n, 575hn, *see*, *Memoranda During the War*, 654hn, 659, *see*, "Albion F Hubbard," "Absalom Swanyer," 662hn
- "MEMORANDA (Old & New)." (WW), 954, *see*, "*Camden, N. Jersey & Delaware*," 966hn, "To reduce every thing"
- "*Memoranda Pardon applicants*" (WW), 803
- "Memorandum Philadelphia" (WW), 1242
- "*Memorandum" (WW), 470
- "*Memoria Tecnica* (Lorenzo Johnson), 1614hn, 1617
- memorials (WW), 54hn, 113n, 138, 165hn, 222hn, 272n, 304hn, 322hn, 389hn, 395n, 496n, 822n, 1328hn, 1917hn, 1922hn, 1927hn, 1988hn,
- Memories and Impressions* (Modjeska), 1012n
- "Memory" (WW), 1879, *see*, *Plutarch's Lives*
- "Memo. The Saturday Review" (WW), 852
- "Mem. Sept 29" (WW), 797hn, 800
- Menagé, Gilles (*au.*, *Les Origines de la Langue François*), 1639, 1639n
- Men and Memories* (*ed.*, Young), 842n
- Menken, Adah Isaacs, 1803hn, *see*, "the picture"
- Men of Our Times* (Mrs. Stowe), 771n
- "(mention appropriately)" (WW), 719
- "mention talk of an old mariner" (WW), 1084hn, 1085hn, 1086
- "Mention with honor" (WW), 702n, 708n, 715
- Mercantile Library (St. Louis), 1049hn, 1049
- Merchant of Venice, The* (Shakespeare), 545n, *see*, "The President's Proclamation"
- "merciless lance-thrust" (WW), 2162, *see*, "Carlyle, born 1795"
- Merlin, 260
- Merriam—[Francis Jackson], 492, 492n, *see*, "return my book," Pfaff's, Brown, John, Villard, Oswald Garrison
- Mercury, Sunday, 239
- "Messenger Leaves" (WW), 271n, *see*, *Book of Letters*, *LG* 1860,
- Messrs. Morrison, Bookseller, 895
- Metamora* (William L. Stone), 498n, *see*, Calhoun, Lewis, Calhoun, Peter, Forrest, Edwin
- Metcalf, James L., 454, 454n, 488, 488n, *see* "Sept 16"
- Metcalfe, Dr. W. G. (Insane Asylum, Kingston, Ontario), 1081, 1081n, 1081n, 1083hn, 1083, 1164, 1164n, *see*, "Dr. W. G. Metcalfe"
- Metropolitan Rooms, 532n, *see*, Farvacer, Mlle. Sophie
- Mettern, Frank, 498
- Metzler, J. N., 831n, *see*, Townsend, Geo. Alfred
- Metzler, Wm., 442, 442n, 481, 481n
- Mexico*, 1186hn, 1186
- Meyer 17 Beekman, 826
- Meyers, Dan, 489, 489n, *see*, "return my book," Meyers, John
- Meyers, John (Whitey), 489, 489n, *see*, "return my book," Dan Meyers
- Michler, Brigadier General Nathaniel, 843, 843n (Michler), Frank, 843, *see*, Michler, Brigadier General Nathaniel
- Middlesex, 218,
- Middleton, Lt, 741, *see*, "139th Lt Middleton"
- Middleton (Virginia), 511, *see*, 100 ? ^ days fighting . . .
- "Midnight Visitor, The" (Anacreon), 1054hn

- Mike (hackman), 251
 Mike (Irish), 260, *see*, Newman's
 Milk steet (Boston), 428, 429, *see*, "English runic"
 Miller 205 8th av., 453, 453m
 Miller, Charley, 787, 787n, *see*, "(Elan E. Kelsey)"
 Miller, Chas. (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 600, 600n, *see*, "take (Marg. D. Valois)," "(Elan E. Kelsey," 604, 604n, *see*, "Back to Washington"
 Miller, Edwin H., 885hn, *see*, "Epictetus," *Corr.*, 960hn, *see*, "Harry L Stafford," 1096hn, *see*, "Nov: 26 1880 R Worthington"
 Miller, Edwin H (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 672, 672n
 Miller, F. DeWolfe (*au.*, *Walt Whitman's Drum-Taps* (1865) and *Sequel to Drum-Taps* (1865-6), 761n, 846n, 885, *see*, "Whitman's 16.4 Diary," 886n
 Miller, J, Barnum's Hotel, 821
 Miller, Joaquin, 1513hn, *see*, *Nation*, "Song of the Sunlands"
 Miller, Wm, 487, *see*, "return my book"
 Miller, Wm. (Boston), 426, *see*, "English runic"
 Millis, William H., 836, 836n
 Millis, Wm H., Jr, co E 8th Penn Cav., 449, 449n, 728, 728n, 820, 820n
 Mills, James E, 1037
 Milnes, Richard Monckton (poet), 802hn, 802, *see*, Houghton, First Baron
 Milroy, Major General Robert Huston, 645, 645n
 Milton (light complexion, 1798hn, 1798, *see*, "Paradise Lost" 252
 "Milton-1608" (WW), 1781
 Miner, Dr. Edwin, 827, 827n
 Minnesota massacre, 565, 565n, *see*, Swisshelm, Jane Grey,
 Minor, Fulton (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 620, 621, 621n, *see*, Mrs C A Far-
 rand
 Minot, E. F., 814
Minstrelry of the Scottish Border (Scott), 269n
 Minzey, J. Clinton (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 530, 530n, *see*, "Walt Whitman Soldier's," 606, 606n, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell"
 Minzey, Mrs. Wealthy, 606, *see*, Minzey, J. Clinton
 "Miracles" (WW), 63n, 102hn, 106n,
 Mirage (Kansas), 1040, 1040n
Mirror (New York), 226n
 "Miss Harriett H Swallow" (WW), 1210, 1579hn, 1830hn
 "Missouri Kansas trip" (WW), 1027hn, 1028
 Missouri RR Co., 1053
 "Mr. A," 832n, *see*, Arnold, George B., *ako*, 2051hn, Mr. Arkhurst. (Akhurst, John)
 "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz" (WW), 55n, 226hn, 260n, 443, 453n, 463n, *see*, Dr Ruggles, 478hn, 484n, 491n, 495n, *see*, "return my book," 604n, 613n, 645n, *see*, Cunningham, Oscar H, 666hn, 667n, 671n, 678n, 692n, 723hn, 728n, 729n, 730n, 817n, 819n, 826n, 828n, 831n, 832n, 1812hn, *see*, Sunrock, Carl
 "Mr. Burroughs" (WW), 1505, *see*, burroughs, John, *Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person*
 "Mr. Gilfil's Love Story," 381, 381n, *see*, *Scenes of Clerical Life*, *Blackwood's Magazine*
 Mr. Haslam Lou's father, 828, *see*, Haslam, Louisa Orr
 Mr. Percy's baths . . . , 493
 Mr Philp, *see*, Philp, Franklin
 Mr Sheers or Sheeren Brown's hotel (Washington), 521
 "Mr. Snow's story," 427, 427n, *see*, "English runic," Evans, Wm
 Mr. V.A. (Isaac Van Aden?), 71, 71n
 "Mrs Grosh" (WW), 893, 1179, 1179n, *see*, Grosh, Margaretta T., 1247hn
 "Mrs H. J. Wright" (WW), 678, 534n, *see*, Knower, Benjamin, 644hn, *see*, "Wm E Vandermark," 644, *see*, Mansion House Hospital, "Hospital Scenes and Persons," 819n, 1020n, 1405hn
 Mrs. Parnes writ school, 483, *see*, "return my book"
 "Mrs V O Coburn" (WW), 1167
 Mitchell, Dr. (ward doctor, Armory Square Hospital, Washington, 603, 603n, 670, *see*, "Baily D Damon," "Great Army of the Wounded"
 Mitchell, Henry L. (Ward G, Armory Hospital, Washington), 522, 522n, *see*, "I buy it by the pound," 593, 593n, *see*, "return my book"
 Mitchell, Lt. Col (51st N Y V), 699, 702, 702n
 Mitchell, Martha E. (wife of Thomas Jefferson Whitman), 27
 "Mithras, the grand diety" (WW), 2030
 Mix, Charles E. (Chief Clerk, Bureau of Indian Affairs), 786, 786n
 Mix, Mrs., 831, 831n
 M Jessup . . . 2d N Y Vol Fort Benson, 613
 M. Le Baron, 351n, *see*, O'Brien, Fitz James, Pfaff's,
 "Mocking all the textbooks" (WW), 164, 168hn
 "Model Hospital, A," 449n, *see*, Millis, William H
 Modena, Gustavo, 1113hn, 1113
 Modjeska, Helena (actress, *au.*, *Memories and Impressions*), 1012, 1012n
 Molinoff, Katharine, 17n, 211n, *see*, *Walt Whitman at Southold*
 "MONDAY NIGHT, DECEMBER 26" (WW), 744

- “money value of real and personal estate” (WW), 113n
- Monk, Geo W (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 570, 570n, 653, *see*, “Ward D—bed 50”), Monk, Wm D
- Monk, Wm D, 653, *see*, Monk, Geo W
- Monks of Monk Hall, The* (George Lippard), 434n
- Monotony (Kansas), 1040, 1040n
- Montaigne, 1495, 1495n, *see*, “*Criticism*”
- Monteverde, Gulio, 1129hn, 1129, *see*, “*Boston Art Museum*”
- “Montgomerie, Annie, 1276, *see*, “Horace L Traubel”
- Moody, Chas (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 631
- Moore, Amster D (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 570, 570n, 649, *see*, “bed 29—Ward D”
- Moore, George, 256, 256n
- Moore, Henry W., 486
- Moore, James (Armory Hospital, Washington), 534, *see*, Wm H. Moore, 632
- Moore, John B. (*au.*, *The Mastery of Whitman*), 1712hn
- Moore, Nancy, 649, *see*, “bed 29—Ward D,” Moore, Amster D.
- Moore, Robt, 818
- Moore, Sarah A, 620, *see*, Amer Moore
- Moore, Wm H., 534, *see*, Moore, James
- “moral & physical perturbation” (WW), 2156
- “Moral Influence of George Eliot by One Who Know Her,” 1805hn, *see*, “Study of Carlyle, A,” *Contemporary Review, Reminiscences* (Carlyle), “Astronomy”
- “Morality and talent” (WW), 301hn, 302, *see*, Fowler, O. S.
- “Morbid Appetite for Money” (WW), 56n, 113n,
- “more broad & simple” (WW), 944, 998hn
- Mores, Mrs. Hannah, 635
- Morgan, John W., 793, *see*, Morgan, Mrs. Sarah A.
- Morgan, Mrs Sarah A., 793, *see*, Mogan, John W.
- Morgans, 999hn, 1000, *see*, “*Old Mr and Mrs M*”
- Morley, Christopher, 332hn, *see*, *Manuscripts, Autograph Letters . . . Bucke . . .*, 332hn,
- Morley, John, editor *Fortnightly Review*, 836, 836n, 841, 841n
- Morris, George P. (*au.*, “Woodman, Spare That Tree”), 226, 226n
- Morris, Jacob, No 4. 23d st . . . , 496
- Morrison, Thos. A., 551, *see*, “(Jan, 63) Thos A Morrison”
- Morrow, 484n, *see*, “[*illeg.*] Dick Hunt,” Sivall, Franklin
- Morrow, Mike, 261, 261n, 495
- Morse, Charles Winthrop* (45 5th av), 488
- Morton, John, 730, *see*, Lillie, Darius
- Morton, Thomas, young student, 811
- “Moses of course” (WW), 138n, 2020, *see*, “Birth of Hercules”
- Moss, Joseph S., 846, 846n, *see*, Smith & Strong art gallery
- Mossdrop, Wm., 255, 255n
- “Most poets finish single specimens” (WW), 307, *see*, “Myself and Mine”
- Mott, Mr., 824
- “Motley’s Your Only Wear” (WW), 56n, 113n,
- Motto for all political action*, 267, 267n, *see*, “To the States”
- Mt. Pleasant Hospital (Washington), 603, 665, 728n
- “Much that would come in” (WW), 759
- Mudgett, Ira, 423, *see*, “English runic”
- Mulcahy, Lt Col Thos, 738
- Mulford, Col., executive officer of Exchange, 749, *see*, Hitchcock, Maj-Gen, 750, 752, 752n
- Mullan (Mullen), Capt. John (*au.*, *Report on the Construction of a Military Road . . .*), 1965hn
- Mulleins, 1005hn, 1005, *see*, “But Only pond-babble,” “for Dem Vistas,” “Mulleins and Mulleins,” 1007, *see*, “Only Reader dear”
- “Mulleins and Mulleins” (WW), 1005, *see*, Mulleins
- Mulford, Lt. Col., 762, 762n, *see*, Maj-Gen Hitchcock, “NIGHT OF FEBRUARY 17”
- Mullen, 433, 433n
- Mullen, Edward F. (or J.) (illustrator for *Vanity Fair*), 460, 460n
- Mullen, Edward F. (or J.) (a Pfaffian friend of WW), 431hn
- Mullen, Johny, 254
- Mullen (Mullan), Capt. John, 1718, 1718n, *see*, “Idaho Capt. Mullen’s map,” 1961hn, 1961, 1966hn
- Mullery, Jesse, co K, 449, 449n, 729, 729n, *see*, Mullery, Serg’t James, Mullery, Wm, 832, 832n, *see*, T. C. & G. G. Brown
- Mullery, Serg’t James, 730, *see*, Mullery, Jesse, Mullery, Wm
- Mullery, Wm, 730, *see*, Mullery, Jesse, Mullery, Serg’t James
- Mullock, Dinah Craik (*au.*, “Christians Mistake”), 761n
- “Mulvaney Article” (WW), 1115hn, *see*, “Custer’s Last Rally,” Mulvany, John
- Mulvany, John (painter), 1115hn, *see*, “Mulvaney Article”
- “Municipal Legislation” (WW), 345
- Munzey, Clinton, 608, 608n
- Murdock, Balaam cond.—No. 12, 822, 822n, *see*, Doyle, Peter George
- Murphy, Arthur (*ed.*, *Tacitus*), 1920n, 1921hn, *see*, *Historical Annals of Cornelius Tacitus, The*

- Murphy, James, Camden, 817
 Murray, John, 2222 14th nw Washington DC, 1180
 Murray, Wm. J., 842, 842n
 Murphy, Stephen, 844
 Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, 138n, *see*, memorials, Abbott, Dr. Henry
 Muzzey, Lieut Loring W, 672, 673n, *see*, Gray, John
My Early Days (Farnham, Elija), 1949hn
 "My Book and I" (WW), 1092n, 1233, 1233n, *see*, *Lippincott's Magazine*, 1531hn
 Myers, George, deck hand . . . , 490, *see*, "return my book," J. Baulsir's crew, Myers, John
 Myers, James, 5th av. . . . , 496, *see*, Peter Calhoun
 Myers, John G. (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 490, 490n, *see*, "return my book, Myers, George, 498, *see*, Johnny Myers, 603, 603n, *see*, "take (Marg. D Valois)"
 Myers, Johnny, 498, 498n, *see*, Myers, John G.
 "My First Reading—Lafayette" (WW), 32hn
 "My house and lot 328 Mickle street" (WW), 1202, 1203hn, 1285hn
 "My Long Island Antecedents" (WW), 1133n, *see*, *North American Review*
 "My Native Sand and Salt Once More" (WW), 1082n
My Own Story (Trowbridge), 53hn, 663hn, 668n,
 "My Passion for Ferries" (WW), 490n, *see*, "return my book," Baulsirs, The, Baulsir, John
 "My Poems, when complete" (WW), 352
 Myrtle av. (family residence), 11, 55n,
 "Myself and Mine" (WW), 115n, 144n, 307hn, *see*, "Most poets finish single specimens"
 "Mystic Trumpeter" (WW), 1234
 "My two theses" (WW), 383
 "My Visits and distributions" (WW), 531n, 582, *see*, "Summer of 1864," "Gifts—Money—Discrimination," " 'Tis But Ten Years Since," "I buy it by the pound," "Hours in Our Military Hospitals," 592hn, *see*, "I buy it by the pound"
- NB** (*November Boughs*), 388hn, 391n, 395n, 530n, 723hn, 725n, 727n, 791hn, 793hn, 811n, 1092n, 1175hn, 1226hn, 1243hn, 1250hn
NEQ (Furness), 419hn, *see*, "English runic," 529hn, *see*, "Dr. L B Russell," 1115hn, 1116hn, 1118hn, 1119hn, 1120hn, 1121hn, 1122hn, 1123hn, 1125hn, 1134hn, 2142hn
NYO (*eds.*, Halloway and Adimart), 494n
NYWG, 587hn,
N&F (Bucke), 46hn, 48hn, 50hn, 83hn, 95hn, 96n, 101hn, 118hn, 118n, 119hn, 123hn, 156hn, 157hn, 158hn, 159hn, 160hn, 161hn, 162hn, 163hn, 164hn, 168hn, 169hn, 172hn, 175hn, 177hn, 178hn, 179hn, 180hn, 181hn, 182hn, 183hn, 184hn, 186hn, 194hn, 194n, 195hn, 196hn, 198hn, 198n, 199hn, 201hn, 202hn, 203hn, 204hn, 222hn, 241n, 282hn, 293hn, 295hn, 301hn, 302hn, 303hn, 304hn, 305hn, 306hn, 307hn, 308n, 309n, 316hn, 321hn, 322hn, 324hn, 325hn, 326hn, 327hn, 328hn, 329hn, 330hn, 331hn, 333hn, 338hn, 342hn, 343hn, 344hn, 349hn, 351hn, 353hn, 354hn, 355hn, 357hn, 358hn, 359hn, 360hn, 362hn, 364hn, 365hn, 367hn, 368hn, 371hn, 372hn, 373hn, 375hn, 376hn, 377hn, 378hn, 380hn, 382hn, 383hn, 384hn, 385hn, 387hn, 411hn, 412hn, 413hn, 415hn, 451hn, 471hn, 863hn, 865hn, 866hn, 976hn, 981hn, 1079hn, 1217hn, 1250hn, 1262hn, 1307hn, 1308hn, 1309hn, 1311hn, 1313hn, 1315hn, 1320hn, 1322hn, 1325hn, 1329hn, 1330hn, 1331hn, 1333hn, 1334hn, 1336hn, 1338hn, 1342hn, 1343hn, 1344hn, 1346hn, 1349hn, 1350hn, 1351hn, 1353hn, 1355hn, 1359hn, 1362hn, 1366hn, 1369hn, 1371hn, 1372hn, 1383hn, 1428hn, 1432hn, 1434hn, 1435hn, 1453hn, 1507hn, 1521hn, 1531hn, 1536hn, 1550hn, 1552hn, 1554hn, 1555hn, 1556hn, 1557hn, 1558hn, 1563hn, 1564hn, 1565hn, 1566hn, 1569hn, 1586hn, 1587hn, 1587n, 1588hn, 1590hn, 1592hn, 1593hn, 1594hn, 1596hn, 1603hn, 1604hn, 1605hn, 1614hn, 1615hn, 1616hn, 1618n, 1619hn, 1620hn, 1714hn, 1730hn, 1739hn, 1741hn, 1751hn, 1752hn, 1754hn, 1771hn, 1772hn, 1773hn, 1775hn, 1777hn, 1779hn, 1780hn, 1781hn, 1782hn, 1783hn, 1785hn, 1786hn, 1787hn, 1788hn, 1789hn, 1790hn, 1791hn, 1793hn, 1794hn, 1797n, 1806hn, 1806n, 1808hn, 1812hn, 1813n, 1816hn, 1824hn, 1827hn, 1829hn, 1830hn, 1835hn, 1836n, 1837n, 1838hn, 1840hn, 1841hn, 1842hn, 1843hn, 1853hn, 1857hn, 1858hn, 1859hn, 1860hn, 1864hn, 1865hn, 1872hn, 1875hn, 1876hn, 1877hn, 1878hn, 1879hn, 1884hn, 1886hn, 1890hn, 1894hn, 1916hn, 1917hn, 1919hn, 1920hn, 1921hn, 1922hn, 1923n, 1924hn, 1927hn, 1932hn, 1941hn, 1942hn, 1970hn, 1971hn, 1974hn, 1976hn, 1977hn, 1978hn, 1979hn, 1980hn, 1981hn, 1982hn, 1983hn, 1984hn, 1985hn, 1996hn, 1997hn, 1998hn, 1999hn, 2001, 2008hn, 2020hn, 2022hn, 2023hn, 2024hn, 2028hn, 2030hn, 2031hn, 2032hn, 2033hn, 2034hn, 2036hn, 2037hn, 2038hn, 2046hn, 2049hn, 2055hn, 2057hn, 2060hn, 2065hn, 2067hn, 2071hn, 2085hn, 2090hn, 2096hn, 2115hn, 2118hn, 2136hn, 2138hn,

N&F (continued)

- 2139hn, 2140hn, 2141hn, 2146hn, 2150hn,
2158hn, 2223hn, 2229hn, 2243hn, 2246hn,
2247n
- Nadescha* (Runeberg), 1058, 1058n
 "Names and *Slang*" (WW), 1709
 "Names 'Chippewa'" (WW), 1707
 "Names Jackaroo" (WW), 1706
 "Names Jan 20 '78" (WW), 1671
 "Names of great givers" (WW), 1265
 "Names of great rivers" (WW), 1082n, 1267
 "Names Of races" (WW), 1693
 "Names or terms" (WW), 1664
 "Names. The Biblical poets" (WW), 1564
 "names the Niam-Niams" (WW), 1663
 Nares, Robert (*au.*, *Glossary . . . of Words*), 1639,
1639n
 Nash, William, 250
 Nast, Thomas, 905hn, 905, 906
 Nat. Bloom, *see*, Bloom, Nathaniel
 Nat. Gerard, 844, *see*, Townsend, Geo. E.
Nation, 1513hn
National Capital: Its Architecture, Art and History,
The (Hazelton), 552hn
 "National hymns" (WW), 1314, *see*, "Poem
L'Envoy"
National Magazine, 1193hn
 National Society of the Sons of the American
Revolution, 9n, *see*, Lt. Whitman
 National State Bank (Camden), 1068hn, *see*,
"written at 431 Stevens," 1069
 "Native Moments" (1860) (WW), 199n,
 Nat Jones, 1035
 Nature all so real" (WW), 2082hn
 Nauck, George, 497
 Neale, Geo. F., 1036, *see*, Crystal City Plate Glass
Works
 Neale, Lewis, 845, 846n
 Neal, Mrs (Lewis), washerwoman, 846, 846n, *see*,
Neale, Lewis
 Neat, Thos B (Armory Square Hospital, Wash-
ington), 620, 620n, *see*, "Baily D Damon," 667,
667n, *see*, "September — October," 791hn
 Necker, M., 219
 "Ned" Stewart, 837n, *see*, Stewart, Edward G.
 Ned Stewart's brother William, 845, 845n
Negro's Civil War, The (McPherson), 535n, *see*,
contrabands
 "Nehemiah Whitman" (WW), 12n, 36hn, 55n,
88n, 98n, 210n, 218n,
 Neibelung Lied, 444, *see*, Zimrock, Carl, "Nie-
belungen-Lied Song," *see*, Nibelungen
Neibelungenleid, 440n, 444, 44n, *see*, Zimrock,
Carl, *see*, Nibelungen
 "Neibelungen-leid Song" (WW), 440n, *see*, *The*
Cid, Niebelungen, 444n, 1597, 1812, *see*, "Eth-
nology," "The Niebelungen," "Author of the
Niebelungen Leid," "The celebrated old," "Our
own account," "Niembsch Lenau," "Litera-
ture," "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd
Roads," 1815hn, 1816hn, 1818hn, 1821hn,
1829hn
 Nelson Hospital Yorktown, 628, *see*, Howell,
Benj. G.
 Nelson, James, 497
 Nencioni, Enrico (*au.*, "Walt Whitman"), 1514,
see, *Fanfulla della Domenico*
 "Nerve.—A Frenchman" (WW), 94
 "Nevertheless it must be" (WW), 1725
 Nevin, Johny, 253, 253n, 482, *see*, "return my
book"
 Nevins, W. W. (editor, *Press*), 817
New American Cyclopaedia, 931n
New American Encyclopedia (eds., George Ripley
and C. A. Dana), 1882n, 2007, 2007n
 "New American Pictures" (WW), 1946
 New Bern (North Carolina), 482, 482n, *see*,
Whitman, George Washington, 708hn
 Newman, Pat, 254, 254n
 Newton, A. Edward (*au.*, *A Magnificent Farce*),
1096hn
 N. E. Historical & Geneological Register, 248
 Newbern (NC), 501, *see*, "Regiments in Ferrero's
Brigade," Roanoke, 710, *see*, "Roanoke New-
born"
 New England Historic Geneological Society
(Boston), 3, 32hn, 33,
 New England Historical Society, 3
 New Eng. Lith, 825
 "New Inland America, The" (WW), 388hn
 Newland, Frank G., 843, 843n
 Newland, John B., 843, 843n
 "New Light on an Old Quarrel: Walt Whitman
and William Douglas O'Connor" (Friedman),
540n
 Newman's, 260
 "New Mexico" (WW), 1948, 1950
New Mirror, 209, 209n
 New Orleans, 11n, 17hn, 36hn, 37, 39, 39n,
84hd, 86, 86n, 211, 211n,
 "New Orleans in 1848" (WW), 17hn, 84hn,
 "New Poetry in New England," 1714hn, 1796n,
see, *Democratic Review*, Emerson, Ralph Waldo,
"The superiority of Emerson's"
 Newport News, 501, *see*, "Regiments in Ferrero's
Brigade," 510, *see*, "100 ? ^ days fighting . . .,"
683, *see*, "51st NY Volunteers"
New Republic (Camden), 960hn, *see*, Stafford,
Harry L., 1224hn
 "New Themes Entered Upon" (WW), 972hn, *see*,
"so crudely, we will begin," 988hn, *see*, "In
these impromptu notes"
 Newton, Austin (Armory Square Hospital,
Washington), 615
 Newton, John (Armory Square Hospital, Wash-
ington), 615

- New Variorum Shakespeare* (Furness, Howard), 1036n
- New Walt Whitman Handbook, The* (Allen), 2088hn
- "New World" (WW), 217, 217n, 1026
- New York City, 7, 22, 23, 37, 39, 41, 211, 217, 1197, 1539
- New York (City) directory, 128n, 138n, 155n, 199n, 200n, 201hn, 206n, 211n, 217n, 227n, 240n, 241n, 246n, 248n, 249n, 251n, 252n, 253n, 254n, 255n, 257n, 259n, 260n, 261n, 264n, 432n, 433n, 443n, 444n, 445n, 446n, 481n, 534n, 608n, 678n, 810n, 814n, 815n, 816n, 823n, 825n, 827n, 834n, 835n, 837n, 838n, 839n, 841n, 844n, 845n
- New York Commercial Advertiser*, 900hn
- "New York Dissected: N. Broadway" (WW), 260, 260n
- "New York Dissected, V. Street Yarn" (WW), 494n, *see*, Brisbane, Albert, *Life Illustrated*
- N Y Exposition, 1065, 1065n, *see*, "A World's Show"
- New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860, The*, 460n, *see*, "William Giggee," Grace, George C., Wallace, David H.
- New York Hospital, 478hn, *see*, "City Photographs," 484-485, 490n, *see*, "return my book," Roosa, Dr. D. B. St. John, Appendix to "return my book"
- New York in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865* (Phisterer), 683
- "NY Mott Haven" (WW), 1010hn, 1133, *see*, Johnston, J. H.
- N.Y. printing Co, 846
- N.Y. Relief association, Penn av. . . . , 600, *see*, "take (Marg. D Valois)"
- New York Romance of to-day.—, A* (WW), 402
- "N.Y. Tribune" (WW), 626, 1021, *see*, "Adding Insult to Injury"
- "N.Y. Tribune" (WW), 1021
- "New York visit" (WW), 1010hn, 1012, *see*, "A Poets' Recreation," 1050n
- "N Y World" (WW), 1667
- Niam-Niams, 1663, 1663n, *see*, "names the Niam-Niams"
- "Nibelungen Lied, The" (Carlyle), 1812hn, 1815hn, *see*, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*
- Nibelungen (WW), 440, 440n, *see*, *The Cid*
- Niblo's, 498, *see*, Calhoun, Lewis
- Nichols, Thomas F.—Co. D., 502, *see*, "51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero"
- Nichols, Thos. P., 481, 481n
- Nickerson, Edwin P (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 671, *see*, Brown, Mrs Emeline D
- Niebuhr, Barthold Georg, 1633, 1633n, 1838hn, 1838, *see*, "Barthold Niebuhr," 1916, 1916n
- "Niemsch Lenau" (WW), 1812hn, 1829, *see*, Lenau, Niemsch
- Nightingale, Florence, 153n
- "NIGHT OF FEBRUARY 17" (WW), 721hn, 749, 762n
- "Night on the Prairie" (WW), 1371hn, *see*, "Idea of a Poem," 1400n
- Niles' Weekly Register*, 282n, *see*, "The shower of meteors," 1185hn
- 9th Corps (included the 51st NY Volunteers), 779, 779n
- "Noah Laing" (WW), 624hn, *see*, "April 7," 629, *see*, Laing, Noah, 632n
- "noble soul, The" (WW), 113n, 123hn
- Noel, Roden (English nobleman and poet), 811, 811n
- "Noiseless Patient Spider" (WW), 479hn, *see*, "return my book"
- Nolan, Joseph, 823, 823n
- "No I do not choose" (WW), 349
- "No one of the Themes" (WW), 1521
- "No one will perfectly enjoy me" (WW), 380
- "No patriotism in him" (WW), 1726
- "No person can entirely" (WW), 2152
- Norris, Tom, at Mr. Hickman's, 4188 Haverford st., 817
- Norma* (Bellini), 391, 391n, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA"
- North, Dr. Alfred, 485, *see*, "return my book," New York Hospital
- North American Review*, 1133n, 1140hn, 1233, 1275, 1275n, *see*, "Have We a National Literature"
- North British Review*, 1780hn, 1783hn, 1796n, 1838hn
- Northedge, Mrs., 839, 839n
- Northport (Long Island), 252n
- Northport boys, 252
- Norton, Dr, Metropolitan Hotel room 19, 543
- Norton, Frank, care Astor Library New York, 825
- Norton, Jonathan H., 1060n
- Norwich (family residence), 10, 210,
- "Note A* While" (WW), 1510
- "Note at End" (WW), 1544hn
- "Notes and Flanges" (WW), 1419
- "Notes & Memories" (WW), 395n
- "Notes and Queries" (WW), 401hn, *see*, "Whitman as Short Story Writer: Two Unpublished Manuscripts" (White), 404hn
- "Notes at End" (WW), 32hn,
- "Notes from a Whitman Student's Scrapbook" (Holloway), 581hn, *see*, "Mem. Hospitals," 923hn, 1041hn, *see*, "under Personal," 2160hn
- "Notes in St Louis" (WW), 1049
- Notes of a Military Reconnaissance . . .* (Emory), 1945hn
- "Notes on the Text of Leaves of Grass" (Bucke),

- "Notes on the Text of Leaves of Grass" (*cont.*)
205hn, 340hn, 374hn, 414hn, 1292hn, *see*,
Conservator, 1318hn, 1319hn, 1324hn, 1326hn,
1332hn, 1335hn, 1337hn, 1348hn, 1357hn,
1358hn, 1361hn, 1364hn, 1367hn, 1368hn
- "Notes on Whitman Collectors and Collecting"
(*au.*, Feinberg), 206hn, *see* LC *Cat.*, 207n,
478hn
- Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person* (*au.*,
John Burroughs), 53hn, 839n, 872hn, 872,
875n, 913, 1234n, 1505hn, 1513hn, 1712hn
- "Notes (Such as They Are) Founded in Elias
Hicks" (WW), 1892hn, *see*, *Rubaiyat*
- "? note Tuesday—Dec 3. '72" (WW), 911
- "Not Heat Flames Up and Consumes" (WW),
363hn, *see*, "Drops of my Blood"
- "Not to dazzle" (WW), 202
- "Not Youth Pertains to Me" (WW), 410n
- Nouvelle Revue*, 1274hn
- "November Boughs" (WW), 41, 41n, 226n,
1175hn, 1177, 1242, 1246
- "Nov '57—Talks" (WW), 495n, *see*, Farnham,
Eliza W., 1949
- "Nov 17—'64" (WW), 694n, 697hn, 699, *see*,
"deserter arrested," 700n, 702n,
- "Nov: 26 1880 R Worthington" (WW), 1096
- Noyes, Crosby Stuart (editor, *Washington Star*),
1036, 1036n, 1051, 1051n
- "N.W. Texas, Utah, New Mexico" (WW), 1953
- O**akley, Rev. Mr., 456, 456n, *see*, "Important
Ecclesiastical Gathering at Jamaica, L.I.," "W.
Whitman Portland av.
- O'Brien, Fitz James (M. Le B.), (writer, habitué
of Pfaff's), 351, 351n, *see*, Feb. 25th 1857,
Pfaff's, 527, *see*, Saturday Press set
- Observer (New York), 240
- "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question,
An" (Thomas Carlyle), 2188n, *see*, *Fraser's
Magazine*
- "Occurred on Thursday" (WW), 467
- Ocean Grove (NJ), 1187hn
- O'Connor, Ellen M. *see*, O'Connor, Mrs. W. D.
- O'Connor, J. C., Indian Agent, Washington, 829,
829n, 1036, 1036n
- O'Connor, John doorkeeper—Treas. Dep't, 846
- O'Connor, M. A., 901
- O'Connor, Mrs. W. D. (friend of WW in Wash-
ington), 523n, *see*, O'Connor, W. D., Calder,
Ellen, Channing, Dr. William F., 540, 540n,
553, 553n, 554, 566n, 602n, *see*, 394 L st,
692n, 821n, *see*, Miss Donaldson, 824n, 834,
834n, 914n, 958, 958n, 1234, 1234n
- O'Connor, William D., (friend of WW in
Washington), 479hn, 480, *see* O'Connor, Mrs.
W. D., 539, *see*, Channing, Dr. William F.,
Hay, John, 540n, *see*, Friedman Florence B.,
553n, 554, 566n, 569n 602n, *see*, 394 L st,
692n, 832, 832n, 850hn, 890n, *see*, Bullard,
Jenny, 913, 914, 1162, 1169hn, 1183hn, *see*,
Good Gray Poet, The, Walt Whitman (Bucke),
1274hn, *see*, "A Quartet of Opinions" (Amer-
ica), 1497, 1534hn, 1535, 1913hn,
- O'Connors, 351n, *see*, O'Connor, Mrs. W. D.,
O'Conner, William D., Feb 25th "1857," 604,
663hn
- O'Connors 1015 O street N.W., 815, *see*,
O'Connor, W. D.
- "Oct & Nov. '57" (WW), 1878, *see*, *Works of
Virgil, The*
- "Oct. 8 '64" (WW), 690, *see*, Poplar Spring
Church
- "Oct. 1856" (WW), 1973
- "October 11 '80—Glendale" (WW), 1090
- "October Nights" (WW), 1092n, 1109
- "Oct. 17, 1860" (WW), 12n, 16n, 103n,
- "Oct 12" (WW), 1095, *see*, A COUNTRY AUC-
TION
- "Oct. 29. '62" (WW), 9n, 22, 25hn
- "Oct 21 '78 Sky" (WW), 1015
- Odell, George C. D. (*au.*, *Annals of the New York
Stage*), 255n, 263n, 389hn
- Odyssey* (Homer), 1080, 1080n, *see*, "Sparrows—
Swallows," "The Odyssey"
- Odyssey* (tr. Buckley), 1752hn, *see*, "The Odys-
sey"
- Oehler, C. M. (*au.*, *Great Sioux Uprising, The*),
565n, *see*, Swisshelm, Jane Grey. Minnesota
massacre
- Oeuvres de J. J. Rousseau*, 1846hn, *see*, Swinton,
John (tr. Voltaire's *Confessions*), G. Brigard
- "Of a summer evening" (WW), 46, 345hn, *see*,
"Municipal Legislation," 401hn
- "of Emerson" (WW), 1716
- "Of Emersons 1st vol" (WW), 1715
- "Of Human rights" (WW), 2143
- "Of this thing Religion" (WW), 2094, *see*, "Rel.
In Rel."
- "of late that" (WW), 1573
- "Of Insanity" (WW), 2246
- "Of My Poem" (WW), 439, *see*, "81 Clerman"
- "(Of the great poet)" (WW), 95
- "Of That Blithe Throat of Thine" (WW), 240n
- "Of this broad" (WW), 1551
- "of late—that" (WW), 1573
- "Of the 16th Century" (WW), 1911
- "Of William Blake" (WW), 811n, 1502, *see*,
Blake, William, *see*, Swinburne, Algernon,
Hotten, John Camden, 2100hn
- office monitor pub Co. Fort Scott, Kansas, 810,
see, "D. W. Wilder"
- "Offspring of These" (WW), 2137
- O'Hara, Patrick, policeman, 813

- "Oh, Captain! My Captain" (WW), 527
Oh Democracy (au., Arthur J. Partridge), 835n
 O'Kane, Thomas (publisher and distributor), 814n
 Oken, Lorenz, 1629, 1629n
 "O I see now" (WW), 365hn, *see*, "A main part of greatness," "Uncollected Manuscript Fragments" (CRE)
 "Old Actors, Singers, Shows, &c., in New York" (WW), 391n, 395n, 1194hn
 "Old age" (WW), 1876
 "Old Brooklyn Days" (WW), 32hn
 Old, Capitol prison (Washington), 533, 535n, *see*, "Walt Whitman Soldier's" "As of the orator"
 "Old Chants" (WW), 1405hn
old flag of the 51st, The, 508, *see*, "return my book"
Old Friends (au., Winter, William), 434n
 "Old Hickory," 1709hn, *see*, Jackson, Andrew
Old Military Garden, the, 462, 462n, *see*, "William Giggee"
 "Old Mr and Mrs M" (WW), 999, *see*, Blank, James Arnold
 "old original rude ones" (WW), 1756, 1760hn
 "Old Poets" (WW), 1065n
 "Old theory started" (WW), 1327hn, 1350hn, 1894, 1905hn, 1921hn
 "OLD TIME GLEANINGS" (WW), 953, *see*, "Camden, N. Jersey & Delaware"
 Olive, Aleck, 817, 817n
 Oliver Brewster's (Boston), 425, 425n, *see*, "English runic"
 Oliver (conductor), 254, 254n
 "Oliver Goldsmith" (WW), 1785
 Oliver, Lieut Thos, 51st NYV, 698
 Oliver S. Felt, publisher, &c., 837
 Oliver 21 . . . , 257, *see*, Justin 17
 Olmstead, Frederick Law, 1017n
 "Omnibus in Paris Talk" (WW), 491, 491n, *see*, "return my book," Chauncey, Dr. & Mrs. Chas, "City Photographs," "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz"
 "Omnibus Jaunts and Drivers" (WW), 146n, 822n, 958n
on Poems" (WW), 1804, *see*, "The Bible Shakespeare"
 "on the other side" (WW), 1544
 "on the ever-recurring thought" (WW), 2078
 "On the Beach at Night Alone" (1856) (WW), 267n
 "On the other side" (WW), 336
 100 ? \wedge *days fighting* . . . , 509ff
 "105 Sam'l Ward" (WW), 811n, 901
 107 Portland av., 833n, 871
 "139th—Incident" (WW), 740
 "139th Lt Middleton" (WW), 740hn, 741
 139th New York Volunteers, 735, *see*, "Our Brooklyn Soldiers" 683
 O'Neil, James (Campbell Hospital, Washington), 728
 "one feature" (WW), 1955
 "One good of knowing" (WW), 2139, *see*, "To a President," 2140hn
 "One obligation" (WW), 1550
 "One of the" (WW), 1956
 "—one of the glories" (WW), 1988hn, 1992
 "One of the Lessons Bordering Broadway" (WW), 2021hn, *see*, [Illeg.] Egyptian Sesostris," *Life Illustrated*
 "One's-Self I Sing," 489n, *see*, "return my book," "Small is my theme—yet hast it the sweep of the universe," "To the Reader at the Entrance of Leaves of Grass," 1445, 1462hn, 1477hn
 "One [?] song" (WW), 1352hn, 1387, *see*, "Come Philander"
 "One Wicked Impulse" (WW), 10n, 98n
 O'Neil, Dan'l J (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 666
 "Only Reader dear" (WW), 861hn, 1005hn, 1006, *see*, "But Only pond-babble"
 Osgood & Co., Boston (WW's publishers), 38, 1064hn, 1130, 1162hn
 "On the Religion" (WW), 2101
On the Statistics and Geography of the Production of Iron (Hewitt), 238n,
 "on to Boston" (WW), 419hn, *see*, "English runic," 1110, *see*, "If the following presents," 1112hn
 "Opening of the piece" (WW), 333hn, 876hn, 877
 Open Scribe Text (type face), 420n, *see*, "English runic"
 "Opera, The" (*Life Illustrated*) (WW), 388hn, 389hn
 "Oratory Notebook" (WW), 405hn, *see*, "June 26 '59"
 "Orbic Literature" (WW), 1496hn, *see*, "DEMOCRATIC VISTAS," "Coming to Discuss"
Orbis Litterarum, 900hn
 Ordan, J. O., 829
 O'Reilly, John Boyle (editor, Boston, *Pilot*), 1115hn, *see*, "Mulvaney Article"
 O'Reilly, Pvt. Miles, 808hn, *see*, Halpine, Charles G.
 "or even scientific values" (WW), 2098
 "Origins of Attempted Secession" (WW), 943hn, *see*, "Putrid Politics," "Memoranda During the War," 944hn, 998hn, *see*, "The beginning," 2126n, *see*, "Memoranda During the War"
 Orleans (Virginia), 512, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting* . . .
 "or modifies his belief" (WW), 857
 "? or Names" (WW), 1690
 "Or own account" (WW), 1578n
 "Orphic Hymns" (WW), 2036
 Orser, Andrew, 695, *see*, "Deaths 5st N Y V"
 Ossian, 1432hn, 1433, 1806hn, 1806
 "Ossian—? for Note Preface" (WW), 1731hn, 1806hn, 1808

- "Ossian—Thoreau" (WW), 1731, *see*, *Fore-ground of Leaves of Grass*, 1806hn, 1808hn
 "O Star of France" (WW), 813n
 Ostrander, Horace, 497
 "Other-Leaves" (WW), 1389, *see*, "Flanges of Fifty Years," "Flanges of Five Years," "Preface" (1876)
 "Other names of Venus" (WW), 282hn, 1084, *see*, "Leo contains the Sickle," "mention talk of an old mariner," "The shower of meteors," 1085hn, 1086hn, 1307hn
 "(?) Other poets" (WW), 358
 "Otherways, they remain" (WW), 1430, 1431hn, *see*, "Through the spirit"
 Otis, Albert B. (Boston lawyer), 829, 829n
 Otis, Col., foreman Gov't printing office, 844
 Otto Earnest's furnishing and gents store, 483, *see*, "return my book"
 Otto, Mr., 833, *see*, Otto, William Todd
 Otto, William Todd (Assistant Secretary of the Interior), 760, 760n, 797, 800, 800n, 833n, *see*, Otto, Mr.
 "Our acquirements, judgments" (WW), 2077, *see*, "Vestibules"
 "Our Brooklyn Soldiers" (WW), 735, *see*, *Daily Union* (Brooklyn),
 "Our Language and Future & Literature" (WW), 1682hn
 "Our Old Feuillage" (WW), 131n, 374hn, 374n
 "Our own account" (WW), 1812hn, 1816hn, 1818, *see*, "The celebrated old," "Neibelungen-leid song"
 "Our Wounded and Sick Soldiers" (WW), 586hn, 654n *see*, "and out; and one," *Times* (NY),
 "Outdoor Breaths" (WW), 1105, *see*, "How I Get Around at Sixty and Take Notes" (*Critic*), 1106hn, 1107hn
Outlines of Comparative Philology (DeVere), 1894hn
Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History . . . (Bunsen), 1916hn, 1917hn, 1920n
 "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" (WW), 408n, *see*, "June 26 '59," *Saturday Press*, 433n, 544hn, *see*, "Recitation," "Word out of the Sea," 891
 "? outset of lecture" (WW), 2049, *see*, "Song of Myself"
 "out west not long since" (WW), 1044
 Owen and Hurlbut (paper manufacturers), 20hn,
 "pages 26 '7 '8" (WW), 333hn, 1220
 "P 287—wrong accented é" (WW), 1287
Pages on Literature and Art (Fuller, Margaret), 1769hn, 1796n
 Palmer, Charley, 259, *see*, Stephe
 Pamlico Sound, 500, 500n, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, Roanoake, "return my book"
 Pantarchy, 482n, *see*, "return my book," Andrews, S. P.
 "Paradise, The" [*Divine Comedy*] (Dante), 492, 492n, *see*, "return my book," Inferno, The, Doré, *Paradise Lost*
Paradise Lost, 492n, *see*, "return my book," Dante, "Paradise, The," Doré (Paul), Gustave
 Park Garden (Washington, D.C.), 510, *see*, 100 ? ^ days fighting . . .
 Parker, Col. E.S., 347hn, *see*, "Col. Parker's squa mother"
 Parker, J. C. (Washington bookseller), 834, 834n
 Parkhurst, John ?H night engineer Clarks printing—Treasury, 814
 Parks, Mrs A M, 1188, 1188n
 Parmenter, Harry (driver, Philadelphia), 817
 Parris, Alexander (Boston architect), 425n, *see*, "English runic"
 Parry, Albert, (*au.*, *Garretts and Pretenders*), 460n, *see*, "William Giggee," Mullen, Edward F. (or J.)
 Parsons (NY street preacher), 474hn, 474, *see*, "Silence," Westervelt, Mayor John Jacob
 Parsons, Sarah M 339 Bridge st Brooklyn, 812
 "Passage in every 'Lecture'" (WW), 387
 Partridge, J. Arthur (*au.*, "On Democracy"), 835n, *see*, *Westminster Review*
 Partridges, the, 844, 844n
 "Passage to India" (WW), 230n, 269n, 813n, 831n, 836n, *see*, "Thou Vast Rondure Swimming in Space," 874, 925hn, 927hn, 928, 929n, 930n, 1403n, *see*, Pacific Railroad, 2010n, 2068hn, *see*, "To India"
Passage to India (WW), 926hn, 1399hn, 1401n
 "(passing through the town)" (WW), 1875
 "Passions, The" (Collins), 544hn, *see*, *Recitation*
 Pat—203 (Eighth St), 255
 Pat (young, . . . , 254
 Patent Office (Washington), 555
 Patent Office Hospital (Washington), 520, 583, 595
 Pat Newman's, 254, 254n
 Paterson, Robert, 487, *see*, "return my book"
 "paths of rhyme" (WW), 1553
 Patrick, 7th av. . . . , 498
Patriot (Long Island), 36hn,
 Patterson, John D., co B 125th Penn, 570
 Patterson, F. F., *Newark Courier*, 828
 "Paul Jones bore" (WW), 294
 Paul, Julius (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 603

PBSA 55n, 58n, 100n, 1065n

PMLA, 41hn, 54hn, 55hn, 61n, 247n, 912hn, 1432n, 1812hn, 1818hn

PW (WW), 4hn, 490n, 678n, 832n, 1730hn

Pacific Railroad, 1403, 1403n, *see*, "Passage to India"

"Page 45 MS" (WW), 1223

- "Paumanock, and My Life on It as a Child and Young Man" (WW), 1186hn, *see*, *Mexico Pavements*, 424, *see*, "English runic"
 "Paying the Bounties" (WW), 723hn, 725n
 Paymaster's Office (15th & F, Washington), 547, 547n, 552hn, 554, 554n, 555
 "Payments made" (WW), 1228
 "Payments to Mrs. White," 479hn, *see*, "return my book," 535 15th St. NW, 942, *see*, White, Dr. George A.
 Payne, Edward (driver), 498
 Peabody, George, 1267, 1267n
 Peale, 15 Hudson . . . , 453
 Pearl st. (Boston), 429, *see*, "English runic"
 Pearsall, G. Frank E. 298 Fulton st Brooklyn, 814, 814n
 Pearsall, F. E., 298 Fulton Brooklyn, 824
 Pearson, James, 739hn, *see*, Pearson, John W
 Pearson, John W, private company C 139th N Y V, 739hn, 739
 Pearson, Robert, boy of 13, 1211
 Pease, Theodore co H, 19th Indiana York Gen hospital Penn 673
 Peck, Mr.—my tall blonde friend, 829
 "Pekan tree" (WW), 1997
 Peleg, 251
 Pelham, Thomas [publishing agent], 487, 487n, *see*, "return my book," Mead, William, Hamp's brother
 Pelham, Noah Hanford (Hank), 481, 481n
 Pell, 489, *see*, "return my book," Kingsley, Chas.
 Pendleton, photo, 1164 Broadway, 817
 PENITENZA (WW), 1399
 "Pensive on Her Dead Gazing" (WW), 813N, *see*, Vorce, Allen D.
 "Perfect Sanity," (WW), 307hn, 307, *see*, "Song of the Answerer"
 "—perhaps even bequeathing" (WW), 1148
 Perkins, Col. (Thomas Handasyd?), 422, 422n
 Perry, Bliss (*au.*, *Walt Whitman, His Life and Work*), 1846hn
 Perry, Joseph, 492
 Perry, Major, 738
 Perry, Sherman C (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 620
 "PERSONAL" (WW), 1526, *see*, "Separate," "Personal," "Rossetti"
 "Personal" (WW), 1526hn, 1537hn, *see*, "PERSONAL," 1527n, 1530hn
 "Personalism" (WW), 859hn, 860, 1576, *see*, *The Galaxy*
 "Personal Magnetism" (WW), 271n
 "Personal Recollections of Walt Whitman" (Calder), 523n
Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant 1216hn, 1216
 Petäfy, Alexander (Hungarian poet), 1839hn, 1839
 Pete, 251,
- Pete (Myrtle & Clermont . . . , 261
 Pete—not driver, 251
 Pete (young married man . . . , 257
 Peters, E. T., 901
 Peters, H., 481, 481n, *see*, "return my book"
 Peters, Harry T., 108n
 Peters, Henry, 836, 836n
 Petersburg (Virginia), 447, 447n, *see*, Whitman, George Washington, 710hn,
 Petersen, Charles youth, 811
 Petersen, Clemens, 829, 829n, *see*, Schmidt, Rudolf
 Pfaff's, 351, 432n, *see*, Clare, Ada, 434, 454, 454n, 460n, 462n, *see*, Clapp, Henry, 468hn, *see*, Vedder, Elihu, 487, 490n, *see*, Fritsch, Hugo Oscar (Otto), Dr. & Chas Chauncey, "Fred Gray Association," 492, *see*, Merriam, 527, *see*, Roosa, Dr. D. B. St. John, 534n, *see*, Gray, Fred, 678n, *see*, Knowler, Benjamin, 760n, 823n, *see*, "Hugo Oscar Fritsch," 833n, 835n, 840, 842n, 903hn, 1020n
 Pfuld (Campbell Hospital, Washington), 534
 P H D Bajenal, 1163, 1163n
 Phelon, Capt. (Henry A.?), 444, 444n, *see*, Folger, Capt Geo, 828n
 Phelps Ontario co NY, 673
 Phil, Eng., 817
 Philadelphia directory, 843n, 1179n
 Philbrick, Charles H., 819,
 Philip ? Nov. 8 '62 on Broadway . . . , 496
 Phillips, George S. (editor, *NY Sun*), 422, 422n, *see*, "January Searle," "Letter Impromptu," "Leaves of Grass Imprints"
 Phillips, Geo. S. 425, *see*, "English runic," *Illustrated News* (NY), 843, 843n, *see*, "January Searle," "English runic"
 Phillips, William (fireman), 226, 226n, 249, 249n
 Phillips, Wm, 481, *see*, "return my book"
Philosophy of History (Schlegel), 1837hn
 Philp & Solomon's 332 Penn av. (bookstore, Washington), 821, 821, 833, 833n, 1500n
 Philp, Franklin, 834, 834n, *see*, Philp & Solomon's, 1500n, *see*, Philp, James B., 1501n
 Philp, James B, 1500n, *see*, Philp, Franklin
Phineas (on 23d st 37 . . . , 488
 Phisterer, Frederick (*au.*, *New York in the War of the Rebellion, 1861 to 1865*), 683, *see*, 51st NY Volunteers
Photography and the American Scene (Taft), 1399hn
 "Phrase" (WW), 1841hn, 1857, *see*, "Diderot"
 pica ornamented (type face), 421, 421n, *see*, Rogers, *Specimens* (1857), Rogers, *Condensed Specimens* (1860)
 Pica rustic (type face), 419, 419n, 420, 420n, *see*, "English runic"
 Picayune, 240,
 Piccolomini, Marietta, 388hn, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA," 396, 396n, 397

- Pickett, Major General George E., 1374hn
Pictorial History of England (Craik, George L. and MacFarlane, Charles), 1894hn, 1905hn
 "Pictorial History of the Old West," IV, "Custer's Last Stand" (Taft), 1115hn, *see*, "Custer's Last Rally"
 "Picture" (WW), 1209
 "Pictures" (WW), 71n, 109n, 110n, 282hn, *see*, "The Shower of Meteors," 431n, 435n, *see*, "To Picture Makers," "81 Clerman," 1294hn, 1295, *see*, "Pictures" (Holloway), 1307hn, 1712hn, 1861hn, 1894hn
 "Pictures of Travel" (Charles G. Leland), 307, 307n
 Piedmont (Virginia), 512, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting . . .*
 Pierce, Franklin, 526
 Pierce, Hank (clerk or omnibus driver?), 248, 248n
 Pierson, Elias B., 259, 259n, 482, 482n, 1974hn, 1974, 1976hn, *see*, "June 23d '57," 1976, 1977hn, 1977, *see*, "[illeg.] Dick Hunt"
 [Pierson] [:], John, 482, *see*, Pierson, Elias B.
 Pierson, John A., 826, 826n
Pilot (Boston), 1115hn, *see*, O'Reilly, John Boyle
 "Pioneers of Freedom" (Leay), 428n, *see*, Soule, Silas S, *Kansas Magazine*
 Pindar (Greek poet), 260
 Pintard, Phebe (WW's maternal great aunt), 9n, 12, 495, 495n, *see*, "Oct 29 '62"
 Pintard, Phoebe (identical with preceding), 22, 22n, 25,
 Piper, R. W. (*au*, *The Trees of America*), 247, 247n
 Pitcher, Mr, 519 10th cor B (Washington), 674
 "Pitman Grove Aug 16 '77" (WW), 996
 Pitt, William (Earl of Chatham), 218, 218n
 Plato, 266, 1145
 "PLATO" (WW), 1881, *see*, *Homosexual Tradition in American Literature*, *The*
 "Plato said" (WW), 1145
 Platt [printer], 487, *see*, "return my book," *Mead, William*
 Platt, Vashiti (Hannah Brush's aunt), 11n, 12, 20
 "Plays and Operas Too" (WW), 395n, 87on, 1194hn
Plays and Poems (Malone), 1739hn
 "Plaza Sketches," 88n, 472hn, 472, *see*, "A Fine warmish afternoon"
 Pleasant Hospital (Washington), 522
 Pleasants, M. F., 910, 910n
 Pleasanton, Gen., 511, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting . . .*, Purcellville, Virginia,
 Pleasant Valley (Maryland), 511, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting*
Plebian, The, 218n
 Plumb, C. M., 814, 814n, 837, 837n
Plutarch's Lives (John and William Langhorne), 1747n, 1879hn
 "Pocketbook Edition" (*Leaves of Grass*), 1252hn, 1253hn, 1254hn
 Poe, Edgar Allen, 1268, 1796, 1796n, *see*, "Quarles," "Raven, The"
 Poem, 268, 268n,
 "poem" (WW), 377hn
 "poem ante-dating" (WW), 1338
 "Poem, as in" (WW), 1347, *see*, "By Blue Ontario's Shore"
 "Poem As in Visions" (WW), 1331
 "Poem as to" (WW), 1413
 "Poem / bequeathing" (WW), 1343
 "(Poem)*Bridalnight*" (WW), 149, 149n, *see*, "Memorials," "I Sing the Body Electric"
 "Poem descriptive of a good housekeeper" (WW), 296hn, *see*, "Rule in All Address"
 "Poem for of My Adherence" (WW), 1329
 "Poem (idea)" (WW), 1318
 "Poem incarnating the mind" (WW), 16n, 54hn, 55hn, 57n, 102, 115n, 129n, 278n
 "Poem L'Envoy" (WW), 246hn, 276n, *see*, "Vegetable not Wood," 281hn, 1314hn, 1323hn, 1324hn, 1335hn, 1352, 1355hn, 1373hn
 "Poem of . . ." (WW), 1372
 Poem of (after death), 266
 Poem of American Names, 271, *see*, Hollis, C. Carroll
 "—Poem of a proud" (WW), 205hn, 1327, *see*, "Old Theory started"
 "Poem of Architecture" (WW), 1293
 "Poem of a road" (WW), 150, 150n, *see*, "memorials," "Song of Myself," "Song of the Open Road"
 Poem of Criminals, 276
 "? Poem of different Incidents" (WW), 1351, *see*, "Companions"
 "Poem of Fruits & Flowers" (WW), 1334
 "Poem of Joys" (WW), 267n, 278n, *see*, "Song of Joys, A"
 "Poem of Kisses" (WW), 1344, 1345hn
 "Poem of Language" (WW), 1325
 Poem of Legacies, 270, 270n, *see*, "With Antecedents"
 "Poem of Names" (WW), 1310, *see*, "Poem of Young Men"
 "—Poem of Ohio" (WW), 1324, 1352hn
 "Poem of Personality" (WW), 271
 "Poem of Pictures" (WW), 1294, *see*, "Pictures," "Salut au Monde!," 1295hn
 "Poem of Poets" (WW), 1330
 Poem of Precepts/*Poem of Joys and Works*, 267, 267n, *see*, "Poem of Joys,"
 Poem of Prophecies—(WW), 265,
 "Poem of Sadness" (WW), 1315

- "Poem of Salutation" (WW), 241n, *see*, "Salute au Monde!,"
 "Poem of Tears" (WW), 273, 273n, *see*, "Trickle Drops," "Calamus"
poem of the aborigines (WW), 275, *see*, *poem of (American) materials*, "Starting from Paumanock"
 "Poem of the Drum" (WW), 116n, 1308
 "Poem of the Sunlight" (WW), 1383
 "Poem of Pictures" (WW), 1294
 "Poem of the Ancient (earth)" (WW), 1353
 "Poem of the Black person" (WW), 1346
 "Poem of (the Devil)" (WW), 205
 "Poem of the Farmer" (WW), 1341, *see*, "Poem of . . ."
 "? Poem of The Husband" (WW), 1333
Poem of the Library, 266, *see*, Hollis, C. Carroll, 267, 267n
 "Poem of the Many and One" (WW), 1405hn
 Poem of the past, 277, *see*, "Poemet"
 "Poem of the Singers, and of the Words of the Poem" (WW), 95hn, *see*, "Song of the Answerer," 310hn, *see*, "Poet, Bard, Minstrel," "undeniable might"
 "Poem of the Sunlight" (WW), 1383, *see*, "Give Me the Splendid Silent Sun"
 "Poem of the Trainer" (WW), 1317
 "Poem of the Universalities" (WW), 1322
 "Poem of the Woods" (WW), 1352hn, 1409
 "Poem of Wisconsin" (WW), 1335, 1352hn
 Poem of Wise Books, 266, 266n
 "Poem of Women" (WW), 167n, 235n,
 "Poem of Young Men" (WW), 1310hn, 1332
 Poem on a Prostitute's Funeral (WW), 438, 438n, *see*, 81 Clerman
 Poem on the Incompleted (WW), 438, 438n, *see*, "81 Clerman"
 "Poem ? Or" (WW), 417, 417n
 "Poem of Wonder at the Resurrection of the Wheat" (WW), 289n, *see*, "The Scope of Government," "This Compost"
 "Poem (subject)" (WW), 241n, 1385, *see*, "The foregoing remarks," "Theme for Piece"
 "Poem? The Cruise" (WW), 1337
 "Poem (Religions)" (WW), 446, 446n
 "Poem (subject) ? for recitation" (WW), 855
 "Poem There can be" (WW), 1369
 "Poemet" (WW), 277, *see*, "Poem of the past"
 "Poemet Leaf" (WW), 1319
 "Poems" (WW), 1443, *see*, "Walt Whitman's Lectures"
 "Poems. A Cluster" (WW), 1360hn, 1361
 "Poems. A cluster (same)" (WW), 1360hn, 1362
Poems by Walt Whitman (Rossetti), 835n, 841n, 1513hn
 "Poems Hasting" (WW), 2046hn
 "Poems identifying" (WW), 1364
 "Poems of Alfred Lord Tennyson," 1795n, *see*, *Westminster Review*
 "Poems of Fables" (WW),
Poems of Ossian (Macpherson), 1433n
 Poésies (Victor Hugo), 1856hn
 "Poet, bard, minstrel" (WW), 310hn, *see*, "Undeniable Might," 311
 "Poet! beware" (WW), 1569
 "poet of Materialism" (WW), 198
Poetry and Poets of Europe (Longfellow), 1824hn
Poetry in England, 1087n
Poetry of America (publ., W. J. Linton), 818n, 1164n
 "Poetry of Democracy: Walt Whitman, The" (Dowden), 812n, 958n, *see*, *Westminster Review*, 1517
Poetry of the East (Alger), 1578n, 1891hn
 "Poetry To-Day in America" (WW), 1729hn
Poets and Poetry of Europe (Longfellow), 1796n, *see*, *American Whig Review*, 1829hn, 1830hn
 "Poets—Shakespeare" (WW), 1572
 "Poets to Come" (WW), 338hn, *see*, "A poem which more familiarly addresses"
 "Poet Walt Whitman, The" (Hinton), 810n
 Poland, Cavalier (Finley Hospital, Washington), 449, 449n, *see*, "Hospital book 12," 729, *see*, Poland, Hamilton
 Poland, Hamilton (Finley Hospital, Washington), 729, *see*, Poland, Cavalier
 Police Gazette, 239
 "POLICEMAN DOYLE" (WW), 783, *see*, Doyle, Peter George, 891
 "Political Poets: Waller and Marvell," 1796n, *see*, *American Whig Review*
Poliuto (Donizetti), 815, 815n, 892
 Pomeroy, Marcus Mills, 847n, *see*, Brick Pomeroy
 Pooley, Saml, 701, 701n, 756, *see*, "Saml M Pooley," Pooley, Captain Samuel M., Pooley, Lieut
Pooley, Sam'l M, 714hn, 714, 714n
 Pooley, Captain Samuel M., 512, 712, 714n, *see*, "Sam'l M Pooley," 748, 749, *see*, Pooley, Lieut, 754hn, 754, 755, 756
 Pooley, Lieut, 748, 749, 749n, *see*, Pooley, Captain Samuel M.
 Pope, 219
 Pope, Gen., 229, 501, *see*, *Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade*, 510, *see*, 100? ^ *days fighting . . .*, 614
 Poplar Grove (Virginia, where George Whitman was captured), 711, 716, 716n
 Poplar Springs Church (Virginia), 683, *see*, 51st NY Volunteers, 690, 743hn, *see*, Poplar Grove
 Porter & Coates (bookseller, Philadelphia), 1097, *see*, "Nov: 26 1880 R Worthington"
 Porter, Admiral David, 678n, *see*, Red River expedition, Banks, Major General Nathaniel

- Porter, Lieut George, 495
 Porter, Linn B (editor, *Brooklyn Eagle*), 1163, 1163n
 Portland av. (family residence, Brooklyn), 11, 20, 22, 23, 416hn, 416, 431n, 453, 463, *see*, "William Giggee," 744
 Portland ave near Myrtle (WW's address in Brooklyn), 480, 602, 602n
 "Possible Sources of Some of Whitman's Ideas in *Hermes Mercurius Tresmegistus* and Other Works" (Shepherd), 54hn
Post (Camden), 1016hn, *see*, "Far and Near at 59," 1050, 1162hn
 Post, Henry (mechanic), 227, 249, 249n
 Post, Lewy, 621, *see*, Van Pelt, W
 Potoweski, Ernestine, 344hn, 344, *see*, Rose, Mrs., Wright, Frances, Rose, Ernestine P.
 Potter, Col. Robert B., 503, 503n, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, Col. Potter, 504
 Potter, George C. (wood engraver), 453, *see*, "W. Whitman Portland av.," 818n, 820, 1023hn
 Potter, R B, 700, 700n, *see*, Ferrero, Col. (Gen.) Edward
 Potter, Thomas, 844
 Potts, Stacy cond, 846
 Powell, Samuel S., 627hn, *see*, "Tell the American"
 Powell's Jamaica Express Office, 444
 Pratt, Alfred E., 824, 824n
 Pratt, Enoch, 1265, 1265n, *see*, "Enoch Pratt"
 Pratt, Eugene, co F 5th N Y Cavalry, 673
 Pratt, J. J., Columbus, Ohio, 831n
 "Prayer of Columbus" (WW), 240n
 Preface, 1855 (WW), 56n, 63n, 79n, 81n, 95n, 102hn, 107n, 113n, 130n, 132n, 133n, 134n, 144n, 145n, 150n, 154n, 155n, 190n, 202hn, 233n, 322n, 417n, 1550hn, 1551hn, 1587hn, 2043hn, 2147n
 "Preface" (1876), (WW), 896hn, 969, 1389hn
 "(? preface 'Footsteps'") (WW), 1018, *see*, SD, "(? to conclude 'Footsteps')," 1019hn, 1066hn
 "Preface Note to 2d Annex Concluding L of G" (WW), 1544hn
 "Preface to *Democratic Vistas*" (WW), 863hn, 865, 866hn
 "Pref to Dem Vistas" (WW), 866
 "Preface to Starry Night" (WW), 978hn, *see*, "(is any Preface needed?)"
 "Prelude, The" (Wordsworth), 1796n, *see*, *American Whig Review*
 "Premonitory" (WW), 1624hn, 1626, 2062hn
 "Premonitory Rel." (WW), 2068, *see*, "With Antecedents," "Passage to India"
 Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, 455, *see*, "Important Ecclesiastical Gathering at Jamaica, L.I.," "W. Whitman Portland av."
 Presbyterian Quarterly Review, 247, *see*, Dodd, D.M.
Press (Philadelphia), 1037, 1037n, *see*, Brainard, Erastus, 1038, 1041hn, 1162hn, 1179n, 1180n, 1183hn, 1204hn, 1232hn
 Pretender, The (James Francis Edward Stuart), 218, 218n
 Preuschen, Karl Adabert (*au.*, "Walt Whitman's Undelivered Oration 'The Dead in this War,'" 1375hn, *see*, "Reminiscences '64," *Etudes Anglaises*, 1376hn
 Price, Mrs. Abby (friend of Whitman and family), 248, 248n, 351n, 538, 538n, *see*, "Baily D Damon," Price, Edmund, 667, 667n, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell," "Addresses," "[illeg.] Dick Hunt," 760, 832, 832n, *see*, Arnold, George B., 840n, 2032hn
 Price, Arthur (son of Mrs. Abby Price), 832, 832n, *see*, Price, Helen
 Price, Edmund, 248n, *see*, Price, Mrs. Abby
 Price, Helen E (Whitman family friend), 832n, *see*, Price, Arthur, Price, Mrs. Abby, 1163, 1163n, 2242n
 Price, Isaac N. (conductor, Camden), 827
 Price, Mrs., 431, 431n, *see*, "Baily D Damon," Price, Mrs. Abby
 Prince of Wales, 443, 443n, *see*, "Year of Meteors," 533, 533n
 Prince st. (family residence), 10, 10n, 11, 11n, 55n
 Prince's catalogue, 260, 260n
 "principal personages" (WW), 1395
 "Printing Office.—Old Brooklyn" (WW), 210n
 "(print 200 copies" (WW), 1256, *see*, "Send me a sample," 1257hn
 Pris. Townsend, 909, 909n
 "(Private)" (WW), 691
 private Liborius, 720, 720n, *see*, Liborius, E R O
 "Probably the best" (WW), 2220
 "Probably the best government" (WW), 2113, *see*, "The scope of government," THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!, 2131n
 Probasco, Saml., 609, *see*, Probasco, S R
 Probasco, S R (donor to WW's hospital fund), 608, 608n, 609
 Probasco, Samuel, 536, 536n, *see*, Louis (Probasco)
Problem in Greek Ethics, A (Symonds), 810n
Proc NJ Hist Soc, 955hn, *see*, "West Jersey Letters," 991hn, *see*, "RR jaunt Spring of '77," 996hn
 "Produce great persons" (WW), 308, *see*, "By Blue Ontario's Shore," 310hn, *see*, "Undeniable Might"
 "profuse acts" (WW), 2111hn, 2112, *see*, "The scope of government," "The Eighteenth Presidency!"
 "Progenitors." (WW), 13n, 14hn, 17hn, 18n
 "Programme" (WW), 1624hn

- Progress* (Philadelphia), 1027hn, *see*, Forney, Colonel John Wien, 1028hn, 1082n, 1171hn
- Prose* (Stovall), 17hn, 32hn, 53hn, 73n, 84hn, 146n, 210n, 226n, 391n, 395n, 446n, 447n, 449n, 500n, 505n, 508n, 521n, 530n, 537n, 544hn, 552hn, 554n, 569n, 586hn, 587hn, 594hn, 597hn, 604n, 605n, 606n, 607n, 614n, 620n, 645n, 654n, 659hn, 675hn, 682hn, 702n, 723hn, 724n, 725n, 727n, 776hn, 787n, 791hn, 793hn, 804hn, 811n, 817n, 822n, 836n, 860hn, 861hn, 943hn, 958n, 972n, 988hn, 993hn, 1005hn, 1010hn, 1012hn, 1013n, 1034n, 1035n, 1037n, 1039n, 1040n, 1048hn, 1051n, 1057n, 1060n, 1065n, 1077hn, 1081n, 1100hn, 1105hn, 1114hn, 1115hn, 1180n, 1186n, 1199hn, 1203hn, 1206hn, 1233n, 1243hn, 1449n, 1531hn, 1539hn, 1544hn, 1576hn, *see*, (Personalism," 1721hn, 1752hn, 1892hn, 2121n, 2122n, 2123n, 2126n, 2164hn
- Prose Writers of America* (Griswold), 1796
- Prose Writers of Germany* (Hedge), 1824hn
- Prospect Park, Brooklyn, 1017, *see*, Olmstead, Frederick Law
- "Proud Music of the Storm" ("Proud Music of the Sea Storm") (WW), 391n, 1405hn
- Public School #13, Borough of Manhattan, 44hn, 45hn, 45
- "Published Venus & Adonis" (WW), 1741
- Publishers' Trade List Annual*, 1035n, *see*, Leypoldt, Frederick
- Publisher's Weekly, The*, 1035n, *see*, Leypoldt, Frederick
- Pulaski, E. H. Minot, 514
- Punch* (London), 137
- Purcellville (Virginia), 511, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fighting . . .*
- "Put in a Passage" (WW), 326
- "Put in my poems" (WW), 351
- Putnam, G. P. & Son (NYC book publisher), 830, 840, 1037
- Putnam's Magazine*, 1624hn, *see*, "Rambles," 1751hn, 1797n, 1840hn,
- "Putrid Politics" (WW), 943, *see*, "Origins of Attempted Secession"
- Pyle's Dietetic Saleratus, 433,
- "Pythagoras" (WW), 266
- "Pythagoras was" (WW), 1886, *see*, *History of Greece* (Grote), "The Odyssey"
- Quaker Ed., 257
- Quail, Charles, policeman N.Y. 253, 253n, 482, *see*, "return my book"
- "Quarles," 1796n, *see*, Poe, Edgar Allen
- Quarterly Review*, 1796n
- Quatuor / Quatrana / Quadriune / Quatrana (WW), 431, 431n, *see*, "Chanting the Square Deific," LG 1860, Arthur Golden, "Pictures"
- "Queen Mary" (WW), 1907, 1908hn
- Queen Mary* (Tennyson), 1759hn, 1907hn, 1908hn, 1910hn, 1911hn, 1912hn, 1913hn, 1914hn
- (Queen Mary. of England" (WW), 1914
- Queens county, 36, 217,
- Quincy Market Buildings (Boston), 425, *see*, "English runic"
- "Quicksand Years" (WW), 517n, *see*, *A battle, D-T, WHD*, also 517ff
- Quintus Fixlein, 379hn, 379, *see*, Richter, Jean Paul
- "(qu?) To make a Personal" (WW), 333hn, 879
- "**R**& V, 102hn,
- "RR jaunt Spring of '77" (WW), 991, 994hn
- Rabelais, 219,
- Rabbett, Mrs, 521, *see*, Boarding House, cor 4½ & E Street
- Rachel (French tragedienne), 1840hn, 1840, *see*, "Louis 14th," *Athalie*
- Rackliffe, Ezekiel, 819, *see*, Rackliffe, Wm
- Rackliffe, Wm, died in Post Hospital, 819, 819n, *see*, Rackliffe, Ezekiel
- Radical Review, The*, 847n, 995hn, 995
- Radford, Sam'l H. (with Tom Norris, q.v., at Mr. Hickman's), 817
- Rae, Lieut (co B) (Brooklyn 14th), 732
- Rae, Mr. (donor to WW's hospital fund), 608, 608n
- Raffeley's, 487, 487n, *see*, "return my book," *Thos Gray*
- R. A. Holland, 1036n
- "Railroad poem" (WW), 1352hn, 1373, *see*, "Poem L'Envoy"
- Raines, Wm, policeman, 815
- Rajeseckharaiah, T. R. (*au.*, *The Roots of Whiteman's Grass*), 1578n
- Raleigh, Sir W., 219
- "Rambles Among Words" (WW), 226, 249n, 824n, 842n, 884n, 1624hn, 1846hn
- Rambles Among Words, 1624hn, 1624
- Rambles Among Words* (Swinton and WW), 1624hn, 1625hn, 1665hn, 1682hn
- Ramsdell, H. J., 836, 836n
- Ramsdell, Hiram J, 819, 819n
- Mr. Ramsdell, chief clerk, 570, 570n, *see*, "D. W. Wilder"
- Rand, Avery & Co., Printers, 32hn, 420n,
- Randall, J. G. (*au.*, *Civil War and Reconstruction, The*), 723hn, 1374hn
- Rand and Avery's (Boston printer), 1124hn, 1124, *see*, Rand, Avery & Co., Printers, 1134, 1163n
- Randolph, John (*au.*, *Dictionary of Americanisms, The*), 2122n
- Randolph, Mr. S. Emlen, 264n, *see*, Scoville, James M.
- Rangers and Regulators of the Tanaha, 261, 261n, *see*, DeWitt, Robert M.

- Rangers and Regulators of the Tanaha; or Life Among the Lawless. A Tale of the Republic of Texas* [Arrington], 261n, see DeWitt, Robert M.
- Rappahannock, 507, see, "return my book," 510, 512, see, 100 ? ^ *days fighting* . . .
- Rappahannock, at Kelly's Ford, 501, 502n, see, *Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade*
- Raven, The* (Poe), 1796, 1796n
- Rauch, Fred (Camden ferryman), 1035, 1035n, 1036, 1036n, 1050, 1050n
- Rawlinson, Sir Henry Creswicke, 1633, 1633n
- Read, J. V. (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 562
- Reynolds, Mrs., 600
- Reynolds, Walter W., 814
- Raymond, Henry J., 814n, see, *Times* (NY),
- "Reading Shakespeare" (WW), 1754
- "REAL AMERICAN RED MEN" (WW), 333hn, 785hn, 880, 1036n
- "Really what has America" (WW), 1605hn, 2095, see, "In lectures"
- "Real Summer Openings" (WW), 811n
- Ream, Vinnie (Mrs. Hoxie), 823, 823n, 826n
- rebel capt. in ward G (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 571, 571n
- "Rec'd back to-day" (WW), 1103
- "Received, November 5, 1886" (WW), 819n, 1214
- "Recitation" (WW), 537n, 544hn, see, "Bridge of Sighs, The," "a m Dr. L B Russell,"
- "recommendation to the young men" (WW), 2117, 2120hn
- Record* (Philadelphia), 1215n
- "Recorders Ages Hence" (WW), 338hn, see, "A poem which more familiarly addresses," 451hn, see, "Did You Ever Think,"
- "rec't for \$50" (WW), 989
- Redfield, J. S. (publisher and WW's agent), 904hn, 904, 917hn, 918, 1745hn
- "Red Jacket (from Aloft)," 1180n, see, *Press* (Philadelphia)
- Redpath, James (journalist and impressario, Boston), 423, 423n, 538, 538n, 543, 543n, 659hn, see, "English runic" "MEMORANDA OF A YEAR," 1028hn
- Red River expedition, 678n, see, Banks, Major General Nathaniel P., Porter, Admiral David
- Rees Welsh & Co. (Philadelphia publisher), 1168hn, 1169, see, McKay, David, "Rees Welsh & Co: to publish," 1170, see, "Rees Welsh & Co: to electrotpe," 1171hn, 1172, 1173, 1228hn,
- "Rees Welsh & Co: to electrotpe" (WW), 1170
- "Rees Welsh & Co: to publish" (WW), 1169
- "Regimental Inspection Parade" (WW), 504, see, "return my book," *Potter, Col. Robert B.*
- "Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade" (WW), 501, 501n, see, Dec. 21 '62 *51st New York Col. Ferrero*, Reichart, John, 522, 522n, 600, 600n, see, "take (Marg. D Valois)"
- Reid, Cody M., 519, see, Hapgood, Major, ward G armory hospital,
- Reid, Gil, 10, 10n
- Reid, Whitelaw, *Cincinnati Gazette*, 838, 838n, see, *Tribune* (NY), 1082, 1082n, 1162, 1162n, 1221hn, 1221
- Reid, William E. S. (Brooklyn Hospital), 718, 718n
- Rein, Mrs. Mary Alice, 838
- "Rei nec ke" (WW), 1812hn, 1833
- "Rel A few words" (WW), 2099
- "Rel. In rel." (WW), 2071, 2085hn, 2094hn, 2096hn
- "Rel opening Rel" (WW), 2058
- "Rel. Opening of Rel." (WW), 2048hn, 2053, see, "Religion means degrees of," "Starting from Paumonok"
- "Rel ? outset" (WW), 1349hn, 2051, see, "Compared to the Vast," 2052hn
- (Rel) Religion" (WW), 2065
- "Rel. There are that specialize" (WW), 2085, see, "Rel. In Rel."
- "Releas'd Union Prisoners from the South (WW), 1203hn
- "Religion means degrees" (WW), 2048, 2053hn, see, "Rel. Opening of Rel."
- "Religion,—the noblest" (WW), 2079, see, "The ideas of growth," "God Abdicates," Humanity sees God," 2080hn, 2088hn, 2097hn, see, "A Spinal Thought"
- "Religions" (WW), 2012n, 2038, see, "Sunday Evening Lectures"
- "Religions—Gods" (WW), 138n, 1855hn, 2024, see, Volney, C. F., "Salut au Monde!," 2029hn
- "Remember in Scientific" (WW), 327,
- "Reminiscences of Brooklyn" (WW), 32hn, 210n
- "Reminiscences '64" (WW), 9, 9n, 1375, see, "for lecture," "The dead of, this War," "Where Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," "Walt Whitman's Undelivered Oration The Dead of this War"
- Reminiscences* (Carlyle), 1805hn, 1805
- Reminiscences of Walt Whitman* (W.S. Kennedy), 1136hn, 1218hn, 1223hn, 1224hn, see, Scovel, James Matlack
- Renaissance in Italy, The* (Symonds), 810n
- Rene, Major General Jesse, 501, see, Dec 21 '62, *51st New York Col. Ferrero, Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade*, 704, 704n, "Sketches of Edward F. Ferrero"
- Report on the Construction of a Military Road* . . . (Mullan), 1965hn
- Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary*

- Survey* (W. H. Emory), 1952hn, *see*, "Rio Grande del Norte," 1957hn, 1959hn, 1960hn
- Representative Men* (Emerson), 2138hn
- Reservoir Beacon Hill, The, (Boston), 423, 423n, *see*, "English runic"
- Reservoir on Prospect Hill (Boston), 425, 425n, *see*, "English runic"
- "Respondez" (WW), 78n, 2148n
- "*Restrain Gesture*" (WW), 148n, 391n, 395n, 405hn, 571n, 2224hn, *see* "Walt Whitman and Oratory" (Harned)
- "(result of year" (WW), 675
- "resume—(From Bunsen)" (WW), 1838hn, 1916, *see*, Bunsen, C.K.J., 1927hn
- "retail busy" (WW), 1117
- "Returned" (WW), 1048, *see*, "Walt Whitman's Impressions of Denver . . ."
- "(Return) *Glints*" (WW), 1046
- "return my book" (WW), 3, 7n, 13hn, 22n, 54hn, 55n, 146n, 227n, 246hn, 249n, 252n, 253n, 255n, 256n, 258n, 259n, 260n, 262n, 263n, 344hn, 423n, 428n, 431n, 432n, 433n, 438n, 442n, 445n, 459n, 477, 479hn, 480ff, 529n, *see*, "Walt Whitman Soldier's," "from Hooker's command," 531, 532n, 537n, 545hn, *see*, "President's Proclamation, The," 552, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper," 569n, 570n, 600n, 602hn, *see*, "Walt Whitman Soldier's," 611hn, *see*, "September & October 1863," 633n, 670n, *see*, "Baily D Damon, 683, 686n, 697hn, 700n, 702n, 704n, 742hn, 822n, 823n, 825n, 826n, 890n, 951hn, 1949hn
- "Return of a Brooklyn Veteran" (WW), 735, *see*, *Daily Union* (Brooklyn), 743hn
- Reuben (driver), 252
- "Review" (WW), 705n, 725n, 778, 794hn,
- Revue Anglo-Americaine*, 480hn, 529hn, 717hn, 602hn, *see*, Catel, Jean, "Walt Whitman pendant la Guerre de Sécession"
- Revue des Deux Mondes*, 812n, 902hn, 902, 1517, 1517n, *see*, Bentjon, Thérèse
- Reynold, Vincent, 497
- Reynolds, Gen, 733, *see*, "Brooklyn 14th"
- Reynolds, Mrs., 160 East 22d st., 841, 841n, 842n, 844n, *see*, Reynolds, Walter W.
- Reynolds, Henry, 744, *see*, "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz"
- Reynolds, Herbert, watchman Treasury, 842, 842n
- Reynolds, Vincent, 494n
- Reynolds, Walter W., 844, 844n, *see*, C. F. Fairfield, Mrs. Reynolds
- R. Garrett letter press copying, 840
- Rhen & Clark (Washington photographers), 1181
- Rhodes, John, 238, 238n
- Riblett, Geo H, 260
- "Richard Burbage" (WW), 1750
- Richard I (Coeur de Lion), 221
- "Richard 2d" (WW), 1910
- Richardson, James, Jr., 265n
- Rich Jones (schoolmaster, Jamaica, Long Island), 456, *see*, "W. Whitman Portland av."
- Richmond, Aleck* (brother, Lieut. Duncan Richmond), 493,
- "Richmond, Capt Duncan" (WW), 720, 720n, 742, *see*, Richmond, Lieut Duncan
- Richmond, Lieut. Duncan (brother, Aleck Richmond), 493
- "Richter" (WW), 233n, 1824n, 1835,
- Richter, Jean Paul (Jean Paul), 233n, 379hn, *see*, "Quintus Fixlein," *see*, "Richter"
- "Riddle (rough draft)" (WW), 1108
- Rider, John J. (donor to WW's hospital fund), 609
- Ridgates, Thos., doorkeeper Treasury, 828
- Ridge, Dr. J. M., 816, 816n
- Ridge, S. A., pharmacist, 816n, *see*, Ridge, Dr. J. M.
- Ridgeway, Mrs. Cornelia, 247
- Ridley, Peter, 253
- Riegel, Calvin P. (soldier friend of WW), 530, 530n, 603n, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell"
- rifacimento, 264, 264n
- Rifacimento*, 264n
- Rigby, 702n
- Riley, Barney, 498
- Riley, Miss Kate C., 842, *see*, Mrs. Ingle, Wilson, Benton F.
- Riley, Tom, 251, 251n, 822, 822n
- Riley, Wm, 820
- Ring, J. H. (actor), 915n, *see*, Ring, Mr.
- Ring, Mr., 915 *see*, Ring, J. H.
- Ringtown (Pa.), 1188, 1188n
- Ring of the Niblung*, 883, 883n, *see*, Wagner
- "Rio Grande del Norte" (WW), 1952, *see*, Emory, W. H.
- Ripley, George, 1221hn, *see*, *Tribune* (NY)
- Ripley, George (*coau.*, *New American Encyclopedia*), 1882n, *see*, C. A. Dana
- "Ripple, and echoes" (WW), 1420
- Rissenger, Joseph, Co L 8th N Y Cavalry (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 571, *see*, Rissenger, Mathias
- Rissenger, Mathias, 571, *see*, Rissenger, Joseph
- Ritter, Mrs Fanny, 1037, 1037n, *see*, Ritter, Professor Frederick Louis
- Ritter, Frédérick, 1164n, *see*, Mrs F R Ritter
- Ritter, Mrs. F. R., 1164, 1164n, *see*, Ritter, Frédérick
- Ritter, Professor Frédérick Louis (composer, "Dirge for Two Veterans), 1037n, *see*, Ritter, Mrs. Fanny
- Riverside Press (Cambridge, Mass.), 1134, *see*, Clark, Henry H
- "—rivers in Idaho" (WW), 1966, *see*, "April '63. Washington"

- "R.J. Hinton: Lincoln's Reluctant Biographer" (Hollis), 834n
 Roanoke, 500, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, "Pamlico Sound," 501, *see*, "Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade," 710, *see*, "Roanoke Newbern"
 "Roanoke Newbern" (WW), 710
 Rob Roy, 676, *see*, "Christmas night"
 Robb, Benj. ("Mulligans"), 843
 "Robert Burns as Poet and Person" (WW), 1140hn, *see*, Critic, "DEMOCRATIC VISTAS," *North American Review*
 Robt Clark & Co. Cinninnatti, 831
 Rob't DeWitt, 261, 261n, *see*, DeWitt, Robert M.
 Robert (Dad), 252
 Robert Devereux (Donizetti), 390, 390n, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA"
 Roberts, Mrs. Betsey A, 571, *see*, Roberts, Milton S.
 Roberts, J. H. (government bindery foreman), 826
 Roberts, Wm. (driver), 816
 Roberts, Lt Col, 737, *see*, Conk, Col Roberts, Milton S (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 571, 571n, 651hn, 651, *see*, "Scene in the Woods," "Hospital Note book"
 Robertson, William . . . driving on 23d st . . . 492
 Robinson, Emmet, 815
 Robley (Joseph?), 262, 262n
 Robley, Joseph, 481, 481n, *see* "[illeg.] Dick Hunt"
 Roby, Al, 817, 819
 Rodgers, John conductor Myrtle av., 826, 826n, *see*, Rogers, John M.
 Rochester (NY) *Express*, 810n, *see*, "D. W. Wilder"
 "Rock-fish" (WW), 1996
 Rock me to sleep (song by Elizabeth Allen Akers), 869, 869n
 Rock'd on the Cradle of the deep (composed by Emma Hart Willard and Joseph P. Knight), 869, 869n
 Rockefeller, John, 1265, 1265n
 Roden, Noel (*au.*, "A Study of Whitman," *The Dark Blue*), 897, 897n
 Roe, Hugo A (Lincoln Hospital, Washington), 539
 Roe, Mrs. Mary, 838, 838n
 "Rogers" (WW), 419hn, 419n, *see*, "English runic"
 Rogers book, 421, *see*, Boston Type Foundry, Rogers, *Specimens* (1857), Rogers, *Specimens* (1858), Rogers, *Condensed Specimens* (1860), "English runic," pica ornamented
 Rogers, *Condensed Specimens* (1860), 421n, *see*, Rogers book
 Rogers, Dave, 253, 253n
 Rogers, John M., Wood Mf'g Co., 826, 826n, *see*, Rodgers, John
 Rogers, *Specimens* (1857), 421n, *see*, Rogers book
 Rogers, *Specimens* (1858), 421n, *see*, Rogers book
 Rogers, George, 259
 Rogers, John M., 826, 826n
 Rogers, Raymond, 695, *see*, "Deaths 51st N Y V"
 Roget, Peter Mark (*au.*, *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases . . .*), 1650, 1650n
 Roland, Madame, 214, 214n
 Rome, Andrew (printer), 252, 252n, 839, 839n, *see*, A. H. Rome & Bros
 Rome brothers (printers of 1855 LG), 1163, 1163n
 Rome, John (Brooklyn builder), 826, 826n
 Roos, Carl (*au.*, "Walt Whitman's Letters to a Danish Friend"), 900hn, *see*, *Orbis Litterarum*
 Roosa, Dr. D. B. St. John, 445n, *see*, Hospital Charter, 484n, *see*, "return my book," "World of Letters," *Mail and Express* (NY), *Walt Whitman the Man* (Donaldson), 490, 490n, *see*, New York Hospital, 493, 493n, *see*, Appendix to "return my book," 524, 524n, 528
Roots of Whitman's Grass, The (T. R. Rajasekhariah), 1578n
 Rosade, Herman, 820, 820n
 Rose, Mrs. Ernestine Potoweski (feminist), 248, 248n, 344hn, 344, 453, 453n, 839, 839n, *see*, "Francis Wright," *see*, Potoweski, Ernestine, Rose, Mrs.
 [Rose], James (oldest), 481, 481n, *see*, "return my book," Rose, John
 Rose, John, 481, 481n, *see*, "return my book," [Rose], James (oldest)
 Rose, Johnny (laborer), 250, 250n
 Rose, William E. (husband of Ernestine Potoweski Rose), 248, 248n
 Rose, Mr. W. E., 839, 839n, *see*, Rose, Mrs. Ernestine L.
 Rose, Mrs., 92 Prince, 495, 495n, *see*, "Francis Wright," "W Whitman Portland av.," "Addresses," "[illeg.] Dick Hunt" Rose, Mrs. Ernestine Patoweski
 Rosenthal, P. Z., 62n
 Rose, William, 493
 Ross, ? Col., 824
 Ross, ? Miss, 824
 Rosse (*au.*, "Index of Dates"), 458, *see*, "Bohn's Scientific Library," "W. Whitman Portland av."
 "Rossetti—Mrs. Gilchrist" (WW), 909
 Rossetti, William Michael (*au.*, *Selections, WW's English editor*), 326hn, *see*, "Put in a Passage," 668n, 811n, 812n, 815n, 829n, 841n, 879hn, 817n, 835, 835n, 836n, *see*, *Poems by Walt Whitman*, "Introduction to the London Edition," 909, 909n, 958, 958n, 1163, 1163n, 1497, 1513hn, *see*, *Poems by Walt Whitman*, *see*, "PERSONAL," 1526hn, 1530hn, 1544hn, 1760hn

- Rossi, Earnesto, 1113hn, 1113
 Rossini (Giacchino, composer), 390n, 396n, 870n
 "Roundly considered" (WW), 1609, *see*, "Distinctive and without relation"
 Rothacker (editor, *Denver Tribune*), 1038
 Rousseau, 266, 1624hn, 1843
 "Rousseau's Confessions" (WW), 1845, *see*, "J. J. Rousseau," "Social Contract, The"
 Routledge, Edmund (editor), 835, 835n, *see*, George Routledge & Sons, Routledge, George
 Routledge, George, 835n, *see*, George Routledge & Sons, Routledge, Edmund
Rubaiyat, 1892hn
 Rubin, Joseph Jay (*au.*, *The Historic Whitman*), 55n, 150n, 217n, *see*, *Walt Whitman of the New York Aurora*, Brown, Charles C.
 Rubin, Joseph Jay and Charles H. Brown, 217n, *see*, *Walt Whitman of the New York Aurora*
 Ruggles, Dr. (family physician), 206, 206n, 445, 445n, *see*, Dr. Ruggles (Edward)
Ruins of Meditations . . . (Volney), 2024hn
 "Rule in all addresses" (WW), 165, 296hn
 "Rules for Composition" (WW), 101
 "Rumors, Changes, &c." (WW), 723hn
 Rumsey, Miss Elida B., 603
 Rumsey, J. W., sutler, 603
 Runeberg, John Ludvig (*au.*, *Nadescha. A Poem in Nine Cantos*), 1058, 1058n, 1875hn, 1875, *see*, "at the ferry house"
 Ruskin, John, 1163n, *see*, Bathgate, H J, 1222
 Russell, Dr. Chas. P., U.S. Army, 499, 541, 541n
 Russell, Dr. Le Baron (Boston), 529n, 677hn, *see*, Dr. L B Russell, "a m Dr. L B Russell," "February 1864"
 "Russia" (WW), 1988
 "Russia—*Toward the NORTH*" (WW), 1988hn, 1991
 "Russian serfs" (WW), 1970
 Rutland (Vermont), 264, 264n, *see*, Whitman, Hannah Louisa, "D. W. Wilder"
 R. W. Gilder, *see*, Gilder, Richard Watson
 Ryerson st. (WW family residence), 11,
Rythme et langage . . . "Leaves of Grass" (Catel), 2231hn, 2236n, 2237n, 2242n
- SD** 226n, 391, 446n, 447n, 449n, 460n, 490n, 500n, 505n, 508n, 521n, 537n, 544hn, 552hn, 554n, 569n, 586hn, 587hn, 597hn, 604n, 605n, 606n, 607n, 615n, 620n, 654n, 659hn, 678n, 682hn, 702n, 723hn, 724n, 725n, 787n, 804hn, 811n, 817n, 822n, 832n, 836n, 861hn, 958n, 960hn, 970hn, 972hn, 988hn, 993hn, 1005hn, 1013n, 1016hn, 1018hn, 1019hn, 1026hn, 1034n, 1035n, 1037n, 1039n, 1040n, 1051n, 1057n, 1065n, 1067hn, 1077hn, 1081n, 1088hn, 1100hn, 1109hn, 1115hn, 1168, 1175hn, 1186hn, 1203hn, 1206hn, 1234n, 1539hn, 1730hn, 2009hn
 SDC, 400hn, 1165hn, 1169hn, 1580hn
 SP, 1553hn, 1712hn, 1739hn, 1741hn, 1741n, 1756hn, 1759hn, 1763hn, 1766hn, 1767hn, 2238n
 Sachs, Hans (master singer), 1834hn, 1834, *see*, "Hans Sachs"
 "Saerasmid' an Early Promoter of Walt Whitman" (*au.*, Clark, George Pierce), 434n
 "Sail Out for Good, Eidolon Yacht" (WW), 1176hn
 St. Bartholomew's massacre, 214,
 St. John, John P., 1038n, 1043
 "St. Louis Hegelians," 1035n, *see*, W. T. Harris
 St. Regis Indians, 197, 197n, *see*, "The mountain-ash,"
 Salisbury (North Carolina) (where George Washington Whitman was imprisoned before transfer to Danville), 743hn, 747
 "Salt works" (WW), 197hn, 368, 370n
 "Salut au Monde!" (1856) (WW), 147n, 148n, 235n, 237n, 239n, 241n, *see* "Poem of Salvation," "Song of the Broad-axe," 242n, 456n, 1294hn, 1316hn, 1894hn, 1971hn, 2024hn, 2026n, 2027n
 Salvini, Tomasso (Italian tragedian), 1113hn, 1113
 "Sam Bonnard—Frank Bonnard," 495, *see*, Bonnard
 Sam—dark complexion, . . . , 258
 Sam—looks some like Bill . . . , 256
 Sam Houston, 1266
 Sam (young fellow . . . , 257
 Sam, (young fellow . . . of Colgan's plumber), 482
 Sampson, Low, Son & Marston Booksellers, 811, 918
 "Samuel Johnson" (WW), 1788
 "Sam'l M. Pooley" (WW), 701n, 705n, 712, 714, *see*, Poley, Captain Samuel M., Pooley, Sam'l M.
Samson Agonistes (Milton), 1798hn, 1798
 Sanborn, Alfred J. (Ward I, Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 522
 Sanborn, F B, 1164, 1164n
 Sanborn, George, 498
 Sanborn, Nestor, 1034, 1037
 Sand, George, 61n, 83hn, 83, 2011n, 2242n
 Sanders, Corp Frederick (Finley Hospital, Washington), 726, 726n, 728
 Sanders, James (Champion), 843, *see*, Saunders, James B., "Champ," Saunders, Champion B
 "Sands and Drifts" (WW), 414hn, *see*, "Sea Winrows," 415, 1417hn
 "Sands and Drift Mrs Louisa Whitman" (WW), 415hn, *see*, "Sands and Drifts"
 "Sands at Seventy" (WW), 1250hn

- Sandy (5th av) . . . , 258
 Sandy (old stage driver), 434, 434n
 Sanford, Mr (Henry S.), 347hn, *see*, "Col. Parker's squa mother"
 Sanitary Commission, 519n, *see*, Channing, William Henry, "President's Proclamation, The"
 Sarmiento, J. C. (Washington photographer), 825, 825n
 Sarrazin, Gabriel (*au.*, "Poètes Modernes de l'Amerique, Walt Whitman"), 1274hn, *see*, "A Quartet of Opinions" (France)
 Sartar Resartus (Carlyle), 529n, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell"
 "Saturday 18th Apr" (WW), 1284
 Saturday Evening Post, 869n, 1136hn, *see*, Kennedy, W.S.
 Saturday—Feb. 14th—, 554, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper"
 "Saturday, June 21" (WW), 329
 "Saturday night. Feb. 21' 1863" (WW), 565, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper"
 Saturday Press (NY), 408n, *see*, "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," 422n, 433n, 434n, 462n, *see*, Clapp, Henry, 833n, 1221n
 Saturday Press set, 527, *see*, Pfaff's, Stoddard, Richard Henry, Clapp, Henry, O'Brien, Fitz James
 Saturday Review, 852hn
 Saturday [?] Review, 847
 Saulsbury, Senator Willard, 546, 546n, *see*, Wilkinson, Senator Morton S.
 Saunders, Champion B. (conductor), 846n
 Saunders, Henry (*au.*, *Whitman Portraits*), 1399hn, 1402n
 Saunders, Jack, 825
 Saunders, James B., "Champ," 846, 846n, *see*, Saunders, Champion B., Saunders, James (Champion)
 Saunders, John L., 841, 841n, 845n
 Savannah (Georgia), 722hn, 722, *see*, Sherman, Gen.
 Sawyer, F. A., 846, 846n
 Sawyer, Serg't Thos P., (co C 11th Mass Vol), 530, 530n, *see*, "Baily D Damon," 531, 531n, 532n, 543, 543n, 614, 614n, 668, 668n, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell," "September & October," 672, 672n
 Sawyer, Thos., 531, *see*, Sawyer, Thomas P., Sawyer, Serg't Thos P.
 Sawyer, Thomas P., 530n, *see*, Brown, Lew, 536, 536n, 605n, *see*, Scholis, Hiram
 "Says" (WW), 417hn, *see*, "Poem ? or," 417n,
 Saxon ornate (type face), 420, 420n, *see*, "Enfans d'Adam"
 SB (Stovall) 53hn, 54hn, 71n, 82n, 210n,
 Scarlett, James, 217, 217n
 Scarlett, Mr., 217, 217n
 "scatter'd, I myself" (WW), 1534
 "Scene in the woods" (WW), 571n, *see*, Roberts, Milton S, 651, White Oaks Church, battle of, "A March in the Ranks Hard-Prest, and the Road Unknown"
 Scenes of Clerical Life 381n, *see*, "Mr Gilfil's Love Story," *Blackwood's Magazine*
 "Scenes on Ferry and River—Last Winter's Nights" (WW), 817n, *see*, Olive, Aleck, 821n, *see*, Crosby, Eugene, 1051n, *see*, Frazee, Capt A B, 1081n
 Schelling, 2007, 2007n
 Schem, A. J., office N.Y. Tribune, 840, 840n
 "Schiller—born 1759" (WW), 1830
 Schiller's complete Works (trans. C. T. Hempel), 455, 455n, *see*, "W. Whitman Portland av."
 Schlegel's History of Literature viz Lectures on the Literature of All Nations, 247, 247n,
 Schlegel, Frederick 247, 247n, 1628, 1628n, 1837hn, 1837, *see*, "Frederick Schlegel," 1884hn
 Schlieker, Mrs. Anne E. (Washington teacher), 829, 829n
 Schmidt, R., 909, 909n
 Schmidt, Rudolph (Rudolf), (*au.*, Walt Whitman, det amerikanske demokratis digter"), 811, 811n, *see*, Arctander, Emil, 829n, 900hn, *see*, For Idé og Virkelighed, 958n, 1164, 1164n, 1516, 1516n
 Schneider, John, 262n
 Schneider's, 262, *see*, Schneider, John
 Schofield, Major General John M. (commander of the Army of Ohio), 781, 781n
 Schofield, Mr., 100, 100n
 Schoff, S. A. (engraver), 821, 821n, 823, 823n, 827, 827n
 Scholis, Hiram (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 605, 605n
 Schoonmaker (Schoonmaker ?), John (lawyer), 249, 249n, 442
 Schuyler, Montgomery (editor, NY World), 816n, 839, 839n
 Scott, Mrs., 826
 Scott, Walter, 1421, 1421n, 1434
 Scott, William Bell, 836n, *see*, Rossetti, William Michael, Dixon, Thomas
 Scott & Williams printers (New York), 832
 Scott's Poems, 269, 269n, *see*, *Minstrelry of the Scottish Border*
 Scovel, James Matlack (Camden lawyer and friend of WW), 820n, *see*, J.M.S., 1035, 1035n, 1107hn, 1180, 1180n, 1193hn, *see*, "Walt Whitman as I Knew Him," Traubel, Horace, 1207hn, 1207, 1224hn, *see*, *New Republic* (Camden), *Reminiscences of Walt Whitman*
 Scovel, Mrs, 1050, 1050n, *see*, Scovel, James Matlack

- Scoville, James M, 264, 264n
 "scraps memos excerpts" (WW), 333hn
 Scribner & Co, Broadway, 654, 816
 Scribner, C., 239, 239n
 Scribner, Charles, 1624hn
Scribner's Monthly Magazine, 1012n, *see*, Gilder, Richard Watson, 1035, 1035n, *see*, Johnson, Robert Underwood, 1103hn, *see*, *Century Magazine*, 1103, *see*, Holland, Josiah Gilbert, 1209hn, 1274hn
 Scudder, Julia (sister of Treadwell Scudder), 103n
 Scudder, ————— [Tredwell] (husband of Hannah Brush's sister), 16, 16n, 20, 20n, 21, *see*, "Hannah Brush" (WW), "October 17, 1860" (WW), "Poem incarnating the mind," 103n
 Scudder, Walter (son of Tredwell Scudder), 20
 "Sculpture" (WW), 2033
 "Scythia" (WW), 1920, 1988hn
 "Sea-cabbage" (WW), 1309, *see*, "There Was a Child Went Forth," "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life"
 "Sea-Drift" (1881) (WW), 415hn, *see*, "Sands and Drifts"
 "Sea Winrows" (WW), 414, 415hn, *see*, "Sands and Drifts," "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life"
 Seaman, Lewis, (Union Ferry), 499, 499n
 Seay, Virginia Claire (*au.*, "Pioneers of Freedom"), 428n, *see*, Silas S Soule
 2d brigade, 2d division, 9th Army Corps, 512, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting* . . . , Fredericksburgh, battle of, 51st New York Volunteers, 51st Penn., 21st Mass., 11 New Hamp., 35th Mass., 515, *see*, "? Dec. '62 . . . Brigade drill"
 "2d volume *November Boughs* (WW), 1226, *see*, "2nd vol Specimen Days"
 "2d vol Specimen Days" (WW), 1175, 1196hn, 1204hn, 1226hn, 1227hn
 "Secrets.—Secreta" (WW), 1326
 Sedgwick, Gen. John, 725, 725n,
 "see also pp. 13, 14" (WW), 774
 "See Aristotle" (WW), 2006
 "See p 81—*The Booths*" (WW), 1194
 "See pp. 52-57" (WW), 1891
 "See 'W Davenport Adams's Dictionary'" (WW), 1087
 "Seeing Niagara to Advantage" (WW), 391n, 1194hn
 "? seems perpetually goading" (WW), 156
 "Seems to me" (WW), 333hn, 1224
 "seems to me" (WW), 1509
Selections (Rossetti), 817n
Selections from the Works of Geoffry [sic.] Chaucer (Deshler), 1783hn
 "Self-Memoranda" (WW), 1139, *see*, "After the Supper and Talk," "Sounds of the Winter"
 "Senate, vol. 12" (WW), 1962
 "Send me a sample" (WW), 1256hn, 1257, *see*, "Print 200 copies"
 "sent [?] *Press* of 22nd" (WW), 811n, 812n, 841n, 900hn, 958n, 960hn, 1036n, 1051n 1083hn, 1162, 1182n, 1215hn, 1524n
 "Separate" (WW), 1526hn, *see*, "PERSONAL," 1527n, 1528n
 "Sept '81" (WW), 1130
 "September & October" (WW), 3, *see*, Velsor, Mrs. Thomas, 447n, 479hn, *see*, "return my book," 572n, 603n, 611, *see*, "Drum-Taps," 613, 654n, *see*, Haskell, Oscar, 657n, *see*, Winterstein, Manville, 658n, *see*, "A lad of 18," 667n, 668n, 672n, 842n
 "September 11, 12, 13—1850" (WW), 8hn, 9n, 12n, 13hn, 14hn, 16n, 88n,
 "Sept 16" (WW), 488
 "Sept '64" (WW), 688
 "Sept '62 Inka" (WW), 476
 Servetus, 214
 Servoss, E. B., 826
 Sewell, Gen W J, 1051
 S. G. Goodrich (*au.*, *Geographical and Historical View of the World*), 1616hn
 Shainks, Ben (driver), 825
 Shakespeare, 883, 1212, 1434, 1738, 1739, 1751hn, 1751, *see*, Baconian theory, 1752hn, 1754
 "Shakespeare born" (WW), 233n, 1739, 1752hn
 "Shakespeare. Milton" (WW), 1794
 "Shakespeare, Wordsworth" (WW), 1787
 Shaksper, Shakespeare, 219, 233, 233n, 266
 "*Shakspeare and Walter Scott" (WW), 1434
 "Shaksper—Bacon's Cipher" 1751hn, *see*, "I think it probable," Baconian theory
 Shales, Mr. (Edward?), 423, 423n, *see*, "English runic"
 "Shall I try a couple" (WW), 939
 Shambaugh, Chas., 818, 823
 Shaner, Mrs. E. A., 820
 Shanley, Capt. Edward, 482, *see*, "return my book"
 Shara, Capt, Co A 1st Indiana Cav, 670, *see*, Brush, Alonzo S
 Sharp, Isaac (lawyer, Council Grove, Kansas), 1036n
 Sharpsburgh (Virginia), 511, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting* . . .
Shaughraun, The (Boucicault), 984hn, 986, 986n
 Shaw Botanical Garden (St. Louis), 1049hn, *see*, Shaw, Henry
 Shaw, Henry, 1049hn, 1049, *see*, Shaw Botanical Garden
 "Shebangs," 500, 500n, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. *Fer-rero*, "After First Fredricksburg," 514, *see*, *Sights—The Army Corps*, . . .

- Sheldon, Mary Gilley (sister of John and Michael Gilley, soldiers), 448
- Shelby, 308hn,
- Shelton, Dr., 458, *see*, "W. Whitman Portland av."
- Shephard, Charles E., 1164
- Shephard, Esther (*au.*, *Walt Whitman's Pose*), 53hn, 55hn, 61n, 79n, 97n, 218n, 436n, 478hn, 488n, 489n, 760hn, 762n, 763n, 1712hn, 2011n
- Shephard, Eliot F., 701, 701n, *see*, "Jan 21, 1865," 706, 706n, *see*, "51st N.Y. May 15," "Some interesting items," 712, *see*, "Shephard's Rifles"
- Shephard, John, 842, *see*, Stevens, Dave
- Shephard, Thos., 256, 256n
- "Shephard's Rifles," 683, *see*, 51st NY Volunteers, *see*, Shephard Eliot F.
- Sherman & Co (Philadelphia printer, storage of WW's plates), 1069
- Sherman, John, 901n
- Sherman, Major General William Tecumseh, 722hn, 722, *see*, Savannah, Atlanta, 780, 780n, *see*, "Review"
- Sherman, Mr., 901, 901n
- Sherwood, Mrs Kate B, 1164
- Shillington's (bookstore), 822n
- Ship of Libertad (WW), 437, 437n, *see*, "81 Clerman"
- Shock of Recognition, The* (Edmund Wilson), 1716hn
- "Shooting Niagara and After" (Carlyle), 853hn
- "(short abrupt)" (WW), 2076
- "Short lectures" (WW), 416hn, *see*, "Sands and Drift Mrs. Louisa Whitman," 2228
- Shot for desertion* (WW), 572, *see*, "Hospital Note book"
- Shotwell, A. K., 629, *see*, Laing, Noah, Laing, Margaret C
- Showaten, Elihu" (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 604
- "Showery's," 249, 249n, *see*, Phillips, William,
- Shyster 9th N.Y.S. Militia . . . , 482, 482n, *see*, "return my book"
- Sibbett, Jonathan, 672, *see*, Sibbett, Walter A
- Sibbett, Walter A (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 670, 670n, 672, 672n, *see*, Sibbett, Jonathan
- (Sibley, Mrs.), 10, 10n
- "Sickness and Death of Walt Whitman, The" (Longaker), 1288hn, *see*, "In Re Walt Whitman"
- Sidney, Algernon, 219
- Siege of Sevastopol, 153, 153n
- Siegfried, 883, *see*, Wagner
- "Sierra Blanca" (WW), 1954
- Sight and Hearing, How Preserved and How Lost: A Popular Handbook* (Clark), 239, 239n
- Sight at daybreak* (WW), 513, 513n, *see*, "A Sight in Camp in the Daybreak Gray and Dim"
- Sight at the Lacy House* (WW), 504, 504n, 505n, *see*, "return my book," Barton, "Down at the Front," "After First Fredricksburg
- "sights and Washington— . . ." (WW), 556, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper"
- Sights—The Army Corps, . . .*, 513, 513n, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fighting* . . .
- "Sights you see" (WW), 579, *see*, "Great Army of the Wounded, The," "The Wound Dresser," "Hours in Our Military Hospitals"
- "Signal bell" (WW), 411
- "Silence" (WW), 474
- Sill, E. E., 206hn, *see*, "Left 5 at Jones"
- Silliman, 376, 376n, 2001, 2001n, *see*, "The Air"
- Silver, Rollo G. (coauthor of *A Child's Reminiscence by Walt Whitman*), 422n, *see*, Mabbott, Thomas O.
- Silver's Jamaica Express, 443
- Simrock, Carl Joseph, 444n, 1812hn *see*, Zimrock, Carl
- Sims, Capt. Saml. H., 500, 502, 502n, *see*, "Some interesting items," Capt. S. Sims & Company G, 701, 704, 704n, 705, 705n, *see*, "51st Sims Pooley," "Sims, Pooley," 720, 720n
- Sims Pooley, 705, 705n, *see*, "51st Sims Pooley," "Sims, Pooley," "Sam'l M. Pooley," Sims, Captain Samuel H.
- "Sims, Pooley" (WW), 687hn, *see*, "51st Sims Pooley," 702n, 704n, 705
- Sims, W. G. (novelist), 1732hn, *see*, *United States Magazine, Views and Reviews*
- Sims, William Conductor, 839, 839n
- Sinai and Palestine, in Connection with Their History* (Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn), 434n
- "Since these articles" (WW), 2259
- Sinclair, Henry, 258
- Singerly, Wm M., Ed Record, 1215, 1215n
- "singers are welcome, The" (WW), 311hn, *see*, "Poet, bard, minstrel"
- Sister Mary Eleanor (*au.*, "Hedge's *Prose Writers of Germany* . . ."), 2009, 2009n, *see*, MLN, 2012n, 2015n, 2016n
- Siter, Mrs Sarah, 816
- Sivall, Franklin, 260, 260n, 494, 494n, *see*, "[illeg.] Dick Hunt"
- "16th Century Queen Mary (WW), 1759, 1907hn, 1908hn, 1910hn, 1911hn, 1912hn, 1913hn, 1914hn
- "16th Sept"(WW), 1829hn, *see*, Mr. Held
- 69th NY 778, 778n, ("The Fighting Irish")
- "'63 May 14" (WW), 597, *see*, "The Wounded from Chancellorsville," "Hours in Our Military Hospitals"
- "Sketch over rapidly" (WW), 777, *see*, "Death of Abraham Lincoln"
- Sketches and Business of Boston and Its Vicinity for*

- 1860 and 1861 (Damrill, and Moores, and G. Coolidge), 419hn, *see*, "English runic"
- "Sketches of Edward F. Ferrero." (WW), 499n, 500n, 501n, *see*, "Ferrero's Brigade," Ferrero, Col., "51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero," "Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade," "return my book," 702n, 704, *see*, "Martin Weaver," "51st New York Volunteers," 754n
- Skillman Street (family residence), 8hn, 10n, 11, 250, 250n
- "Sky-Lark, The" (Shelley), 178ohn, *see*, *Half-Hours with the Best Authors*
- Slack, Chas. W. (contributor to WW's hospital fund), 605, 605n, *see*, "Baily D Damon," 666, 666n
- "Slang in America" (WW), 811n
- "(slang words)" (WW), 1691
- Slater, Robert, 1211
- "Slavery—The Slaveholders—"(WW), 142n, 209hn, 213n, 215n, 235n, 2124n, 2130n, 2132n, 2171, 2192hn, 2195n, 2196n, 2198n
- Sloan, James (cart and hack driver), 493
- Sloane (Peter G. ?), 431, 431n
- Slocum, Major General Henry W (commander of Army of Georgia), 781, 781n
- Slocum's Creek, Neuse River, 501, *see*, Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade, Roanoake,
- Small, C (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 615, *see*, Small, Dr W B
- "Small is my theme—yet hast it the sweep of the universe" (WW), 489, 489n, *see*, "return my book," "Small Is the Theme of My Chant," "One's-Self I Sing," "To the Reader at the Entrance of Leaves of Grass"
- "Small Is the Theme of My Chant" (WW), 489n, *see*, "return my book," "Small is my theme—yet hast it the sweep of the universe" "To the Reader at the Entrance of Leaves of Grass"
- Small, Marcus M (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 615, 615n, *see*, "Some Specimen Cases"
- Small, Dr Wm B, 615, *see*, Small, C
- Smallwood, Miss, 847, *see*, Lewis, Chas
- Smart, Stephen F (Kansas Pacific Railway), 1035n, 1039, 1039n, 1043, 1043n, 1051
- Smith (*au.*, *Atlas of Modern and Ancient Geography*), 1616hn
- Smith, Aaron, 447, 447n, *see*, "Typical Soldiers,"
- Smith, Alexander, 1771hn, 1771, *see*, "(1854) Alexander Smith"
- Smith & Strong frame shop, 845, *see*, Clement, Townsend, 846, 846n, *see*, Moss, Joseph S.
- Smith, Bethuel, *see*, Smith, Thuey, 667, 667n, *see*, "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz," 672, 692n, *see*, "Write to Thuey Smith," 817, 817n, *see*, Smith, Mrs. Maria
- Smith, Charles. . . co B, 450, *see*, Smith, Leopold
- Smith, Charley, 252
- Smith, Charley, 4th av., 371hn, *see*, "The greatest poems may not immediately"
- Smith, David, 497
- Smith, Dick, blonde, driver, 837
- Smith, Dick (driver), 814, 814n
- Smith, Frank Hill (Boston artist), 1110hn, *see*, "on to Boston"
- Smith, Dr. Geo. K., 18 Clinton near Fulton, 824
- Smith, George driver, 840
- Smith, Hughey, 2 years ago, 496
- Smith, J. W., co G 25th Ohio (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 572
- Smith, J. W., foreign postage clerk, P.O. Washington, 832
- Smith, Leopold (father of Charles Smith) 450
- Smith, Lieut Col. Robert C (in charge of Danville Prison), 748
- Smith, L. M. (donor to WW's hospital fund), 608, 609n, *see*, Smith, Lodrick M.
- Smith, Lodrick M., 609n, *see*, Smith, L. M.
- Smith, Logan Pearsall, 1234n, *see*, Smith, Robert Pearsall
- Smith, Mrs. Maria, 817, 817n, *see*, Smith Bethuel
- Smith, Martin (driver), 844
- Smith, Rev. Nicholas Everrett, 456, *see*, "Important Ecclesiastical Gathering at Jamaica, L.I.," W. Whitman Portland av."
- Smith, Robert Pearsall, 1234, 1234n
- Smith, Sydney, 217
- Smith, Thuey (Bethuel Smith) (Armory Hospital, Washington), 447, 447n, 536, 536n, 537 *see*, "Dr. L B Russell," 613, 613n, *see*, "Mr. and Mrs. Fitz," 692, *see*, "Wrote to Thuey Smith," 672, 672n
- Smith, Victor, 488, 488n, *see*, "return my book," "Baily D Damon," "Friday Dec 11 '63," 666, 666n
- Smith, Wilham (Stanton Hospital, Washington), 761
- Smithson, Edward, 226, 249, 249n
- Smithsonian Institute, 519, 519n, *see*, Guyot, Arnold Henry, 530, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell," Stanley, John Mix, 914
- Social Contract, The* (Rousseau), 266, 266n, 1624hn, 1843hn, 1845hn, 1846
- Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, 530n, *see*, Stanley, John Mix
- Smithtown, 210
- Society of American Artists, 1012n, *see*, Eaton, Wyatt, "New York visit"
- Socrates, 266
- "so crudely, we will begin" (WW), 972, *see*, "New Themes Entered Upon"

- Soldiers Free Library (Washington, D.C.), 408, *see*, "return my book"
- Solicitor-General's Office (WW's place of employment, 1873), 479hn, *see*, "return my book"
- Solomon (Washington), 519
- "So long" (WW), 1137
- "(Some good points)" (WW), 1445, 1482
- "Some interesting items" (WW), 502n, 537n, 694n, 699n, 700n, 701, 704n, 705n, 706n, 708n, 715n, 720n, 727n, 761n, 808hn,
- "Some Laggards yet, *The Perfect Human Voice*," 391n
- "some memoranda" (WW), 447n
- "Some Memoranda of the War" (WW), 723hn
- "Some might think" (WW), 1105hn
- "Some New Whitman Manuscript Notes" (Bernard), 871hn, 1365hn, 1409hn, 1410hn, 1572hn, 1892hn
- Some Notes on Whitman's Family* (Molinoff), 17n
- "Some of Walt Whitman's Borrowings" (Goodale), 344hn, *see*, Frances Wright, 2024hn
- "Some Old Acquaintances—Memories" (WW), 460n, *see*, "William Giggee"
- "Some Personal and Old Age Jottings" (WW), 1082n
- "Some Personal and Old-Age Memoranda" (WW), 1275n, *see*, *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*
- Somerby, Chas P. (book distributor for WW), 816, 816n
- "Some Specimen Cases" (WW), 570n, *see*, Grimes, John, 605n, 615n, *see*, Small, Marcus M, 620n, *see*, Amer Moore
- "Some Statistical Techniques for Disputed Authorship" (Stokes), 1625hn
- "Something that presents" (WW), 1312, *see*, "Song of Myself"
- "Some War Memoranda" (WW), 725n, 727n, 791hn
- "Song for All Seas, All Ships" (WW), 1529hn, *see*, "*Two Rivulets: Centennial Songs*"
- "Songs for Good Measure," 978hn, 978, *see*, "(is any Preface needed?)"
- "Song of Myself" (WW), 52, 54hn, 55hn, 56n, 57n, 61n, 62n, 63n, 65n, 67n, 68n, 69n, 70n, 71n, 72n, 73n, 74n, 77n, 78n, 79n, 80n, 104n, 105n, 106n, 108n, 110n, 111n, 112n, 115n, 116n, 123hn, 125n, 127n, 128n, 129n, 131n, 138n, 140n, 143n, 144n, 145n, 150n, 152n, 153n, 154n, 162hn, 163hn, 165hn, 165n, 166n, 167n, 168hn, 169hn, 172hn, 175hn, 178hn, 179hn, 180hn, 181hn, 182hn, 183hn, 183n, 184hn, 185hn, 186hn, 187hn, 194hn, 195hn, 196hn, 199n, 204hn, 212n, 224n, 374n, 395n, 1303n, 1304n, 1305n, 1312hn, 2047hn, 2049hn
- "Songs of Prudence" (WW), 56n, 130n, 202hn,
- "Song of the Answerer" (WW), 61n, 95hn, 115n, 125n, 139n, 307hn, *see*, "*Perfect Sanity*," 308hn, *see*, "Produce great persons," 310hn
- "Song of the Broad-Axe" (1856) (WW), 167n, 197hn, 197n, 201hn, 227n, 235n, 241n, 242n, 265n, 299hn, 2193n
- "Song of the Exposition" (WW), 827n, 1529hn, *see*, "Two Rivulets: Centennial Songs"
- "Song of the Future" (WW), 1359
- "Song of the Open Road" (WW), 79n, 135n, 142n, 144n, 561n
- "Song of the Red-Wood Tree" (WW), 240n
- "Song of the Sunlands" (Joaquin Miller), 1513hn, *see*, *Nation*, Miller, Joaquin, Burroughs, John
- "Song of the Universal" (WW), 1529hn, *see*, "Two Rivulets: Centennial Songs"
- "Songs of Insurrection" (WW), 932hn, *see*, *LG* (1872)
- "*Songs of Insurrection*" (WW), 932
- Songs before Sunrise* (Swinburne), 811n, *see*, "To Walt Whitman in America"
- Sorosis party, 1013, 1013n
- Sorrell, Charles, 842, 842n
- Sorrell, James H., 842, 842n, *see*, Sorrell, Charles, Doyle, Peter George
- "Sorrow ([illeg.])" (WW), 764hn, 767
- "Southern Gen. Bee" (WW), 1692
- Souder, John P., 840n, *see*, Souder, Philip
- Souder, Philip driver, 840, 840n, *see*, Souder, John P.
- Soule, John P. (Boston photographer), 1663, 1663n
- Soule, Silas S (Lieut. 1st Colorado Volunteers), 428, 428n, *see*, "English runic," Seay, Virginia Claire, 481, 481n
- Soule 34th Mass, 610, 610n
- "Sounds of the Winter" (WW), 1139hn
- Southard, Edwin (Brooklyn Hospital), 718, 718n
- "Southern Escapees" (WW), 607n
- "Southern Gen. Bee" (WW), 1692
- South Mountain, battle of, 502, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, 704n, *see*, Reno, Major General Jesse, 710
- Southold, L. I., 211n,
- South Sea Idylls* (Stoddard), 845n, *see*, "Calamus"
- Southwest Review*, 1295hn, *see*, "Whitman's Embryonic Verse" (Holloway)
- "Spanish Element in Our Nationality" (WW), 1180n, *see*, *Press* (Philadelphia), *Critic*, 1183hn
- "Sparrows—Swallows" (WW), 1080, *see*, "London—1880"
- S. P. Andrews, 482, 482n, *see*, "return my book," Pantarchy, 495, 495n
- "Speaking of literary style" (WW), 162, *see*, "Voltaire"
- Specimen Days* (WW), 893, 1069, 1102hn, 1168, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1228, 1234

- "? Specimen Days" (WW), 1175hn, 1193
Specimen Days and Collect (WW), 3, 4hn, 32hn, 38, 41, 146n, 1053hn, 1069, 1173, 1201, 1246
 "(Specimen Days) Grisi" (WW), 395n, 1064, *see*, "*Specimen Days*," "Kossuth in America," 1184hn
 "(Specimen Days) [for new Ed?]," 1204
 "Spec Days 2d Vol" (WW), 1175hn, 1176hn, 1227,
Specimens, Containing a Selection from the Printing Materials Made at This Establishment, Boston Type Foundry, 419hn, *see* "English Runic," LG 1860, John K. Rogers & Co.
Specimens of Printing Types, Plain and Ornamental, Borders, Cuts, Rules, Dashes Etc. from the Factory of L. Johnson & Co. 419hn, 419n, *see* "English runic," LG 1860, Johnson, 420n,
 "Spectacle inside the Opera House" (WW), 390
 "Spectator," 219, *see*, Steele, Sir Richard
 Speed, James (Attorney General), 814n, *see*, Speed, James [?]
 Speed, James [?], 814, 814n, *see*, Speed, James
 Spencer, Ed., in the 48th, 494, *see*, *Denike, Charles*
 Spencer Research Library (Univ of Kansas), 190hn, *see* "Do you know what music does" (WW)
 "Spenser's single object" (WW), 1793
 "? Spinal idea of a 'Lesson'" (WW), 2046, *see*, Poems Hasting"
 Spirit of German Poetry, 247, 247n, *see*, Gostick (Gostwick), Joseph
 "Spirit That Form'd This Scene" (WW), 1052hn
Spiritual Age, The, 260n
 Spofford (Ainsworth R.) (Assistant Librarian and Librarian of Congress), 445, 445n
 Spofford, R.S., & wife, 836
 "Spontaneous Me" (WW), 197hn, 197n, 412hn,
 Spooner's, 210,
 Spooner, Colonel Alden, 210n, *see*, *Long Island Star*
 Spooney (public house), 262, 262n
 Spoor, Chas H 8th New York Cavalry Co D, 673n
 Spottsylvania, 702, 710, 723hn, 725n, *see*, Sedgwick, Gen. John, 755, *see*, Whitman, George Washington, 794hn, *see*, Hancock, Major General Winfield Scott
 Sprague, Alanzo, 1012, *see*, Aiken, Frank
 "Spring of '59" (WW), 20hn, 491n, 594n, 1859hn, 1860hn, 1861, *see*, "Pictures," Dante, *Inferno*
 Spring st. (WW boarding house), 211
 Stafford, George, (Harry Stafford's father), 1004, 1004n, 1215, 1215n, 1239, 1285, *see*, Stafford, Mrs Susan
 Stafford, Harry ("H.S.", WW's young NJ friend), 818, 818n, *see*, "Harry L. Stafford," 885hn, 892, 893, 960hn, 960, *see*, *New Republic* (Camden), 962hn, 963hn, 966n, 1014hn, 1014, 1035n, 1051n, 1082n, 1090hn, 1095hn, 1101hn, 1162hn, 1163, 1163n, *see* Stafford, Mrs Susan, 1239, 1285, 1286, 1287
 Stafford, James Montgomery (brother of Harry Stafford), 1082, 1082n, *see*, Stafford, Harry, 1179, 1179n, 1181
 Stafford, Mrs Susan (Harry Stafford's mother), 853hn, 1163, 1163n, 1239, 1285, 1286
 Stafford, Wesley (Harry Stafford's cousin), 1215, 1215n
 Stanbery, Mrs. Cecilia B., 844, 844n, *see*, Stanbery, Henry
 Stanbery, Henry (attorney-general), 833, 833n, 844n, *see*, Stanbery, Mrs. Cecilia B.
 Stancel, Col., 818
Standard (Brooklyn), 88hn
Standard (Washington), 521, 521n, 898
 Stanford, Leland, 1264, 1267n
 Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn (*au.*, *Sinai and Palestine, in Connection with Their History*), 434n
 Stanley, John Mix (painter of American indians), 530, 530n, *see*, Stanly, Smithsonian Institute, *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*
 Stanly, 530, *see*, Stanley, John Mix
 Stansbery, Wm., 820, 820n
 Stanton, Edwin M. (Secretary of War), 778, 778n
 Stanton hospital (Washington), 448, 534
Star (NY), 1233n
Star (Washington), 897hn, 1036, *see*, Noyes, Crosby Stuart, "A Poet's Western Trip"
 Starr & Co, H. (London), 813
 "Starting from Paumanok" (1860) (WW), 234n, 265n, 267n, 271n, 275n, 335hn, *see*, "The Poem," 130hn, 1442hn, 2053hn
 "Starting Newspapers" (WW), 226n
 State House (Boston), 427, *see*, "English runic"
Statesman, 211, 211n
Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England (Forster), 158hn, 158
 "steamboats and vaccination" (WW), 177
 Stedman, E. C. (author and poet, friend of WW), 39, 820, 820n, 835, 835n, *see*, *Library of American Literature*
 Stedman, Edmund Clarence (poet, editor, critic friendly to WW), 1234, 1234n, 1274hn, *see*, "Walt Whitman," Scribner's, "A Quartet of Opinions," *see*, Stedman, E.C.
 Steele, Sir Richard, 219, *see*, "Tatler," "Spectator," "Guardian"
 Steffani, 390n, 395, 395n, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA"
 "Steffanone" (WW), 388hn, 390, 396, 396n, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA"
 Steiger, E, 1036

- Stephe, 259, *see*, Palmer, Charley
- Sternhold & Hopkins (hymnal), 456, 456n, *see*, "Important Ecclesiastical Gathering at Jamaica," "W. Whitman Portland av."
- Stern, Madeleine B., 206hn
- Stern, Moses, 260, 260n
- Stetson (wardmaster, Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 673
- Stevens, Billy, 254, 254n
- Stevens, C. Edw'd, 815
- Stevens, Dave (driver), 817, 817n, 842, *see*, Shephard, John
- Stevens, Dr., 485, 485n, 486, *see*, "return my book," New York Hospital
- Stevens, John H., . . . Fort Greene . . . , 494
- Stevenson, Hannah E., 537, 537n
- Stevenson, John A. (*coau.*, *Walt Whitman's Backward Glances*), 1233n, *see*, Bradley, Sculley, 1531hn
- Stewart, A. T., 445, 445n, *see*, Broadway railroad application
- Steward, Capt (51st NYV), 700, 700n, *see*, "Some interesting items," "Nov 17-'64," 702
- Stewart, David, 253, 482, *see*, "return my book"
- Stewart, Dr. (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 530
- Stewart, Edward G., 837, 837n, *see*, "Ned"
- Stewart, Doyle, Peter George, 840, 840n
- Stewart, Fred, in Register's Office, 821
- Stewart, Gen., 512, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting* . . .
- Stewart, Mr. ("Land of Burns), 463, *see*, "William Giggee," 845, 845n
- Stewart, Thos., 845, 845n
- Stewart, Wm, 255, 255n
- Stewarts (dry goods store), 423, 423n, *see*, "English runic"
- "'Still lives the song" (WW), 1556hn, 1769, *see*, "The word"
- Stillman, William J. (editor of *Crayon*), 239, 239n
- "Still more is due" (WW), 1918
- "Still though the One I Sing" (WW), 932hn
- Stilwell, James S. (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 539n, *see*, Stilwell, John, Stilwell, Margaret E., 620, 620n, 658hn, 658, 658n, *see*, "A lad of 18," "a m Dr. L B Russell," Stilwell, James S.
- Stilwell, John, 539, *see*, Stilwell, James S., 541, 541n, 544n, 620, *see*,
- Stilwell, Margaret E., 620, *see*, Stilwell, Jas E, Stilwell, John, Stilwell, James S.
- Stoddard, Charles Warren (*au.*, *South Sea Idylls*), 845, 845n
- Stoddard, Richard Henry (*ed.*, "The World of Letters"), 524, 527, *see*, Saturday Press set, Pfaff's
- Stokes, Lynne (*au.*, "Some Statistical Techniques for Disputed Authorship"), 1625hn
- Stokey, Phil, 253, 254n
- Stone, Dr., 828, 828n, 844n
- Stone, Dr. Horatio (sculptor and surgeon, Patent Office Hospital, Washington), 595, *see*, Stone, Horatio
- Stone, Horatio, 594hn, *see*, "These hospitals," Stone, Dr. Horatio
- Stone, John Augustus (*au.* *Metamora*), 498n, *see*, Calhoun, Lewis, Calhoun, Peter, Forrest, Edwin
- Stoothoof, John, policeman, 251, 251n, 481, 481n, *see*, "return my book," "[illeg.] Dick Hunt"
- Stories from Italian Poets* (Hunt), 239, 239n
- Storms, George, 958n, *see*, Storms, Walter Whitman
- Storms, Herman (NY driver), 481, 481n, 822, 822n, *see*, Storms, Walter Whitman
- Storms, Walter Whitman, 822n, *see*, Storms, Herman, 958, 958n
- Storms, John I., 82, 82n
- Story of Leonidas (WW), 439, *see*, "81 Clerman"
- Stovall, Floyd (AL), 53hn, 54hn, 71n, 73n, 82n, 95hn, 138hn, 141n, 239n, 257n, 269n, 344hn, 389hn, *The Foreground of Leaves of Grass*, 389hn, 434n, 453hn, 457n, 459hn, 474hn, 1432hn, 1732hn, 1738hn, 1770hn, 1772hn, 1780hn, 1783hn, 1785hn, 1787hn, 1788hn, 1812hn, 1824hn, 1827hn, 1829hn, 1830hn, 1835hn, 1840hn, 1841hn, 1858hn, 1860hn, 1878hn, 1886hn, 1894hn, 1917hn, 1920n, 1922n, 1927hn, 2008hn, 2009n, 2013n, 2014n, 2020hn, 2021hn, 2023hn, 2031hn, and following note
- Stovall, Floyd (*au.*, *The Foreground of "Leaves of Grass"*), 389, 1625hn, 1712hn, 1769hn, 1789hn, 1791hn, 1806hn, 1816hn, 1818hn, 1824hn, 1842hn, 1843hn, 1846hn, 1884hn, 1885hn, 1890hn, 1924hn, 2009hn, 2034hn, and following note
- Stovall, Floyd (*au.*, "Whitman's Knowledge of Shakespeare"), 1739hn, 1741hn, 1743hn, 1745n, 1746n, 1747n, 1754hn, 2238n
- Stowe, Mrs. (*au.*, *Men of Our Times*), 771hn, 771, *see*, Herndon, H. W.
- Strahan & Co (London publishers), 811
- Strain Daniel (liquor merchant, NY), 822, 822n, 831, 831n, *see*, Calhune, Peter
- Strain, John, Co A 1st Indiana Cav
- Strong, John (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 571
- Stratton, Alfred E., 846
- Strong conviction, 266
- Strong, Lorenzo (died in Armory Square Hospital), 536
- Strong, Major Gen George C., 640hn, 640, *see*, "Major Gen"

- Studies in Sexual Inversion* (Symonds), 810n
 Symonds, John Addington (*au.*, *Studies of Greek Poets*), 810, *see*, *Studies in Sexual Inversion* 810n, 811n, 1164, 1164n, 1578hn
 Stuart, Gen., 511, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting* . . . , Pleasanton, Gen.
Studies in Literature, 1179n, *see*, Dowden, Professor Edward
 "Study of Carlyle, A," 1805hn, *see*, "Moral Influence of George Eliot by One Who Knew Her," *Contemporary Review, Reminiscences* (Carlyle), "Astronomy"
 "Study of Whitman, A" (Roden), 897n, *see*, *Dark Blue, The*
 "Study of Whitman, A" (W. S. Kennedy), 1136hn, *see*, *The Californian*
 Sturges, Col., 402n, *see*, Sturges Division
 Sturges Division, 482, 482n, *see*, Whitman, George Washington, Ferrero's Brigade, *see*, Sturges, Col.
 Sturges, Gen., 510, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting* . . . , Sturges, Lt., 727, 727n, Ferrero, Col. (Gen.), Sturges Division
Style (WW), 409, *see*, "June 26 '59"
 "Subject for a ballad" (WW), 1380
 "Subject for a Poem" (WW), 1065n
 "such a thing as ownership" (WW), 113n, 120
 "Subjects for articles" (WW), 1988hn
 "Such boundless and affluent souls" (WW), 203
 Suddards & Fennimore 820 Arch st Phila, 825
 Suez Canal, 927hn, 927
 Suffolk county, 6, 20, 31, 36, 39, 41, 45hn, 45,
 "Suggestions" (WW), 1255
 "Suggest that a new" (WW), 2164, *see*, "General Suffrage, Elections, &c"
 Sullivan, Danielle (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 574
 Sullivan, Thos. E. (Campbell Hospital, Washington), 534, 534n
 Sulphur Springs (Virginia), 510, 512, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting* . . .
 Sulphur Springs . . . at Warrenton (Virginia), 501, *see*, *Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade*
 Summer & Franklin streets (Boston), 428, *see*, "English runic"
 "Summer of 1864" (WW), 544hn, *see*, *Recitation*, 582hn, *see*, "My Visits and distributions"
 "Summer Rivulets" (WW), 1412
 "Summers and Winters" (WW), 46hn, 1269
 Sumner, Gen., 506, *see*, *Falmouth, Tuesday Morning Dec 23 '62*
 Sumner, Senator Charles, 547, 547n, 552, 552n, *see*, "Walt Whitman Soldier's," 564, 604, 604n, 915, 915n
Sun (New York), 218, 218n, 240, 422n, *see*, Phillips, George S., 812n, *see*, Swinton, John, 898, 1012n, 1153hn, 1163n, *see*, Dana, Charles A
 "Sunday evening. Feb 15th 1863" (WW), 555, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper"
 "Sunday Evening Lectures" (WW), 2038hn
 "SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES" (WW), 1816hn, 2007hn, 2007, 2009
 "Sunday. Feb. 22, 1863" (WW), 565, *see*, "Hospitals/Culpepper"
 Sunday Herald (NY), 240
 Sunday Leader, 239
 "Sunday Morning, early May '84" (WW), 1101hn, *see*, "May 16, 17 '81"
 "Sunday, Sept. 14, '84, Cape May, N.J." (WW), 991hn, 1200
 "Sunday '79" (WW), 1010hn, 1016, *see*, "Far and Near at 59"
 "Sun-Down Papers" (WW), 56n, 113n
 "Supplement Hours" (WW), 1058hn, *see*, "At the Ferry Houses," 1061n
 "Sustenance for the great" (WW), 324
 Sutherland, Byron, 818, 818n, 827, 827n
 Sutherland, Thos, Oct '64 31 4th av, 693
 Swanger, Absalom (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 654, *see*, "Absalom Swanger"
 Swallow, Miss Harriett H 433 Arch Phila, 1210, 1210n, 1211, *see*, "Miss Harriet H Swallow"
 Swayne, W., 831, 831n
 Swayne, W. W., 837, 837n
 Swarton, Wm, 822
 "Swedenborg" (WW), 2034
 Sweeney, James, 498
 Sweetin, Andrew, Expressman Camden, 818, 818n, 1670
Sweeten, John . . . driver, 487, 487n
 "Sweet flag" (WW), 194
 Sweezey, Frank, 488, *see*, "return my book," Eyre, Ellen
 S. W. Green (printed "Passage to India" etc.), 813, 813n, 847n, 904hn, 904, 917, 918
 Swift, 219, *see*, "Tale of a Tub," "Gulliver's Travels"
 Swinburne, Algernon Charles, 811, 811n, *see*, "Rossetti," "To Walt Whitman in America" (*Songs before Sunrise*), 835n, 909, 909n, 961, 1502hn, *see*, *William Blake*, 2100hn
 Swinton, Jack, 249, 249n, *see*, Hollis C. Carroll, Swinton, John
 Swinton, Jo, *see*, Swinton, John
 Swinton, John (WW's friend and editor on the *NY Times*); 226, 226n, *see*, Hollis, C. Carroll, 721hn, 749n, 750n, 812, 812n, 879hn, 909, 909n, 1162, 1162n, 1215, 1502hn, *see*, "Of William Blake," 1624hn
 Swinton, Wm (war correspondent, *NY Times*, identical with following three entries), 480, 480n, 842, 842n, *see*, "return my book"

- Swinton, Prof Wm., University of California, 824, 824n, 884n, *see*, Swinton, William Lewis
- Swinton, William (*tr.*, *Rousseau's Confessions*), 1843hn, 1846hn, *see*, "The Social Contract," Stovall (*Foreground*), *Oeuvres de J. J. Rousseau*, Swinton, William Lewis
- Swinton (William Lewis), 249, 249n, *see*, Hollis, C. Carroll, 260, 260n, *see*, Hollis, C. Carroll, 263, 263n, *see*, "Whitman and William Swinton" (Hollis), 267n, 432, 432n, *see*, Swinton, John, 548, 548n, 812n, 1432hn, 1624hn, *see*, *Rambles Among Words*, *Putnam's Magazine*, *Times* (NY), 1625hn, 1840hn, 1843hn, 1845, *see*, Swinton, John (*tr.* *Voltaire's Confessions*), 1846hn, *see*, "Rambles Among Words"
- Swinton (William or John ?), 431, 431n, 432, 432n
- Swishhelm, Jane Grey, 565, 565n, *see*, Minnesota massacre, Larson, Arthur J., Oehler, C. M.
- S. [?] Wolf, 616 L st, 847n
- "Sword-Calls" (WW), 1381, *see*, "Emerson/Idaho," 1718, 1718n
- Studies of the Greek Poets* (Symonds), 810n, 1578hn
- Sydnor, William (Washington driver), 814, 814n
- Symonds, 810, 810n, 811, 1164, 1578hn
- "Sympathy" (WW), 963
- System of Physical Geography* (Warren), 247
- "T**acher, T. D. (editor, *Lawrence, Kansas Daily Journal*), 1028hn
- "Tacitus" (WW), 1921, *see*, *Historical Annals of Cornelius Tacitus*, (The Murphy), "Old theory started"
- Tacitus* (Murphy), 1920n
- Taft, Robert (*Photography and the American Scene*), 1399hn
- Taft, Robert A. (*au.*, "The Pictorial History of the Old West," IV, "Custer's Last Stand"), 1115hn, *see*, "Custer's Last Rally"
- Taine, Hippolyte (*au.*, *History of English Literature*), 1075n
- "tainting the best" (WW), 179
- "take (Marg. D Valois)" (WW), 449n, 522n, 600, 600n, *see*, Dumas, Alexander, *pere, Marguerite de Valois*, 604n, 787n
- "Taking en-masse" (WW), 1562
- Talbot, Jesse (artist), 55n, 260, 260n, 443n, 495, 495n, *see*, "albot Wilson"
- Talbot, William, 493, *see*, Fargo, Alanson
- "Talk to an Art-Union" (WW), 1065n
- Talley, Mike (or Dalley), 252, 252n, 258, 258n
- Talley, Pete [*illeg.*], 252, 252n
- "talk with Mr Jo Reeves"
- Tallman, S. D., office American Institute N.Y. City, 827, 827n
- Tanzer, Arnold, 814, 814n
- Tannhauser*, 883, *see*, Wagner
- Tappan, Col. S. F., 824, *see*, Hurd & Houghton
- Taries, Sam'l F. (Patent Office Hospital Ward, Washington), 520
- Tarkett, D C, West Brookville NY, 614, *see*, Tarkett, Levi W
- Tarkett, Levi W co E 143 NY, 614, *see*, Tarkett, D C
- Tarisse (photographer), 1399hn, *see*, "PENITENZA," 1400, 1402, 1402n, 1403
- Tarisse, J. C., Mr. Leybold 840
- "Tar, turpentine" (WW), 374
- Tarr, Capt Horace G H 20th Conn, 678
- Tartter, C. S., 843n
- Tasistro, Louis Fitzgerald (journalist and State Department translator), 811n, 824, 824n, 901hn, 901, 901n
- "Tasso. Petrarch" (WW), 1864
- Tattler*, 211, 211n
- "Tattler," 219, *see*, Steele, Sir Richard
- Taylor, Bayard Kenneth Square, Penn., 814, 814n, 1221hn, 1221, 1221n, *see*, *Tribune* (NY), 1771hn
- Taylor, Col—Commissary Genl, 582hn
- Taylor, Danl D, 669, *see*, Taylor, James
- Taylor, Corp. John J., 522
- Taylor, Mrs Fannie L, 1810 Olive st St Louis, 1037, 1037n, 1053
- Taylor, Father, *see*, Father Taylor
- Taylor, Henry (Johny Sackback), 252
- Taylor, James (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 669, *see*, Danl D Taylor
- Taylor, James T., 845
- Taylor, Jerry (N.J.) . . . slept with me last night, 537
- Taylor, William H, 828n, *see*, Wm H. Taylor, 838, 838n
- Taylor, Wm H., 828, 828n, *see*, Taylor, William H., Taylor, Wm H, policeman
- Taylor, Wm H, policeman, 1012, 1012n, *see*, Taylor Wm H
- Taylor, Zachary, 84n 1268
- T B Pardee, Hon, 1164, 1164n
- T. C. & G. G. Brown, 832
- T. Dixon, 909, 909n, *see*, Rossetti
- Tebbel, John, 238n, *see*, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States*
- Tecumseh*, 719, 719n, *see*, "John Faron," 720
- Telegram* (NY), 898
- "Tell the American" (WW), 627
- Temple, Sir Wm., 219
- Ten Notebooks* (Library of Congress), 53hn, 58n, 478hn,
- Tennyson, Alfred, 813, 813n, *see*, Flower, Cyril, 883, 909, 909n, 961, 1536hn, 1538n, 1757hn, 1760hn, 1763
- Tennyson (*au.*, *Maude*), 1771hn

- Tennyson, Alfred (*au.*, *Queen Mary*), 1759hn, 1907hn, 1908hn, 1910hn, 1911hn, 1912hn, 1913hn, 1914hn
- "Tennyson Dec '78" (WW), 1760, *see*, "Tennyson have been reading," "Tennyson / residuum scraps," "The old original rude ones," "comes it," "the primary point," "Tennyson loves"
- "Tennyson have been reading" (WW), 1760hn, 1763
- "Tennyson loves" (WW), 1760hn, 1765
- "Tennyson / residuum scraps" (WW), 1760hn, 1762
- Thalberg, Sigismund, 152n
- Tennessee Cumberland Hospital (Nashville, Tennessee), 806
- Thacher, I. D., 1028hn
- "That growth and tendency" (WW), 2060
- "That it perpetually Libre" (WW), 378
- "That Shadow My Likeness" (WW), 410n,
- "that the best part" (WW), 2102
- "That there should be" (WW), 1570
- Thayer, W. W., *Journal of Commerce* Kansas City, Mo., 827
- Thayer and Eldridge (WW's publishers of 1860 LG), 428n, *see*, Silas S Soule, 470hn, Eldridge, Charles W., 834n, *see*, Hinton, Richard J., 1096, *see*, "Nov:26 1880 R Worthington," 1229
- Thayer, Dr. Sam'l W, 842, 842n, 843, 843n
- "The Air" (WW), 376, 2001, 2059hn
- "The Amadis of Gaul" (WW), 1868, *see*, *History of Spanish Literature* (Ticknor), *The American*, 1103hn
- "The American people" (WW), 316, *see*, "man boy child," 2115, *see*, "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!," 2127n
- "The Army Hospitals" (WW), 575hn, *see*, "Hours in Our Military Hospitals," 588hn, *see*, "I go around," 591, *see*, "Hours in Our Military Hospitals"
- "The Artilleryman's Vision" (WW), 515n, *see*, *A battle*, 541n, *see*, *Finale for Democracy*, 668n, 670n, *see*, "Baily D Damon"
- "The Author's Edition" (LG) (WW), 1399hn, *see*, LG (1871), "Passage to India," "Two Rivulets"
- "The beef, wheat and lumber" (WW), 1941
- "The beginning" (WW), 998
- "The beginning of Attempted Secession" (WW), 944hn, *see*, "more broad & simple"
- "The Bell" (WW), 411hn, *see*, "June 26 '59"
- "The Bible" (WW), 811n
- "The Bible Shaksper" (WW), 1578, 1712hn, 1730hn, 1804hn
- the Bloods, 846, 846n, *see*, Blood, Henry A., Blood Mrs. Henry A.
- "The broad and sweeping" (WW), 2244
- "The celebrated old" (WW), 247n 1812hn, 1816, *see*, "Our own account," 1838hn
- "the city as well" (WW), 908
- "The City Dead-House" (1867) (WW), 438n, 479hn, *see*, "return my book," "81 Clerman"
- "The Communists" (WW), 1161
- "THE CONSCIENCES—THE MORAL ONE" (WW), 2073, *see*, "Though I Think," "The Moral Sentiment," 2075hn
- "The Corruption" (WW), 862n, 2136, *see*, "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!"
- "The contrabands" (WW), 479hn, *see*, "return my book" 546, *see*, "Unpublished Notebook—Walt Whitman in Washington, A," 576hn, *see*, "Wednesday 4th March"
- THE CROW (WW), 566, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper"
- "The Dead Tenor" (WW), 395n, *see*, Brignoli, Pasquale
- The Dead Houses* (WW), 486, 486n, *see*, "return my book," "81 Clerman," LG (1867)
- "The Daylight" (WW), 934
- "The dead of This War" (WW), 1375hn, 1378, *see*, "for lecture"
- "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!" (WW), 144n, 209hn, 213n, 214n, 216n, 283hn, 354hn, 1597hn, 2112hn, 2113hn, 2115hn, 2117hn, 2118hn 2119, *see*, "Literature," "The Tenth Presidency," "recommendation to the young men," 2136hn, 2148n, 2175n, 2192hn
- "*The English Masses*" (WW), 1986
- "The epos of a life" (WW), 1445, 1481, *see*, "INSCRIPTION. at the entrance"
- "The filth, deviltry" (WW), 1203
- "The 1st Kansas" (WW), 637hn, 637, *see*, 1st Kansas Colored Volunteers
- "The florid rich" (WW), 1555
- "The following" (WW), 1236
- The Foreground of "Leaves of Grass"* (*au.*, Stovall), 389, 1625hn
- "?The foregoing remarks" (WW), 853, 1385hn
- "The friendly and flowing sonage" (WW), 178hn
- "The full history" (WW), 1695
- The Galaxy*, 541n, 594hn, *see*, "Democracy," *Democratic Vistas*, *Finale for Democracy*, Stone, Horatio, 813n, *see*, Botta, Mrs. Anne Lynch, 834n, *see*, W. C. & F. P. Church, publishers, 856hn, 859hn, 860hn, 1401n, 1576hn, 2154hn
- The Good Gray Poet* (*au.*, O'Connor), 839n
- "The Good Hostess" (WW), 296hn, 297
- "The Great Army of the Wounded," 519n, 575hn *see*, *Times* (NY), 579hn, *see*, "Sights you see," 603n, *see*, Dr. Mitchell
- "*The Great Construction*" (WW), 353
- "The greatest poems may not immediately" (WW), 371
- "The great themes" (WW), 1757

- "The Growth of Words" (WW), 1626hn, *see*,
 Rambles Among Words"
 "The head" (WW), 1240
 "The History" (WW), 1614hn, 1615
The Historic Whitman (au., Rubin), 55n, 150n
 "—The horse-cars" (WW), 1118hn, 1122
 "The idea" (WW), 2008
 "The Idea of All" (WW), 811n, 984, *see*, "Thou
 Mother with Thy Equal Blood"
 "The idea of reconciliation" (WW), 399
 "The idea of reconciliation" (WW), 400, *see*, "The
 Tramp and Strike Questions"
 "The ideas of growth" (WW), 2056hn, 2079hn,
 2088, *see*, "Religion—the noblest"
 "The idea that" (WW), 366
 "The Iliad the Bible" (WW), 1877
 "The incident of the blowing up" (WW), 1185
 "The Inferno" (WW), 491, 491n, *see*, "return my
 book," Dante, Mathews, J. C., "Spring of '59"
 "The insects" (WW), 287, 287n, *see*, "Whole
 poem Poem of Insects," "The scope of gov-
 ernment"
 "the intellectual" (WW), 951, *see*, "Full Tide and
 Ebb"
 "The Last of the Sacred Army" (WW), 405n, *see*,
 "June 26 '59," *Democratic Review*,
 "The last will and testament" (WW), 904hn,
 1068hn, 1238hn, 1285, *see*, Kennedy, Wil-
 liam Sloane, *Fight of a Book for the World*, *The*,
 "Washington, D.C.," "written at 431 ste-
 vens," "my house and lot 328 Mickle street"
 "The lesson" (WW), 2150
 "The Liberty Boys" (WW), 465, *see*, "In the lat-
 ter part," Willett, Marinus, McDougall, Alex-
 ander
 "The Mandolin" (WW), 1423hn, 1423
 "The May Queen" (Tennyson), 1536hn, *see*, "Ti-
 resias"
 "The Men North or South" (WW), 1258
 "The money value" (WW), 119
 "The moral sentiment" (WW), 2073hn, 2107
 "The most immense part" (WW), 1924, *see*,
 "Unnamed Lands," "Immortality was real-
 ized"
 "The most perfect wonders" (WW), 186
 "The most superb beauties" (WW), 184, 185hn,
 "The most Triumphant Jubilant Poem" (WW),
 1367
 "The mouldering bones" (WW), 1929
 "The mountain-ash," (WW), 197
 "(The MUSE invited" (WW), 1529, *see*, "Two Ri-
 vulets: Centiniall Songs"
 "The Mystic Trumpeter" (WW), 1028, *see*, Hin-
 ton, Richard, *Kansas Magazine*
 "The name of this" (WW), 1531, *see*, "A Back-
 ward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads"
 "The Neibenlungen" (WW), 1812hn
 "The New Inland America" (WW), 1942hn,
 1943, *see*, "Editorial for insertion," 1944hn
 "The newspapers still" (WW), 333hn, 811n, 897
 "The new theologies" (WW), 2043, *see*, Preface
 1855, "By Blue Ontario's Shore"
 "THE N.Y. ACADEMY OF MUSIC" (WW), 392, *see*,
 "A VISIT TO THE OPERA"
 "The Nibelungen Leid" (WW), 1812hn, 1821, *see*,
 "Neibelungen-leid Song"
 "The Nibelungen" (WW), 1814
 The. L. Mumford, 827
 "The Odyssey" (WW), 1885, 1886hn, *see*, Od-
 yssey (Homer)
 "The Old Bowery" (WW), 226n, 391n, 395n,
 1194hn
 THE OLD ELM (Boston Common), 424, 424n, *see*,
 "English runic"
 "The old-fashioned keel-boats" (WW), 293
 "The Old Whitman and Van Velsor Cemeter-
 ies," (WW), 4hn
 "the onion-like camas" (WW), 1165, *see*, "April
 '63. Washington"
 "The only way" (WW), 118
 "The only way in which anything can be owned"
 (WW), 113n
 "The Opera," 389, 1942hn, 1943hn, 1944hn *see*,
 "A VISIT TO THE OPERA," *Life Illustrated*
 "THE ORCHESTRA" (WW), 393, *see*, "A VISIT
 TO THE OPERA"
 "The Ox-Tamer" (WW), 407n
 "The Palestine Hyena" (WW), 941
 the Partridges, 844, 844n
 "The Perfect Human Voice" (WW), 395n,
 1194hn
 "The Philosophy of Words" (WW), 1626hn
 "the picture" (WW), 1803, *see*, *Mazeppa*
 "THE Poem" (WW), 335
 "The Poets' Tribute to Garfield," 1127, *see*, "The
 Sobbing of the Bells"
 "The Poet Walt Whitman" (WW), 810n, 836n,
see, Hinton, Richard J.
 "The Poetry of other lands" (WW), 1435
 "The power by which" (WW), 136
 "The Prairies" (WW), 1028hn
 "The Prairies and Great Plains in Poetry" (WW),
 1039n, *see*, "Wapalingua Chief"
 "The President's Proclamation" (WW), 519n, *see*,
 Channing, William Henry, Emancipation
 Proclamation, "return my book"
 "THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION" (WW), 545,
see, Emancipation Proclamation, "return my
 book"
 "the primary point" (WW), 1760hn, 1767,
 "The Primer of Words" (WW), 266n
 "The questions involved" (WW), 1589
 "the RR we go on" (WW), 1030
 "The relation between" (WW), 1217
 "The regular old followers" (WW), 54hn, 56n,
 108n, 113, 118hn, 119hn, 121hn, 123hn

- "The regular time for baking bread" (WW), 156hn, 165hn, 296, 296hn, 297hn
 "Theme for Piece" (WW), 869, 1385hn
 "Then, as a sample" (WW), 785
 "The Ruins" (WW), 1932
 "The Salt Manufacture," 368hn, *see*, "Salt works"
 "the school has been" (WW), 2203
 "The scope of government" (WW), 283, 1349hn, 2112hn, 2113hn, 2131n, 2148n
 "The Scout" (WW), 377, 934hn
 "The secret is here" (WW), 2055
 "The Serpent" (WW), 962
 "The Shadow and Light of a Young Man's Soul," (WW), 46hn
 "The shower of meteors" (WW), 282, 282n, *see*, *Niles' Weekly Register*, 1084hn, 1307hn
 "The Silent General" (WW), 1037n
 "(The Sky)" (WW), 993, *see*, "The Sky—Days and Nights—Happiness"
 "The Sky—Days and Nights—Happiness" (WW), 993hn, *see*, "The Sky," 1234n
 "The Sleepers" (WW), 57n, 58n, 78n, 110n, 166n, 205hn, 1186hn, *see*, *Mexico*
 "The Sobbing of the Bells" (WW), 1127hn, *see*, *Boston Globe*, "The Poets' Tribute to Garfield"
 "The Social Contract" (WW), 1845hn, 1846
 "The Song of Hiawatha" (WW), 1730, *see*, "The Bible Shakespeare," "Death of Longfellow"
 "The Song of Prudence" (WW), 860hn
 "The Soul's Procession" (WW), 1390
 "The Squirrel's Highway" (Gibson), 1166hn, *see*, *Harper's*
 "The States" (WW), 1348
 "—the story of Dantes" (WW), 1859, *see*, "Spring of '59"
 "The strange events" (WW), 756hn, 760hn, 764, 766hn, 767hn
 "The superiority of Emerson's" (WW), 1714, *see*, "Foreground," "Bells and Pomegranates," 1796n
 "the swell streets" (WW), 1116
 "The —th Presidency" (WW), 2120hn, *see*, "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!"
 "The th Presidency" (WW), 2118, *see*, "THE EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENCY!"
 "The Test" (WW), 187
 "The test of goodliness or truth" (WW), 190hn
 "The Teutonic includes" (WW), 1983
 "The theme of my lecture" (WW), 2061
 "The the spirit" (WW), 1431
 "The thought of the completion" (WW), 925, 928hn
 "The tide perceptibly turns" (WW), 1206
 "The time is close" (WW), 2157
 "The tramp & strike question" (WW), 1155
 "The Tramp and Strike Questions" (WW), 400hn, 400, 856hn
 "The Troubadour" (Verdi), 390, 390n, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE OPERA"
 "The truce" (WW), 1054
 "(The two ideas" (WW), 2142
 "THE TWO OBJECTIONS *See* W. Davenport Adam's" (WW), 333hn,
 "The two Objections to Walt Whitman" (WW), 847n, 995
 "'The unknown refused'" (WW), 61n, 83
 "THE VIOLIN" (WW), 1098
 "The voice is a curious organ" (WW), 398
 "The Weather—Does It Sympathize with These Times?" (WW), 552n, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper"
 "The western boatmen" (WW), 1666
 "The Whale" (WW), 1999, 1305n
 "The Word" (WW), 1556, *see*, "Still lives the song"
 The worship of God (WW), 2100, *see*, *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, *The* (Blake), *William Blake* (Swinburne), "Of William Blake"
 "The world studies" (WW), 298
 "The Wound Dresser" (WW), 1526hn, *see*, "PERSONAL"
 "The Wound Dresser" (WW), 579hn, *see*, "Sights you see," 610n, *see*, "Walt Whitman Soldier's," 700n, 743hn, 830n
 "The Wounded from Chancellorsville" (WW), 597hn, *see*, "'63 May 14"
 "The wreck of the 'Mexico'" (WW), 1186
 "—the writers" (WW), 333hn
 "—the writers in the Tribune" (WW), 1221
 "Then (I should say" (WW), 858
 "Then on the red" (WW), 1118hn, 1121
 "Then the new word" (WW), 1680, *see*, "Words 'blizzard,'" 1681hn
 "Then we can often" (WW), 1700
 "Then Whitman himself" (WW), 1504
 "Theoretically thought of democracy" (WW), 2161
 "Theory of a Cluster" (WW), 412hn, *see*, "A string of Poems," "Children of Adam," "Adamic Poems," "Calamus poems," "I Sing the Body Electric," "A Woman Waits for Me," "Spontaneous Me," "Live Oak Leaves," 413, 1360hn, *see*, "A cluster of poems," 1368hn
 "there are leading" (WW), 2140, *see*, "One good of knowing"
 "There is a river" (WW), 1984
 "There is no consecutiveness" (WW), 1106
 "There is no false religion" (WW), 2064
 "There is some" (WW), 137
 "There is something" (WW), 1596, *see*, "Literature. The tendency"
 "There is that" (WW), 471
 "There is no consecutiveness" (WW), 1107hn
 "There is not only" (WW), 1237
 "There is something very bitter" (WW), 1603hn
 "There should be" (WW), 2219
 "The Return of the Heroes" (WW), 763n

- "There Was a Child Went Forth" (WW), 57n, 142n, 1309hn
 "There Was a Child Went Forth" (WW), 1358hn, *see*, "Companions"
 "There will never" (WW), 1512
Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases (Roget), 1650n
 "These hospitals" (WW), 594, *see*, "Home in Our Military Hospitals"
 "(These I believe" (WW), 1579
 "These notes are all" (WW), 1107
 "They are frequently changed" (WW), 586hn, 587, *see*, "and out; and one," "'Tis But Ten Years Since," "Hospital Perplexity"
 "They are not patriotic" (WW), 1719
 "They say Milton's" (WW), 1798, *see*, *Sampson Agonistes*
 "Things and Thoughts in Europe. No. V" (Fuller), 1806hn, *see*, *Tribune* (NY)
 "think of the glints we get" (WW), 1110hn, *see*, "on to Boston"
 Thirteenth Amendment (U.S. Constitution), 1403 (abolition of slavery), 1403n
 35th Mass. 501, *see*, *Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero*, 509, *see*, *Va. on the Falmouth side, Friday, Dec. 26th, '62*, *see*, Leesboro' Sept 7th, 511, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fighting . . .*, Fredericksburgh, battle of, *see*, "? Dec. '62 . . . Brigade drill," Ferrero, Col. (Gen.),
 35th Mass., 512, *see*, 100 ? ^ *days fighting . . . see, Va. On the Falmouth side, Friday, Dec. 26th, '62*, 515
 35 Lispenard, 100, 100n
 394 L Street North (WW's address at the home of W. D. O'Connor in Washinting), 479hn, 480, *see*, "return my book," 569, 569n
 37th Congress, 576, 577, 578, *see*, "Wednesday 4th March"
 "This Compost" (1856) (WW), 283hn, 289n, 292n, 316hn, 871hn
 "This [?] has made" (WW), 1442, *see*, "Starting from Paumanock"
 "This, or the equivalent" (WW), 337
 "This singular young man" (WW), 50
 "this suits very well" (WW), 987
 "This western two-thirds" (WW), 1958
 Thomas, Adj Gen, 639, *see*, Vicksburgh
 Thomas, Alfred, 904hn, 904
 Thomas, Dion (NY bookseller, distributor of *LG*), 824, 824n
 Thomas, General Lorenzo F., 626hn, 626, *see*, *N.Y. Tribune*
 "Thos H Groves" (WW), 737, 740hn
 Thos. Jeff. Hibsman, 847, 847n, *see*, Hibshman, Thomas J.
 Thomas, J. (*coau.*, *Complete Pronouncing Gazetteer on Geographical Dictionary of the World . . .*), 193hn, *see*, Baldwin, Thomas
 Thomas, Major General John H (commander of the Army of the Cumberland), 781, 781n
 "Thos Nelson & Sons" (WW), 1059n, 1370
 Thos Nelson & Sons 42 Bleecker st NY 1370hn, 1370, *see*, "Thos Nelson & Sons"
 Thomas, Wm C. (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 570, 570n, *see*, "June 21 '63," 573, 646hn, 646
 Thomas the Rhymer, 269, 269n, *see*, *Scott's Poems*
 Thompson, George, 841, *see*, Mr. Wilmot
 Thompson, Honora E., 1036, 1037
 Thompson, John (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 672
 Thompson, Jos W, 1036
 Thompson, Joseph Wm., Goldsmith Building Temple London Eng, 1035, 1037
 Thompson, Thos (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 672
 Thompson, Wm, Gloucester, N.J., 1235
 Thornett, Alf. R. (friend of Peter Doyle's), 815, 815n
 Thornett, Alfred, 846, 846n
 Thoreau, 1731hn, *see*, "Ossian-Thoreau"
 "those stages" (WW), 1927hn
 "Thou Mother with Thy Equal Blood" (WW), 984hn, *see*, "the Idea of All"
 "Thou Vast Rondure Swimming in Space" (WW), 836, 925hn, *see*, "Passage to India"
 "—though a big certificate" (WW), 333hn, 1231
 "Though I think" (WW), 2073hn, 2075, *see*, "The Consciences"
 "Though Orb Aloft Full Dazzling" (WW), 1094, *see*, "In highest Noon," 1103hn, *see*, "A Summer Invocation"
 "Though the spare hours" (WW), 1140
 "Though who does not see" (WW), 2086
 "Thought never to be" (WW), 2222
 "Thoughts—4: 'Of Ownership . . .'" (WW), 113n, 118n
 "Thoughts on Reading" (H. N. Hudson), 95n
 394 L st (W. D. O'Conner's address in Washington), 602, 602n
 328 Mickle st (Camden, WW's last residence), 1023hn, 1195, 1202, 1241, 1242hn, 1286
 THREE LECTURES ON RELIGION (WW), 408
 "Three Years Summ'd Up" (WW), 804hn
 "Three Young Men's Deaths" (WW), 654n, *see*, Haskell, Erastus, 1167hn, *see*, *Cope's Tobacco Plant*
 "Through the spirit" (WW), 1431
 Thurer, Henry (Campbell Hospital, Washington), 519, 519n, *see*, "Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers"

- "Thursday July 27" (WW), 756
 "Thursday, 19th Feb. 1863" (WW), 562, *see*,
 Brown, Lewis K., "Hospitals/Culpepper"
 "Thus wise it comes" (WW), 1475, *see*, "Intro-
 duction No. 6," "Inscription to the Reader"
 Tiberini, Mario, 395n, *see*, "A VISIT TO THE
 OPERA"
 Tice & Lynch 34 Pine st N.Y., 817
 Ticknor and Osgood (Boston printers), 1124hn,
 Ticknor, George (*au.*, *History of Spanish Litera-
 ture*), 440n, 441n, 442n, *see*, *The Cid*, 460,
 460n, 1868hn, 1870n, 1871n, 1872hn, 1874n
 Tilden, Lt.*, 702n
 Tillary st. (family residence), 10n
 Tillary cor. Washington (Miller's) (family resi-
 dence), 10, 210
 Tillary street, 757, *see*, "Geo. born," Whitman,
 George Washington
 Tillotson (Archbishop of Canterbury), 219,
Times (Brooklyn), 43, 24hn, 272n, *see*, *Great Po-
 lice Riot*, 1942hn, 1943hn, 1946hn, 1949hn
Times (London), 461, 1181
Times (NY), 22n, 239n, 445n, 479hn, 480n, 491n,
 501n, 503n, 519n, 537, 546, 575, 578n, 586hn,
 588hn, 603n, 607n, 654n, 682hn, 684, 691hn,
 705n, 717hn, 720, 721hn, 749n, 812n, 814n,
see Raymond, Henry J., 879hn, *see*, Swinton,
 John, 1012n, 1162n, 1624hn
Times (Philadelphia), 1050
Times, Sunday, 239, 239n,
Tinsley's Magazine, 852hn, 852
 "Tiresias" (Tennyson), 1536hn, *see*, "The May
 Queen"
 "'Tis But Ten Years Since" (WW), 582hn, *see*,
 "My Visits and distributions," 587hn, *see*, "They
 are frequently changed," 1187n, *see*, *Weekly
 Graphic* (NY), Johnson, Mrs N M, 1206hn,
 2122n
 T. J. Coffey, 831
 T. J. Haydn (*au.*, *Dictionary of Dates*), 458, 548n,
see, "W. Whitman Portland av."
 "To a Certain Cantatrice" (1860) (WW), 391n,
 932hn
 "To a Certain Civilian" (WW), 152n
 "To a Common Prostitute" (WW), 264, 264n,
 271n, *see*, "Book of Letters ? Poem," "Messen-
 ger Leaves" (LG)
 "To a Foil'd European Revolutionaire" (WW),
 932hn, 2243hn
 "TO AID" (WW), 469
 "To America" (WW), 956
 "To a President" (WW), 2139hn
 "To a Stranger" (WW), 561n
 "To be all" (WW), 194hn
 "To Change the Book" (WW), 923
 "(? to conclude 'Footsteps') (WW), 1019, *see*,
 "(? preface 'Footsteps'"
- "To getter up" (WW), 333hn, 974hn, 1526hn,
 1530
 "To Him That Was Crucified" (1860) (WW),
 266n
 "To India" (WW), 494n, *see*, Brisbane, Albert,
 "Passage to India"
 "To make two Vol-Collections" (WW), 1165, *see*,
 SDC
 "To One Shortly to Die" (WW), 239n, 271n, *see*,
 "Messenger Leaves" (LG), "Book of Letters ?
 Poem"
 To Picture-Makers (WW), 435, 435n, *see*, "Pic-
 tures," 81 Clerman
 "To present A Case" (WW), 2249
 "To reduce every thing" (WW), 966, *see*, "A
 COUNTRY AUCTION," "Camden, N. Jersey &
 Delaware," "MEMORANDA (old & new)"
 "To the English" (WW), 1316, *see*, "Salut au
 Monde!"
 "To the liquid" (WW), 1414
 To The Prevailing Bards (WW), 410, *see*, "June
 26 '59," "That Shadow My Likeness," "Not
 Youth Pertains to Me"
 "TO THE READER" (WW), 489, *see*, "return my
 book," "Small is my theme—yet hast it the
 sweep of the universe," 1445, 1462, *see*, "One's-
 Self I Sing," 1466, 1466n
 "To the States" (WW), 267n, 2148n
 "To Think of Time" (WW), 69n
 "To Walt Whitman in America" (*Songs before
 Sunrise*) (Swinburne), 811n, 909n
 "To You" (WW), 1302n
 Tom English, 493,
 Tom (foreman) . . . , 258
 Tom (looks something like Frank . . . , 258
 Tom—policeman, 255, 255n
 Tom Thumb, 244hn, 244,
 Tompkins, Elijah (2nd N.Y. Lg't Artilly), 488,
 488n, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell," "Addresses,
 543, *see*, "return my book," 845, 845n
 Tongahocksa (Kansas), 1040, 1040n
 Tontine Crescent (Boston), 426n, *see*, "English
 runic," Charles Bulfinch
 (Tony) (Anthony) driver [?], 838
 Tooke, Horne, 1629, 1629n
 Torry, W. A., 901
 , Tophan, J. S., 500 7th street Wash'tn DC, 822,
 822n
 "Torquato Tasso" (WW), 1865, *see*, *Life of
 Torquato Tasso, The*
 Towner, C. J. (Treasury Department), 816, 816n
 Townsend, 844, 844n, *see*, Townsend, Geo. E.
 Townsend, Abraham, 1211
 Townsend, Mrs Elizabeth, 730
 Townsend, G, 678n, *see*, Larg, Wm De
 Townsend, Geo. Alfred, 831n, *see*, Metgler, J. N.
 Townsend, Geo. E., 844n

- Townsend, Mrs. J. H., 1211
 Townsend, James & Priscilla, 829, 829n
 Townsend, Kenneth, co C 106th New York, 448, 448n, *see*, "Hospital book 12," 730, 730n
Town Topics, 1679n, *see*, *American Queen*
 Tracy, Henry Hervey (conductor), 845
 Tracy (26), 250
 "Tramp & Strike Question" (WW), 1154
 "Tramps" (WW), 1152
 "Tramps & Strikes" (WW), 1159
 "Translators of Homer," 1738hn, *see*, *Whig Review*
 Traubel, Anna M. (*au.*, "Education in Our Schools"), 2204hn, *see* *Eagle* (Brooklyn)
 Traubel, Horace (*au.*, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*), 206n, 241n, 247n, 260n, 315hn, 344hn, 366hn, 395n, 423n, 432n, 434n, 447n, 453n, 477hn, *see*, IV. Washington, 488n, 529n, 539n, 549n, 552n, 554n, 572n, 614n, 658n, 659hn, 706n, 721hn, 723n, 794hn, 797hn, 809hn, 811n, 812n, 818n, 819n, 821n, 833n, 834n, 835n, 839n, 892n, *see*, Doyle, Peter George, 893, 894, 897hn, 900hn, *see* *In Re Walt Whitman*, 1008hn, 1012n, 1035n, 1082, 1163n, 1182n, 1187hn, 1194hn, 1242hn, 1256hn, 1257n, 1497, 1531hn, 1541hn, 1543hn, 1544hn, 1712hn, 2045hn
 Traubel, Horace L., 1193hn, *see*, Scovel, James Matlack, 1215, 1234, 1239, 1248hn, *see*, *Camden's Complement to Walt Whitman*, 1276, *see*, Montgomerie, Annie, "Horace L. Traubel," 1285, 1286, 1436hn
Travels . . . of . . . a Yankee Stonecutter (Greenough), 150n
 Trees of America (Piper), 247, 247n
Trent Cat., 345n, *see*, Municipal Legislation, 413hn, *see*, "Theory of a Cluster," 413n
 "Tribune Aug 28" (WW), 639
Tribune (Denver), 1034, 1038, *see*, Rothacker, O H
Tribune (NY), 108n, 250n, 308hn, 577n, 578n, 626, *see*, "N.Y. Tribune," 803hn, 838n, *see*, Reid, Whitelaw, 842n, 1010hn, 1021hn, 1050, 1082n, 1115hn, 1131hn, 1162n, 1163h, *see*, Dana, Charles A, 1211n, 1526hn, 1712hn, *see*, Greeley, Horace, 1806hn
 "Tribune Aug 28" (WW), 639
 "Trickle Drops" (1860) (WW), 273n, 363hn
 Triggs, Oscar Lovell (*au.*, "The Growth of Leaves of Grass"), 350hn, 1026hn
 "Trip to Kansas &c" (WW), 1045
 Trollope, Anthony, 526
 Troth, Amos, 820
 Trow & Smith Book M'f'n'g Co. 46, 48, and 60 Greene st., 813
 Trowbridge, John Townsend (novelist and journalist), 53hn, *see*, "J. T. Trowbridge Somerville, Mass.," 537n, 663hn, 663, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell," "J. T. Trowbridge," "Friday Dec 11 '63," 668, 668n, 674n, *see*, McDonald, Frank, 802, 909, 909n, 1164n, 1712hn
 Trübner and Co. (London publisher and WW's British agent), 825, 825n, 840, 840n, 918, 1167hn
 "truly the things" (WW), 184hn, 1622, *see*, "1st [:] Democracy"
 "Truly, what is commonest" (WW), 184hn, 185
 Truman & Spafford Cincinnati O., 262
 Trumbull, Lyman, 915, 915n
Tuesday, Feb. 17th 1863 (noon) (WW), 560, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper"
 "Tuesday, march 3d" (WW), 566, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper"
 Tuffts, Will M, 674n
 Turner, Anson W, 248, 248n
 "Turn of Life, The" 2254n, *see*, *Water Cure Journal*
 Twain, Mark, 333hn
 T. W. Dimon, 840
 "20 Autograph First Sheets" (WW), 1254
 21st Massachusetts, 501, *see*, Dec. 21 '62, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, *Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade*, Reno, Major General Jesse, "Sketches of Edward F. Ferrero," 509, *see*, *Va. on the Falmouth side, Friday, Dec. 26th, '62*, 510, 512, *see*, 100 ? ^ days fighting . . . , Fredericksburgh, battle of, 515, *see*, "? Dec. '62 . . . Brigade drill," Ferrero, Col. (Gen)
 "Twenty Questions" (WW), 246hn, 277n
 "[27] (Notes" (WW), 758
 "26th Penn.," 509, *see*, *Va. on the Falmouth side, Friday, Dec. 26th, '62*
 "2" Democratic—double Paragon" (type face), 420,
 "two men" (WW), 1033
 "Two or Three Memories" (WW), 1184
 "Two Rivulets": Centennial Songs (TR) (WW), 38, 40, 893, 968hn, 982hn, 978hn, *see*, "(is any Preface needed?)," 995, 1037, 1037n, 1399hn, 1529hn, *see*, "Song of the Exposition," "Song of the Universal," "Song for All Seas, All Ships"
 "Two samples" (WW), 1842
 "Two suggestion points" (WW), 333hn, 1537
 "two vaults Subject-Poem," The (WW), 454, 454n, *see*, "W. Whitman Portland av."
 Tyler, Albert W., 828, 828n
 Tyler, T., 1268
 Tyndale, Hector, 262, 262n, 351, 351n, *see*, Feb 25th 1857, Tyndale, Mrs. Sara, 817n, 827, 827n
 Tyndale, Mrs. Sara, 262, 262n, *see*, Tyndale, Hector, 351n
 "Typical Soldiers" (WW), 446n, 447n, 537n, 657n, 702n, 820n, 832n
 Tyrrel, Charles, (alias George Peters), 490, 490n
 Tyrrell, R. Y. (Trinity College, Dublin), 813, 813n

- UPP* (ed., Holloway), 388hn, 405hn, 405n, 407n, 410n, 431n, 453hn, 454n, 455n, 479hn, 501n, 503n, 513n, 522n, 537n, 684n, 743hn, 885hn, 887n, 1393n
- U. M. Fisk, 819
- Uncle Dan, 237, 237n,
- Uncle Silas*, 761, 761n, *see*, Le Fanu, Sheriden
- "Uncollected Manuscript Fragments," 365hn
- "Uncollected Poetry and Prose," *UPP* (Holloway), 8hn, 32hn, 53hn, 55hn, 56n, 67n, 68n, 69n, 70n, 74n, 76n, 84n, 102hn, 113n, 124hn, 125n, 209hn, 209n, 210n, 211n, 212n, 216n, 218n, 691hn,
- "Uncollected Manuscript Fragments," *CRE*, 365hn
- "under *Personal*" (WW), 1041, *see*, *Press* (Philadelphia)
- Underhill, Ed. F. (newspaper reporter), 250, 250n
- "Understand that you can have" (WW), 144n, 222
- "Understand then" (WW), 2062hn, 2063, *see*, "I say of all dicta"
- "undesirable might" (WW), 308hn, 310, 311hn, *see*, "singers are welcome, The"
- "Un inédit de Walt Whitman: 'Taine's History of English Literature'" (EA) (Asselineau), 1075n, 1888hn
- United States Magazine* (W. G. Sims), 1732hn,
- Union Ferry, 253, 499, 499n, *see*, Seaman, Lewis, Boyd, James
- Univ Texas Stud Eng*, 491n, 1861hn, *see*, "return my book," Inferno, The, Mathews, J. C., 2011n
- "Unnamed Lands (WW), 1924hn
- "Un Poete Americain Walt Whitman," 909n, *see*, Bentzon, Thérèse, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1517n
- "Unpublished Notebook—Walt Whitman in Washington, A" (William White), 546hn, *see*, "contrabands, The"
- "Unpublished Notes and Letters," 4hn, 386hn, 1063hn, *see*, *Wake*
- Unpublished Walt Whitman Notebook for "Lilacs," An* (William White), 766hn
- "Useful Advice" 2253n, *see*, *Water Cure Journal*
- Usher, Arthur P., 1038n, *see*, Usher, John P.
- Usher, Judge John P., (Secretary of Interior, WW's host in Lawrence, Kansas), 1028hn, 1039n, 1043, *see* Arthur P., Usher, Samuel C., Usher, John, Jr., Linton, J.
- Usher, John P., Jr., 1038n, 1039, 1039n, 1050, 1050n, *see*, John P. Usher
- Usher, Judge John P. (WW's host in Lawrence, Kansas), 1028hn, 1039n, 1043
- Usher, Linton J., 1038n, 1050, 1050n, *see*, Usher, John P.
- Usher, Samuel C., 1038n, *see*, Usher, John P.
- U.S. Insane asylum (St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington), 447, 447n
- Vadnay, Charles, editor "Fovarosi Lapak," 815
- Valentine, Carman, 258, 258n
- Vaine, Com. D. L. B. [?], 901
- Valentine's, 241, 241n, *see*, *Manual of the City of New York*
- Valkyrie*, 883, *see*, Wagner, Richard
- Van Aden, Isaac (publisher of *Brooklyn Eagle*), 71n, *see*, Mr V. A.
- Vanashan, A, 448
- Van Brunt, Tom, 254, 254n
- Van Buren, Martin, 1268
- Vanderberg, Wm, 251, 251n
- Vanderbilt, Commodore Cornelius, 1264, 1265n
- Vandermark, Sarah E, 644, *see*, Vandermark, Wm E
- Vandermark, Wm E (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 571, 571n, 644hn, 644, *see*, "Mrs. H. J. Wright," "Hospital Note book," "D. W. Wilder," "Addresses," 617n, 824, 830, 830n
- Van Dyke's (family residence) 10, 209
- Van Dyne, Charley, 252
- Van Dyne, Garry, 258, 258n
- Van Etten Milford, Saml. D. (or E), 259, 259n
- Vanity Fair*, 460n, *see*, Mullen, Edward F. (or J.), "William Giggee"
- Vangezell, Mrs., 817, 817n
- Van Lear, John, 259
- Van Nostrand, Ansel (WW's brother-in-law), 17, *see*, Whitman, Mary Elizabeth, 27, 27n,
- Van Nostrand, Mary Elizabeth (WW's sister), 910, 910n, *see*, Whitman, Mary Elizabeth, Van Nostrand, Ansel, 1068, 1238, 1285, 1286
- Van Pelt, W, 1st New Jersey cavalry, 621, *see*, Post, Lewy
- Van Tassell, George M, 494
- Van Velsor, Alonzo (step uncle of WW, son of Major Van Velsor by a second marriage), 4hn, 7, 7n, 489n, *see*, "return my book," Van Velsor, Major Cornelius, Velsor, Bailey
- Van Velsor, Amy Williams (WW's maternal grandmother 19, 19n, *see*, Williams, Amy, Williams, Naomi, 31,
- Van Velsor, Baily, 489, 489n, *see*, "return my book," Velsor, Baily, Van Velsor, Baily,
- Van Velsor, Baily (WW's cousin?), 3, 7n, *see*, Van Velsor, Alonzo, "return my book" 496, 496n,
- Van Velsor, Caleb (parents were WW's grandparents), 14
- Van Velsor, Major Cornelius (WW's maternal grandfather), 6, 6n, 9, 9n, 14, *see*, Van Velsor, Garret, *see*, Van Velsor, Kell, 19n, 28, 31, 489n, *see*, "return my book,"
- Van Velsor, Garret (WW's maternal great grandfather), 9, 14, 15, *see*, Kossabone, Mary, Van Velsor, Kell (WW's maternal grandfather) 19, *see*, Van Velsor, Major Cornelius
- Van Velsor, Louisa (WW's mother), 17, 27, 28, 36, 41

- Van Velsor, Naomi (WW's maternal grandmother) 9, 9n
- Van Vliet, Wm (Armory Square Hospital Washington), 604
- Van Winkle, Cornelius, 494n, 497
- Van Wyck, Charles H. 576n
- Vassar, Matthew, 1264, 1265hn, 1265n
- "Vast national tracts" (WW), 1947
- Vaughn, Fred B., 490, 490n, *see*, "Epictetus," 816, 816n, 827, 827n, 890, 890n, *see*, Doyle, Peter George
- "Vedder at Brother Jonathan" (WW), 23hn, 468, *see*, Vedder, Elihu, *Brother Jonathan*
- Vedder, Elihu (American painter), 468hn, 468, *see*, *Brother Jonathan*
- "Vegetable not wood" (WW), 246hn, 268n, 276n, 281
- Velsor, Bailey, 489, 489n, *see*, "return my book," Wattles, John, Van Velsor, Alonzo
- "Velsor Brush," 484n, *see*, "return my book," "City Photographs. The Broadway Hospital," *Leader* (NY)
- Velsor, Joseph, 3, 238, 238n, 481n, *see*, Velsor, Rebecca
- Velsor, Joseph A. (druggist, WW's cousin?) 825, 825n
- 620n
- Velsor, Rebecca, 3, *see*, "return my book," 481, 481n
- Velsor, Mose, 391, 391n, *see*, "A Visit to the Opera"
- Velsor, Mrs. Thomas (Mary), 3, *see*, "September & October 1863," 620, 620n
- Vanazie, Wm (publisher), 1754hn, 1754, *see*, "Reading Shakespeare"
- Verdi, 396n, *see*, "Piccolomini, Marietta," "A VISIT TO THE OPERA," 401hn, *see*, "A prostitute," 540n *see*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, Academy of Music (NY), "a m Dr. L B Russell"
- Verulam, Lord (Francis Bacon), 219,
- Vesey st. (WW's boarding room), 211
- "vestibules" (WW), 2077hn, 2104
- "Viccissini sav" (WW), 767hn, 827n, 991hn, 1187, *see*, "With Husky-Haughty Lips, O Seal," 1689hn
- Vicksburgh, 639, *see*, Thomas, Adj Gen, 683, *see*, 51st NY Volunteers, 710
- "Victor Hugo's *Annee*" (WW), 1856, *see*, *Poésies*, *Année Terrible*
- Victory Review of May 23-24, 1865, 778
- Views and Reviews* (W. G. Sims), 1732hn, *see*, *Eagle* (Brooklyn)
- "Vigil Strange I Kept on the Field One Night" (WW), 493n, *see*, "return my book," "William Giggee," 611hn, *see*, *Drum-Taps*, "September & October 1863"
- Villard, Oswald Garrison (*au.*, *John Brown*), 492n, *see*, "return my book," Merriam—[Francis Jackson]
- Villemain (*au.*, *Literature of the Middle Ages*), 1796n, *see*, *Westminster Review*
- Virgil, 594
- Va. On the Falmouth side, Friday Dec. 26th '62*, 508, 508n, *see*, "return my book, Falmouth, "Down at the Front"
- "Virginia" (WW), 723hn, 724n, 725n
- Visits to Walt Whitman (aus.*, J. Johnson and J. W. Wallace), 490n, 891
- "visit to N Y '78" (WW), 1010, *see*, "New York visit"
- Vliet, Amos H. (Campbell Hospital, Washington), 502, 502n, *see*, 51st N.Y. Col. Ferrero, "a m Dr. L B Russell," "from Hooker's command," 532, 532n, *see*, "return my book," *Eagle* (Brooklyn), 633, 633n
- V. M. W. Horton, 826, *see*, Gurney's
- "VOICES, RECITATIVES" (WW),
- Vocal Psyciology & Hygiene (Holmes), 1058, 1058n
- "VOICES, RECITATIVES" (WW), 1384
- Volney, C. F. (*au.*, *The Ruins or Meditations . . .*), 2024hn, 2024n, 2025n, 2026n, 2027n
- Voltaire, 162hn, *see*, "Speaking of Literary style," 219,
- Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary* (*ed.*, Kneeland), 1842hn
- "Voltaire's readable" (WW), 1842hn, 1855
- Voorhees, Miss Susan A. (Washington) 521, 548n, *see*, "return my book"
- Vorce, Allen D. (NY banker), 813, 813n, *see*, "Pensive on Her Dead Gazing"
- Vossius, Gerhard John, 1639, 1639n
- Vreeland, William . . . teamster, 496
- V. W. Horton, 823, *see*, Gurney's
- WD**, 575hn, 578n, 588hn, 682hn,
- WDC**, 575hn, 1010hn, 1012hn, 1016hn, 1024n, 1027hn, 1066hn, 1070hn, 1074hn, 1078, 1081n, 1101hn, 1102hn, 1175hn, 1200hn, 1207hn, 1227hn
- W A Croffut Rochester Daily Democrat, 729
- Wade, Richard, 838
- Wagner, Richard, 883, 883n
- Wake*, "Walt Whitman: Unpublished Notes and Letters," 4hn, 386hn, 1063hn, 1087n, 1545hn, 1546hn, 2056hn, 2102hn, 2202hn
- Wake Robin* (Burroughs), 912hn, 913, 913n
- Waldo, Rev. Daniel (Chaplain of Congress), 301hn, *see*, "A Character"
- Walker, George, 226, 235n,
- Walker, James, 13th st.
- "walk your horses" (WW), 118hn, 1119
- Wall, Mr. M. C., 499, 499n
- Wallace Bros 154 N 5th Phila, 1210

- Wallace, David H. (coau, *The New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860*), 460n, *see*, "William Giggee," Mullen, Edward F. (or J.), Groce, George C.
- Wallace, James W. (au. with John Johnston, *Visits to Walt Whitman*), 490n, *see*, "return my book," Baulsir, John, 891, 893, 1264hn
- Wallace, Ross Oct. 13, 496, *see*, Marsh, Mr., Howe [?] House
- Wallace (seaman), 251, 251n
- Wallace, Thomas, driver, 841, 841n, *see*, Wallace, William
- Wallace, William (Bill), 841, 841n, *see*, Wallace, Thomas
- Wallace, Will W (steward, General Hospital No. 3, Nashville), 522, 522n, 532, 532n, *see*, *Addresses*.
- Wallis, Ben, 252, 252n
- Walls that Talk . . .*, 1205hn
- Walpole, Sir Robert, 219
- "Walt Baulsir" (WW), 256n
- Walton Capt (51st N Y V), 699
- "Walt Whitman," (Nencioni), 1514, *see*, *Fanfulla della Domenico*
- "WALT WHITMAN" (WW), 3, hn 333hn, 874
- Walt Whitman* (Bucke), 1183hn, 1246, 1513hn, 1536hn, 1537hn, 1539hn, 2032hn
- "Walt Whitman" (Freiligrath), 1179n, *see*, *Allgemeine Zeitung*
- "Walt Whitman" (J. B. Marvin), 847n, *see*, *Radical Review, The*
- "Walt Whitman" (Stedman), 1274hn
- "WALT WHITMAN" (WW), 902
- Walt Whitman a Study* (Symonds), 810n
- "Walt Whitman Abroad" (WW), 834n
- Walt Whitman: An 1855-56 Notebook Toward the Second Edition of Leaves of Grass* (Blodgett), 226
- "Walt Whitman and his Leaves of Grass," *Toward a Pluralistic Criticism* (Cargill), 887n
- "Walt Whitman and the Civil War" (WW), 2126n, *see*, *Examiner* (London)
- "Walt Whitman and the *Nibelungenlied*" (Little), 247n, 1432n, 1812hn, 1818hn
- Walt Whitman and Opera* (Faner), 389hn
- "Walt Whitman and Oratory" (Harned), 2231hn, *see*, *CW*
- "Walt Whitman and William Swinton: A Co-operative Friendship" (Hollis), 249n
- "Walt Whitman as Civil Servant" (Wecter), 41hn, 912hn
- "Walt Whitman as I Knew Him" (Scovel), 1193hn, *see*, *National Magazine*
- "Walt Whitman as Short Story Writer . . ." (White), 401hn
- Walt Whitman at Southold* (Molinott), 211n
- "Walt Whitman Centennia" (WW), 973
- Walt Whitman Club, 817, 817n, *see*, W.W. club
- "WALT WHITMAN COMPLETE" (WW), 1246hn, 1246, *see*, *Complete Poems and Prose of Walt Whitman*
- "Walt Whitman, der amerikanske demokratis digter" (Schmidt), 811n
- "Walt Whitman, (from Holland" (WW), 28hn, 41, 902hn
- Walt Whitman, His Life and Work* (Perry), 1846hn
- "Walt Whitman in Canada," *ABC* (Lozynski), 1070hn, 1073hn
- "Walt Whitman in 1862" (Glicksberg), 453hn, 484n
- "Walt Whitman in Europe," 1028hn, *see*, Hinton, Richard J.
- "Walt Whitman in Huntington," 4, *see*, *Long-Islander*
- "Walt Whitman in New Jersey. An Uncollected Essay" (Bergman), 991hn, *see*, "RR jaunt Spring of '77"
- "Walt Whitman in New Jersey. Some unpublished Manuscripts" (Glicksberg), 955hn, 991hn
- Walt Whitman. L'Homme et Son Oeuvre* (Bazalgette), 1544hn
- "Walt Whitman Looks at Boston" (Furness, Clifton James), 419hn, *see*, "English runic"
- Walt Whitman Looks at the Schools* (Freedman), 44hn, 45hn
- Walt Whitman of the New York Aurora* (Rubin and Brown, eds.), 217n
- "Walt Whitman pendant la Guerre de Secession d'apres des Documents Inédits," *Révue Anglo-Americain* (Catel), 480hn, 717hn, *see*, "return my book," 529hn, *see*, "Dr. L B Russell," 602hn,
- "Walt Whitman said lately" (WW), 28, 30hn, 41hn,
- "Walt Whitman Soldier's" (WW), 428n, *see*, Silas S Soule, 449n, 479hn, 522n, *see*, "return my book," 529n, *see*, "from Hooker's command," 530n, *see*, Reigel, Calvin P., Minzey, Clinton, *See* Dr. Augusta, 531n, 533n, 539n, 550hn, 552hn, 552n, 554n, 571n, 600n, 602, *see*, "a m Dr. L B Russell," "Young Men's Christian Commission," "return my book," 666n, 787n, 810n
- "Walt Whitman, the *Galaxy* and 'Democratic Vistas'" (AL) (Grier), 834n
- "Walt Whitman the generally called" (WW), 333hn, 1248, *see*, "Walt Whitman today, 1259hn
- "Walt Whitman, the Journalist" (Glicksberg), 453hn
- Walt Whitman the Man* (Donaldson), 484n, *see*, "return my book," Roosa, Dr. D. B. St John, 663hn, *see*, "Friday Dec 11 '63"
- "Walt Whitman today" (WW), 333hn, 1248hn, 1259, *see*, "Walt Whitman the generally"
- "WALT WHITMAN travels north" (WW), 335hn, 811n, 829n, 800, 909n, 958, 1516n

- "Walt Whitman. Unpublished Notes and Letters" (*Wake*), 4hn, 386hn, 1545hn, 2202n
 "WALT WHITMAN who has been" (WW), 333hn
 "Walt Whitman zu seinem siebzigsten Gebertstag" (Berz), 1274n, *see, Deutsche Press*
Walt Whitman's Backward Glances (aus., Sculley Bradley and John A. Stevenson), 1233n
 "*Walt Whitman's birthday*" (WW), 333hn, 1197
 "Walt Whitman's Blue Book (*ed., Golden*), 431n, 435n, 800hn, 924hn
 "*Walt Whitman's Case—Paralysis*" (WW), 936
 "Walt Whitman's Caution" (WW), 932hn
Walt Whitman's Civil War (Lowenfelds), 701hn, *see, "Some interesting items," 744hn, see, "MONDAY NIGHT, DECEMBER 26"*
 Walt Whitman's Debt to Joseph Gostwick" (Fulghum), 1816hn, AL
Walt Whitman's Diary in Canada WDC, 28hn, 30hn,
Walt Whitman's Drum-Taps (1865) and *Sequel to Drum-Taps* (1865-6), 761n
 "Walt Whitman's Earliest Known Notebook" (Grier), 54hn, 61n
 "Walt Whitman's Impressions of Denver . . .", (WW), 1048hn, *see, "Returned"*
"Walt Whitman's Journalism, A Bibliography (White), 209n, 239n, 1171hn, 1942hn, 1943hn
 "Walt Whitman's 'Leaves of Grass'" (WW), 1253
 "Walt Whitman's Lectures" (WW), 1436, 1443hn
 "Walt Whitman's Manuscript Notes on Oratory" (Finkel), 2231, *see, AL*
Walt Whitman's Memoranda During the War & Death of Abraham Lincoln (ed., Basler), 659hn
 "Walt Whitman's Notes of His Western Trip," 1039hn, *see, Biblia*
Walt Whitman's Poems (Bayne), 1059n
 "Walt Whitman's Politics" (Clifton Joseph Furness), 1846hn, *see, American Mercury*, 1851n, 2114hn, 2191hn
Walt Whitman's Pose (Shephard), 53hn, 55hn, 61n, 79n, 97n, 218n, 436n, 478hn, 488n, 489n, 1712hn, 2011n
 "Walt Whitman's Reading of Dante" (Matthew), 1861hn, *see, Un Tex Stud Eng*
 "Walt Whitman's second wind" (WW), 333hn, 851
 "Walt Whitman's 'Undelivered Oration' The Dead in This War" (Preuschen), 1375hn, 1376hn
Walt Whitman's Western Jaunt (Eitner), 1028hn, *see, "Missouri Kansas trip," 1041n*
 "Walt Whitman's Whereabouts in the Winter of 1842-1843" (Shepard), 218n
 "Walter Whitman Married" (WW), 17, 936n
 "Walter Whitman, of Suffolk co." (WW), 45
 Walters (husband of Sarah Whitman), 5, Walters, James (brother of Walters), 5, *see, Walters*
 Walthall, W. T., 1179
 Walton, Mrs, Dean cor. Hoyt, 495, 495n
 "Wants" (WW), 8hn, 88
 "Wapalingua Chief" (WW), 1039, 1043n
 "Ward A bed 47," 541n, *see, Brooks, Livingston, J., 647, 647n, see, "Baily D Damon," "Hospital Note book," "a m Dr. L B Russell," Brooks, Margaret*
ward C, bed f (WW), 790
 "ward D bed 50" (WW), 570n, *see, Geo W Monk, 653,*
 "ward G armory hospital" (Washington), 519, *see, Reid, Cody M.*
 "Ward H. bed 37" (WW), 600hn, 601, *see, "take (Marg. D Valois)"*
 "ward H some plug tobacco" (WW), 562
 Ward, Humphry G., 1181, 1181n, *see, Times* (London), Ward, Mrs Humphrey
 Ward, Mrs Humphry, 1181n, *see, Ward, Humphry G.*
 Ward, Jerry 448, 448n, *see, "Hospital Ensemble"*
 Ward, John B., 816
 "Ward K Armory Sq" (WW), 645n, 680
 Ward, Lawrence ? (Burns), 497
 Ward, Mark, 486, 486n
 Ward, Samuel, 811, 811n, 901, 901n
 Ward 6, Camp H. (Washington), 520, *see, Gardiner, Richard, Watson, John, Wooden, Llewellen*
 Warden, Ephraim S (Finley Hospital, Washington), 728
 Wardle, George F, 1060n
 Ware, Lucien, 816
 Warner, Orien (brother of W Warner), 450
 Warner, W, co A, 450, *see, Warner, Orien*
 Warren & Co Chickering pianos (Boston), 425, 425n, *see, "English runic"*
 Warren, J. M. (*au., System of Physical Geography*), 247
 Warrenton (Virginia), 510, 512, *see, 100 ? ^ days fighting . . .*
 "was a thorough" (WW), 739
 "Washington" (WW), 656
 "*Washington as a central*" (WW), 333hn, 539n, 912
 "Washington Dec. 19 1870" (WW), 895
 Washington directory, 479hn, 480n, 670n, 810n, 812n, 814n, 821n, 822n, 823n, 824n, 825n, 826n, 828n, 829n, 832n, 838n, 839n, 840n, 841n, 842n, 843n, 845n, 846n, 847n, 891
 Washington, D.C., 40, 41, 43, 479hn, 483n, 499n, *see, "return my book," 510, see, 100 ? ^ days fighting . . . , Park Garden, 523, 523n, 537n, see, "Letter from Washington, our National City . . . ,"* 540, 549, 550-565, *see, "Hospi-*

- tals/Culpepper," 569, 586, 589, 589n, 593, 602, *see*, 394 L st, 607, 607n, 656, 701, 725n, 754, 922
- "Washington, D.C." (WW), 904, 1285hn
- "Washington 1863" (WW), 539, *see*, Baker, E. S., "a m Dr. L B Russell"
- "Washington May 9" (WW), 704n, 754
- Washington Monument, 555, 555n
- "Washington October 16 1863" (WW), 538, *see*, E. S. Baker, "a m Dr. L B Russell"
- Washington Park (Boston), 425, 425n, *see*, "English runic"
- "Washington (street, WW), 622
- Washington st (Boston), 424, 424n, 425, 426, 427, 427n, 428, *see*, "English runic"
- Washington (Street) (NYC), 433,
- Washington Varieties, 532n, *see*, Farvacer, Mlle. Sophie
- "—was it thought" (WW), 2243, *see*, "To a Foil'd European Revolutionary"
- Water Cure Journal*, 2253n, 2254n
- Waters, Frank Henry 3 23d st, 693
- Watson, Dr. John, 444
- Waters, John, 489, 489n, *see*, "return my book," Velsor, Bailey, 496, 496n
- Watson, Dr., 493
- Watts, Isaac, 219, 456, 456n, *see*, "Important Ecclesiastical Gathering at Jamaica," "W. Whitman Portland av."
- W. B. Fulghum, Jr. (*au.*, "Whitman's Debt to Joseph Gostwick"), 1816hn, *see*, *AL*, 2013n, 2015n, 2017n
- W. C. & F. P. Church, publishers, 834, 834n, *see*, *The Galaxy*
- W. C. Kingsley, 532
- WHD (WW), 517n, *see*, "Quicksand Years," *A battle*, D-T
- Wallace, Will W., 838, 838n
- "WEALTH OF POETS" (WW), 333hn, 811n, 961, 1712hn
- Weaver, J. G. (Washington upholsterer), 824, 824n
- Weaver, Jim—conductor, 844
- Weaver, Martin, 700, *see*, "Martin Weaver"
- W E Babcock, 699, 699n
- Webb, A., 909, 909n
- Webb, Alfred, 815, 815n
- Webber, Bonaparte, 789, *see*, "Bonaparte Webber"
- Webster, 425, *see*, "English runic"
- "We call God" (WW), 2191
- Wector, Dixon (*au.*, "Walt Whitman as Civil Servant"), 41hn, 912hn
- Wedderburn, Alexander (*coed.*, *The Works of John Ruskin*), 1222hn, *see*, Cook, E. T.
- "Wednesday, Feb. 25th 1863" (WW), 566, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper"
- "Wednesday 4th March" (WW), 546hn, *see*, "The contrabands," "Unpublished Notebooks—Walt Whitman in Washington," 552hn, *see*, "Hospitals / Culpepper," 576, *see*, "The Contrabands"
- Weehawken*, 719, 719n, *see*, "John Faron," Commodore Rogers, *Atlanta*
- Weekly Graphic* (NY), 1187n, *see*, Johnson, Mrs N M, 1188n, 1206hn
- Weir, John, 603
- "We know of no beginning" (WW), 1566
- "We suppose it will excite" (WW), 3, 1760hn
- Welb., James, cond. Myrtle av.
- "Well May 15-16, 1873" (WW), 813n, 819n
- Wells, Carolyn (*coau.*, *Concise Bibliography of the Works of Walt Whitman, A*), 1277hn, *see*, Goldsmith, Alfred L., 1686hn
- Wells, Gaylord S., 238, 238n
- Wells, G. Dudley, 815, 815n
- Wells, Gideon (Secretary of the Navy), 778, 778n
- Wells, S. R. (*ed.*, *Phrenological Journal*), 822, 822n, *see*, Fowler and Wells
- Welpley, Dr. J. D. [James Davenport], *ed.* *American Whig Review*, 257, 257n
- "We need somebody" (WW), 1606
- Wentworth & Bright Carpets (Boston), 424, *see*, "English runic"
- Wentworth, Mr (creditor for Thayer and Eldridge), 1229, *see*, *LG* (1860)
- West Hills Long Island (birthplace of WW), 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 21, 23, 36, 39, 41, 874
- "West Jersey Letters" (WW), 955, *see*, "Camden, N. Jersey & Delaware," "Walt Whitman in New Jersey" (Glicksberg)
- West Jersey Press*, 1526hn
- Westminster Review*, 544hn, *see*, *Recitation*, "Battle of Naseby, The," 812n, *see*, "The Poetry of Democracy: Walt Whitman" (Dowden), 835, 909n, 914, 958n, 1293hn, 1517, 1795n, 1796n, 1858hn, 1860hn
- West, Pelatiah, 450
- West, Lizzie, 255n, *see*, Davenport, Adolphus
- Westchester House, 484, *see*, "return my book"
- Westervelt, Mayor Jacob Aaron, 474hn, 474, *see*, "Silence"
- "What are inextricable" (WW), 1777
- "What cannot meet all" (WW), 339
- "What is Poetry?" (Leigh Hunt), 1790hn, *see*, *Half-Hours with the Best Authors*
- "What Name" (WW), 20hn, 30hn, 1357
- "What shall the great poet" (WW), 1560
- "What we call Literature" (WW), 1558
- "*What we Thought" (WW), 367
- Whately, Richard, 1650, 1650n
- "?W. H—Becker-Stowe" (WW), 770hn, 771
- Wheat, Carl I. (*au.*, *Mapping the American West*), 1961hn, 1967hn

- Wheatland (Virginia), 511, *see*, 100 ? \wedge *days fighting* . . .
- Wheeler, Dora, portrait painter, 1234, 1234n
- Wheeler, Dr. Wm Lamont, surgeon U.S.N., 487, *see*, "return my book," Pfaff's, Kingsley, Chas
- Wheeler, Geo, 257, 257n, 262, 262n
- Whelpley, J. D. (*au.*, "The Hyperion of Keats"), 1795n, *see*, *American Whig Review*
- "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" (WW), 760hn, *see*, "Hugo Oscar Fritsch," 764hn, 764n, 765n, 767hn, *see*, "Sorrow," 768hn, *see*, "in Mem of A.L.," 769hn, *see*, "For Funeral piece," 1375hn
- "When the whole" (WW), 2146
- W. H. Herndon (Abraham Lincoln's law partner), 770hn, 770
- "While under previous" (WW), 2054
- "Whisperings" (WW), 1480hn, *see*, "I commenced Leaves of Grass," 1484hn
- "Whispers of Heavenly Death" (WW), 835n, 1401, 1401n, *see*, *Broadway Magazine*, "Passage to India"
- Whitbeck, Lieut Martin, 705, 705n
- White, Amherst, 227
- White, Dr. George A, 942hn, *see*, "Payments to Mrs. White"
- White, G O, 522
- "white horse—winter" (WW), 990
- White, John (contributor to WW's hospital fund), 603, 603n, 609
- White, Lewis B (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 571
- White, Mrs., 479hn, *see*, "return my book," 827, *see*, Clark, Henry
- White Oaks Church, battle of, 651, *see*, "Scene in the woods"
- White, Sarah (wife of Nehemiah Whitman and WW's paternal great grand mother) 8, 8n, 11, 12n,
- White, William (*ed.*, *DN*, *au.*, "Walt Whitman as Short Story Writer . . ."), 209n, 211n, 239n, 272n, 401hn, 404hn, 546hn, 766hn, *see*, "An Unpublished Whitman Notebook For 'Lilacs,'" 935, 983hn, 1171hn, 1942hn, 1943hn, *see*, *Walt Whitman's Journalism*
- Whitehill, Walter Muir (*au.*, *Boston, A Topographical History*), 419hn
- Whitestone (Long Island), 44hn
- Whitfield, Rev. George, 458, 458n, *see*, W. Whitman Portland av.
- Whitman (Holloway), 149n
- "Whitman and Emerson" (Ghodes), 1712hn, *see*, SR
- "Whitman and Harlan—New Evidence" (Loving), 797hn
- "Whitman and Hegel" (Boatwright), 2011n
- "Whitman and Tennyson" (Bergman), 1553hn, 1756hn
- Whitman, Andrew Jackson (WW's brother), 17, 26hn, 27, 531n, *see*, Howell, Henry D., 538, 538n, 539, 539n, 540, 541, 548n, 917hn, 919, 936n, 1285
- "Whitman and the Phrenologists. The Divine Body and the Sensuous Soul" (Wrobel), 55hn
- "Whitman and William Swinton: A Cooperative Friendship" (Hollis), 263n, 1432hn, 1624hn, 1846hn
- Whitman as Editor of the Brooklyn "Eagle" (Brasher), 158hn
- "Whitman as Short Story Writer: Two Unpublished Manuscripts." (White), 401hn, *see*, *Notes and Queries*
- Whitman, Capt., 712hn, 712
- "Whitman, Conférencier" (Catel), 405hn, *see*, *L'Ane d'Or*, 2231hn
- "Whitman Collector Destroys a Whitman Myth, A" (Fineberg), 1065n
- "Whitman, democrat" (WW), 333hn, 883
- Whitman, Edward L. (WW's brother), 17, 27, 27n, 819, 819n, 833n, 918, 936n, 1068, 1202, 1202n, *see*, Mr and Mrs Goodenough, 1214hn, 1214, 1238, 1286
- Whitman, George (son of Andrew Jackson Whitman), 26hn, 823, 823n
- Whitman, George Washington (WW's brother), 17, 27, *see*, Halsam, Louisa Orr, 27n, 253 (?), 253n, 347hn, *see*, "Col. Parker's squa mother," 444n, *see*, "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz," 447, *see*, Petersburg, 447n (capture), 448n, 454n, *see*, Burnside, General Ambrose, 51st NY Volunteers, 477, 478hn, 482, 482n, 488n, 499n, 502, 531, 531n, 532, 535, 538, 540, 541, 543, 548, 549, 603n, 757hn, 757, *see*, "Geo. born," 683, 686hn, 686, 701, 701n, 714n, *see*, "Sam'l M. Pooley," 716n, *see*, "Poplar Grove," 726n, *see*, Sanders, Corp. Fred, 727n, *see*, Company K, 51st NY Volunteers, 743hn, 743, 744, 744n, 745, 747, 747n, 749, 749n, 750, 751hn, 751, 753hn, 754hn, 754, 755, 756, 757, *see*, "Geo. born," Tillary Street, 758, 761, 762, 779n, 819n, 904hn, 904, 918, 919, 1035, 1035n, 1050, 1050n, 1068, 1202n, 1239, 1285, 1286
- Whitman, Hannah Brush (WW's paternal grandmother), 19n, *see*, Brush, Hannah,
- Whitman, Hannah Louisa (WW's sister, "Han"), 17hn, 17, 27, 427n, *see*, Heyde, Charles, 27n, 264n, 531n, *see*, Heyde, Hannah Whitman, 535, 540, 541, 819, 819n, 842, 919, 936n, 958hn, 958, 1035, 1036, 1037, 1050, 1050n, 1068, 1162, 1162n
- "Whitman His Own Press Agent" (Holloway), 897hn
- Whitman, Isaac Joseph Stephen (WW's paternal great uncle and son of Nehemiah Whitman), 12, 23
- Whitman, Jacob (son of Isaac Whitman), 23,

- Whitman, James Cornwall (son of Andrew Whitman), 917hn, 919
- Whitman, Jeff (WW's younger brother), *see*, Whitman, Thomas Jefferson
- Whitman, Jesse (WW's paternal grandfather) 8hn, 8, 11, 12, 23, 27, 818
- Whitman, Jesse (WW's older brother), 17, 936n
- Whitman, Jesse, Jr. (WW's paternal uncle), 9, 9n, 218, 218n,
- Whitman, Jessie Louisa (daughter of Thomas Jefferson Whitman), 27hn, 536n, 540, *see*, "Mat," 1036, 1069
- Whitman, Lt. (son of Nehemia Whitman), 9n, *see*, National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution
- Whitman, Louisa Orr (wife of George Washington Whitman), 1238, 1286
- Whitman, Louisa Van Velsor (WW's mother), *see*, Van Velsor, Louisa, 530, 531, 532, 535, 535n, 538, 539, 609, 609n, 815n, 904hn, 904, 918, 1068, 1202n
- Whitman, Mahala, 5, 12n,
- Whitman, Manahatta (daughter of Thomas Jefferson Whitman), 27n, 1069
- Whitman, Martha E. (wife of Thomas Jefferson Whitman), 536, 536n, 540, 541, *see*, "Mat," Whitman, Jessie Louise, 818, 818n
- Whitman, Mary Elizabeth (WW's sister), 17, *see*, Van Nostrand, Ansel, 17n, 27, 27n, 910, *see*, Van Nostrand, Mary, 919, 958hn, 958, 1035, 1050, 1050n, 1068, 1162, 1162n
- Whitman, Nancy (wife of Andrew Jackson Whitman), 26hn, 26, 1285
- Whitman, Nehemiah (WW's paternal great grandfather) 8, 8n, 9, 12,
- Whitman, Phebe (WW's paternal great aunt and daughter of Nehemiah Whitman), 22, *see*, Jarvis, Zaire,
- "Whitman Portland av." (WW), 836n
- Whitman Portraits* (Saunders), 1399hn
- "Whitman Pursued" (Emory Halloway), 489
- Whitman, Sarah (WW's paternal aunt) 4, 5, 9, 9n, *see*, "September 11, 12, 13," 14n, *see*, Williams, Sally), 22n, *see*, Mead, Sally, 25hn,
- Whitman, Sarah White (WW's great grandmother), 12n, *see*, "Nehemiah Whitman," "Oct. 17, 1860"
- Whitman, Stephen (WW's paternal great uncle and son of Nehemiah Whitman), 23,
- "Whitman's Word-Game" (Hollis), 246hn, 268n
- Whitman, Thomas Jefferson (WW's brother, "Jeff") 17, 27hn, 27, *see*, Mitchell, Martha E., 27n, 494n, 530, *see*, "Dr. L B Russell," 531, 531n, *see*, Lane, Moses, 534, 535, 536, 536n, *see*, Louise (Probasco), 537, 537n, 538, 539n, 540, 541, 608, 608n, 609, 833, 833n, 919, 958hn, 958, 1050, 1050n, 1162, 1162n
- Whitman, Walter (WW's father), 10n, 17hn, 17, 17n, 20hn, 27, 36, 41, 936n
- "Whitman's Copy of George Sand" (Shepard), 61n
- "Whitman's Debt to Joseph Gostwick" (AL) (Fulghum), 1816hn, *see*, AL, 2031n
- "Whitman's 'Ellen Eyre'" (Hollis), 263
- "Whitman's Embryonic Verse" (Holloway), 1295hn, *see*, *Southwest Review*
- "Whitman's Knowledge of Shakespeare" (Stovall), 1739hn, 1741hn, 1743hn, 2238n
- "Whitman's Letter to Robert Carter," AL (Holptje), 39hn,
- "WHITMAN'S POEMS SUMM'D UP" (WW), 333hn, 976
- "Whitman's 16.4 Diary" (DeWolf), 885hn
- "Whittier" (WW), 1734
- Whittier, John Greenleaf, 961, 1734
- Whitney, Prof. W. D., 815, 815n
- Whittaker, Clarence, 818, 818n, 1051, 1051n
- Whittock, George (Carman), 250, 250n
- "Whoever You Are Holding Me Now in Hand" (WW), 1368hn
- "Who Learns My Lesson Complete?" (1855) (WW), 57n, 106n, 190hn,
- "Who shall write" (WW), 1424
- "Whole poem—Poem of Insects?" (WW), 287n, *see*, "The insects," 1349, *see*, "Rel ? out-set," "The scope of government," 2051hn
- W Horter & Co 109 Market St, Philadelphia, 847n
- W. H. Pifer, booksellers, 232 Washington St., Boston, 847n
- "Why is it" (WW), 1099
- "Why need genius" (WW), 1590
- "Wicked Architecture" (WW), 1022hn, *see*, "Astor House"
- Wiard, Norman, 842
- Widner, Rolla 667, *see*, Widner, William
- Widner, William (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 667, *see*, Widner, Rolla
- Wiffen, J. H. (*au.*, *Life of Torquato Tasso, The*), 1865hn
- Wiggins, J. W., Jr., 840
- Wiksell, Percival, 894, *see*, Doyle, Peter George
- Wilber, Oscar (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 654, 654n, *see*, "Our Wounded and Sick Soldiers," "A New York Soldier," 655
- Wilber, Mrs. Sally D, 655, *see*, Wilber, Oscar
- Wilder, Abel Carter (brother of D. W. Wilder) 610, 810n, *see*, D. W. Wilder, 1028hn
- Wilder, D. W., *see*, D. W. Wilder, "D. W. Wilder"
- Wilderness battles, 683, *see*, 51st NY Volunteers, 702, 702n, 705, 710, 715n, *see*, Jenkins, Capt. Daniel E., 723hn, 727n, 755, *see*, Whitman, George Washington
- Wilkes, John, 218, 218n

- Wilkins (George W), 432, 432n
 Wilkins, William Glyde (*au.*, *Charles Dickens in America*), 1087n
 Wilkinson, James John Garth, 246, 246n, *see*, *Human Body and its Connexion with Man*, Illustrated by the Principal Organs
 Wilkinson, Sir John Gardiner (*au.*, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 141, 141n, 1922n, 1927hn, *see*, "memorials," 2020hn, 2021hn
 Wilkinson, Senator Morton S., 546, 546n, *see*, Saulsbury, Senator Willard, "The contrabands"
 Wilkinson, R. F., 1037
 Wilks, John, 218, 218n
 Willard, Emma Hart (composer, "Rock'd in the cradle of the Deep"), 869n, *see*, Knight, Joseph P.
 "Will of Walt Whitman" (WW), 917, 1285hn
 "Will, Oct. 1872" (WW), 813n, 815n
 Willards (Washington hotel), 549, 558
 Willett, Marinus, 465, *see*, "In the latter part," "The Liberty Boys"
 W. Kurtz artist, 842, 842n
 "Wm E Vandermark" (WW), 571n, 644, *see*, Vandermark, Wm E., 678n, 824n, 830n
 Wm Fowler cond Market st. Newark[?], 827
 "Wm Gilmore Sims" (WW), 1732, *see*, United States Magazine, Sims, W. G.
 "Wm J Gurd" (WW), 811n, 821n, 1027hn, 1035n, 1036n, 1081, 1083hn, 1267n
 Wm Smith friend of Jack Saunders, 825
 (William (Bdwy) . . . , 261
 William Blake (Swinburne), 1502hn, 2100hn
 "William Giggee" (WW), 431hn, 432n, 459, 493n, *see*, Giggee, William
 "William Grover" (WW), 242n, 650, *see*, "William Grover shot for desertion"
 "William Grover shot for desertion" (WW), 572, *see*, Babbitt, Caleb H, 650, *see*, "William Grover"
 William somewhat feminine—, 487
 William the Conqueror, 220
 William (35)— . . . , 256
 Williams (Buyer of plates of 1860 LG and seller to Worthington), 1229
 Williams, Amy (WW's maternal grandmother), 13, 13n, *see*, Williams, Naomi, 14n, 18, 19, 19n, *see* Van Velsor, Amy Williams
 Williams & Everitts, Pictures and Rich Engravings (Boston), 426, 426n, *see*, "English runic"
 Williams, Ellis, 620, *see*, Amer Moore, Moore, Sarah A
 Williams, Fillmore, 821
 Williams, George H., 915, 915n
 Williams, James H., 790, *see*, Williams, John
 Williams, Mr. J. C., 632, *see*, Williams, William
 Williams, John, 790, *see*, Williams, James H.
 Williams, Capt. John (WW's maternal great grandfather), 6, 13, 14, 18, 22
 Williams, Johnny (policeman), 252, 252n
 Williams, Lawrence Henry, 846, 846n
 Williams, Molly (WW's great grandmother), 18, 18n, *see* Woolley, Mary
 Williams, Naomi (WW's maternal grandmother), 6, *see*, Williams, Amy, 14n, 18,
 Williams, Peggy (WW's maternal great aunt), 22
 Williams, Sally (WW's maternal aunt), 14, *see*, Whitman, Sarah,
 Williams, William (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 631, 632, 632n
 Williams, Wm, livery stable, 5th n. Federal, 821
 Williamsburgh (Brooklyn), 43
 Williamson, George M. (*au.*, *Catalogue of Collection of Books Letters and Manuscripts by Walt Whitman*), 879hn
 Williamson, Isaac, 1267
 Williamson, Wm. Preston cond., 829
 Willis, Hiram (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 631, *see*, Willis, Hiram F.
 Willis, Hiram F., 631, *see*, Willis, Hiram
Willis, James, . . . driving No 1 4th av . . . , 488
 Willis, Nathaniel Parker (poet), 761, 761n
 Willmer & Rogers, New York, 836,
 Willner, Geo., 830
 Wilmot, Mr., 841, *see*, Thompson, George
 Wilsey, Theodore F., 843
 Wilson & McCormick (WW's English publishers), 1181
 Wilson, Benton F., 832, 832n, 842, 842n, *see*, Riley, Miss Kate C
Wilson, David . . . slept with me . . . , 496
 Wilson, Edmund (*ed.*, *Shock of Recognition, The*), 1716hn
 Wilson, Bishop Edward, 1192n
 Wilson, Wm, 251, 251n
 Wilson, J. Ormond, 814
 Winants' (boarding house), 211, 211n
 Winchell, Mr., 546, *see*, *Times* (NY)
 Winkelman, John (*au.*, *History of Ancient Art, The*), 247, 247n
 Winstead . . . Ireland, 813
 Winter, William (*au.*, *Old Friends*), 434n, 1221, 1221n, *see*, *Tribune* (NY), Saturday Press
 Winterstein, Caleb, 615, 819, 819n, *see*, Wintersteen, Manville
 Wintersteen, Manville co K 6th Ohio cav, 615, 615n, *see*, "in Armory Ward c," Wintersteen, Caleb, 657, 657n, *see*, "September & October," "Typical Soldiers," "D.W. Wilder," *DN*, 819, 819n
 Wise, Alfred, 837, 837n, 839n
 "Wise Books" (WW), 1712hn
 Wise, Wm, 837, 837n
 Wish, Harvey (*au.*, George Fitzhugh), 2123n
 Wisselhoeft, Dr. William (Boston), 2002hn

- "With Antecedents" (WW), 270n, 434n, *see*, Gardette, Charles D., *Saturday Press*, 2068hn
 "with arriere-threads" (WW), 1684, 1685hn
 "With Husky-Haughty Lips, O Sea!" (WW), 240n, 1187hn, *see*, "Vicissini Sav," 1190n, 1191n
 "with results" (WW), 1225
 "with the fever" (WW), 1854
 "With the names" (WW), 835n, 1735
 "with the fever" (WW), 1854
 "With the names" (WW), 1712hn, *see*, "AMERICAN POETS"
 Withers, Alfred, 1035
 Witt, Piper & Co. 133 Washington St. Boston (distributed WW's books), 823hn, 823
 "W.J.R.," 961hn, *see*, Commercial (Cincinnati), "WEALTH OF POETS"
 Wolf, S., 814
 Wolf, S. [?], 616 L St, 847n
 Wolfe, John W., 828
 "Wolsey" (WW), 1912
Woman and Her Era (Farnham, Eliza), 1949hn
 "Woman's Estimate of Walt Whitman, A" (Gilchrist), 811n
 Wood, Calvin B (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 673
 Wood, Mrs. Elizabeth H., 609
 Wood, Mayor Fernando, 272, 915, 915n, *see*, Make A Poem, Great Police Riot,
 Wood, George, 261
 Wood, Mr., 520
 Wood, Mrs. Henry, 983hn, *see*, "Johnny Ludlow"
 Wood, Rev. J. G. (*au.*, *Bible Animals*), 941hn, *see*, *Wood's Bible Animals*
 Wood, William, 2066hn, *see*, "But amid these inquiries"
 Wood, W. R., 1035
 Woodbury, 210, 217,
 Woodbury (*au.*, *Maj. Gen. Ambrose Burnside & The Ninth Army Corps*), 830-831
 Woodbury, Charles J, 1728hn, 1728
Woodbury Times, 256, 256n
 Woodhull, 253
 Woodhull, George S., 1042hn
 "wooding at night" (WW), 84
 "Woodman, Spare that tree" (*au.*, George P. Morris), 226n
 Woodmansee, James E. (Patent Office Hospital Ward, Washington), 520, *see*, Woodmansee, Rev. Ray
 Woodmansee, Rev. Ray, 520, *see*, Woodmansee, James E.
Wood's Bible Animals, 941hn, *see*, Wood, Rev. J. G., Bradley, Garretson & Co.
 Woods, Charley, 1035, 1035n, 1082, 1082n
 Woods, Lyman T, Co I, 450
 Woodworth, Thos., 818
 Woolley, Mary (wife of Capt. John Williams and WW's maternal great grandmother), 6, 13, 14,
 Woolsey, 253, 253n
 "Word out of the Sea" (WW), 544hn, *see*, *Recitation*, "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking"
 "Words" (WW), 1686
 "Words as of a flute-player" (WW), 1705
 "Words 'blizzard'" (WW), 1680hn, 1681
 "Words in the Bible" (WW), 924
 "words Names" (WW), 1627
 "words 'quizzed'" (WW), 1678
 "Words —Right in the midst" (WW), 1669
 "words The origination" (WW), 1665, *see*, "Rambles Among Words," *An American Primer*
 Wordsworth, William, 1796n, *see*, "Prelude, The"
 Work, Alexander, 761, 761n, 831, 831n
Works of John Ruskin, The (aus., E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn), 1222hn
Works of Virgil, The (Buckley), 1878hn
Works of William Shakespeare (Collier), 1741hn, 1743hn
 "World of Letters" (*ed.*, Stoddard), 484n, *see*, "return my book," *Mail and Express* (NY), *Walt Whitman the Man* (Donaldson), 524
World (NY), 452hn, 816n, *see*, Schuyler, Montgomery, 834n
 Worth, Elliot, 489, 489n, *see*, "return my book," "D.W. Wilder," 826, 826n
 Worthen, E. (friend of Jeff Whitman), 831n
 Worthen, W. E., 831n
 Worthen, Wm E, 63 Bleeker, 825, 825n, 826
 Worthing, Helen B. (nurse, Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 522, 522n, *see*, "Walt Whitman Soldier's, 604n, *see*, "return my book"
 Worthington, R. (ultimate buyer and reprinter of plates for 1860 LG), 1096hn, 1096, *see*, "Nov:26 1880 R Worthington," 1097, 1229hn, 1229, 1230
 Worthington, Erastus, Jr., 210n
 Worthington's, 210,
 Wraymond, Lewis, 814n, *see*, Sydnor, William
 Wren, Thomas (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 530
 Wright, Col (51st N Y V), 754hn, 754, 754n
 Wright, Capt D. F. (51st N Y V), 669, 669n, 700, 701n, *see*, "Martin Weaver," 701, 701n, 702, 702n
 Wright, Frances, 344hn, 344, *see*, Rose, Mrs,
 Wright, George, 253, 253n, *see*, Union Ferry
Wright, George, 45 5th av . . . , 495
 Wright, George, plaster, 256, 256n, 482
 Wright, Capt J. G., 703, 703n
 Wright, Lt. Col. J. G. (51st N Y V), 704, 704n, 712
 Wright, John, 844, 844n
 Wright, Major, 748
 Wright, Silas, 1268hn, 1268

- Wright, Thomas, Myrtle av. friend of George's, 498
 "Write *A Drunken Song*" (WW), 1365
 "Write a poem" (WW), 778n, 1374
 "Write to Thuey Smith" (WW), 692, 692n, *see*, Smith, Bethuel, "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz"
 "written at 431 Stevens" (WW), 1068, *see*, "The last will and testament," 1285hn
 "(written for the voice)" (WW), 1352hn, 1355
 Wrobel, Arthur, 55hn
 "Wrote to Thuey Smith" (WW), 692
 "W.S.K.," *see*, Kennedy, William Sloane
 W. W. club, 817, 817n, 820, 820n
 "W. Whitman Portland av." (WW), 344hn, 423n, 431n, 432n, 443, 444n, 453, 495n
 "WW is to be the sole owner" (WW), 1168
WWR, 62n, 246hn, 489n, 540n, 1034hn
Wylie, William, 486, *see*, "return my book," Fort Hamilton
- Y**ankee, Al, 254
 Yankee Notions (New York), 240,
 Yankee Sullivan (Gillie?) (prize fighter), 483, 483n, *see*, "return my book," Hyer, John, The Branch
 Yates, Vernon . . . 4th N Y Cav (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 570
 "Year of Meteors" (WW), 443n, *see*, "Mr. and Mrs. Fitz," "Drum Taps," Prince of Wales, 533n
 Yeaton, Geo. W. (Armory Square Hospital, Washington), 606
 Yeatts, John, 820
 "Yet amid lack" (WW), 2153
 Yonkmanard, John (in George Whitman's regiment), 448, 448n
Yonnonidio, 1211, 1211n, *see*, "Yonnonidio"
 "Yonnonidio" (WW), 1211n
- Yonnonidio, or Warriors of the Genessee* . . . (Hosmer), 1211n
 York General Hospital (Pennsylvania), 673
 "You cannot define" (WW), 1592
 "You Felons on Trial in Courts" (1860) (WW), 271n, *see*, "Leaves of Grass No. 13"
 "You know how the one" (WW), 124, 391n,
 "You Know not how the one brain" (WW), 54hn,
 Youmans (Edward Livingston?), 206, 206n, 248, 248n, 910, 910n
 Youmans, Frederick, 248 (?), 248n
 Young America, 239
 Young, Andrew White (*ed.*, *Young's Political History*), 247, 247n
 Young, James Rankin, 842, 842n, *see*, *Tribune* (NY)
 Young, Lieut, 449
 Young, May D. (*ed.*, *Men and Memories*), 842n
 Young Men's Christian Association (Washington), 521
 Young Men's Christian Commission (Washington), 602hn, 602, 604n,
 Young, Y. Russell, 842, 842n, *see*, *Tribune* (NY)
 Young's Political History (*The American Statesman: A Political History*), 247, 247n
- "(Zerdusht ? Zoroaster" (WW), 2029, *see*, "Religions—Gods"
 "Zeus" (WW), 1703
 Zimmerman, Dr. D M, 1051, 1051n, 1164, 1164n
 Zimrock, Carl (Simrock, Carl Joseph) (*tr.*, *Niebelungenlied*), 444, 444n, *see*, *Niebelungenlied*, 1812hn
 "Zschokke" (WW), 1831, *see*, Zschokke, Heinrich
 Zschokke, Heinrich (German writer), 1831hn, 1831, *see*, "Zschokke," 1832