1840s

1. Early 1840s. Daguerreotype. Photographer unknown: perhaps John Plumbe, Jr., whose daguerreotype studio WW often visited around this time. Saunders #1. Courtesy Gay Wilson Allen. WW described himself in an 1842 New York *Aurora* article: "we took our cane, (a heavy, dark beautifully polished, hook ended one,) and our hat, (a plain, neat fashionable one, from Banta's, 130 Chatham street, which we got gratis, on the strength of giving him this puff,) and sauntered forth to have a stroll down Broadway to the Battery . . . on we went, swinging our stick, (the before mentioned dark and polished one,) in our right hand—and with our left hand tastily thrust in its appropriate pocket, in our frock coat, (a gray one)."

2. Early 1840s. Daguerreotype. Photographer unknown: perhaps John Plumbe, Jr. Not in Saunders, though in some volumes of Saunders, it is added and labeled #1.1. Courtesy Walt Whitman Association, Camden, NJ. William Cauldwell, who worked as a printer on the *Aurora* in the early 1840s and who knew WW well, recalled in 1901 what WW looked like then: "Mr. Whitman was at that time, I should think, about 25 years of age, tall and graceful in appearance, neat in attire, and possessed a very pleasing and impressive eye and a cheerful, happy-looking countenance. He usually wore a frock coat and high hat, carried a small cane, and the lapel of his coat was almost invariably ornamented with a boutonniere. . . ."

1850s

1. Early 1850s. Daguerreotype. Photographer unknown: Gabriel Harrison? Not in Saunders. Courtesy Floyd and Marion Rinhart Collection, Ohio State University Library for Communication and Graphic Arts. Supposedly some "latent writing" on the plate identifies this image as Whitman, though it remains at best a very questionable attribution. WW in 1889, trying to identify a certain photograph, noted that "I never wore a stiff hat," a remark that might rule this photo out as an image of WW; note also the uncharacteristic broad nose, non-drooping eyelids, and unarched brows.

2. July, 1854. Steel engraving by Samuel Hollyer of Daguerreotype by Gabriel Harrison (original Daguerreotype lost). Saunders #4. Courtesy Bayley Collection, Ohio Wesleyan University. WW said, "The worst thing about this is, that I look so damned flamboyant—as if I was hurling bolts at somebody—full of mad oaths—saying defiantly, to hell with you!" He also worried about the portrait because "Many people think the dominant quality in Harrison's picture is its sadness," but he nevertheless liked the portrait "because it is natural, honest, easy: as spontaneous as you are, as I am, this instant, as we talk together." WW guessed that at the time of this portrait he weighed "about a hundred and sixty-five or thereabouts: I formerly lacked in flesh, though I was not thin. . . ." The engraving appeared in the 1855 and 1856 editions of *Leaves,* then again in the 1876 and 1881–1882 (and following) editions, as

well as—in a cropped version—in William Michael Rossetti's 1869 British edition of WW's poems. In reprinting it in the 1881 edition, WW insisted on its facing "Song of Myself" because the portrait "is involved as part of the poem." Some of WW's friends did not share his enthusiasm for the image; William Sloane Kennedy, for example, hoped "that this repulsive, loaferish portrait, with its sensual mouth, can be dropped from future editions, or be accompanied by other and better ones that show the mature man, and not merely the defiant young revolter of thirty-seven, with a very large chip on his shoulder, no suspenders to his trousers, and his hat very much on one side." WW recalled how, when the 1855 *Leaves* came out, the portrait "was much hatchelled by the fellows at the time—war was waged on it: it passed through a great fire of criticism." William O'Connor liked it, WW said, "because of its portrayal of the proletarian— the carpenter, builder, mason, mechanic," but WW didn't share his view.

3. Probably 1854. Daguerreotype. Photographer unknown: probably Gabriel Harrison. Saunders #5. Courtesy Bayley Collection, Ohio Wesleyan University. WW's friend Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke called this "the Christ likeness," and saw signs here of Whitman's illumination, the "moment this carpenter too became a seer . . . and he saw and knew the Spirit of God." Bucke believed that "something of this spiritual elevation can still be seen" in this photo.

4. 1859. Steel engraving by Schoff from a painting by Charles Hine. Saunders #11. Courtesy Gay Wilson Allen. Included here among the photographs because of its familiarity and because it is the only likeness of himself not based on a photograph that Whitman used in his books. WW called it "characteristic," and noted, "I was in full bloom then: weighed two hundred and ten pounds—. . . in those years I was in the best health: not a thing amiss."

1860s

1. Around 1860. Photographer unknown, but identified by several sources as J. W. Black of Boston, firm of Black and Batchelder. WW was in Boston in 1860. Saunders #2. Courtesy Bayley Collection, Ohio Wesleyan University. Note similarity of clothing with following photos. WW late in his life identified the date of this photo as between 1845 and 1850, but no one has agreed with him; Dr. Bucke guessed 1856, but most estimates have been a later date. Seeing this photo late in his life, WW exclaimed, "How shaggy! looks like a returned Californian, out of the mines, or Coloradoan," but he was fascinated with "the expression of benignity" that shone through, though he felt "such benignity, such sweetness, such satisfiedness—it does not belong. I know it often appears—but that's the trick of the camera, the photographer." WW called it his "young man" picture ("when did I not look old? At twenty-five or twenty-six they used already to remark it"), and claimed "it is me, me unformed, undeveloped—hits off phases not common in my photos." He described his physique at the time: "I was very much slenderer then: weighed from one hundred and fifty-five to one hundred and sixty-five pounds: had kept that weight for about thirty years: then got heavier." WW was amused by the clothing—"how natural the clothes! . . . the suit was a beautiful misfit, as usual, eh?"—and he was impressed with "its calm don't-care-a-damnativeness—its go-to-hell-and-find-outativeness: it has that air

strong, yet is not impertinent: defiant: yet it is genial." WW was mystified by this portrait—he called it "the mysterious photograph"—when he first saw it in 1889: "When it could have been taken—by whom—where—I cannot even guess. . . . it's a devilish, tantalizing mystery. . . ."

2. Early 1860s. Photographer unknown: could be J. W. Black, Boston (same clothes as previous photo). Not in Saunders. Courtesy Bayley Collection, Ohio Wesleyan University. Writing in 1860 about his trip to Boston, WW said, "I create an immense sensation in Washington street. Every body here is so like everybody else—and I am Walt Whitman!—Yankee curosity and cuteness, for once, is thoroughly stumped, confounded, petrified, made desperate." J. W. Black's gallery was on Washington Street, known as the "photography row" of Boston.

3. Early 1860s. Photographer unknown: could be J. W. Black, Boston, or Alexander Gardner, Washington, D.C. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Library of Congress. LC print of photo, in unknown handwriting on the back, identifies this as having been taken around 1860 by Mathew Brady.

4. Early 1860s. Photographer unknown. Saunders #20. Courtesy Bayley Collection, Ohio Wesleyan University. Saunders identifies it as a "much faded photo from a Whitman notebook"; the original is obviously severely crumpled and faded.

5. 1864–65. Alexander Gardner, Washington, D.C. Not in Saunders. Courtesy New York Public Library. Note same clothing as in following photo.

6. 1864. Alexander Gardner, Washington, D.C. Saunders #22. Courtesy Alderman Library, University of Virginia. WW referred to this as "one of several portraits which William O'Connor called the Hugo portraits," and worried that it was too severe: "do you detect a scowl, a frown, anything bordering on it?" Looking at it another time, WW mused, "That was my prime—that was the period of my power—of endurance: the period in which I was most alive."

7. 1864? Alexander Gardner, Washington, D.C. Saunders #21. Courtesy Alderman Library, University of Virginia. Dated 1863 by Whitman. WW referred to this photo as "the best picture of all," and recalls a reporter writing about it that "Whitman had been photographed in his night-dress" (a comment that WW said made Gardner "fiery mad"). This is no doubt the photo WW had in mind when he wrote in an 1869 Washington *Chronicle* article about the best portraits of himself, and noted "Mr. Gardiner [sic], on Seventh street . . . has a capital photo." Late in his life, WW described the photo as having "Almost the old professor look." WW said that Thomas Eakins preferred this photo to all others: "Eakins likes it—says it is the most powerful picture of me extant—always excepting his own, to be sure." Looking at the photo, WW mused, "How well I was then!—not a sore spot—full of initiative, vigor, joy—not much belly, but grit, fibre, hold, solidity. Indeed, all through those years—that period—I was at my best—physically at my best, mentally, every way."

8. 1864–65. Alexander Gardner, Washington, D.C. Not in Saunders Courtesy Alderman Library, University of Virginia. Some copies dated 1865 by Whitman.

9. 1864–65. Alexander Gardner, Washington, D.C. Saunders #17. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. Note similarity of sitting, dress, and style, to the previous two photos and the following one. WW said this photo was "one of the best . . . my mother's favorite picture of me."

10. 1864–65. Photographer unknown: probably Alexander Gardner, Washington, D.C. Saunders #18. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection.

11. Mid-1860s. Photographer unknown: could be Alexander Gardner, Washington, D.C. Saunders #25. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. A large copy of this photo is visible in a photo of Whitman's room reprinted in Emory Holloway, *Whitman,* opposite p. 308.

12. 1864? Photographer unknown: could be Alexander Gardner, Washington, D.C. Saunders #23. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. Saunders, quoting *Putnam's* (where the photo appeared in November 1908), dates it "Just before the Civil War," but LC and OWU date it 1864.

13. About 1862. Mathew Brady, New York. Saunders #16. Courtesy Alderman Library, University of Virginia. WW described this photo as having "a sort of Moses in the burning bush look." Talking about this photo in 1888, WW said, "Somebody used to say I sometimes wore the face of a man who was sorry for the world. Is this my sorry face? I am not sorry—I am glad—for the world." "This picture was much better when it was taken—it has faded out," WW noted; "I always rather favored it." In an 1863 notebook, WW records receiving photos from Brady.

14. About 1866. Mathew Brady, Washington. Saunders #15. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. WW recalled that this was one of Anne Gilchrist's favorite photos, though WW worried about "a suspicion of theatricality in it." "I have no great admiration for the picture myself," WW noted; "it is one of many, only—not many in one: the sort of picture useful in totaling a man but not a total in itself." The photo, WW said, "is not permanent—will not last: it is too self satisfied."

15. 1866. Mathew Brady, Washington. Saunders #23.1. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection.

16. 1867? Photographer identified by Saunders as Mathew Brady, which is probably correct, but LC copy ascribes it to Alexander Gardner. Saunders #24. Courtesy Gay Wilson Allen. Note similarity to previous photo; perhaps same sitting.

17. Mid-1860s. Photographer unknown: could be Mathew Brady, Washington. Saunders #35.1 Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection.

18. Around 1867. Mathew Brady, Washington (LC copy is imprinted by Brady's New York studio). Saunders #26. Courtesy The J. Paul Getty Museum, where it is dated around 1875 and ascribed perhaps to Alexander Gardner in the Brady studio. WW recalls that he was wearing what was called his "sauce-pan hat," and asked about

this photo, "How do you like that for free and easy?" He went on to wonder, "Is that the picture of a tough? Maybe I am not sensitive—maybe I am a tough. . . ."

19. Mid-1860s. William Kurtz, New York. Saunders #12. Courtesy Library of Congress. This photo is usually dated 1860, but Kurtz did not open his own studio in NY until after the Civil War, and the original photo carries Kurtz's Madison Square imprint (the Madison Square gallery was not opened until 1874, though this may be a later printing of an earlier photo).

20. Mid-1860s. William Kurtz, New York. Saunders #13. Courtesy Library of Congress. See previous note. This or one of the following two photos may be the one WW described to Horace Traubel as "the Quaker picture: see? the sombrero—the nice adjustment of light and shade." Kurtz was famous for developing methods to photograph shadowed sides of the face.

21. Late 1860s. William Kurtz, New York. Saunders #42. Courtesy William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, Trent Collection. Dated by Saunders in 1873, but 1873 seems an unlikely year for any photographs, since WW suffered a paralytic stroke in January, was devastated further by his mother's death in May, and moved to Camden in July. Note similarity of clothing and pose to preceding and following photos; clearly this photo is in Kurtz's "Rembrandt" style of shadow and light, a style he did not introduce until 1867.

22. Late 1860s? Photographer unknown: perhaps William Kurtz, whose style this photo suggests, though some copies identify it as a Brady. Saunders #19. Courtesy Charles E. Feinberg. If it is a Kurtz, it must be dated 1865 or later; Saunders dates it 1862, and some copies are dated by WW in 1863. WW wrote, "I confess to myself a perhaps capricious fondness for it."

23. Late 1860s. Photographer unknown: perhaps William Kurtz, New York, whose "Rembrandt" style of light and shadow is suggested here. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Library of Congress.

24. 1869? Photographer unknown: probably William Kurtz. Saunders #14. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. This photo is often dated 1861, but it appears to be later, and it would seem to be the photo WW refers to in a notebook dated between 1869 and 1871 where he records a desire to "Collect the good portraits" including "Kurtz's head with eyelids drooping." He goes on to make notes for a poem about this portrait, including lines like "Veil with the lids thine eyes, O soul! / . . . Droop—droop thine eyes O Soul. . . . / Mask with their lids thine eyes, O Soul! / The standards of the light & sense shut off / To darkness now retiring, from thy inward abysms / How curious, looking thence, . . . / Appears aloof thy life, each passion, each event. . . . / The objective world behind thee left. . . ." Dr. R. M. Bucke dated this photo much earlier (1861) and saw WW's "attitude and aspect" here suggestive of "the shadow of the national catastrophe, which was to crush him as well as so many thousand others . . . already falling upon him and darkening his life." This and the following photo are classic examples of Kurtz's "Rembrandt" style of light and shadow.

25. 1869? Photographer unknown: probably William Kurtz. Saunders #28. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection.

26. 1869? Photographer unknown: Oscar Lion Collection, New York Public Library, ascribes it to E. F. Hunt, Camden, NJ, but this seems too early for a Camden photo. Saunders #70. Courtesy Gay Wilson Allen. The notebook referred to in #24 above also contains notes for a poem about a photograph WW refers to as "Tarisse's head," and in WW's 1867–1875 address notebook, he records a "Mr. Leybold J. C. Tarisse 424 Penn av. bet 4th & 6th sts." In an 1869 Washington *Chronicle* article, WW, describing the best photographs of himself, noted that "Mssrs. Seybold & Tarisse, on the Avenue, below Sixth, have a good head, just taken, very strong in shade and light." The notes for the poem suggest this might be the portrait being described: "From Shadows, deep & dark I peer Out." The lines in this MS poem could also refer to #22 or #23 above; William Kurtz was a master of shadow in his portraits, which gained a reputation of being in the "Rembrandt style." Saunders notes that WW did not care for this photo because it was tinted (WW disapproved of retouching negatives, since the "photograph has this advantage: it lets nature have its way").

27. Around 1869. M. P. Rice, Washington, D.C. Saunders #29. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. The first extant photo of Whitman with anyone else, here Peter Doyle, WW's close friend and companion in Washington. Doyle was a horsecar driver and met WW one stormy night in 1865 when WW, looking (as Doyle said) "like an old sea-captain," remained the only passenger on Doyle's car. They were inseparable for the next eight years. WW once dated this photo 1865. In 1889, WW had a remarkable talk with Horace Traubel and Thomas Harned about the photo; Traubel recalls the conversation: "I picked up a picture from the box by the fire: a Washington picture: W. and Peter Doyle photoed together: a rather remarkable composition: Doyle with a sickly smile on his face: W. lovingly serene: the two looking at each other rather stagily, almost sheepishly. W. had written on this picture, at the top: 'Washington D.C. 1865–Walt Whitman & his rebel soldier friend Pete Doyle.' W. laughed heartily the instant I put my hands on it (I had seen it often before)–Harned mimicked Doyle, W. retorting: 'Never mind, the expression on my face atones for all that is lacking in his. What do I look like there? Is it seriosity?' Harned suggested: 'Fondness, and Doyle should be a girl'–but W. shook his head, laughing again: 'No–don't be too hard on it: that is my rebel friend, you know,' &c. Then again: 'Tom, you would like Pete–love him: and you, too, Horace: you especially, Horace–you and Pete would get to be great chums. I found everybody in Washington who knew Pete loving him: so that fond expression, as you call it, Tom, has very good cause for being: Pete is a master character.' I said: 'One of your powerful uneducated persons, Walt, eh?' W. quickly: 'Just that: a rare man: knowing nothing of books, knowing everything of life: a great big hearty full-blooded everyday divinely generous working man: a hail fellow well met–a little too fond maybe of his beer, now and then, and of the women: maybe, maybe: but for the most part the salt of the earth. Most literary men, as you know, are the kind of men a hearty man would not go far to see: but Pete fascinates you by the very earthiness of his nobility. O yes, you fellows will know him: you, Horace, must particularly make it your point to come in relations with him: you will know him–both of you–and then you will understand that what I say is wholly true and yet is short of the truth.' "

28. Around 1869. M. P. Rice, Washington, D.C. Not in Saunders (though later issues add it and number it 30). Courtesy William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, Trent Collection. With Peter Doyle.

29. Around 1869. Photographer unknown: perhaps M. P. Rice, Washington, D.C. Note similarity to previous two photos. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. OWU dates this 1875 and ascribes it to W. Shaw Warren, a Boston photographer, but WW was not in Boston in the 1870s.

1870s

1. Around 1870. G. Frank Pearsall, Brooklyn. Saunders #31. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. This photo has often been dated around 1869, but Pearsall's Fulton St. Gallery is not listed in directories until 1872, and the similarity of this photo to the ones following suggests they may have all been taken in one sitting. The LC copy is dated on the back in unknown hand, 1870.

2. 1872. G. Frank Pearsall, Brooklyn. Saunders #32. Courtesy Gay Wilson Allen.

3. September 1872. G. Frank Pearsall, Brooklyn. Saunders #36. Courtesy Gay Wilson Allen. Used as frontispiece for *Two Rivulets,* where it is captioned by WW, "Phot'd from life, Sept., '72, Brooklyn, N.Y., by G.F.E. Pearsall, Fulton St."

4. Early 1870s. Photographer unknown: probably G. Frank Pearsall, Brooklyn. Saunders #47. WW commented on this photo, "It's stiff, a little too much up and down, but a really good likeness I suppose." WW went on to tell Horace Traubel (who dated the picture "during the war") that "if you can't call it a picture you may call it a curio."

5. Early 1870s? Photographer unknown. Saunders #27. Courtesy Charles E. Feinberg. This photo has been dated variously from 1863 to 1888, and ascribed to photographers like Brady, J. Gurney, and Pearsall.

6. Early 1870s? Photographer unknown. Saunders #33. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection.

7. Early 1870s. Photographer unknown. Saunders #35. Courtesy Library of Congress.

8. 1871? George C. Potter, Washington, D.C. Saunders #43. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. This is the original photograph for the well-known Linton engraving, which follows. WW remembered George Potter as "not a Leaves of Grass man, but friendly to me," and he preferred the photo to the engraving ("the photo has somewhat that he [the engraver] fails to retain").

9. 1871? George C. Potter. Engraver: William J. Linton. Saunders #44a. Courtesy Gay Wilson Allen. Included here because of its familiarity as a portrait of Whitman;

WW used it in the 1876 *Leaves* and wrote a poem, "Out from Behind This Mask," inspired by the engraving: "This common curtain of the face contain'd in me for me . . . / These burin'd eyes, flashing to you to pass to future time. . . ." When choosing to print this image in the 1889 *Leaves,* WW told Traubel, "I always have liked it."

10. 1871. Henry Ulke and Brothers, Washington, D.C. Saunders #34. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. WW spoke of people's reaction to this photo: "Some of them say my face there has a rogue in it. [William] O'Connor called it my sea-captain face. Some newspaper got hold of a copy of the photograph and said it bore out the notion that Walt Whitman was a sensualist. I offered one to a woman in Washington. She said she'd rather have a picture that had more love in it. It's a little rough and tumble, but it's not a face I could hate."

11. Early 1870s. Photographer unknown: probably Brady. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Library of Congress. The chair appears to be one used in Brady's Washington studio; the "Lincoln chair" was given to Brady by the President in 1860. It had been Lincoln's chair in the House of Representatives before new chairs were installed in 1857, and it became the most familiar prop in Washington Brady photographs. It would be fitting, of course, for WW to have his portrait taken in this symbolic chair.

12. Early 1870s. Photographer unknown: perhaps Brady. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Gay Wilson Allen. Horace Traubel, when he got the photo from WW, had trouble identifying the photographer, too, speculating that it was a Sarony, but that seems unlikely.

13. Early 1870s. Photographer unknown: perhaps Brady (note same clothing in next photo; perhaps same sitting). Not in Saunders. Courtesy Library of Congress. Dated by WW 1871.

14. Early 1870s or perhaps late 1860s. Mathew Brady, New York. Saunders #45. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. The photo has to be before 1871, since on 8 June of that year, WW wrote to Ellen O'Connor, telling her he had procured a copy for her ("the one with the hand up, which you liked"). A few years later he wrote to Ellen again, describing the photo as "the one with the hand up at the right side of the head—so?" WW identified it as a Brady photo. In 1889 he guessed "it must have been taken fully twenty years ago" on one of his "flying trips" to New York from Washington. It was while looking at this photo in 1889 that WW explained what he saw to be the difficulty of photographing him properly: "my red, florid, blooded complexion—my gray dull eyes—don't consort well together: they require different trimmings: it is very hard to adjust the camera to both." WW attributed his photogenic qualities to his relaxed and natural attitude before the camera: "I don't fix up when I go to have the picture taken: they tell me nearly everybody does: that is a great item. . . . Startle, strikingness, brilliancy, are not factors in my appearance—not a touch of them. As for me I think the greatest aid is in my *insouciance*—my utter indifference: my going as if it meant nothing unusual. . . ."

15. Early 1870s. J. Gurney and Son, New York. Saunders #39. Courtesy Alderman Library, University of Virginia. Originally part of a stereoscopic card, the photo has

been on occasion incorrectly dated in the 1860s and incorrectly identified as a Brady photo. WW said of it, "That picture seems to have been liked—I don't know but I like it myself. William [O'Connor] thought it a trifle weak, but I don't think it so. I can't always be a roaring lion!"

16. Early 1870s. J. Gurney and Son, New York. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. Nearly identical to the previous photo, but shaded on the opposite side.

17. 1871–72. J. Gurney and Son, New York. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Library of Congress. Nearly identical to #15; perhaps the other half of the stereoscopic card.

18. 1871–72. J. Gurney and Son, New York. Saunders #40. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. WW dated it both 1871 and 1872.

19. 1872. J. Gurney and Son, New York. Saunders #41. Courtesy Library of Congress. Horace Traubel dates it as during the Civil War.

20. 1871? Rockwood, New York. Saunders #41. Courtesy Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

21. 1878. Napoleon Sarony, New York. Saunders #37.1. Courtesy Alderman Library, University of Virginia. In July 1878, Whitman was invited by Sarony to sit for a group of portraits; this and the following eight photos are the result; WW recalls of the sitting at "the great photographic establishment" that he "had a real pleasant time."

22. 1878. Napoleon Sarony, New York. Saunders #57. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. Of this photo, WW said, "It is one of my good-humored pictures. . . . This is strong enough to be right and gentle enough to be right, too: I like to be both: I wouldn't like people to say 'he is a giant' and then forget I know how to love."

23. 1878. Napoleon Sarony, New York. Saunders #59. Courtesy Library of Congress.

24. 1878. Napoleon Sarony, New York. Saunders #60. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection.

25. 1878. Napoleon Sarony, New York. Saunders #64. Courtesy New York Public Library, Oscar Lion Collection.

26. 1878. Napoleon Sarony, New York. Saunders #63. Courtesy Library of Congress.

27. 1878. Napoleon Sarony, New York. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin.

28. 1878. Napoleon Sarony, New York. Saunders #89. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. Sarony was known for his amazing (and often bizarre) collection of settings, backdrops, and props; in this and the following photo WW is cast into the world of Sarony's illusions. Also apparent in these two photos are Sarony's unconventional posing techniques.

29. 1878. Napoleon Sarony, New York. Saunders #71. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection.

30. 1879. William Kurtz, New York. Saunders #67. Courtesy Alderman Library, University of Virginia. Written on the back of the LC copy of this photo: "Walt Whitman with 'Kitty' (Katharine Devereux) and 'Harry' (Harold Hugh) Johnston, children of John H. and Amelia F. Johnston." Johnston was a New York jeweler who befriended Whitman and housed him for long stays in New York in the late 1870s. During his first stay in 1877, WW experienced the death of Amelia Johnston as she gave birth to Harry. In 1878, WW wrote that "The little 15 months old baby, little Harry . . . is a fine, good bright child, not very rugged, but gets along very well—I take him in my arms always after breakfast & go out in front for a short walk—he is very contented & good with me—little Kitty goes too." WW worried about Harry's health—"I hardly think its tenure of life secure." WW reported that the children called him "Uncle Walt," and he found them "model children lively & free & *children*" who "form a great part of my comfort here." Nearly a decade later, just before Christmas 1888, Kitty wrote to "My dear Uncle Walt," asking him to come join them "to make the family complete," to come be "a Grandpa" to them: "I want you *very, very* soon!"

31. 1879. William Kurtz, New York. Saunders #68. Courtesy Gay Wilson Allen. Again with Kitty and Harry Johnston.

32. 1879. William Kurtz, New York. Saunders #69. Courtesy Alderman Library, University of Virginia. With Harold Johnston. The grass in Harry's hand—turning him into a representation of the child in "Song of Myself" who said *"What is the grass?* fetching it to me with full hands"—has been sketched onto the photo. Probably a cropped and touched up version of #30.

33. Late 1870s. Photographer unknown. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Sheffield [England] Library, Edward Carpenter Collection. With Harry Stafford. WW often stayed with the Stafford family at their farm in New Jersey where he spent restorative time by Timber Creek, regaining his health. In 1876 WW entered an intense and stormy relationship with young Harry, who often accompanied WW to the creek and to whom WW gave a ring; the ring is visible in this photo on Harry's right hand. The ring was taken back and re-given over the next couple of years, and clearly was thought of as a symbol of deep commitment; Harry wrote to WW about wanting the ring back in 1877 "to compleete [sic] our friendship": "You know when you put it on there was but one thing to part it from me and that was death." During these years, when they were apart, WW wrote Harry intimate letters: "Dear Harry, not a day or night passes but I think of you. . . . Dear son, how I wish you could come in now, even if but for an hour & take off your coat, & sit on my lap—" By 1881, WW credited

Harry with having saved his life: "Dear Hank, I realize plainly that *if I had not known you*—if it hadn't been for you & our friendship . . . I believe *I should not be a living man to-day*—"

1880s

1. 1880. Frederick Gutekunst, Philadelphia. Saunders #80. Courtesy Alderman Library, University of Virginia. Appears in 1889 *Leaves* (pocket edition). WW asked Horace Traubel about this photo: "Do you think it glum? severe? I have had that suspicion but most people won't hear to it." When Traubel dissented, WW said, "I hope your view is correct: I don't want to figure anywhere as misanthropic, sour, doubtful: as a discourager—as a putter-out of lights." WW records in his daybooks receiving photos from Gutekunst in March 1880.

2. 1880. Frederick Gutekunst, Philadelphia. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Library of Congress. Obviously same sitting as above photo. Looking at this photo, WW said, "how weak! how sizzled out! I like it, passably: but it is not one of the best. Perhaps . . . there is enough of me to survive even the worst ordeal: I hope so. . . ."

3. 1880. Edy Brothers, London, Ontario. Saunders #73. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. This and the following six photos were taken in the summer of 1880 on WW's trip to Canada to visit Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke.

4. 1880. Edy Brothers, London, Ontario. Saunders #74. Courtesy Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

5. 1880? Photographer unknown: perhaps Edy Brothers, London, Ontario. Note similarity to previous photo. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

6. 1880. Edy Brothers, London, Ontario. Saunders #72. Courtesy Library of Congress.

7. 1880. Edy Brothers, London, Ontario. Saunders #75. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection.

8. 1880. Edy Brothers, London, Ontario. Saunders #76. Courtesy Gay Wilson Allen. LC copy dated in WW's hand: "London Canada Sept 22 1880."

9. 1880. Edy Brothers, London, Ontario. Saunders #77. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection.

10. 1880. Edy Brothers, London, Ontario. Saunders #78. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection.

11. 1880? Edy Brothers, London, Ontario? (Note coat is same as that in other Edy Brothers photos.) Saunders #58. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Col-

lection. This also could be the photo WW referred to in his daybooks for 11 January 1882 when he "Sat to Mr Weld" at the Philadelphia photographer Emil Scholl's studio.

12. 1881. Bartlett F. Kenny, Boston. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Gay Wilson Allen.

13. 1881. Bartlett F. Kenny, Boston. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Gay Wilson Allen.

14. 1881. Bartlett F. Kenny, Boston. Saunders #84.1. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. The New York Public Library ascribes this to Maurice Andsley, a Philadelphia photographer, and dates it 1882. Note the identical clothing to the previous and following photos.

15. 1881. Bartlett F. Kenny, Boston. Saunders #85. Courtesy Huntington Public Library. WW called this the "pompous photo."

16. Bartlett F. Kenny, Boston. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Library of Congress.

17. 1881. W. Shaw Warren, Boston. Saunders #82. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection.

18. Early 1880s? Phillips and Taylor, Philadelphia. Saunders #48. WW in 1880 wrote a "letter to W. Curtis Taylor photo. 914 Chestnut St." Nothing is known about the Phillips and Taylor establishment, and the dating of this photo has ranged from 1873 to 1883. It was printed at various times facing right and facing left (the one facing left is the original). WW described the photo as a "2/3d length with hat outdoor rustic." This infamous portrait led to a lot of skepticism about WW's honesty, since the "butterfly" is clearly a photographic prop (and was indeed once part of the Library of Congress Whitman collection), though WW sometimes (jokingly?) claimed it was real ("Yes – that was an actual moth: the picture is substantially literal: we were good friends: I had quite the in-and-out of taming, or fraternizing with, some of the insects, animals . . ."). WW's friends seemed more troubled than amused by WW's story, worrying that it was unlikely a butterfly just happened to be in the photographer's studio when WW was there. What is not often noted is that the photo simply enacts one of the recurrent visual emblems in the 1860 and 1881 editions of *Leaves:* a hand with a butterfly perched on a finger. Dr. R. M. Bucke read the image symbolically: "The butterfly . . . represents, of course, Psyche, his soul, his fixed contemplation of which accords with his declaration: 'I need no assurances; I am a man who is preoccupied of his own soul.' " Thomas Donaldson and Elizabeth Keller recall this being WW's favorite photo. Gay Wilson Allen says it was taken while WW was on a vacation trip in Ocean Grove, New Jersey, in 1883.

19. 1881? Charles H. Spieler, Philadelphia. Saunders #101. Courtesy Alderman Library, University of Virginia. This was the frontispiece to the *Complete Poems and Prose of Walt Whitman 1855 . . . 1888.* WW came to call this photo the "Spieler profile," and he sent copies to friends. WW's friend Thomas Donaldson remembers an

anti-slavery anniversary celebration in Philadelphia in December 1883 when WW brought a copy of the photo for John Greenleaf Whittier, who never showed up. In 1888, when deciding on this photo for the frontispiece to his *Complete Poems and Prose,* WW said, "It was made seven or eight years ago—made by Spieler. I think I am the only one who likes it. . . ." Once he even called it "the best picture . . . not only as a work of art (where it is effective, refined), but because so thoroughly characteristic of me—of the book—falls in line with the purposes we had in view at the start." One of those purposes had to do with the nature of the profile itself: "It is appropriate: the looking *out:* the face *away* from the book. Had it looked *in* how different would have been its significance. . . . I am after nature first of all: the out look of the face in the book is no chance." WW felt this portrait "resembles the beautiful medallions we sometimes see." He was disappointed that the original print had been touched up and that a "top-knot and Romeo Italian curls" had been added (he instructed the photoengraver that "Walt Whitman never has had, has not now, Italian curls—or the semblance of 'em"), and he was relieved when they were successfully removed. He worked at reading the significance of this photo: "What does it express? . . . it says nothing in particular—suggests, what? Not inattention, not intentness, not devil-may-care, not intellectuality: then what is it? . . . It is truth—that is enough to say: it is strong—it preserves the features: yet it is also indefinite with an indefiniteness that has a fascination of its own. I know this head is not favored, but I approve it—have liked it from the first."

20. 1881? Charles H. Spieler, Philadelphia. Saunders #102. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. WW wrote on a package containing this and the previous photo, "some good ones (may-be the best I have of all or any)." WW described the photo as "Spieler's 3/4 face, open neck, the 'Lear,'" and the name "Lear photo" has persisted (WW's friend Mary Costelloe gave it that name, and WW and his friends approved). WW's dress here echoes his "nightshirt" dress in the Gardner portraits nearly twenty years earlier. In 1888 Samuel Hollyer, who over thirty years earlier had made the famous 1854 engraving of the daguerreotype that served as the frontispiece for the 1855 *Leaves,* made an engraving of this photo, but WW was not pleased with it, finding the eyes too glaring: "I have a dull not a glaring eye."

21. 1882. Potter and Co., Philadelphia. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Library of Congress. George C. Potter, who took an early 1870s photograph of WW in Washington, had moved to Philadelphia by this time. This and the following photo bear some resemblance in posture and expression to the 1880 Gutekunst photo (#1) above. One day Horace Traubel saw one of these three photos in a glass case in front of the Potter and Co. studio on Chestnut St., and mistook it for the Gutekunst; WW corrected him: "there is another with which it gets confused. The Gutekunst picture is good: the other is not: the other I think was made by Potter, around on Chestnut Street—used to be there." Then after a pause: "Have you ever remarked the difference? The Potter picture is startling but it is not good—it don't hit me."

22. 1882. Potter and Co., Philadelphia. Saunders #83. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. In 1889, he described this photo as having "a shipmastery, country-storekeepery sort of a swagger."

23. 1886. Photographer unknown. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. With Bill Duckett. Duckett was a friend, driver, and helper for WW and traveled with WW extensively around this time, escorting WW on stage for his Lincoln lecture in New York in 1887, for example. There later were troubles with Duckett, but WW recalled in 1889 that "he was often with me: we went to Gloucester together: one trip was to New York: . . . then to Sea Isle City once: I stayed there at the hotel two or three days—so on: we were quite thick then: thick: when I had money it was as freely Bill's as my own: I paid him well for all he did for me. . . . I liked Bill: he had good points: is bright—very bright." This photo was probably taken on one of their trips together.

24. 1886. Photographer unknown. Saunders #90. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. Dated by Thomas Donaldson as October 1886. With Bill Duckett, who sometimes served as driver for WW's phaeton—a gift from WW's prominent friends—which he received in September 1885 and kept until September 1888. First photo of WW outdoors.

25. 1887. Frank P. Harned, Camden. Saunders #96. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. Frank Harned was the brother of Thomas Harned, WW's close friend and one of his literary executors. Horace Traubel dates the photo 1886 or 1887 and identifies Frank Harned as the photographer; WW signed one copy in June 1887. This and the following are the first photos of WW in his home. WW liked Harned, but did not care for his photographs: "I don't know why—never do. I have feelings about things, nothing more."

26. 1887. Photographer unknown: perhaps Thomas Eakins, Philadelphia. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Alderman Library, University of Virginia. Taken in WW's first-floor sitting room in his Camden home, and one copy dated by WW April 1887.

27. Mid-1880s? Photographer unknown. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Charles E. Feinberg. In a corner of Feinberg's copy, WW wrote, "20 of these."

28. 1887? George C. Cox, New York? (Note identical clothing in following Cox photos.) Saunders #99. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. See notes for following photo. WW told Traubel he couldn't recall the name of the photographer, but he worried a great deal about his image in this portrait: "Does it look glum—sickish—painful? Has it that in it? They say so. I hate to think of myself as pensive, despondent, melancholy. . . . Does it look unkind? No man has any excuse for looking morose or cruel: he should do better. . . . That is so important to me: to not look downcast—cloud up things. . . . If you should ever use this portrait in any way—for this, that—be sure to say Walt Whitman was not a glum man despite his photographers."

29. 1887. George C. Cox, New York. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin. On the morning of 15 April 1887, George C. Cox took several photographs of WW, who was celebrating the success of his New York lecture on Lincoln, delivered the day before. WW recalls that "six or seven" photos were made during the session, but WW's

friend Jeannette Gilder, an observer of the session, said there were many more than that: "He must have had twenty pictures taken, yet he never *posed* for a moment. He simply sat in the big revolving chair and swung himself to the right or to the left, as Mr. Cox directed, or took his hat off or put it on again, his expression and attitude remaining so natural that no one would have supposed he was sitting for a photograph." A few months later, WW was angry that Cox apparently was selling copies of the photos with forged signatures and was refusing to send WW copies of the proofs to allow WW to decide which ones should be printed, but the problem was straightened out and Cox began sending WW modest payments for the sale of photos. By October 1888, WW was calling Cox "the premier exception" among photographers and claimed to have received around one hundred dollars in royalties. Cox copyrighted two of the photos from this sitting, the only time he ever did so, apparently to protect WW's financial interest in them, and he sold the photos only to aid WW. Until now, only seven photos from this session have been known to exist; this collection adds five more, bringing the total to twelve.

30. 1887. George C. Cox, New York. Saunders #98. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection.

31. 1887. George C. Cox, New York. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Library of Congress. WW's lace collar, very visible here, was the handiwork of his housekeeper, Mary Davis, who made WW's shirts; he was particularly fond of this one and kept it for special occasions. Note the reappearance of the lace in the 1889 Gutekunst photos.

32. 1887. George C. Cox, New York. Saunders #92. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. In his Daybooks, WW records looking through the proofs of the Cox session; he singles out this profile along with #34 below as "very good." These two photos are the ones WW felt were salvageable from the Cox session: "they are not all of them satisfactory to me: I had eight or ten and kept only two."

33. 1887. George C. Cox, New York. Saunders #93. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University Library, Bayley Collection.

34. 1887. George C. Cox, New York. Saunders #94. Courtesy Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

35. 1887. George C. Cox, New York. Saunders #95. Courtesy Charles E. Feinberg. This was WW's favorite photograph from the Cox session ("it seems to me so excellent—so to stand out from all the others"), a photo he began referring to as "the Laughing Philosopher": "Do you think the name I have given it justified? do you see the laugh in it? I'm not wholly sure: yet I call it that. I can say honestly that I like it better than any other picture of that set: Cox made six or seven of them: yet I am conscious of something foreign in it—something not just right in that place." Still, WW believed the picture was "like a total—like a whole story," and he was proud that Tennyson—to whom WW sent the photo—admired it: "liked it much—oh! so much."

36. 1887. George C. Cox, New York. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. With Nigel and Catherine Cholmeley-Jones, the nephew and niece of Jeannette Gilder, editor of *The Critic*, who accompanied WW to Cox's studio. Gilder was a friend of both Whitman and Cox, and she would end up raising these children after the death of their mother. This and the following three photos echo the 1879 Kurtz photos of WW with Harry and Kitty Johnston; Cox saw these children as "soul extensions" of WW.

37. 1887. George C. Cox, New York. Saunders #97.3. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. With Nigel and Catherine Cholmeley-Jones.

38. 1887. George C. Cox, New York. Saunders #97.1. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. With Nigel and Catherine Cholmeley-Jones.

39. 1887. George C. Cox, New York. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Library of Congress. With Nigel and Catherine Cholmeley-Jones.

40. 1888. Photographer unknown: perhaps Francis Williams. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Library of Congress. Back of LC copy identifies this as "Family of Francis Williams, ca. 1888," taken at the Williamses' house in Germantown, Philadelphia. Mrs. Williams's face has been scratched out; the Williams children are Aubrey (in front of WW), Marguerite (behind WW), and Churchill (with gun). Francis Howard Williams was a playwright and poet, and WW recalled "how splendidly the Williamses have always received me in their home," which he considered as "a sort of asylum."

41. 1888? Probably Frederick Gutekunst, Philadelphia. Saunders #100. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. Frontispiece for *November Boughs* (1888), and in 1889 *Leaves*. WW labeled it "Walt Whitman in his 70th year," and claimed "the picture is in the nature of a surprise: my niece was here the other day—found it lying around—asked for it. It seems to me a satisfying picture, all in all." WW was disappointed that "no one likes the frontispiece. . . . All the boys turn up their noses—smell something wrong—think it won't do," but WW believed it "serves our purpose—is appropriate." WW admitted to Thomas Harned that it was not "high art" but insisted he was "not looking for high art": "sometimes a picture which is elementally very simple, crude, has something to say, says something, in fact, which no amount of added finesse would strengthen or improve." WW was not so pleased with the "technicalities" of the photoengraving, but, he said, "damn the technicalities if the rest is all right!" Horace Traubel complained to the photoengraver that he had done a bad job, and the engraver replied, "It is bum—I wouldn't have been surprised if you had turned it down." But WW believed the photo fit *November Boughs:* "it has the same air, tone, ring, color: the same ruggedness, unstudiedness, unconventionality."

42. 1889. Frederick Gutekunst, Philadelphia. Saunders #112. Courtesy Charles E. Feinberg. In his Daybooks, WW recorded on 6 August 1889 that he "went over in a carriage to Gutekunst's, Philadelphia & had photo: sittings." This and the following two photos are the results. Horace Traubel records on the back of an LC copy of one

of these photos that except for the photos taken by Eakins and his assistants in WW's room in 1891, these were the last photos taken of WW by a professional photographer, and certainly they were the last studio portraits. WW thought Gutekunst was "on top of the heap" as far as photographers went, and considered this photo "a first-rater—one of the best, anyhow." WW described the photo when he received twelve copies from Gutekunst as "big, seated, 3/4 length no hat—head of cane in right hand—good pict's." WW inscribed this photo: "My 71st year arrives: the fifteen past months nearly all illness or half illness—until a tolerable day (Aug: 6 1889) & convoy'd by Mr. B [Geoffrey Buckwalter, Camden teacher and WW's friend, who insisted on the photos] and Ed: W [Ed Wilkins, WW's nurse] I have been carriaged across to Philadelphia (how sunny & fresh & good look'd the river, the people, the vehicles, & Market & Arch streets!) & have sat for this photo: wh- satisfies me." Some of WW's friends did not like it as much as WW, but WW recalled that Dr. Bucke "counts that the best picture yet—says that is the picture which will go down to the future." John Burroughs also was taken with it: "Gracious! That's tremendous! He looks Titanic! It's the very best I have yet seen of him. It shows power, mass, penetration,—*everything.* I like it too because it shows his head. He *will* persist in keeping his hat on and hiding the grand dome of his head. The portrait shows his body too. I don't like the way so many artists belittle their sitters' bodies." WW liked the rough natural quality of the portrait: "Nowadays photographers have a trick of what they call 'touching up' their work—smoothing out the irregularities, wrinkles, and what they consider defects in a person's face—but, at my special request, that has not been interfered with in any way, and, on the whole, I consider it a good picture." Jeannette Gilder, writing in *The Critic* soon after the photo session, described the portrait this way: "From its framework of thin white hair and flowing beard, the face of the venerable bard peers out, not with the vigorous serenity of his prime, but a look rather of inquiry and expectation." WW went so far at one point as to say that "to a person who gets only one picture, this picture is in more ways than any other spiritually satisfactory and physically representative."

43. 1889. Frederick Gutekunst, Philadelphia. Saunders #111. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. WW commented that the photos from this sitting were all successful, "in fact would be considered very fine—in their smoothification—the quality that never pleases me." But this may be the pose that WW disliked and joked with Horace Traubel about: "it is destined for the fire—irrevocably: look at the formal pose—the expression, too, a damnable one!"

44. 1889. Frederick Gutekunst, Philadelphia. Saunders #104. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection.

45. 1889? Photographer unknown. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Library of Congress. LC copy is stamped "Kuebler Photo." The photo is taken in WW's room in Camden, and the photograph seen in the background is of John Addington Symonds, which Symonds sent to WW in 1889.

46. 1889. H. C. Willets. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Alderman Library, University of Virginia. Girl not identified; Horace Traubel talked about a neighbor girl who often came to visit. Nothing is known of Willets, though several unidentified photog-

raphers did come to WW's Camden home in the late 1880s and take pictures. But this does not appear to be Whitman; perhaps it is an early hoax.

47. Late 1880s? C. H. Palmer, Camden. Not in Saunders. Courtesy New York Public Library. Supposedly taken in WW's home with some neighbor ladies (one identified as Miss Ida Johnston). Badly damaged photo. Very doubtful attribution.

1890s

1. 1890. Dr. John Johnston, Bolton, England. Saunders #108. Courtesy Charles E. Feinberg. Taken on Camden wharf. With Warren Fritzinger, WW's last and favorite nurse. "Warry," WW said, "is faithful, true, and loyal." WW called him his "sailor boy," and he indeed had spent years at sea. He was the son of a friend of Mary Davis, WW's housekeeper; when Warry's parents died, Mary became his guardian, and she talked him into becoming WW's nurse. He was a comfort to WW in the last years: "I like to look at him—he is health to look at: young, strong, lithe." Dr. J. Johnston, one of WW's English admirers and a founder of the "Eagle Street College," arrived in Philadelphia to visit WW on 15 July 1890, and that evening photographed WW and Fritzinger, who were out for a walk, Fritzinger pushing WW in his wheelchair (which had replaced his phaeton as a mode of transportation in 1889): "As we approached the wharf he exclaimed: 'How delicious the air is!' On the wharf he allowed me to photograph himself and Warry (it was almost dusk and the light unfavourable), after which I sat down on a log of wood beside him, and he talked in the most free and friendly manner for a full hour, facing the golden sunset, in the cool evening breeze, with the summer lightning playing around us, and the ferry-boats crossing and re-crossing the Delaware."

2. 1890. Dr. John Johnston, Bolton, England. Saunders #109. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. Taken on Camden wharf. With Warren Fritzinger.

3. 1890. Dr. John Johnston, Bolton, England. Saunders #109. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. Taken on Camden wharf.

4. 1891. Dr. William Reeder, Philadelphia. Saunders #115. Courtesy New York Public Library. Dr. Reeder was a physician and admirer of WW, and on 24 May 1891 Horace Traubel records Reeder's visit the previous night where he took "flash pictures in front & back bedrooms." This and the following photo have wrongly been attributed to Eakins; see William Innes Homer's essay, cited below.

5. 1891. Dr. William Reeder, Philadelphia. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Library of Congress. Taken, as was above photo, in WW's upstairs bedroom. Here the legendary chaos of papers that surrounded WW in his last years is visible; he likened the mass to a sea, resisted efforts of his housekeeper and friends to sort it out, and claimed that whatever he needed surfaced eventually.

6. 1891. Jeanette Gilder, New York. Saunders #116. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. Gilder, editor of *The Critic*, was described by WW as an "old & real & valuable" friend; she visited WW on 24 October 1891. The photo was taken in WW's room.

7. 1891. Thomas Eakins, Philadelphia. Saunders #122. Courtesy Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution. Taken in WW's Camden home. Scholars of Eakins's work disagree about the nature of the difference between this and the following two photos—whether they are different, retouched and cropped versions of each other, varying prints, etc. Saunders catalogued them separately, and they seem to be distinct if very similar poses.

8. 1891. Thomas Eakins, Philadelphia. Saunders #120. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. Taken in WW's Camden home.

9. 1891. Thomas Eakins, Philadelphia. Saunders #121. Courtesy Ohio Wesleyan University, Bayley Collection. Taken in WW's Camden home. Probably a touched-up version of #7 above.

10. 1891. Either Thomas Eakins or Samuel Murray, Philadelphia. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Boston Public Library. Both Eakins and Murray (Eakins's student and associate) took photos of WW during 1891, and distinguishing them is difficult. WW is in the same chair wearing the same clothes and tapestry cape as in the previous photos. The photo was taken in the first-floor parlor of WW's home.

11. 1891. Either Thomas Eakins or Samuel Murray, Philadelphia. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution.

12. 1891. Either Thomas Eakins or Samuel Murray, Philadelphia. Saunders #123. Courtesy Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution. This photo was ascribed to Eakins when it was printed in the Small, Maynard edition of *Leaves* (1898), but it is very similar to the following two photos, the second of which is clearly ascribed to Murray. At this point, WW had a wolf-skin draped across the back of his rocker in the first-floor parlor of his home, where this was taken.

13. 1891. Either Thomas Eakins or Samuel Murray, Philadelphia. Not in Saunders. Courtesy Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution. The menacing-looking small person to Whitman's left is actually a statuette of Grover Cleveland, one of two figures of the President that WW had in his parlor (they appear in a better light in a photo of the parlor in J. Johnston and J. W. Wallace, *Visits to Walt Whitman in 1890–1891,* opposite p. 41).

14. 1891. Samuel Murray, Philadelphia. Saunders #118 [cropped version]. Courtesy Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution. In May 1891, Murray accompanied the New York sculptor and friend of Eakins, William O'Donovan, to WW's home and photographed WW as an aid to O'Donovan's sculpting the poet: "they took hell's times in all sorts of posishes," WW groused, but he was excited about this profile portrait, admiring its "audacity" and its "breadth and beauty both," calling it "an artist's picture in the best sense."

15. 1891. Samuel Murray, Philadelphia. Saunders #119. Courtesy Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution. This is a cropped and altered version of the previous photo and was used as the frontispiece for *Good-Bye My Fancy* (1891). It is impossible to know which of these last few photos was *the* final one taken of WW, but this one clearly was his favorite of the group.