

LAURENCE HUTTON AND A NEWLY RECOVERED PHOTOGRAPH OF WALT WHITMAN

ROSE ROBINSON



“HE HAD A FACE LIKE A BENEDICTION,” Laurence Hutton (1843–1904) said of Walt Whitman, quoting Cervantes.¹ “Few men ever impressed me so strongly.... It was not his verse.... It was his wonderful physical beauty” (214–215). Hutton—critic, editor, and avid collector—always admired Whitman intensely for his personality and his physical presence. Among Hutton’s archives, now housed at Princeton University’s Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, is an original print, from the negative, of Whitman, taken by William Kurtz in New York City between 1865 and 1873 and presented here for publication for the first time (Figures 1, 2); it will also be added to the online *Walt Whitman Archive* gallery of images of the poet. Aside from Hutton’s print, there are two other known copies of the photograph: an albumen print of comparable quality once belonging to Harry MacNeill Bland and now held at the Detroit Institute of Arts² and a carte-de-viste held at Duke University.³ The carte-de-viste, previously documented on the *Walt Whitman Archive*, is of a grainy quality and lacks the sharpness and clarity of the newly recovered print, making it difficult to compare either to other photographs or to later drawings based on the pose. The print held at the Detroit Institute has received no scholarly attention. The recovery of Hutton’s print thus presents an opportunity for further research into the history of the photograph and its context. Since the striking pose served as the inspiration for several artistic interpretations, most notably a painted portrait by Kurtz and Thomas Dewing’s 1875 chalk portrait (Figure 3), the recovery of original prints of this pose restores to the archives a portrait of Whitman untouched by later, deliberate artistic interpretation. This essay traces the possible dates for the photograph, explores the pose’s reinterpretation and popularity through engraved

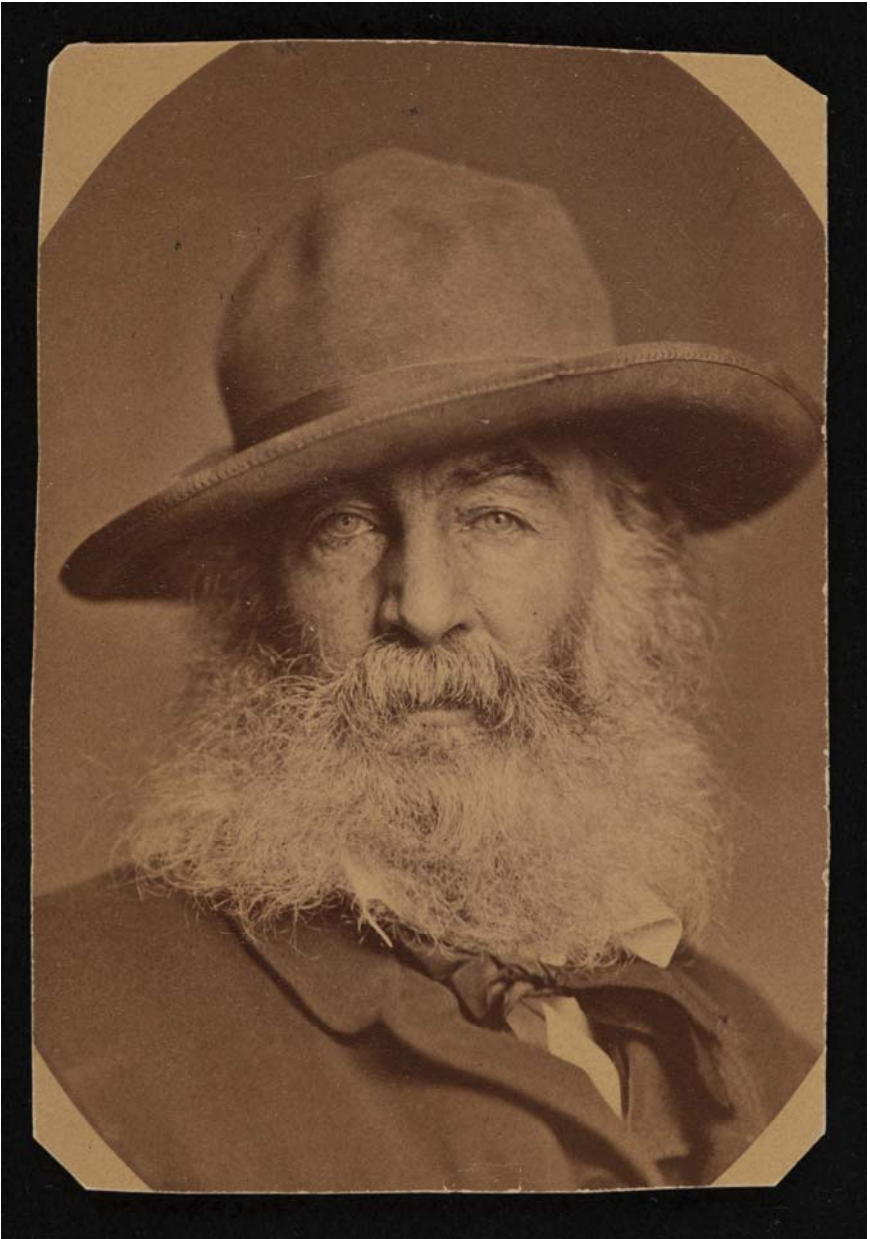


FIGURE 1: Walt Whitman photographed by William Kurtz. Princeton University, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.



FIGURE 2: verso of William Kurtz Photograph. Princeton University, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.



FIGURE 3: Portrait of Walt Whitman, Thomas Dewing. Chalk, 1875. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, purchased through the Robert Tyler Davis Memorial Fund.



FIGURE 4: Engraving of Walt Whitman, New York *Daily Graphic* (November 2, 1873).

and drawn artwork, and finally briefly examines Hutton's biography and archive through his records of Whitman.

The time between the opening of Kurtz's first studio in New York City in 1865 and the publication of an engraving based on the pose in the New York *Daily Graphic* on November 25, 1873 (Figure 4) outlines the broadest range during which Whitman might have sat for the photograph. The stamp on the Bland print and previous research on Kurtz's technique strongly suggest that the photograph was taken between 1869 and 1872. Previous research on the carte-de-viste, summarized in the *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review*, dated the photograph to the late 1860s, based on the opening of Kurtz' first New York office in 1865 and the photograph's demonstration of the Rembrandt technique, a then-novel process through which the photographer manipulated light and shade to detail the contours of shadowed parts of the face.⁴ Kurtz did not introduce this technique until 1867, which dates the photograph more narrowly between 1867 and 1873.⁵ Research on the Bland print further narrows the range. While Kurtz did not record the date or location on Hutton's print, Bland's print is stamped carefully with "W. Kurtz" on the left and "872 B'Way" on the right. Based on available sources, Kurtz kept an office at 872 Broadway from 1869 until early in 1874.⁶ Whitman could not have sat for the photograph in 1874 because the *Daily Graphic* engraving had already appeared in late 1873, and Whitman's difficult personal circumstances in 1873 would have made sitting for a photograph in New York challenging. It is likely, then, that 1872 is the latest year for the photograph and 1869, Kurtz's first year in his Broadway office, is the earliest.

It would be tempting to date the photograph to 1873—several secondary sources do, often citing Henry Saunders' notation in *100 Photographs of Walt Whitman*.⁷ Yet Whitman suffered a stroke in January of 1873, lost his mother in May, and moved to Camden, New Jersey, in July. It is unlikely that he sat for a photograph in New York. What is more likely is that these secondary sources are not dating the original print—they are (sometimes unknowingly) referring to a crayon portrait also completed by Kurtz and based on the print that Saunders attributed to 1873 (Figure 5).

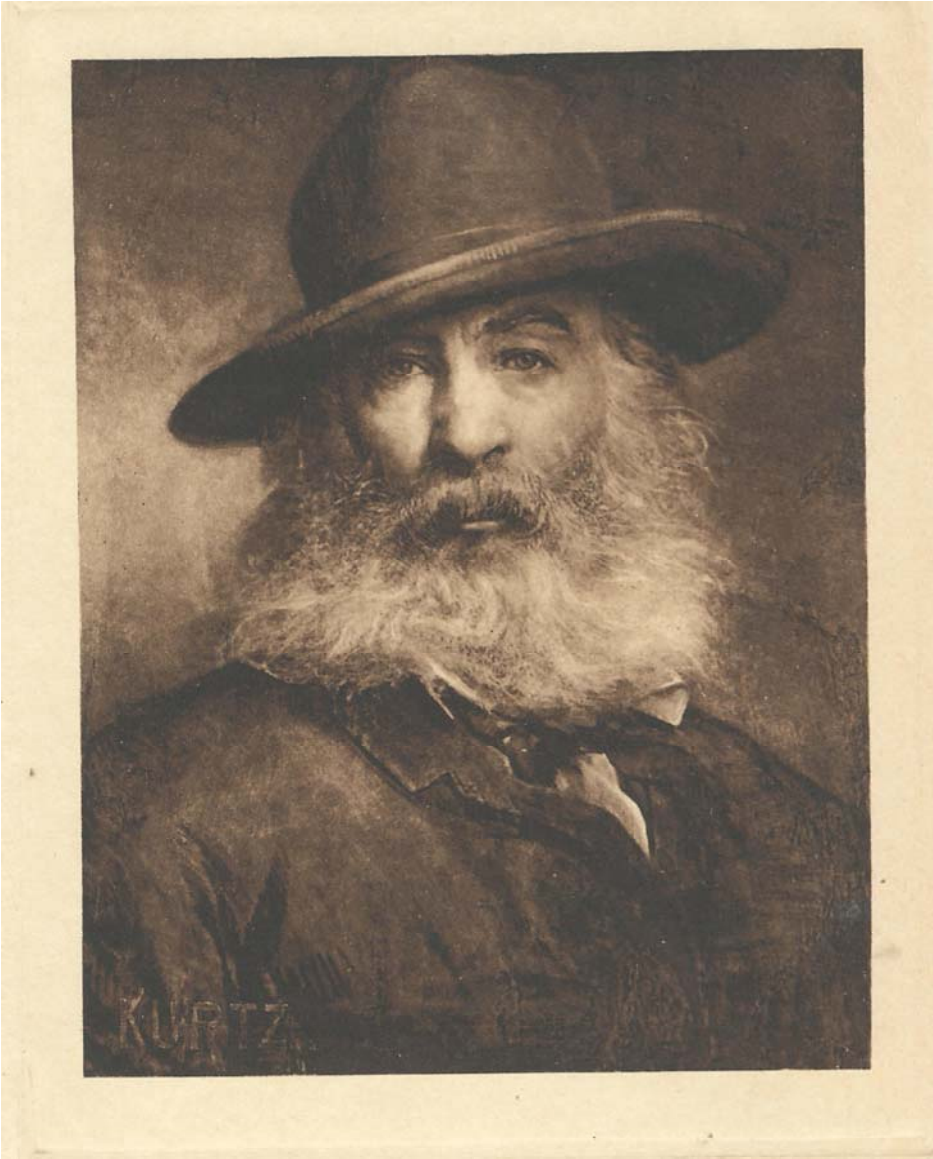


FIGURE 5: Walt Whitman, by William Kurtz. Crayon, ca. 1875. As reprinted in *Walt Whitman, The Gathering of the Forces*, ed. Cleveland Rodgers and John Black (New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1920), frontispiece, vol. 1.

A crayon portrait involved printing a faint, enlarged image of a photograph onto drawing paper, then using pastel or charcoal to fill in the tones and details. The technique thus allowed individual artistic interpretation while still maintaining a strong likeness of the original subject, grounded in the photograph. The changes of tone and line that differentiate the Kurtz crayon portrait from the original photograph, however, are easily lost in its blurry reprints in newspapers and in Saunders' books—possibly one of the reasons that the crayon portrait and the photograph have been easily confused in attempts to date the latter. Saunders' notation in his 1948 compilation *100 Photographs of Walt Whitman* further confuses the two: "Image 42" shows the crayon portrait but labels it "1873 Photo. Kurtz." Saunders' 1946 edition of *Portraits of Walt Whitman*, however, draws attention to the crayon portrait as a separate image from the photograph. It includes a picture of the crayon portrait, the frame and the wall it hangs on visible in the shot, and describes the image as an 1873 "Kurtz enlargement now in [the] office of the Brooklyn Eagle." In other words, Saunders points to the existence of a second Kurtz image, an enlarged and edited crayon portrait based on the original photograph that has gone unnoticed in scholarly examinations of the pose.⁸

Before it ever hung in the office of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, the crayon portrait belonged to Whitman's friend John H. Johnston. Kurtz and Johnston both took great pride in the crayon portrait. In an article for the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Johnston recalls the poet's stay at his home in 1879.⁹ One day, Whitman took Johnston's two children to Kurtz's Madison Square gallery for a photograph, and while they were there, "Kurtz made arrangements for a large crayon portrait of the poet." Kurtz was evidently proud of his drawn portrait; he hung it at the base of his stairway for several years and "would not part with it."¹⁰ After Kurtz finally agreed to give the portrait to Johnston, it hung in Johnston's home, which Johnston described as "the rendezvous of literary New York," where the pose likely came under the scrutiny of many New York authors. Whitman himself did not admire the portrait greatly. Of the "W. Kurtz crayon portrait hanging at the Johnston's," he agreed with Traubel's verdict that "though a good piece of work it did not satisfy... as a just impression of Whitman."¹¹ The portrait

then passed to the building of the Little Mothers Aid Association when Johnston moved, and the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* later purchased it for their office.¹² When featured at an exhibit of Whitman memorabilia in 1925, the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* declared that the pose showed Whitman “as most of his friends knew him – wearing a hack suit, a slouch hat on his white head, his beard blown by the wind.”¹³

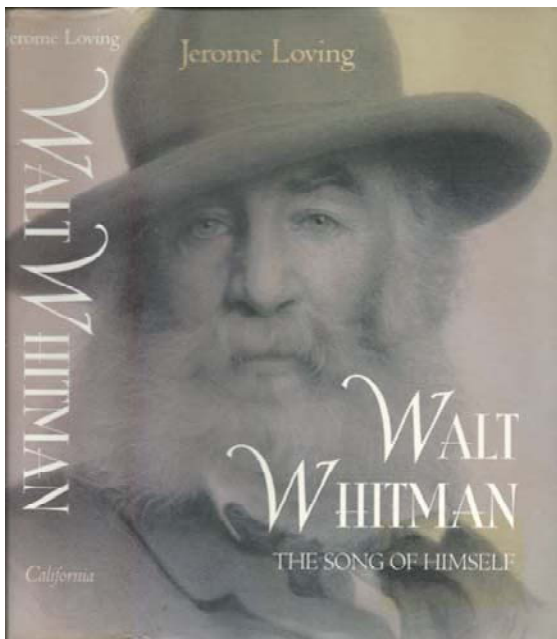
While Laurence Hutton and Henry Bland had access to the original photograph and Johnston’s friends and the employees at the *Daily Eagle* saw the crayon portrait in person, most Americans during Whitman’s lifetime would have encountered the pose as an engraving and it even inspired fond memories of the poet. When the woodcut appeared in *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* on April 8, 1876, Civil War veteran Albert G. Knapp rushed to compare it to a “picture” Whitman had given him during the war, the appearance of the pose prompting memories of an old friend. “Is *this* Walt Whitman—‘The Poet of health & strength,’ *our* Walt Whitman of old?” he wrote in a letter to the poet, drawing attention to Whitman’s capacity to move through personalities and avoid capture in any single representation.¹⁴

The earliest appearance of the engraving I have found is in the *New York Daily Graphic* on November 25, 1873, attributed to an R. Piquel. Curiously, the Library of Congress holds a fifth edition of *Leaves of Grass* (1872) that includes a frontispiece engraving of Whitman’s full body, attributed to C. M. Jenkin based on a drawing by W. J. Hennessy, although that edition was not distributed with a frontispiece (Figure 6). The head is in the same pose as the Kurtz photograph but slightly askew from the body, as if the engraver had used two different sources to represent the body and the head. Since the frontispiece appears to have been added later, it is impossible to date the Jenkin/Hennessy engraving to 1872.¹⁵ Engravings of the pose are scattered across newspapers and more recent books on Whitman. In later years, as newspapers began printing photographs, the crayon portrait was also printed over and over, often with the caption “Walt Whitman in his Prime.”¹⁶

The pose of the Kurtz photograph may be most familiar to today’s readers for its heavy similarity with Thomas Dewing’s 1875 chalk portrait, which served as the cover image for Jerome Loving’s biog-



FIGURES 6 AND 7: Frontispiece, 1872 edition of *Leaves of Grass*; drawing by W. J. Hennessy; engraving by C. M. Jenkin (above). *Walt Whitman: The Song of Himself* (1999), chalk portrait by Thomas Dewing (below).



raphy, *Walt Whitman: The Song of Himself* (1999; see Figure 7). In February of 1875, Thomas Dewing presented the portrait at an exhibition hosted by the Boston Art Club in Boston's Studio Building, where it was "singled out for its excellence of technique," and won Dewing the attention of Peter and Susan Gansevoort of Albany, New York, who subsequently funded Dewing's travels and studies in Paris.¹⁷ The chalk portrait is now in the collection of the Smithsonian American Art Museum.

Prior to the recovery of the Kurtz original, there had been some question as to whether Dewing worked from a photograph, an engraving, or from life. Susan Hobbs, in *The Art of Thomas Wilmer Dewing* (1996), notes that though it was possible that Dewing worked from life, it was highly unlikely, given that there is no evidence that the poet and the artist were in the same city in 1875. She remarks on the similarities between Whitman's pose in Dewing's portrait and several other photographs, but makes no mention of the *Daily Graphic* engraving (57). In an article published ten years earlier, however, Hobbs had noted the similarity between the portrait and the *Daily Graphic* engraving and suggested that the engraving was Dewing's source.¹⁸

Hobbs was not able to find written evidence of Dewing's inspiration for the chalk portrait, nor was I, but the similarities between Dewing's portrait and the Kurtz photograph strongly suggest that Dewing worked directly from the photograph. It is unlikely that he would have worked from the Kurtz crayon portrait, which would have involved the direct copying of another artist's work. If Johnston remembered correctly that Kurtz commissioned his crayon portrait in 1878 or 1879, not 1873, then Dewing's work predates Kurtz's crayon portrait but not the photograph. It is also unlikely that Dewing worked from the *Daily Graphic* engraving, since several details of shape and shadow, present in the photograph but ignored in the engraving, are reproduced in the chalk drawing. The pose and form in Dewing's portrait and the Kurtz photograph appear almost identical at first glance: the block of highlighting along Whitman's left brow retains its shape; the dark tones that mark his jawline and the shadows where his beard meets his skin all follow exactly the same contours; the lines

under Whitman's right eye divide in the same pattern. If Dewing had not had access to the original Kurtz photograph, these similarities would have to be assumed to be incidental, an unlikely coincidence given Dewing's talent for reproducing details with a high level of technical accuracy. The obvious differences between the photograph and the Dewing portraits, such as the length of the collar and the dark square in the photograph where the dome of the hat meets the brim on Whitman's right, also differ between the chalk portrait and the *Daily Graphic* engraving, suggesting that Dewing deliberately altered them for aesthetic purposes.

For the first time, the recovery of the original print restores to the archive the image of this pose before its alteration under the hands of Kurtz, the engravers, and Dewing. Whitman himself pointed out (and gently criticized) the tendency of artists to change what they see: "I find I often like the photographs better than the oils—they are perhaps mechanical, but they are honest. The artists add and deduct: the artists fool with nature—reform it, revise it, to make it fit their preconceived notion of what it should be" (*WWWC*, vol. 1, page 131). As well as the more obvious adjustments from the photograph, both Dewing and Kurtz, in his crayon portrait, appear to have made subtle revisions to make Whitman look younger and grander. Kurtz, an artist by training prior to his entrance into photography, softened the beard in the crayon portrait, smoothed Whitman's skin, and darkened the shadows and the background considerably, then signed his name boldly in the lower right corner. Whitman thus appears to emerge from a dark, moody background, his hat and body almost disappearing into the shadows. Dewing, on the other hand, gently revised the lights and darks so that the very darkest tone—a natural focal point—appears in Whitman's pupils, effectively locking the viewer's gaze with Whitman's. Dewing's Whitman has fewer wrinkles and is almost completely free of skin blemishes. His beard is smooth, and there are fewer bags under his eyes. As Hobbs noted, the artist "idealized his subject completely."¹⁹ Dewing's Whitman appears younger and almost ethereal. In contrast, Kurtz's original photograph records a crease at the bridge of Whitman's nose, spots on his face, creases in the lids around his eyes, and the rough texture of the poet's beard.

The Whitman preserved in the original print is captivating because of, not in spite of, the camera's faithfulness to the evidence of age and experience in Whitman's face.²⁰

While reproductions of the pose were familiar to many of Whitman's contemporary readers and, through Dewing's work, remain known today, the original photograph never attained the same popularity. I have not found a written record about Laurence Hutton's print of the photograph, or a record of its passing from Kurtz to Hutton, even though Hutton, an avid collector of "everything that brought him closer to art and literature and history," recorded the means by which he obtained several other pieces of Whitman memorabilia.²¹ Regardless of how he obtained the print, it seems most likely that the photograph stayed in one of Hutton's albums or possibly hung on the wall of his home.

A *New York Times* piece on Hutton's home and collections noted that "on the walls of the house, from the street vestibule, thence throughout the library, and the dining room, up the stairway, and in the living rooms, the 'workshop' and the bedrooms, [hung] portraits signed or written upon by the originals thereof."²² The author noted a Whitman portrait among these in a room on the second floor: "Under his own portrait on the wall Walt Whitman has written, 'The whole wide ether / Is the eagle's sway, / The whole earth is / The brave man's fatherland.'²³ The Kurtz print, even though it is small, may have been the one hanging on the wall with Whitman's writing underneath—images of his home show that Hutton hung pictures of all shapes and sizes. If it was, the photo was eventually removed and placed in an album.²⁴ If the portrait mentioned in the *New York Times* was another Whitman portrait, however, it appears to have been lost from the collections.²⁵

Regardless of where he kept the photograph, Hutton left his documents, autographs, books, "photographs and prints, framed and unframed" to the care of four executors, who donated the collections to Princeton University after his death.²⁶ At the time of the donation, the Kurtz photograph was in one of eleven albums, which probably sat on a shelf in the library, unnoticed, for several years, as the library was not prepared to handle the enormous collection at first. Most items

were given call numbers, while the “miscellaneous items like photographs were put in boxes and put out,” and by the time the university established its manuscripts division, some papers had gone missing.²⁷ The Kurtz photograph, however, has been carefully catalogued as part of the extensive Hutton collections.

The extant Laurence Hutton collections, preserved at Firestone Library, include over two thousand letters, his collection of books (many personally inscribed by the authors), hundreds of photographs, his family papers, and—the most eclectic of his collections—one of the world’s largest sets of death masks of both Hutton’s contemporaries and of historical figures.²⁸ His dictated memoir, *Talks in a Library with Laurence Hutton* (1905), details the history of some of the artifacts, records the existence of now-lost items, and provides several amusing anecdotes about prominent nineteenth-century figures, including a few about Whitman.

Hutton was a writer, editor, and collector, famous especially for his wide network of friends and his tendency to mark those friendships with memorabilia. As Jesse Lynch Williams, a Pulitzer-Prize winning dramatist, noted, “There was hardly a well-known artist, in words, color or sound, of the late Victorian period, whom Mr. Hutton did not know quite intimately”; in a headline, the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* named him “Friend of the Famous.”²⁹ His home in New York was a common gathering place for prominent nineteenth-century authors and artists. Brander Matthews, Kate Field, and Mark Twain, among others, all sat in his library to write, and Hutton was responsible for bringing together several literary and intellectual clubs.³⁰ He was also responsible for introducing friends who went on to foster independent relationships; Hutton introduced Helen Keller to Mark Twain (who called her one of the most interesting characters of the nineteenth century, next to Napoleon³¹) and William Dean Howells.³² In addition to forming and facilitating deep and intimate friendships, Hutton was always eager to “imprison his associations in memorabilia,” making him a remarkable figure for contemporary, archival scholars because he obsessively collected material records of his vast network of friends and acquaintances.³³

Hutton himself submitted frequently to periodicals, edited various

collections, and published several volumes of his own work, including, among others, literary tour guides, two memoirs, biographies, and an encyclopedia of nineteenth-century artists with the author Clara Erskine Clement Waters.³⁴ In 1886, he took a post as the literary editor for *Harper's Magazine* and began writing a column titled "Literary Notes" at the same time that William Dean Howells was writing his "Editor's Study."³⁵ After a long career, Hutton retired to Princeton, where he donated his collection of life and death masks, and his executors donated the rest of his collections after his death on June 10, 1904.

Whitman weaves in and out of Hutton's collections, and Hutton's memoir provides several anecdotes about the poet that serve to record Hutton's acquisition of different artifacts and draw attention to their relationship. They did not appear particularly close friends, though they met several times. Hutton admired—even revered—Whitman, though the admiration was based not on Whitman's poetry but his "wonderful physical beauty" and "his personal magnetism."³⁶ Hutton's admiration for Whitman predated any attempt of his to read his work, and Hutton later admitted to never having read the books of verse Whitman gave him. In his recollection of his first sighting of Whitman, Hutton already showed a tendency to magnify the poet as "king-like," and was surprised to hear him addressed by his nickname:

I can well remember seeing Whitman before the Civil War—a king-like figure despite his rough clothes—sitting on his favorite throne, the box-seat of the Broadway omnibus of the period. He seemed to spend his whole time in riding up and down that crowded thoroughfare, studying men and things, no doubt, in the glaring light of the *New York Sun*. I knew even then that he was an unique figure in American life, the author of some queer sort of alleged poetry that was already being talked about but which I had not then tried to read. So when an uncle of mine, a youth of about my own age, hailed him once in my presence from a passing omnibus as "Walt!" I was greatly surprised. I did not suppose that anybody could call him "Walt" (215).

In 1877, Hutton and Whitman met for the first time through *St. Nicholas* founder Mary Mapes Dodge, of whom, according to Hutton, Whitman was "very fond" (223). If the photograph passed hands during one of their visits together, Hutton does not record it in *Talks in a Library*.

Of this first visit, Hutton noted that he found that Whitman's "talk was plain, homely, and tinged with an unexpected vein of 'that most uncommon sense of all, common sense'" (224). In exchange for "a ten-dollar bill," Whitman sent Hutton two volumes of his poetry, *Two Rivulets* and an 1876 centennial issue of *Leaves of Grass*.³⁷ Whitman dutifully noted the transaction in his daybook.³⁸ Hutton also saved the canceled check, dated March 31, 1877. It is the only sheet in the file marked "Whitman" in the Laurence Hutton Correspondences collection.³⁹ Hutton admitted that he prized "the books highly," but, again, "never read them" (*Talks*, 224).

In 1887, Hutton and his wife, Eleanor Varnum Mitchell, visited Whitman at a reception at the Westminster Hotel. According to an anonymous author of a report in the *Evening Sun*, Whitman's features so "set off his massive face and gave him a look of quiet grandeur" that it "led Mr. Laurence Hutton to remark, 'He looks like a god.'"⁴⁰ The author continued, "Indeed, he does look like Jove." Interestingly, when Hutton dictated his memoir in 1904, he mirrored both his own comment and the author's, noting once that Whitman "seemed to be a realization in the actual flesh of Michael Angelo's *Moses*, or of some of the ancient statues and paintings of Jove himself" (Hutton, 215). And of Whitman's appearance shortly before his death in 1892, Hutton remarked that the poet looked "like a god as painted by one of the old masters" (224).

Hutton recorded one final visit with the poet before Whitman's death, when Hutton again "came under his particular magnetic influence" (224). During that visit, Whitman drew Hutton down to the arm of his chair, spoke with him and held his hand, and Hutton felt "so distinguished above the rest" that, "in spite of myself, I became an enthusiastic worshipper of Walt Whitman—the man." Hutton, always inclined to "[imprison] his associations in memorabilia," eventually obtained a cast (possibly two) of Whitman's hand through a mutual friend.⁴¹ He hung it in his library, side-by-side with a cast of Voltaire's hand, and placed an inscription from *Leaves of Grass* below, as if visually emphasizing the connection between the physical body and the poet's work.⁴²

Hutton's collections include Whitman's death mask, cast by

Samuel Murray and Thomas Eakins with the help of two assistants—Eakins, who held the privileged position of painting the portrait of Whitman that Whitman felt was, of all his painted portraits, “nearest to being me,” personally laid the wax on Whitman’s corpse.⁴³ The mask passed to Hutton through a Princeton friend, Louis C. Vauxhall (*Talks*, 215). Hutton was fascinated with the way death masks reveal a sheltered or unknown side of a person: “In the case of the death-mask particularly, it shows the subject often as he permitted no one but himself to see himself. . . . In his mask, he is seen, as it were, with his mask off!”⁴⁴ Yet elsewhere, Hutton also implied that the Whitman mask did not fully capture the personality of the man he had met: “Although it is Whitman,” he said of the cast, “it is not the Whitman I knew” (*Talks*, 214). For Hutton, Whitman’s charismatic presence, his god-like beauty, could not be expressed in plaster, nor could the phrenological record convey that great and magnetic personality. This failure of representation admits either that the death mask could not fully “tell truth” (*Talks*, 214)—if truth here is defined as Hutton’s experience of Whitman—or that the death mask, like every photograph and portrait of the poet, could capture only a single, fleeting side of Whitman. Like the Civil War soldier who saw a different Whitman in the engraving than the man he knew, Hutton admitted that the death mask before him captured a side of Whitman’s character that he had never seen.

But Whitman would not be surprised by these failures of representation: “The hero is after all greater than any idealization,” he told Horace Traubel, “just as the man is greater than his portrait, the landscape than the picture of it.” So the Kurtz photograph, the works based on it, and Hutton’s other attempts to preserve his acquaintance with Whitman in memorabilia, add more incomplete records of Whitman’s personality to, in his words, the “dozen of me afloat” (*WWWC*, 1:108). And yet of the Hutton artifacts, I would argue that the Kurtz photograph comes closest to visually representing Whitman’s “look of quiet grandeur.”⁴⁵ Whitman’s gaze is direct and almost troubling in its immediacy. It holds our attention and grants us a glimpse of the same living presence that so captivated Laurence Hutton.

NOTES

The author is grateful to Newcomb-Tulane College and the Newcomb College Institute at Tulane University for valuable support during the preparation of this essay.

- 1 Laurence Hutton, *Talks in a Library with Laurence Hutton*, recorded by Isabel Moore (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1905), 215. Hereafter, *Talks*.
- 2 “Photograph of Walt Whitman, 1873, albumen print.” F1983.269, Prints, Drawings, and Photographs, Detroit Institute of Arts. Available at www.dia.org/art/collection/object/walt-whitman-51420.
- 3 “Photograph, 1873 (Saunders 42), carte-de-viste.” Box 12, Folder 1. RL.01378 Walt Whitman Papers, Trent Collection, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University.
- 4 See note 21 (1860s) in “Notes on Photographs,” *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 4 (Fall 1986), 47.
- 5 See note 21 (1860s) in “Notes on Photographs,” *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 4 (Fall 1986), 47. For a contemporary biography of William Kurtz and a brief description of his Rembrandt Style, see Kurtz’s entry in Ed Folsom, “Notes on the Major Whitman Photographers,” *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 4 (Fall 1986), 63–71. For more on the specifics of the “Rembrandt style” and an early biography of Kurtz, see “William Kurtz,” *The Photographer’s Friend* 3.3 (May 1873), 72.
- 6 Kurtz had several offices in New York, though I have not been able to find a single definitive source that tracks their locations. Newspaper records suggest that he moved into his studio at 872 Broadway in April 1869 and stayed until April 1874, though he opened a new studio in Madison Square as early as December 1873. Elbert Anderson, one of Kurtz’s assistants, dated his move to 872 Broadway to April 1, 1869. I have not found any newspaper records that would suggest he moved to 872 Broadway any earlier. Furthermore, by May of 1869, Kurtz was advertising repeatedly for the return, to 872 Broadway, of a stolen crayon portrait. An announcement of Kurtz’s receipt of an award from the American Institute for his crayon portraits in 1872 in *The Manufacturer and Builder* still records his address at 872 Broadway; finally, a notice in the *New York Daily Herald* on March 28, 1874, noted that “W. Kurtz, photographer, will remove from 872 Broadway to the more spacious rooms of his new building on Madison square (East Twenty-third street), about April 1.” There was may have been a few months’ overlap between Kurtz’s vacating the Broadway office and establishing himself in Madison Square—while the *New York Daily Herald* records his removal in April of 1874, by December of 1873 the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* had noted that “The Artists’ Association Palette,” a well-known group of

New York artists, had “leased a suite of club rooms and the grand gallery in the new photo-art building just erected by Mr. William Kurtz, on Madison square [sic]” and planned to move in the beginning of the new year. For Anderson’s mention of the move, see Anderson, “Chapter 5,” *The Photographer’s Friend*, ed. G.O. Brown, vol. 1 no. 2 (April 1873), 60; For notices of a stolen portrait see “A Good Law,” *The Evening Telegraph* (Philadelphia; July 27, 1869) and the connection to the Broadway address in a short notice beginning “If the party who took...,” *New York Daily Herald* (May 30, 1869), 9. For a mention of the 1872 address, see “Official List of Premiums Awarded by the American Institute,” *The Manufacturer and Builder*, 84; for a short mention of Kurtz’s move out of the Broadway office, see “Removals,” *New York Daily Herald* (March 28, 1874), 11. For the mention of the Artists’ Association Palette at Kurtz’s Madison Square gallery, see “The Artists’ Association Palette,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (December 4, 1873), 3.

7 Saunders compiled one of the earliest attempts at a complete collection of Whitman photographs in *Whitman Photographs* and images of all kinds in *Whitman Portraits*. His editions were privately printed and he glued the pictures in by hand. Some information varies from edition to edition. I have had access to the editions held at Duke University. It is possible that other editions contain more information on this photograph.

8 Henry Saunders, “Image 42a,” *Whitman Portraits* (Toronto, Canada: privately printed, 1946). David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University. The existence of a crayon portrait that hung in the office of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* also clarifies Clara Barrus’ caption in *Whitman and Burroughs: Comrades* (1931). Clara Barrus reprinted an engraving after the pose that originally appeared in *Frank Leslie’s Popular Monthly* in June of 1892. She includes the caption, “From a wood engraving after the photograph taken by Kurtz in the *Brooklyn Eagle* office, 1873.” Like other sources, her use of the word “photograph” does not distinguish between the original photograph and the crayon photographic portrait, so it is tempting to believe that she incorrectly dated the Kurtz photograph to 1873. Her notation “in the *Brooklyn Eagle* office,” however, suggests that she was referring to the crayon portrait that hung there as the source for the engraving. See Clara Barrus, *Whitman and Burroughs, Comrades* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1931), between 41 and 42.

9 In the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* article, Johnston dates the crayon portrait to 1879, though the newspaper caption dates it 1878, likely a typographical error on the part of the author. In a 1911 letter, however, Johnston dates the photographs with Whitman and his children to July 1878. Research on the *Walt Whitman Archive* suggests that Whitman did not visit Johnston until 1877, making 1878 or 1879 the most likely dates for the crayon portrait. It may be that Saunders only estimated “1873”—he admitted that he had to

make educated guesses in some cases. His estimations became the source for many other attempts to date the photograph and the crayon portrait, which explains why so many secondary sources point to 1873 as the likely date. See “Walt Whitman’s Chum Tells of Good Gray Poet,” *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (March 8, 1914), 27.

10 “Walt Whitman’s Chum Tells of Good Gray Poet,” *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (March 8, 1914), 27.

11 Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, vol. 7 (1992), 343; available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (whitmanarchive.org).

12 “Walt Whitman’s Chum Tells of Good Gray Poet,” *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (March 8, 1914), 27.

13 “Whitmaniana Exhibit Opens Today; Private Collectors Aid Memorial Committee,” *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (November 8, 1925), 11.

14 Robert Roper includes an excerpt from Knapp’s letter in *Now the Drum of War: Walt Whitman and His Brothers in the Civil War* (New York: Walker Publishing Company, 2008), 190. The excerpt specifies only that Knapp owned a Whitman image dated to 1863—it was tempting to wonder if he might have owned a print of the Kurtz photograph with a conflicting date. The full letter, however, confirms that Knapp was in possession of an “1863” engraving “by Schaff” (Knapp means the 1860 engraving by Stephen Alonzo Schoff that appeared as the frontispiece to the 1860 *Leaves of Grass*). For the full letter from Knapp to Whitman, dated April 2, 1876, see Charley Shively’s collection of letters in *Drum Beats: Walt Whitman’s Civil War Boy Lovers* (San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press, 1989), 154. Shively, furthermore, reproduced the engraving in the back of his book and labeled it a “William Kurtz engraving, 1860s” (232).

15 There is a tenuous connection here with Laurence Hutton. W.J. [William James] Hennessy illustrated both this frontispiece and, in 1872, a series of portraits of the actor Edwin Booth. Edwin Booth (brother of the infamous John Wilkes Booth) was a very close friend of Hutton’s. Hutton wrote a short biography of him, and Hutton’s collections at Princeton include an extensive set of letters from Booth. It is possible that the Kurtz photograph, which Hennessy may have had access to for the engraving in the frontispiece of *Leaves of Grass* (unless he based it on the crayon portrait), passed to Booth and then to Hutton, or that Hutton knew Hennessy personally. I have not been able to access the letters to Hutton from Booth for any references to Whitman or a photograph of him, but it is an area for further research. See Figure 6.

16 Saunders’ *Whitman Portraits* (1946) catalogues some of the reprints of the crayon portrait. The full caption for the crayon portrait, Image 41, reads:

“41. 1873. Kurtz enlargement now in office of the Brooklyn Eagle.

Brooklyn Eagle, May 10 1919; May 31 1919.

Longislander, May 30 1919, p. 28.

Lit. Digest, June 21 1919, p. 28.

Gathering of the Forces, 1920, vol. 1, frontis.

Boston Transcript, Dec 24 1920.

N.Y. Times, Jan 2 1921; June 10 1923; Mar. 21 1926.

Current Opinion, Marc. 1921, p.384.

M.van Doren, Anthol. World Poetry, 1928, on jacket.”

These reprints vary in quality; the frontispiece for *Gathering of the Forces* offers a particularly sharp image. See Figure 5.

17 Thomas Wilmer Dewing, *Walt Whitman*, 1875, chalk on paper, Smithsonian American Art Museum, <https://americanart.si.edu/artwork/walt-whitman-6781>. See Figure 3.

18 Hobbs footnotes her suggestion that Dewing’s portrait was drawn from the *Daily Graphic* engraving by pointing to a woodcut in the collection of one of Whitman’s literary executors, Richard Maurice Bucke, “which is almost identical in detail to Dewing’s drawing.” See Susan Hobbs, “Thomas Wilmer Dewing: The Early Years, 1851-1885,” *The American Art Journal* 13 (Spring 1981), 10–13.

19 Hobbs, “Portrait of Walt Whitman,” 57.

20 Photography may be a more faithful representation of the visual field than a drawn or painted work, but the process of photography also bears its own manipulations of what Whitman called “nature” to fit aesthetic ideals. Kurtz’s Rembrandt style relied on a series of reflectors and counter-reflectors to control how light hit the subject—Kurtz manipulated not the medium, but the visual field itself. The author of an 1872 biography of the photographer declared that Kurtz had “determined that the roving sunbeam was as tractable as the painter’s pencil”. Where the traditional artist acts, in Folsom’s words, as a “mediating consciousness” between the “fullness of the visual field and the representation of that field,” Kurtz acted as a “mediating consciousness” between an environment previously untouched by aesthetic ideas and the resulting visual field. Kurtz may have, in his own words, produced “effects by different means than those employed by artists,” but he nevertheless added and deducted and fooled with the physical conditions around his subject to heighten the contrast in the resulting image. Kurtz’s process of setting up the visual environment around Whitman marks the first manipulation of observable reality for aesthetic ideals, while his crayon portrait and Dewing’s artistic interpretation of the photograph mark the second revision of the visual record. See “History of Photography in America,” *The Phrenological Journal and Life*

Illustrated, 54.5 (May 1872), 298-299. See also Ed Folsom, "Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture," *A Companion to Walt Whitman*, ed. Donald D. Kummings (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 275. For Kurtz's advice on backgrounds and reflectors and some comments on photography and art, see William Kurtz, "On Backgrounds and Reflectors," *The Illustrated Photographer* (January 14, 1870), 604.

21 Robert H. Ball, "Laurence Hutton, Collector and His Famous Friends," *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 33 (March 31, 1933), 560.

22 Francis Knowles, "Authors at Home, XVI: Laurence Hutton in West Thirty-fourth Street," *New York Times* (February 5, 1898), 20.

23 Knowles, "Authors at Home," 20. In *Specimen Days*, Whitman attributes this quote to Euripides. See "Samples of My Common-Place Book," *Poetry and Prose*, 883.

24 The description for the Laurence Hutton Photograph Albums, available online on the website for Princeton's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, notes "the collection consists of several hundred photographs removed from 11 photograph albums, compiled by Hutton." A pencil marking on the back of the Kurtz photograph records the photograph's placement a few pages from the front in the "second volume" (presumably these markings were made by a librarian to note the placement of the photo in Hutton's original albums).

25 The only other mention I have found of a Whitman photograph or portrait belonging to Hutton appears in Hutton's personal catalogue of his library. Hutton's copy of *Two Rivulets* (1876) included a portrait of Whitman facing the title page. The portrait was likely the 1872 Pearsall photograph included in other editions of *Two Rivulets*. The finding aid for the copy held in the Laurence Hutton Collection at Princeton University's Rare Books and Special Collections notes the presence of a signed photograph of Whitman as the frontispiece. See page 192 in *Laurence and Eleanor Hutton: Their Books of Association*, cataloged by M.E. Wood (privately printed, 1905), 192. Available on *HathiTrust*.

26 Last will and testament of Laurence Hutton. June 18, 1904. New Jersey Surrogate's Court, "Laurence Hutton."

27 See Gale Lawrence, "The Literary Career of Laurence Hutton," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, Department of English, July 1980, 14. Her discussion of Princeton University's acquisition of Hutton's collections from his executors is based on a personal conversation between the author and Alexander P. Clark, Curator of Manuscripts, Princeton University Library, July 12, 1977. Lawrence's dissertation is the only scholarly examination of Hutton's life, and one of the few sources that examines his collections and literary work in significant depth.

28 His archive is divided into several collections at Princeton University. See the overview of the collections on “Hutton, Laurence (1843-1904) at <https://rbcs.princeton.edu/topics/hutton-laurence-1843-1904>.

29 Jesse Lynch Williams, “Laurence Hutton: a Personal Tribute,” *Princeton Alumni Weekly* 4 (June 18, 1904), 603; “Lawrence Hutton, Newspaper Man, Friend of the Famous,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (June 6, 1905), 24.

30 Hutton may have known Horace Traubel, though Traubel does not appear in Hutton’s correspondence at Princeton University. Yet Paul Collins, in his book on the history of Thomas Paine’s remains, recalls his discovery of a copy of Hutton’s *Portraits in Plaster* (1894) in a used-bookshop in Portland. The copy was signed, “Horace Traubel / His book. / by his friend / Laurence Hutton.” See Paul Collins, *The Trouble with Tom: The Strange Afterlife and Times of Thomas Paine* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2006), 257-258; Knowles, “Authors at Home,” 20.

31 Helen Keller, *Story of My Life* (New York: Doubleday, Page, & Company, 1904), 28.

32 Keller, *Story of My Life*, 286.

33 Robert H. Ball, “Laurence Hutton, Collector and His Famous Friends,” *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 33 (March 31, 1933), 560. Ball’s examination of Hutton’s collections includes commentary on both the depth and quantity of Hutton’s associations, Ball’s personal count of the number of letters from particularly famous correspondents, and a brief examination of the correspondences from Mark Twain and Edwin Booth.

34 Gale Lawrence has compiled the most comprehensive bibliography of works by Hutton in the appendix of her dissertation, “The Literary Career of Laurence Hutton.” The dissertation, however, is not widely available, and many accessible sources provide only an incomplete list of his works. For an accessible and comprehensive list of books edited and written by Hutton, I recommend Hutton’s own catalogue of his library. See pp. 63-109 in *Laurence and Eleanor Hutton: Their Books of Association* (1905); available on *HathiTrust*.

35 Lawrence, “Literary Career of Laurence Hutton,” 63. Whitman himself was a reader of Hutton’s column, as evidenced in Horace Traubel’s *With Walt Whitman in Camden*: “W. was reading Laurence Hutton’s Literary Notes in Harper’s when I entered,” Traubel writes on January 24, 1889 (4:17).

36 Hutton, *Talks*, 214. Hutton does not specify who this uncle was or how well he knew the poet. The uncle was most likely one of his mother’s brothers. His mother, Elisabeth Ann Scott (1819-1882), was the eldest daughter of the New Yorker Walter Scott. Hutton notes in his memoir for children that her brothers were about Hutton’s own age, and so they became his “daily, familiar companions.” See *A Boy I Knew and Four Dogs* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1898),

9.

37 For Hutton's description of this transaction, see *Talks*, 224. For the titles and details of the inscriptions, see *Laurence and Eleanor Hutton: Their Books of Association*, cataloged by M.E. Wood (New York: privately printed, 1905), 192. See also the entry for *Two Rivulets* (3988.1.391) and *Leaves of Grass* (3988.1.35.15), both in the Laurence Hutton Collection, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University.

38 See Whitman's entry for "1877, March 30/sent Lawrence Hutton," in "Daybooks, 1876–November, 1881," *Daybooks and Notebooks*, ed. William White (New York: New York University Press, 1977), 1:54.

39 Whitman, Walt, 1819–1892; undated; Laurence Hutton Correspondence, Box 10 Folder 57; Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

40 "An Old Poet's Reception," *The Evening Sun* (15 April 1887). Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (whitmanarchive.org); transcription based on *Daybooks and Notebooks*, 2:417–421.

41 Robert H. Ball, "Laurence Hutton, Collector and His Famous Friends," *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 33 (March 31, 1933), 560.

42 For Hutton's description of the cast, its placement in his library, and the inscription, see *Talks*, 223. It is unclear whether Hutton obtained the cast mentioned in the memoir before or after the poet's death or if he owned two. In a notebook titled, "Catalogue of Various Things belonging to Laurence and Eleanor Hutton," from 1900, Hutton's wife, Eleanor Varnum Mitchell, made a note reading simply, "No. 2/Walt Whitman's Hand/April 17th, 1881." The Library of Congress holds a bronze model of a cast of Whitman's hand; although the finding aid does not date the cast, images show that it is inscribed with the same date that Eleanor Hutton noted and the initials "T.H.B." The initials indicate it is a copy of the cast made by Truman Howe Bartlett, mentioned in a letter from Bartlett to Whitman dated June 8, 1883, and available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (whitmanarchive.org). The corresponding dates suggest that Hutton owned a copy of this model. However, an article titled "Hands That Have Done Things" in the *Chicago Tribune* (August 28, 1904), 4, suggests that Hutton obtained the original of a cast that was made shortly before the poet's death. Either Hutton owned two casts of Whitman's hand or there is a mistake in the record. See *Catalogue of Various Things*; Laurence Hutton Papers, Box 27; Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. See also "Hand Cast," *Walt Whitman Papers in the Charles E. Feinberg Collection: Memorabilia, undated; Bronze, 1841–1981*. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/mss1863002443/.

43 Traubel, *With Walt Whitman*, 1:131. For a description of Eakins' casting of the mask, see William McFeely, *Portrait: The Life of Thomas Eakins* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007), 152.

44 Laurence Hutton, *Portraits in Plaster from the Collection of Laurence Hutton*, Introduction (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1894), xiv.

45 "An Old Poet's Reception," *The Evening Sun*. Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (whitmanarchive.org).