## "IF YOU CALL ON ME I WILL TELL YOU WHAT I KNOW OF WALT": UNRECORDED ASSESSMENT OF WALTER AND WALT WHITMAN BY WILLIAM BOOTH, BROOKLYN CARPENTER

## NATHAN TYE

PASTED IN THE FRONT of Thomas Fenton Taylor's copy of John Burroughs' *Whitman: A Study* is an unrecorded letter by a Brooklyn carpenter describing his assessment of Walter (Walt's father) and Walt Whitman, his business and personal relationships with both, and his willingness to disclose more about Walt in-person (see Figure 1.)<sup>1</sup> The letter's author, William Booth, was the younger brother of Samuel Booth, a carpenter, and later, mayor of Brooklyn from 1865 until 1869. Both Booths knew Walter and Walt Whitman according to the letter. Booth goes so far as to claim that he and Walt "were quite intimate." These disclosures were made at the request of Taylor, a New York attorney and local historian. Taylor's interest in Whitman drew on his complicated family tree (he appears to be distantly related to Booth) and his lifelong interest in literature—dynamics explored below which add to the letter's context.

William Booth's assessment connects the father and son through carpentry and eccentricity. This vocational and emotional relationship, although brief, suggests those who knew both men considered the pair cut from the same block. The details of Walter's work expand our understanding of his labor and connections within the wider network of the Brooklyn housebuilding trade. Moreover, this letter further situates the Whitmans' homebuilding and real estate ventures within the emergent market economy of the era. Finally, this letter points to another friendship predating the publication of *Leaves of Grass* that may yet shed further light on the biographical absences within Whitman's known life.

Walter Whitman is the lesser known of Walt Whitman's parents. Early scholars typically downplayed the significance of Walt's father. In her oft-cited study, Katherine Molinoff concluded, "Probably the full story of Walter Sr. will never be known. Somehow he seems to have made no deep impression upon Whitman, certainly nothing to compare with the profound love and respect he felt for Louisa."<sup>2</sup> Whitman scholars often underscore the close relationship with his mother, but later biographers found his father left a deeper imprint than previously presumed.<sup>3</sup> Jerome Loving suggests that the Whitmans would be defined as "dysfunctional" today, pointing towards Walter's stubbornness, poor business acumen, and presumed alcoholism.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless Walter was, according John Burroughs, "a most honorable man, a good citizen, parent, and neighbor. He was a large, quiet, serious man, very kind to children and animals. For some years he was a farmer on his own land, but afterwards went into business, housebuilding and carpentering."<sup>5</sup> Carpentry was the family trade as Walt noted in an 1886 interview with the *Brooklyn Eagle*, "My father was a carpenter and came into that trade by inheritance. So I set to work at it after I gave up editing newspapers."<sup>6</sup> The Booth letter does not radically disrupt these varied readings of Walter and the Whitmans; rather it evidences similarities between father and son.

The letter also provides new insights into Walter Whitman's labor and points to another of Walt Whitman's friendships within the "long foreground."<sup>7</sup> The Booths' connection to the Whitman family was previously unknown. Yet, a small clue exists in a different letter, written by Walt's mother, Louisa Van Velsor Whitman, in 1869: "i see by the paper exmayor Booth is to be the post master of Brooklyn)."<sup>8</sup> This comment initially reads as local news. Yet, when read against William Booth's letter, it confers a personal update on an individual known to the family—her husband's former employer. In the letter, Booth noted that Walter Whitman "worked for my brother previous to the year 1850." Moreover, he disclosed that Walter Whitman rented workshop space from the Booths. These details illuminate Walter Whitman's carpentry and housebuilding work in the decade prior to his death. Booth also discloses that Walter Whitman attempted to sell him land in Islip, Long Island.

William Booth found echoes of the father in the son, aligning with most biographical studies of Walt. Booth deemed Walter "an eccentric character," but he notes further that Walt Whitman "was more eccentric than his father but a noble generous hearted man." This reading of Walt as generous and eccentric echoes his brother George's later assessment of Walt's relationship with his neighbors and family: "He was like us—yet he was different from us too. These strangers, these neighbors, saw there was something in him out of the ordinary."<sup>9</sup> Booth does not comment further on the contours of Walter's and Walt's eccentricities, but his comment matches extant accounts of both men's personalities.

Samuel and William Booth were both carpenters, but later expanded into real estate and city politics. Their success, discussed further below, derived from the Brooklyn area's population boom and their prefabricated homes.<sup>10</sup> Biographer David Reynolds found that "[f]rame houses on tiny lots were popping up everywhere."11The building boom relied on "unskilled and poorly paid laborers," as Edwin Burrows and Mike Wallace have noted, and turned away from the "old-fashioned artisan" like Walter Whitman, Sr.<sup>12</sup> The Booths presumably met the Whitmans through the building trade. William Booth informed Taylor that Walter Whitman worked for Samuel Booth and rented space above their office "where he worked by himself." Walter Whitman worked as a carpenter in Brooklyn, and during stints on Long Island he built as well as farmed.<sup>13</sup> He continued carpentry and built homes when the family returned to Brooklyn in 1845.<sup>14</sup> Walter's employment by the Booths ensconces him within the earlier artisan tradition, just then giving way to prefabricated building. Yet, his son did not suffer the same fate; instead, he "plunge[d] into this space of motion and exchange" and thrived as a speculator and homebuilder, as Andrew Lawson argues.<sup>15</sup>

William Booth told Taylor that Walter Whitman, Sr., tried to sell him fifty acres of forested land in Islip for one hundred dollars. These forests, according to Booth, were being made into charcoal. Walt Whitman documented this land and its transformation in Specimen Days: "extended wide central tracts of pine and scrub-oak (charcoal was largely made here,) monotonous and sterile."<sup>16</sup> Walter's employment by the Booths likely occurred after their return to Brooklyn. Moreover, given Walt Whitman's own time "at the rougher work," according to Burroughs, it is possible Walt worked for or with the Booths in the 1850s.<sup>17</sup> As Peter Riley rightly notes, Walt was not building homes himself by this period but rather "was a hirer of labour, and overseer of production."<sup>18</sup> How Walt interacted with the Booths as a real estate developer within the exploding housing market of the period is uncertain, but he certainly worked with and/or alongside them until he "[q]uit house-building in the spring of 1855 to publish the first edition," according to Richard Maurice Bucke's Whitman-approved biography.<sup>19</sup> This is presumably how Booth developed "a personal acquaintance" with Walt. Yet, theirs was a personal rather than professional relationship, in Booth's telling. He does not grant Taylor many details of this relationship, but he considered Walt "a noble generous hearted man" and affirms that "we were quite intimate." Booth was willing to share more: "if you call on me I will tell you what I know of Walt." Unfortunately, any information gleaned from that meeting (if it happened) was not preserved with this letter. Thus, illuminating

further the Booth family's place in nineteenth-century Brooklyn is necessary to understand the shape of their relationship and to discover where else the Whitmans and Booths crossed paths.

Unlike the Whitmans, the Booths were recent arrivals to the United States and within a generation became prominent business and political figures in Brooklyn. Thomas and Rebecca Booth emigrated from England in 1818 with three-week-old Samuel. Thus, he was about a year older than Walt. In 1828, the family moved from Manhattan to Brooklyn. Samuel initially worked as a clerk before apprenticing to Elias Combs as a house carpenter in 1835.<sup>20</sup> In 1843 he started his own construction and carpentry business, and a contemporary historian noted "since that time his history has been, to a great extent, identified with the prosperity and advancement of the city of Brooklyn."<sup>21</sup> He and his business partner, Stephen Cadwell, dissolved their carpentry and construction firm in 1848.<sup>22</sup>

The following year Booth's business took off with the discovery of gold in California, according to a November 1849 notice in the Freeman (two months after Whitman left the paper) referenced in the Evening Star. Booth "has built a large number of homes destined for California; among others, an hotel, 86 feet by 30; three stories high, and containing 47 rooms. The frame and timber are so arranged, that the building can be packed into the smallest possible compass."<sup>23</sup> Booth's business thrived because of prefabricated construction. Reynolds suggests Walter Whitman struggled to make the shift from custom built to prefab home construction, preferring his own artisanal work.<sup>24</sup> William Booth lends evidence to this contention and situates Walter squarely within the changing labor dynamics of the era. Booth recalled that Walter "worked by himself making doors and other such works" above the Booth's shop. According to labor historian Bruce Laurie, the decline of craftsmanship within the building trade was first marked by "prefabricated windows, doors, and other parts traditionally made and fitted by skilled carpenters on construction sites." The Booths' employment of Walter Whitman to make "doors and other such works" fits this shift. As such, he follows the path marked by Laurie: "Masters became framers or installers of precut parts who moved from project to project and yielded to other specialists when their tasks were done."25 Walter Whitman evidenced the earlier craft but was not entirely sidelined by new homebuilding techniques. Rather, he adapted to the changing marketplace under the Booths. Although the precise dates of Walter's work for the Booths remains unknown, it is possible he made the doors and other prebuilt fixtures for the hotel described above. The precise location of this shop is unclear, but the Whitman and Booth families both lived on Myrtle Avenue. The former lived at 106 Myrtle Avenue from April 1849 until May 1852.<sup>26</sup> At the time of Walter Whitman's death in 1855, the Booths worked out of 58 Myrtle Avenue and moved to 66 Myrtle Avenue the following year.<sup>27</sup>

Buoyed by his business success, Samuel Booth entered politics and was elected Fourth Ward alderman in 1850.<sup>28</sup> Initially a Whig, he later ran on the Republican platform. After one term as alderman, he served on the board of education and was elected Fourth Ward supervisor in 1857. He served in this role until 1865 when he was elected mayor of Brooklyn. Four years later he was appointed Brooklyn postmaster.<sup>29</sup> Booth's political rise and party shift occurred during Whitman's own political realignment. In 1857, Whitman became editor of the *Brooklyn Daily Times*, a leading Republican paper. He left the paper in June 1859. Distanced from his Democratic and Free Soil years and Republican editorship Walt was, as Reynolds argues, "a man adrift . . . with no faith in political institutions."<sup>30</sup> As the editor a Republican paper, he almost certainly knew the up-and-coming Samuel Booth as well as his politically involved brother, William. It is curious that William does not mention this probable connection in his letter, but this aspect of their relationship may be part of the story he promised to share with Taylor in person.

In 1860, William Booth was captain of the Prairie Rangers of the Ashland Republican Club.<sup>31</sup> That August, Booth marched an estimated 100 Prairie Rangers alongside 500 other young abolitionist Wide-Awakes down Fulton Street. "Rockets and roman-candles were let off in profusion, and the enthusiasm was unbounded," reported the *Brooklyn Evening Star.* "Democracy for once trembled last night," it concluded.<sup>32</sup> William Booth was also involved in the state militia. He had joined the 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment New York State Militia by 1851 and was an ordnance sergeant when the Civil War erupted.<sup>33</sup> Booth served in the 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment until at least 1870, and likely later. In 1876, then Lieutenant-Colonel Booth gave the Decoration Day address at Admiral David Farragut's grave in The Bronx's Woodlawn Cemetery.<sup>34</sup> The Booth brother's business and political activities in the 1850s and 1860s marked them as prominent Brooklyn citizens whose activities would have been well-known to Walt Whitman.

The existence and survival of the Booth letter is in and of itself a curiosity. Taylor's biography provides clues as to why he inquired about Whitman in the first place and what he intended to do with this information. Additionally, his biography may point to currently unidentified connections to Whitman and the Booths that may orient future scholarship.

Taylor was born in New York City to John George Taylor and Charlotte

Matilda Mortimer (Booth) Taylor in 1852.<sup>35</sup> John G. Taylor was a prominent New York costumer.<sup>36</sup> Thomas F. Taylor was orphaned at nine and placed in Indiana aboard a so-called "Orphan Train."<sup>37</sup> There, Taylor was fostered by Alonzo Blair, an attorney and Democratic politician. Blair supported Taylor's matriculation at Harvard. He graduated in 1875, followed by Columbia Law School in 1877.<sup>38</sup> Shortly thereafter he worked for the United States District Attorney and later entered private practice in New York City. He published occasional legal essays but was more interested in historical and literary concerns.<sup>39</sup> His interest in history dates, at least, to his time at Harvard, where he took three courses under Henry Adams. Upon retirement, he entered Harvard's graduate school but only completed a year of coursework.<sup>40</sup> Taylor lectured frequently in New York City on political, historical, and literary subjects, including Chinese immigration, Aaron Burr, John Keats, and Ivan Turgenev. He also researched local topics, although the outcome of this work, as is so far known, is limited to the letter analyzed here and a small donation of family materials to the Long Island Historical Society, now the Brooklyn Historical Society.<sup>41</sup> Taylor was a Brooklyn resident until 1884, when he moved to New Jersey.<sup>42</sup> Considered "something of a clubman and vachtsman," he split his time after retirement between various homes in the United States and Italy.<sup>43</sup>

Taylor harbored early literary ambitions, and his public lecture topics indicated he never completely abandoned literature. His continued interest in literature and authors' lives provides a clear motivation for his Whitman inquiry. Moreover, surviving correspondence with his former Harvard professor, the critic Charles Eliot Norton, shows that Taylor relished his connection to notable authors and describes his practice of saving important letters within related books. At Harvard, Taylor was awarded prizes for Shakespeare recitation and even considered a writing career. Norton counseled otherwise but organized a reading in his home for Taylor. James Russell Lowell also attended. Taylor does not make the connection in his extant writings, but both Norton and Lowell, of course, knew of Whitman and his work. Although Taylor never pursued a formal literary career, he cherished his connections to literary figures. Nearly thirty years after the reading, he told his one-time host that "fastened in your first volume are the kind letters you and Mr. Lowell gave me."44 Taylor's preservation of his Norton and Lowell correspondence within a volume of the former's work echoes the pairing of the Booth letter within Burroughs' Whitman biography examined here.

Extant material suggests Taylor was interested in the history of the Booth family, which presumably brought the Whitman connections to his attention.

The obituary of his foster father, Alonzo Blair, noted that Taylor was eventually "found and reclaimed by his own relations—a distinguished and wealthy family in the East."<sup>45</sup> Unfortunately, the obituary does not indicate who came for Taylor, but he later donated Samuel Booth's indenture along with one of his letters to the Brooklyn Historical Society.<sup>46</sup> Taylor's mother, Charlotte Matilda (Booth) Taylor, was likely related to Samuel and William Booth. Given Samuel Booth's financial success and political position within Brooklyn, it is probable that this maternal branch of his family reclaimed Taylor. Yet, the formality of William's response to Taylor's request for information about the Whitmans suggests Taylor was not close to all his extended maternal relatives. Nowhere in the letter is there any indication of familial ties made or even an informal greeting, as it is addressed to "Dear Sir."

Where then, does this letter leave us regarding Walter and Walt Whitman? William Booth's relationship with the Whitmans expands our understanding of both men's housebuilding years and similarities in their personalities. Moreover, the letter documents a friendship of Walt's that preceded the initial publication of *Leaves of Grass*. The letter to Thomas Fenton Taylor hints at further glimmers into Walter and Walt Whitman. Whether he called on his potential distant relation to obtain "the information you desire" is yet unknown, but the proposed conversation and its probable contents warrant further archival exploration.

University of Nebraska at Kearney

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Figure 1. William C. Booth to Thomas Fenton Taylor, 1904.

Transcription of letter from W. C. Booth to Thomas F. Taylor (March 8, 1904):

Brooklyn March 8-1904

Thomas F Taylor

Dear Sir

In answer to your inquiry relating to Walt Whitman I would advise you that Walter Whitman Sr the father of Walt Whitman worked for my brother previous to the year 1850. he had a room in the old building over our office where he worked by himself making doors and other such works. He was an eccentric character. He owned 50 acres of wood land in

the town of Islip L.I. which he offered to sell me for the sum of one hundred dollars as the charcoal burners were cutting the wood and burning it into charcoal. The land is now selling for from two to four thousand dollars per acre so far for Walt Whitman Sr I had a personal acquaintance with Walt Whitman the poet and the author of the poems Leaves of Grass He was more eccentric than his father but a noble generous hearted man we were quite intimate. If I recall what line of information you wanted to know of him if it was in my power I would be glad to give you the information you desire. In conversation with you we might get at the information you call on me I will tell you what I know of Walt.

Respectfully yours W. C. Booth

## Notes

John Burroughs, *Whitman: A Study.* Volume 10 of the Riverby Edition of the *Writings of John Burroughs.* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton, Mifflin and Company; Riverside Press, 1905). The text at hand is part of the publisher's presentation set gifted to Thomas Fenton Taylor on March 8, 1906, per the bookplate in the first volume. The date of Booth's letter is difficult to determine as the final numeral is incomplete due to paper loss, but could also be March 8, 1906. Marginalia in Taylor's *Whitman* is limited to a sole concluding note, presumably in his hand, "Finished 28 March 1906," on the final page, indicating he read it swiftly after receiving it. The books and letter are in private hands, but a scan of the letter is available via the University of Nebraska at Kearney's digital repository: https://openspaces.unk.edu/spec-coll/56/.

2 Katherine Molinoff, Some Notes on Whitman's Family (Brooklyn: Comet Press, 1947), 17.

3 David S. Reynolds, *Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 23-29; Jerome Loving, *Walt Whitman: The Song of Himself* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 206.

4 Loving, 23, 30, 53-55.

5 John Burroughs, *Notes on Walt Whitman, As Poet and Person* (New York: J.S. Redfield, 1871), 79. For more on Burroughs' biography, see Loving, 315-316.

6 "A Visit to Walt Whitman," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (July 11, 1886). Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (whitmanarchive.org).

7 "Ralph Waldo Emerson to Walt Whitman, July 21, 1855," in Walt Whitman, The Correspondence: Volume 1: 1842-1967, ed. Edwin Haviland Miller (New York: New York University Press, 1961), 41.

8 Louisa Van Velsor Whitman to Walt Whitman, 14 [April 1869]. Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*, ID: duk.00579. Whitman's journalism connected him to Brooklyn's leaders. When

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he left for Washington D.C. in 1862 to find his wounded brother, he carried a letter of introduction from the former mayor, George Hall. See Loving, 13, 488n23.

9 Horace L. Traubel, "Notes from Conversations with George W. Whitman, 1893: Mostly in His Own Words," *In Re Walt Whitman*, ed. Horace L. Traubel, Richard Maurice Bucke, and Thomas B. Harned (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1893), 38.

10 For more on the New York and Brooklyn real estate markets and homebuilding practices discussed here, see: Peter J. L. Riley, "*Leaves of Grass* and Real Estate," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 28 (Spring 2011), 163-187; Cleveland Rodgers, "The Good Gray House Builder," *Walt Whitman Review* 5 (December 1959), 63-69; Edward K. Spann, *The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840-1857* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 112-116.

11 Reynolds, 113-114.

12 Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 765.

13 Loving, 36; Joann P. Krieg, "A Newly Discovered Walter Whitman, Sr., Document," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 19 (Fall 2001), 111-112.

14 Reynolds, 113-114.

15 Andrew Lawson, *Walt Whitman and the Class Struggle* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006), 14.

16 Walt Whitman, *Prose Works 1892*, ed. Floyd Stovall (New York: New York University Press, 1963), 1:11.

17 Burroughs, Notes on Walt Whitman, 82-83; Reynolds, 134.

18 Riley, 165.

19 Richard Maurice Bucke, *Walt Whitman* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1883), 26; Loving, 180.

20 Indenture, 1835, Samuel Booth Papers, 1974.155, Brooklyn Historical Society, Brooklyn, New York.

21 Henry Reed Stiles, *A History of the City of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: Published by Subscription, 1869), 2:479.

22 The Brooklyn Eagle (June 17, 1848).

<sup>23</sup> "Hotel For California," *Brooklyn Evening Star* (November 28, 1849). On Whitman and the *Freeman*, see Loving, 143-147.

## 24 Reynolds, 25.

25 Bruce Laurie, Artisans into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth-Century America (New York: Noonday Press, 1989), 42.

26 Walt Whitman, *Notebooks and Unpublished Prose Manuscripts*, ed. Edward F. Grier (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 1:11.

27 Smith's Brooklyn Directory, For The Year Ending May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1856 (Brooklyn: William H. Smith, 1855), 54; Smith's Brooklyn Directory, For the Year Ending May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1857 (Brooklyn: Charles Jenkins, 1856), 54. It is unclear when Samuel and William entered business together. While not definitive proof of familial employment, in 1856 the Booth brothers lived next to one another at 83 and 82 Tillary. Later, they lived apart. William Booth was living at 207 Graham Avenue in 1862. Smith's Brooklyn Directory, For the Year Ending May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1857 (Brooklyn: Charles Jenkins, 1856), 54; "Robberies," Brooklyn Daily Eagle (June 24, 1862). By 1865, Samuel and William partnered in the construction firm S. & W. C. Booth, located at 63 Myrtle Avenue; see Brooklyn Daily Eagle (February 21, 1865).

28 "Election Returns," Williamsburgh Daily Gazette (November 7, 1850).

Henry Reed Stiles, *A History of the City of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: Published by Subscription, 1869), 2:478-481.

30 Reynolds, 368-375.

31 Brooklyn Evening Star (August 2, 1860).

32 "The Republican Meeting last night–Our Wide-Awakes," *Brooklyn Evening Star* (August 9, 1860).

33 William C. Booth, "Answer to Hanley's Letter," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (May 31, 1861).

34 "Military," *Brooklyn Union* (August 5, 1870); "Woodlawn Cemetery," *Brooklyn Union* (May 30, 1876).

Harvard College Class of 1875. Secretary's Report No. VIII, 1875-1899 (Boston: George E. Ellis),
91.

36 "Tremendous Excitement!" *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (December 23, 1847); "Academy Ball," *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (December 6, 1853).

37 For more on placing out in the nineteenth century, see Marilyn Irvin Holt, *The Orphan Trains: Placing Out in America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

<sup>38</sup> "Dust to Dust," *The Shelby Democrat* (July 17, 1879); "Letter from Thomas F. Taylor, Esq. To Mrs. Alonzo Blair," *The Shelby Democracy* (August 7, 1879); *Harvard College Class of 1875. Secretary's* 

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Report No. VIII, 1875-1899 (Boston: George E. Ellis), 91-93.

39 Thomas Fenton Taylor, "The 'Dwight Method," *Harvard Law Review* 7 no. 4 (November 25, 1893), 203-212; Thomas Fenton Taylor, "Practice of Law in New York City," *Harvard Law Review* 10 no. 1 (April 25, 1896), 23-45.

40 Stewart Mitchell, "Henry Adams and Some of His Students," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Third Series) 66 (October 1936-May 1941), 305-306.

41 Guide to the Samuel Booth Papers, 1974.155. Center for Brooklyn History, Brooklyn, New York: http://dlib.nyu.edu/findingaids/html/bhs/arms\_1974\_155\_booth/bioghist.html.

42 Harvard College Class of 1875. Secretary's Report No. VIII, 1875-1899 (Boston: George E. Ellis), 91-93.

43 Mitchell, 306. While in Italy, Taylor maintained membership in the Dante Society. See *Annual Reports of the Dante Society* 38 (1919), ix.

44 Thomas Fenton Young to Charles Eliot Norton, November 16, 1907; Box 39, Charles Eliot Norton Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

45 "Dust to Dust," *The Shelby Democrat* (July 17, 1879).

Alice Griffin, Center for Brooklyn History, email communication with author, July 18, 2022; Guide to the Samuel Booth Papers, 1974.155. Center for Brooklyn History, Brooklyn, New York.