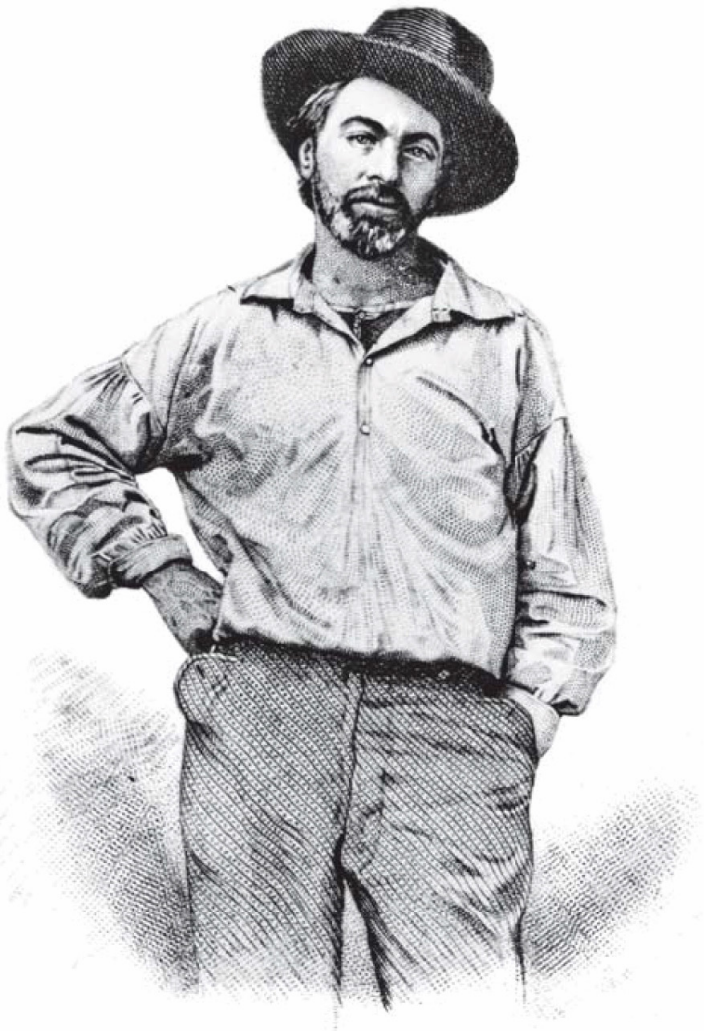

WALT WHITMAN
QUARTERLY REVIEW

VOLUME FORTY-ONE ISSUE ONE AND TWO SUMMER/FALL 2023

A SCHOLARLY OPEN ACCESS JOURNAL

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Front Cover: Facsimile of the frontispiece of the 1855 edition of *Leaves of Grass* / Courtesy of the Special Collections Department, The University of Iowa Libraries.

CONTENTS

"BUILDING THE HOUSE THAT SERVES HIM LONGER": A HISTORY OF WALT WHITMAN'S TOMB

MAIRE MULLINS

"'Was it heavy enough? Do you think it will keep me in?'"
—Walt Whitman to Dr. William M. Reeder[1]

"So Long!"

Walt Whitman died on Friday, March 26, 1892; his funeral took place four days later, on March 30, 1892. Whitman's plans for his final resting place, however, began to take shape four years before his death, in early December 1889, when he started to think seriously about what he called his "*burial house.*"[2] In letters and conversations with friends and acquaintances, Whitman's ideas gradually evolved into what would become a carefully constructed above-ground tomb that included individual vaults for the remains of his parents, his brothers George and Eddy, his sister Hannah, and his sister-in-law Louisa Orr Whitman. The completion of Whitman's tomb represented the culmination of a complicated series of decisions.

Whitman cultivated his literary legacy in his last years through correspondence, publication, friends and visitors, and an attentive reading of the newspapers and periodicals that mentioned him. His concerns about his brother Eddy (1835-1892) and his sister Hannah Whitman Heyde (1823-1908) were tied to the precarity of his own financial situation as well as theirs. His relationships with Harleigh Cemetery Superintendent Ralph Moore and the Philadelphia-based Reinhalter Company that constructed the tomb evolved over the four years that went into its planning and construction, from warmth and trust to concerns about fraud.

The location of Whitman's tomb, its design, and its cost are topics that have received significant critical and biographical attention, but a close examination of the process as it unfolded in the years prior to Whitman's death, as well as recently

uncovered materials, provide a more complete account.[3] In the midst of health challenges and financial concerns, Whitman nevertheless made careful decisions about the location of his cemetery lot: he worked with the Reinhalter Company to design his tomb, oversaw the building of the tomb, and paid for the tomb. None of this was easy. This essay will trace the story of Whitman's tomb, provide new historical documents, reevaluate the biographical narrative surrounding its creation, and provide the first comprehensive history of Whitman's final statement to the world.

A Biographical Postmortem

Whitman's biographers focus mostly on the cost of the tomb and the above-ground placement of Whitman's body, especially since the latter seems to contradict Whitman's professions in *Leaves of Grass* about blending into the earth at death. Most famously, at the end of "Song of Myself," Whitman writes, "I bequeath myself to the dirt to grow from the grass I love, / If you want me again look for me under your boot-soles."[4] Bliss Perry, one of Whitman's earliest biographers, notes that "Many friends who contributed, out of slender means, to his weekly support—since his brother George proved unwilling to help him—were surprised to find that in 1891 he had spent nearly $4000 on a massive tomb in Harleigh Cemetery."[5] George R. Carpenter offers a different interpretation of the expenditure, stating that Whitman had set aside a small fund "that provided for the future of his brother [Eddy] and paid for the granite tomb which he had built, and in which he desired that his bones should rest, together with those of his mother and father."[6] Gay Wilson Allen states that "Whitman wanted his family united in death—as it had never really been in life."[7] As Allen also points out, however, Whitman "made no plans" to place his brothers Jesse, Andrew, and Jeff in the tomb (Allen does not mention Whitman's sister Mary Elizabeth Whitman Van Nostrand, buried in Green Hill Cemetery, New York). Ultimately, Whitman's family was partially united, with Whitman's parents, Louisa and Walter, on either side of him, his brother George and George's wife Louisa and their infant son Walter (November 4, 1875-July 12, 1876), his sister Hannah, and Eddy all placed in burial vaults within the tomb. Allen concludes by praising Whitman's prescience regarding the tomb's design and location: "He knew that if *Leaves of Grass* lived—and he thought it might—his tomb would become a shrine, as it has. He showed good judgment in choosing the simple design from Blake, with a triangular capstone, and the location at the base of a small hill covered with laurel and oak trees."[8]

In his biography, *Walt Whitman: A Life*, Justin Kaplan provides a more extended account, devoting his second chapter to Whitman's "Burial House." Revising a sentence of Whitman's from an article Whitman had published in the New York *Herald*, Kaplan writes, "Whitman's tomb too was a special and self-chosen utterance."[9] Whitman's decision to build the tomb may have been a response to the "neglected burial grounds" of his Long Island ancestors as well as to the desecration of cemeteries due to urban displacement and to grave robbers; the "violated and neglected grave," Kaplan affirms, "had become a constitutive metaphor" and was evident "even in Whitman's earliest work."[10] The Civil War, too, was likely a factor in Whitman's decisions; he had written about hastily created battlefield graves in *Drum-Taps*.[11] These accumulated experiences, Kaplan concludes, help to explain the solidity of Whitman's tomb, "stark, elemental and secure."[12] Kaplan's analysis provides contextual background for Whitman's evolving understanding of death and his attitudes about the treatment of the dead. Whitman's poem, "To Think of Time" provides an example: the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* (1855) simply presents the poem as the third in a sequence of twelve; in the second edition (1856), the poem is titled "Burial Poem"; in the third edition (1860), "Burial"; and in the fifth edition (1871), Whitman gave the poem its present title. In all of the editions of *Leaves of Grass*, this section is present:

> To think how eager we are in building our houses,
> To think others shall be just as eager, and we quite indifferent.
>
> (I see one building the house that serves him a few years, or seventy or eighty years at most,
> I see one building the house that serves him longer than that.)[13]

These lines perhaps capture the ways Whitman's views on tomb building changed over the decades. At first a metaphor for the body (that lasts "seventy or eighty years"), the reference shifts to become a metaphor for the process of constructing the tomb that houses the body.

David Reynolds calls Whitman's tomb "impressive," noting that it "seems to give literal meaning to the flouting of death," citing lines from "Song of Myself": "My foothold is tenon'd and mortis'd in granite, / I laugh at what you call dissolution, / And I know the amplitude of time."[14] Reynolds is sharply critical, however, of Whitman's motives when he turned to his good friend Thomas B. Harned, an attorney, to assist him with the final bill for the tomb.[15] Of this incident, Reynolds writes, "Once more, Whitman fell back on a capitalist supporter to bear him through a thorny financial situation."[16] Reynolds overlooks two crucial factors—it was Harned's legal acumen, not his wealth,

that Whitman most needed at this time; and Harned was not a "supporter" but was a close friend. Moreover, Whitman was not well; his health was in decline, and when the final bill was presented, Whitman was less than a year away from death. His friends, naturally, were protective not only of his physical health but, more importantly, his emotional well-being while this matter was being sorted out. Reynolds asserts that Whitman had "little now but shrewdness to carry him through,"[17] but this is a misreading of both the situation and of Whitman's character. Whitman was beloved by a wide network of friends who stepped forward to assist him in his last days, to shield him from discomfort and to assure that he had ease of mind as he was dying.

"On a Little Wooded Slope"

Most prominent citizens of the Camden/Philadelphia area in the 1880s and 1890s were buried in West Laurel Hill Cemetery (1869), the more recent version of Laurel Hill Cemetery (1836). As Geoffrey M. Sill points out, Harleigh Cemetery followed the model of "park lawn" cemeteries, "designed with curving drives, broad expanses of lawn, and artificial lakes"; most importantly, the cemetery was in a rural location away from "crowded" urban church burial grounds.[18] It was part of a larger trend in American culture that saw "the emigration of the dead from city graveyards to rural cemeteries"—a development praised by Whitman, who had celebrated a number of rural burial sites in his early newspaper writings.[19] Opened in 1885, Harleigh Cemetery copied the designs of Mount Auburn (1831) and Laurel Hill Cemetery, with winding, circular-shaped drives and careful attention to the natural landscape. Internal fencing was prohibited, as well as the duplication of monuments or elaborate statuary; these regulations developed over the course of the nineteenth century.[20] In August 1886, the *West Jersey Press* noted Harleigh Cemetery's peaceful setting: "The burial ground of the past adds gloom to misery but at Harleigh Cemetery there is an opposite effect which is to cheer and comfort the sorrowing heart. A cemetery of 50 years ago makes one shudder in contrast with those of modern date."[21] Impacted by both the rural cemetery movement of the 1830s and the lawn cemetery movement of the 1840s, the names of the lanes in Harleigh Cemetery reflect the wider cultural emphasis on cemeteries as a place of solace and retreat: "Dale Drive," "Forest Lane," "Tanglewood Drive," "Shady Ave" (see Figure 1).

The first mention of Harleigh Cemetery as a possibility for Whitman's final resting place occurred on December 5, 1889. According to Horace Traubel,

Whitman described the day as "dull," aside from a "visitor from Harleigh Cemetery," an account that Traubel describes as "exceedingly comical":

> 'We had quite a talk. He wishes to give me a lot in the Cemetery, I to write a poem on it.' I called it a 'curious bargain' and W. assented merrily, 'I know it is, but I promised to consider it favorably. So you folks had better be prepared now for the worst!' I inquired, 'Haven't you a lot at West Laurel Hill?' 'Very likely. I am very careless of my possessions. I have a farm somewhere which I have never seen—and lots, the Lord knows where. A more possessing man, you see, than you thought I was!'[22]

There is no evidence that Whitman owned a farm or a lot at West Laurel Hill, however, nor is there evidence that Whitman crafted a poem in exchange for the lot in Harleigh Cemetery, although Whitman continued to write poems up until a few months before his death.

In a series of letters, mostly to his friend Richard Maurice Bucke, Whitman described his visits to Harleigh Cemetery. In a letter to Bucke dated December 7, 1889 (just two days after his "comical" visit with the cemetery representative), Whitman writes, "Bright sunny perfect day—have just been out an hour or two, a drive in a smooth cab in the rural roads & to Harleigh Cemetery—enjoy'd it well.[23] Three weeks later, on December 21, Whitman notes John B. Wood[24] and the Cemetery Superintendent Ralph Moore visited him at Mickle Street: "they propose to give me a lot & I wish to have one in a small side hill in a wood—& am going out soon to locate it—am impress'd pleasantly with the Supt: Mr Wood—nothing special."[25] Probably Wood offered Whitman a lot without charge in an effort to promote Harleigh Cemetery by offering lots to famous public figures. Three days later, on December 24, 1889, Whitman chose the lot: "Yesterday went out (two hours drive) to the Harleigh Cemetery & selected my burial lot—a little way back, wooded, on a side hill—lot 20 x 30 feet—think of a vault & capping all a plain massive stone temple, (for want of a better descriptive word)."[26] Even before he met with the company that would help design and build his tomb, then, Whitman knew he wanted a "massive stone temple." Whitman's lot was nearly double the size of the 9 x 18 foot lots that had been sold in the Granite Lawn and Marble Lawn sections of Harleigh Cemetery, priced at $60.[27] Wood tucked a map of Harleigh Cemetery with Whitman's lot marked on it into a letter to Whitman dated December 24, 1889 (Figure 1). The map reads, "Entirely on Landscape lawn / Plan," reinforcing the cemetery's natural setting and indicating the location of trees, a lake, and a spring-like creek that flows into the lake. In his letter to Whitman, Wood asked Whitman to name the spring (marked with a star on the top left part of the map) and the "old tree" which Wood drew, near the word "*Spring*":

When your brain is weary please put on the map the name of the spring, which is about where the star is, and when it is very active, please do not forget the old tree, and name it. I have tried to put its gnarled form on paper, not at all like it for fear I should interfere with your work, but yet a sort of sign post to it. Below is the old willow and pine.[28]

Whitman's cemetery lot, located in the southwest corner of the cemetery, is close to the cemetery office and in a section of the cemetery demarcated as "Wood Lawn." The Camden *Daily Telegram* took note of Whitman's visit to his "Burial Lot" and his choice of a lot (Figure 2). Four months after he chose the lot, Whitman received the deed—"(so that is settled for)," he noted in a letter to Bucke.[29]

Harleigh Cemetery was less than two miles away from Whitman's house on Mickle Street. Aside from the generous offer of a free lot from the Cemetery Manager and the Cemetery Superintendent, its proximity to his home was probably one of the main reasons Whitman chose it. Whitman told Traubel that the distance from Mickle Street to the cemetery was "a mere walk—you can easily go it—why two or three years ago I should not myself have thought it much of a walk."[30] Whitman loved to visit the lot, often going for carriage rides with a driver and a few companions to view it. In the mid- to late-nineteenth century, visits to cemetery grounds were not unusual, even if one were not visiting deceased family members. Because of the rural and park lawn cemetery movements of the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s, cemeteries were considered havens of greenery, and preceded the development of municipal parks.[31] The frequency of Whitman's visits to Harleigh Cemetery may also be understood, then, as part of a wider shift in cultural attitudes toward cemeteries. Thomas Bender notes that "America's rural cemeteries were explicitly designed for both the living and the dead."[32] In addition to their natural setting, lawn cemeteries appealed to Americans because of their location on the outskirts of the city or town. Their proximity yet separateness from urban centers allowed visitors to get away for a brief period in order to refresh their spirits. "You have entered a realm of quietude, melody, and beauty," one visitor noted.[33]

Several factors impacted Whitman's visits to Harleigh cemetery: the weather, his health, and access to a driver. If the weather was sunny, Whitman enjoyed seeing Harleigh Cemetery and viewing the lot he had chosen. In letters to friends, he recorded how much he relished these visits and how frequently they occurred: "Bright sunny perfect day—have just been out an hour or two, a drive in a smooth cab in the rural roads & to Harleigh Cemetery—enjoy'd it well—."[34] Excursions to Harleigh Cemetery usually began in the late morning, around 11 a.m., and lasted for about two hours. Whitman noted the following in a letter to Richard Maurice Bucke: "When the weather is right I go out lately—to-day have been out f'm two

to three hours—start at 11 abt—Stopt at Harleigh Cemetery to look again at my burial lot—(it suits me)—."[35] Sometimes Whitman's digestive system hampered his ability to leave his house, even for a brief two or three hours; other times his health did not allow for a visit. He writes to William Sloane Kennedy: "Bad days & nights with me—neuralgic sick head ache in addition to other ails."[36] Excursions to the Cemetery had to be planned because Whitman could not drive himself. Sometimes Ralph Moore, the cemetery superintendent, would take Whitman, or he would go with friends, or with his housekeeper Mary Davis.[37]

There were other reasons, too, why Whitman chose Harleigh Cemetery. He liked its wooded landscape and its newness, which allowed him greater latitude in the choice of lot. Instead of deciding on a more noticeable location, he carefully selected a lot that was in a dell, off by itself, telling Traubel, "I think they wanted me to go in the open, in some prominent place, conspicuous—but I went deep in the woods."[38] This comment echoes the theme of many of Whitman's poems, especially the poems of the *Calamus* cluster.[39] Whitman told Traubel that he viewed the cemetery superintendent, Ralph Moore, favorably because Moore's sensibility was similar to his own: "Moore is not bitten with the art-side of life: not sacrificed to that bane of all literary, artistic ambition: elegance, system, convention, rules, canons. In that respect, he is our man."[40] Whitman wrote to his friend John H. Johnston that his "burial vault" was "on a little wooded slope"[41] apart from the main paths of the cemetery, while also remaining distinct.

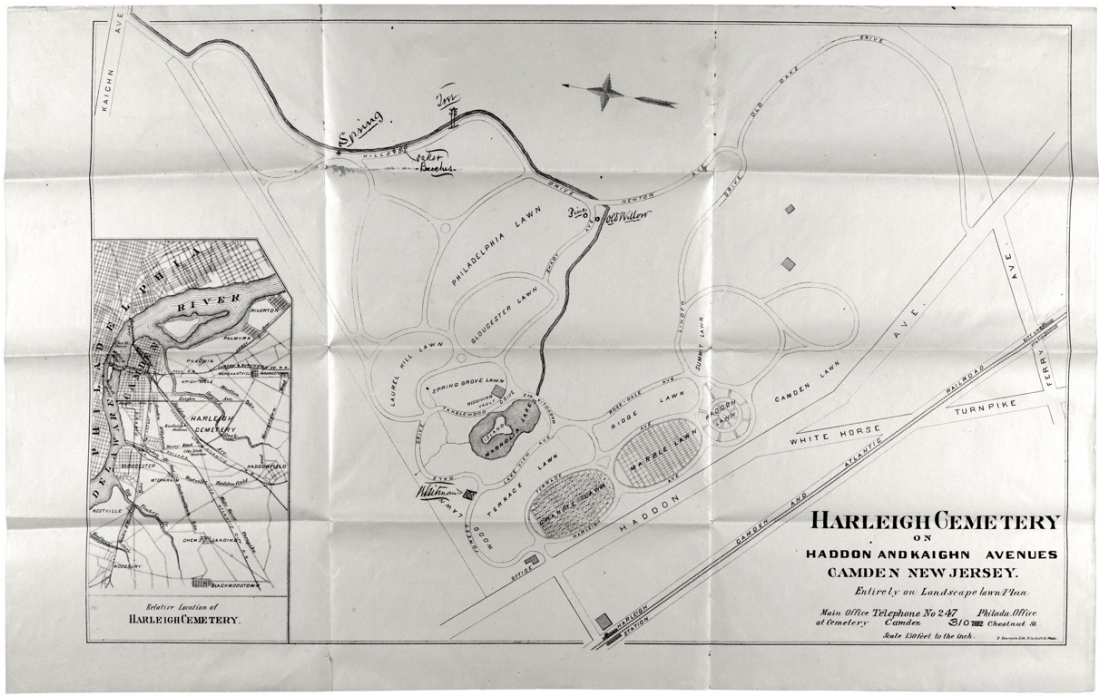
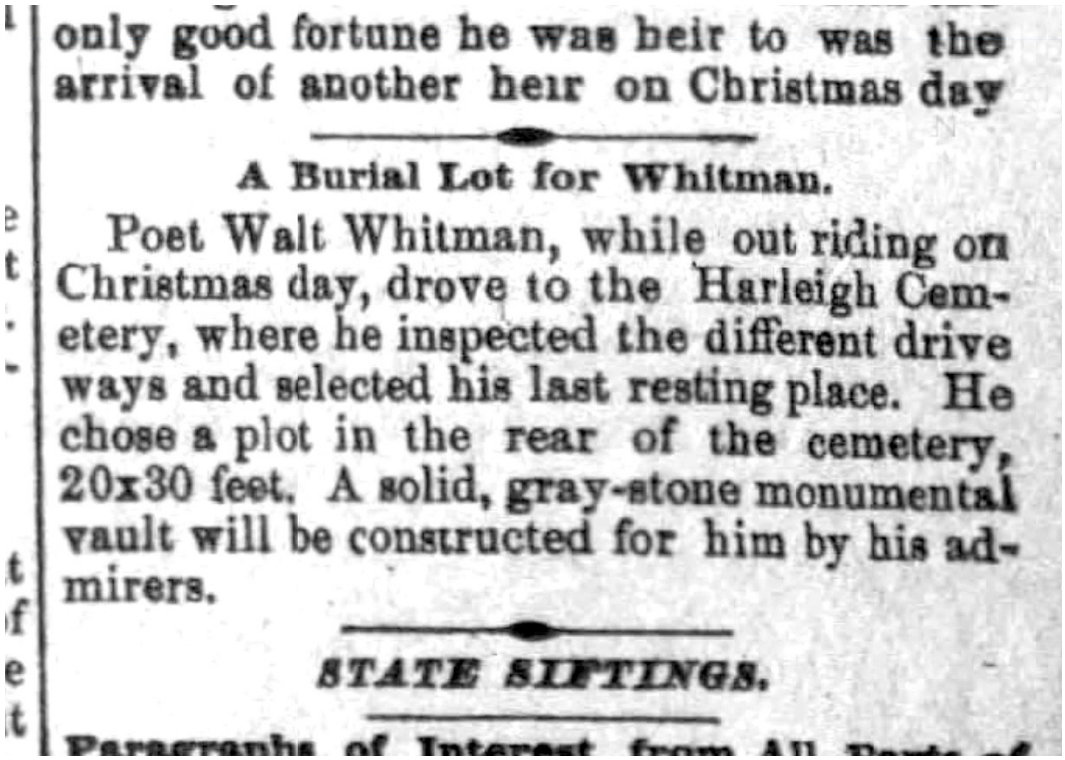


Figure 1: Walt Whitman Papers in the Charles E. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress: Miscellany, 1834-1918; Burial vault; Cemetery map.



only good fortune he was heir to was the arrival of another heir on Christmas day

A Burial Lot for Whitman.

Poet Walt Whitman, while out riding on Christmas day, drove to the Harleigh Cemetery, where he inspected the different drive ways and selected his last resting place. He chose a plot in the rear of the cemetery, 20x30 feet. A solid, gray-stone monumental vault will be constructed for him by his admirers.

STATE SIFTINGS.

Figure 2: Camden *Daily Telegram* (Camden, New Jersey), Dec. 27, 1889.

Designing Whitman's Tomb

Early on, Whitman had envisioned his tomb as "a vault & capping all a plain massive stone temple (for want of a better descriptive word)."[42] While Whitman had the general design of the tomb in mind, the specific details were decided during a meeting Whitman had with the monument designer J. Reinhalter & Co. of Philadelphia. On July 23, 1890, Whitman wrote to Richard Maurice Bucke: "—Did I tell you that a monument designer, Phila: has bro't me a design for the Cemetary vault (do you remember Blake's 'Death'?)."[43] More than likely Reinhalter proposed a variation on William Blake's engraving, "Death's Door," and it caught Whitman's interest (figure 3).[44]

The solidity of Blake's square portal design for the entrance to the tomb may have appealed to Whitman. Blake's roughhewn square door with two columns on either side topped by a horizontal column was translated directly into the design for the entrance to Whitman's tomb. While there is no statuary on the top of Whitman's tomb, it possesses a triangular shape that conforms somewhat to the rocks on which the figure in Blake's illustration reclines. Later,

while visiting the cemetery, Whitman asked his good friend Nellie O'Connor, "'What do you think of it, Nellie?' Explaining, 'It comes from far back—way back—into the East into the earliest Greek. It was my own choice, after I had looked at all the elegant tombs—monuments.'"[45]

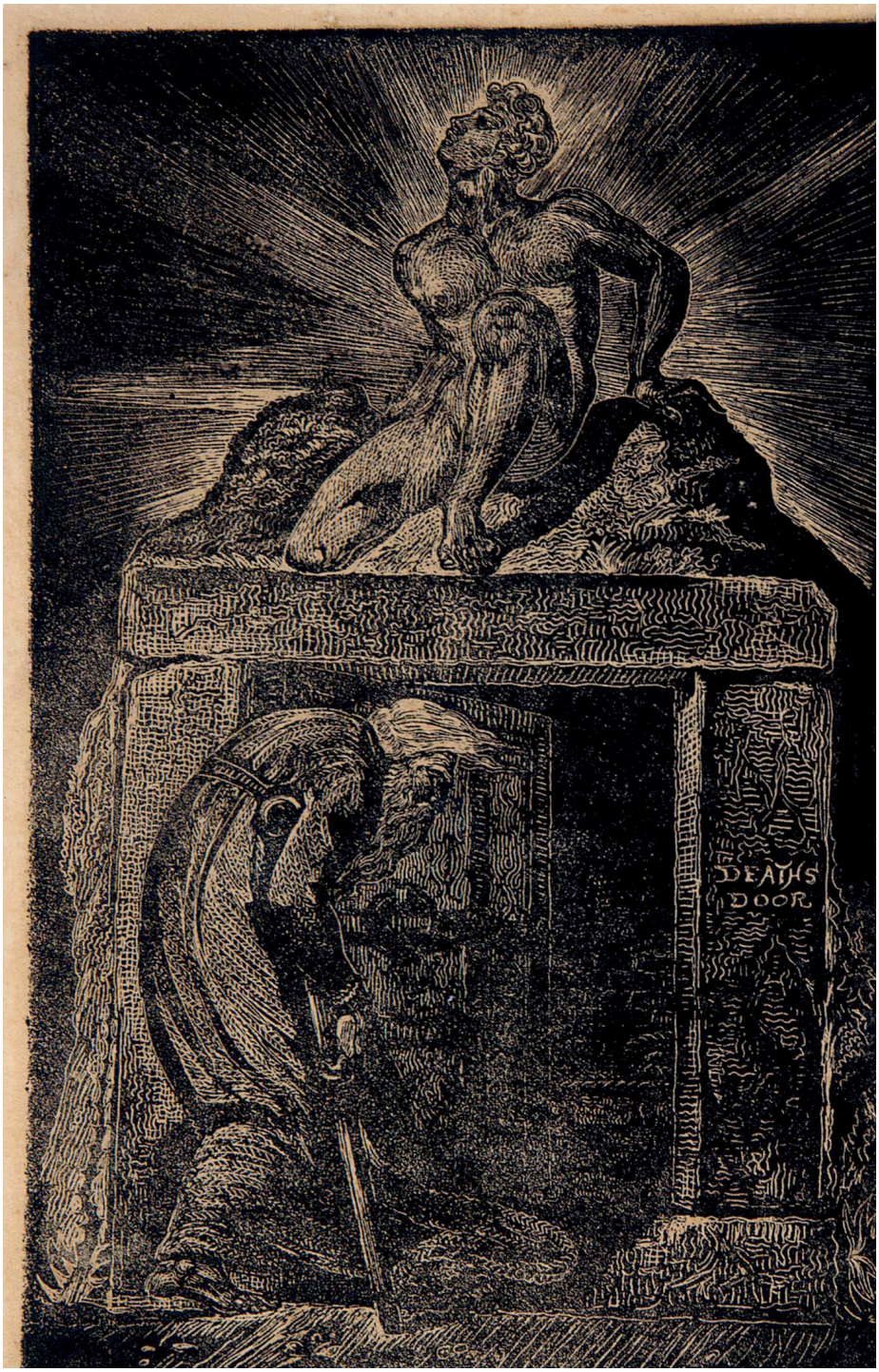


Figure 3: William Blake, "Deaths Door," composed 1805. Copy 1, 1805. Collection of Robert N. Essick.

Whitman's plans continued to develop in the next several weeks. In a letter to Richard Maurice Bucke dated September 29, 1890, Whitman describes a visit from Ralph Moore: "The cemetery Sup't: and monument architect have just been here to talk ab't and see me anent of the tomb—I enclose a (very hasty, crude) outline of it, as I have the idea & will probably direct it done—very plain and massive quite alone on a side (moderate) hill & trees—."[46] Included with this letter was Whitman's sketch of the tomb with specifications about the size of the lot, the material composition and design of the tomb, and its location. On the drawing Whitman wrote, "Harleigh Cemetery, Camden Co. New Jersey Walt Whitman's Burial Vault Lot 20 x 30 feet on a sloping wooded hill vault heavy undress'd Quincy Mass. grey granite—unornamental—size ab't 12 or 14 by 16 or 18 ft surroundings trees turf, sky a hill every thing crude & natural." Despite his disclaimer that the drawing was "very hasty, crude" Whitman took some care with it, using a blue pencil to outline its shape and a pencil to draw a door and to write neatly in cursive his name on two lines above the door. In black ink Whitman provided specific details about the scope of the tomb (figure 4). While smaller details in the design of the tomb continued to evolve over the next three years until Whitman's death, its temple-like structure remained.

On December 6, 1890, an extensive article about the tomb was published in the Camden *Daily Courier*, taking up nearly two full columns on the left-hand side of the front page. The article contains much factual information about how the tomb was taking shape and what materials were being used. After the article, a smaller piece titled "The Poet Talks" includes an interview with Whitman about why he chose the lot in Harleigh Cemetery. The article states incorrectly that the plot was presented to Whitman by friends, although it is possible that Whitman was alluding to Ralph Moore, the Cemetery Superintendent, as a friend. It also reports that Whitman changed some of the architectural plans; instead of granite, Whitman wanted "pressed brick" to line the outer sides of the tomb, despite Reinhalter's protests. The completed tomb was "intended to resemble the construction of the walls of King Solomon's temple," the reporter notes, and continues, "This style of tomb it is expected, will out-last the ordinary vaults or any monument ever constructed, and Mr. Whitman chose this design because it was unlike any ever shown him." The dimensions of the tomb and the materials used to construct it are also reported. The granite was quarried in Quincy, Massachusetts; some of the pieces weighed as much as ten tons. The article states the measurements of the opening ("three feet six inches by six feet"), the vestibule ("11 feet 3 inches wide, 7 feet deep and 8 feet high"), the catacombs "form apertures where the coffins are to be deposited." The design

was for eight coffins, four on the bottom row and four on the top. Whitman's coffin would be placed in the lower row between his parents. The interior space, including the space for the eight coffins, "would be 14 feet 3 inches deep and 11 feet 3 inches wide." The thickness of the marble used for the catacombs themselves was "unusual" because they were twice as thick (three inches instead of one and a half inches). On three sides of the tomb, the walls were to be eighteen inches thick; but the front side was to be two feet thick. The illustration that accompanies this article also shows the original intention for the outer area as one approaches the tomb, comprised of "large pieces of rock face or rustic granite in a semi-circular form." Ivy would be planted on these walls, "Mr. Whitman's idea being to screen all but the mausoleum itself from an outer view."

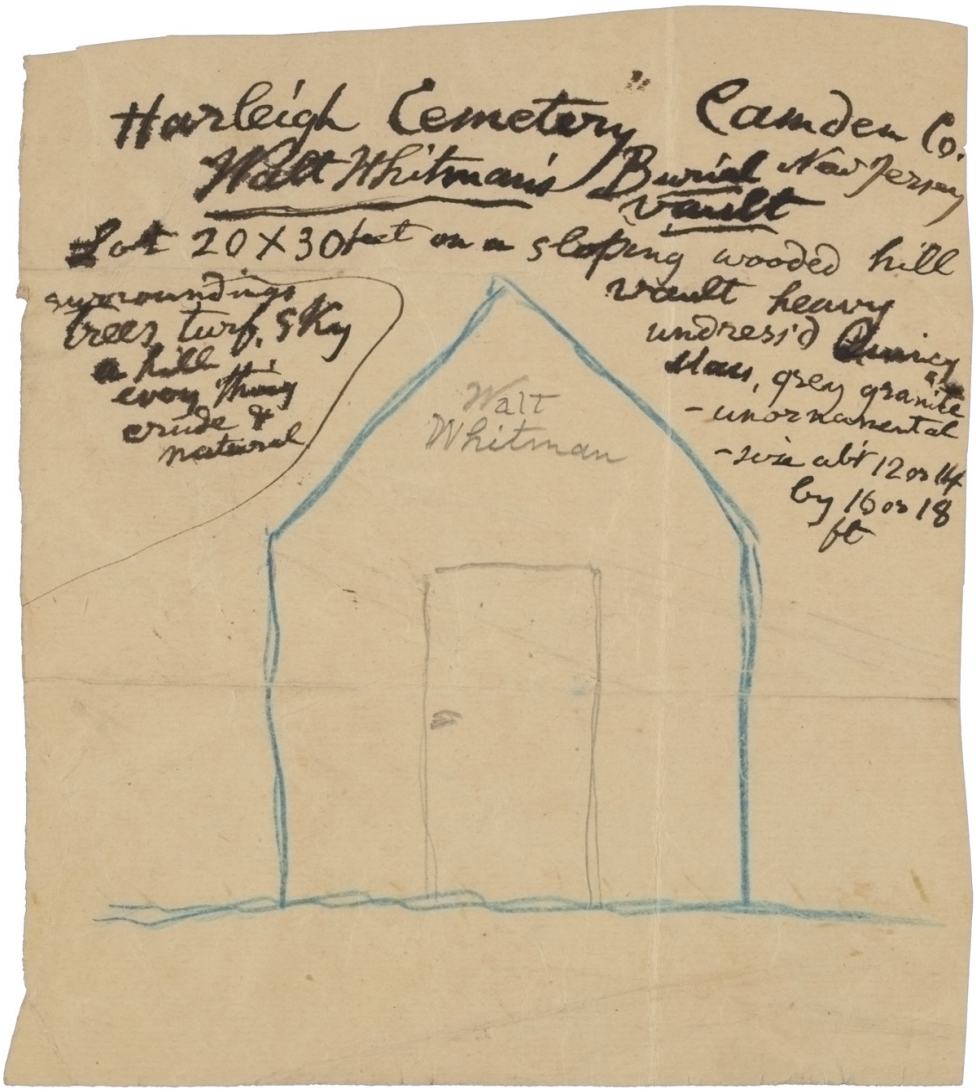


Figure 4: Walt Whitman Papers in the Charles E. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress: Miscellany, 1834-1918; Burial vault; Design and description.

The length of the article, its placement on the front page of the newspaper, and the accompanying illustration reveal that the citizens of Camden were interested in the construction of the tomb and in Whitman's responses as the tomb was taking shape.

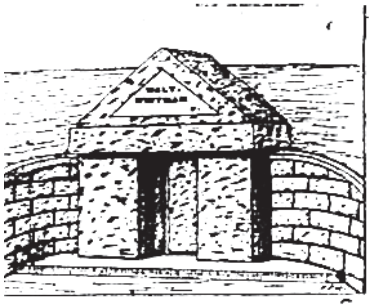
WALT. WHITMAN'S TOMB.

IE GOOD GRAY POET'S LAST RESTING PLACE DESCRIBED.

Handsome Mausoleum Being Constructed by the Reinholders, of Philadelphia—Like the Man Its Beauty Will be in Its Plainness.

Much has been said and published about 'he Good Grey Poet"—Walt Whitman i his burial place in the Harleigh Cemey. There nestling on the hillside, the ard kept green by a gurgling brook, eltered by an aged oak tree and its arled branches, and protected by a assive structure of granite the mortal reains of Camden's poet will rest until the nding of the trump on the last day. is plot of ground was presented to Mr. hitman by a number of his friends on ecent birthday and the style of the manoleum to be built for the reception of the et's body was selected on October 25th t, after great deliberation and changing the architectural plans, as they at first peared. One of the principal alterons by him and at the pro- t of Mr. P. Reinholder, the builder, s in the material for the sides of the nb. Originally they were intended to composed of granite like the balance of structure, but they will be lined with ssed brick, instead.

The four corners of the tomb, which will placed in a hillside are to be held toher by the granite interlocking, and no ls, bolts, screws or other fastenings will used to hold the immense pieces of nite in place, and when fashioned and t in position, it is intended to resemble construction of the walls of King Solon's temple. This style of tomb it is pected, will out-last the ordinary vaults any monument ever constructed, and Whitman chose this design because was unlike any of the others shown n.



THE MAUSOLEUM WHEN FINISHED.

He would not have any other if it was le of pure gold," said Mr. J. E. Reinler, of the firm of Reinholder & Co., of ladelphia, who are the builders. "We e one on hand, which we are construct- at a cost of $50,000, but I've no doubt The work may be completed during January, and the firm is hurrying it along as fast as possible.

The granite came from Quincy, Mass., and is now nearly all quaried and will be forwarded in about two weeks. Some of the stones used will weigh as much as ten tons. The base of the entire pile is made of one solid piece of granite which is 14 feet 3 inches long, 3 feet 6 inches wide and one foot in thickness. The ponderous weight of the structure, the front of which will reach 70 tons of granite, will be sufficient to hold it to the ground without the possible displacement of one single stone. The door of the tomb will weigh 2,200 pounds, and measures 4 feet 2 inches in width and 6 feet 4 inches in height. Like the balance of the work it is to be of granite, six inches in thickness, and will be swung on brass pivots, one end projecting into the floor and the other into the granite. Rollers of brass also go under the door to facilitate an easy and perfect motion to this guard to the tomb. A brass lock will fasten the door when shut. The bolt of the lock is 1½ inches square, and runs into the side of the doorway, fully two inches. The builders say that in all monumental work other metal than brass is never used because brass will defy rust and corrosion.

The opening by which the tomb is entered will be three feet six inches by six feet, in measurement, and several inches smaller than the door itself which swings inward and is only embedded into the front wall of the tomb when shut, and thus will make the inside perfectly air tight were it not for an opening in the coping or summit of the turret.

The vestibule is to be 11 feet 3 inches wide, 7 feet deep and 8 feet high. The sides of the vestibule will be brick, and the face of the inner front and back walls of polished marble.

The catacombs are to be made after a very heavy type in keeping with the balance of the workmanship. They form apertures where the coffins will be deposited, and will be eight in number. Four of them will be placed side by side, 1 foot 4 inches from the floor with one end of each touching the rear end of the tomb. The remaining four are to be placed immediately over the lower tier and the top of the lower will serve for the floor of the upper. The upper tier of the higher catacombs will be 1 foot 4 inches from the ceiling of the tomb. Counting the space allotted for the eight catacombs the size of the inside of the tomb would be 14 feet 3 inches deep and 11 feet 3 inches wide. The marble of which the catacombs are to be made is 3 inches in thickness, and considered something unusual. The firm say the thickness of the marble never in ordinary cases exceeds one or one and a half inches in thickness. These apertures or caves are also extraordinarily large and measure inside two feet six inches wide, two feet four inches high, seven feet deep. After a body is interred in a catacomb the opening facing toward the entrance will be closed with a polished marble slab, cut square and fastened in place with cement. In other tombs the catacombs are usually closed by a similar slab, but are fastened by cleats.

The walls on three sides of the tomb will be eighteen inches thick, but the front is to be much thicker and will measure two feet. It consists of five pieces and the door, each piece weighing from six to ten tons. The smallest stone in the entire

The roof, built of granite, will slant from the height of the wall to an angle of nine degrees, and will be formed of five pieces, eighteen inches in thickness.

No windows will be inserted in the walls of the structure, and the only light will be received through the thick glass coping which is to surmount the circular turret. The ventilation will be secured through six holes each one inch in diameter, which are drilled through the granite turret near the top, at equal distances from each other. The diameter of the turret will be 18 inches inside and the thickness the same as that of the sides of the tomb. The height of the turret will be about 4 feet and it will be constructed of the same kind of granite as the balance.

The approaches to the tomb will be built of large pieces of rock face or rustic granite in a semi-circular form, closing up to the sides of the mansoleum. They extend to the roof and will prevent the earth crumbling from the excavation in which the tomb is to be embedded. After the structure is completed and put in place ivy vines will be planted around the approaches, Mr. Whitman's idea being to screen all but the mansoleum itself from an outer view.

THE POET TALKS.

A "Courier" Reporter Has a Chat With Mr. Whitman About the Tomb.

Mr. Whitman was seen Thursday evening in his library by a Courier reporter, whose hand he heartily shook as he motioned him to a chair.

"One minute now," said he, "anybody else but a newspaper man could wait."

The venerable poet was thanked for the honor and an inquiry made after his health.

"Oh!" laughed he, with one of his mild exclamations, so well known to those who are acquainted with him, "I've got the grip and a number of maladies, but you may say that nothing serious is impending."

Gradually the conversation drifted upon the grave plot at the Harleigh Cemetery and Mr. Whitman expressed himself as follows:

"I selected the plot of ground because of its natural location. Yes, I love nature and places where nature shows itself and not so much artificial work. Not far away runs a country road and near by are several trees—oak and hickory—the hickory trees are about thirty years old and lusty. There is a natural cave on the incline of the hill and in that natural cave will be placed the tomb."

The reporter's minute was up and the aged poet was bidden good night.

Figure 5: *Camden Daily Courier* (Camden, New Jersey), January 6, 1890.

The language that Whitman used to describe his tomb in his letters to friends changed gradually from "vault" to "burial house" to "tomb." Even before he met with the designer, he had definite ideas about what he wanted. In letters to Richard Maurice Bucke, he writes, "think of a vault & capping all a plain massive stone temple, (for want of a better descriptive word)" (December 25, 1889); four months later he retains the words "plain" and "vault": "I rather think I shall have a plain strong stone vault merely made for the present—" (April 28, 1890).[47] In July 1890 Whitman writes that he met the "monument designer" and for the first time mentions "a design for the Cemetary vault (do you remember Blake's 'Death'?)"[48] In September 1890 to John H. Johnston, he reports, "I am writing a little annex (the 2d) to L of G. & giving out the design of my burial vault."[49] In a series of letters to Bucke, Whitman describes his evolving ideas about the tomb. On September 29, 1890, he writes, "I have the idea & will probably direct it done—very plain & massive quite alone on a side (moderate) hill & trees—."[50] On October 2, 1890, he writes, "they have commenced the tomb, broke ground yesterday & will build the vault proper—the stone quarried at Quincy Mass."[51] On October 25, 1890, he notes, "have signed & sent the contract . . . for my *burial house* in Harleigh Cemetery—."[52] On May 5, 1891, he writes, "had to be led assisted every movement, to see the tomb—it is well advanced is a hefty very unornamental affair not easily described—is satisfactory to me & will be to you—."[53] On May 23, 1891, he writes, "the burial house in Harleigh well toward finished—."[54] On June 4, 1891 he describes it as "the rudest most undress'd structure (with an idea)—since Egypt, perhaps the cave dwellers—."[55] Once the construction of the tomb was done, Whitman was eager to send out photos to his friends. On June 27, 1891, he writes, "(I believe tomb finish'd)—soon as I get good pic't. will send you"[56]; on July 18, 1891: "Was out yesterday to my tomb in Harleigh Cemetery (will send you a sort of photo soon)"[57]; on July 31, 1891, "Have you rec'd the tomb photos? Its best investment—vines creepers &c. —are yet to come."[58] [To Dr. John Johnston, Corr. 5:232]. From December 1889 until October 1890, Whitman consistently uses the word "vault"; after October 1890, he uses the word "burial house" twice, but more often uses the word "tomb." Kaplan suggests that "tomb" may be a slant reference to the New Testament and the burial of Christ,[59] but it appears that the shift in terminology is related to Whitman's meetings with the monument designers and to his developing understanding of how the actual burial place would look within the context of the natural setting.

On Saturday, May 20, 1891, Whitman, Bucke (who was visiting), Traubel, and Warren Fritzinger (Whitman's attendant) went to Harleigh Cemetery. In his entry for this date, Traubel included a crude sketch of just the pediment of the tomb; Ed Folsom notes that this drawing may be by Traubel (figure 6).[60]

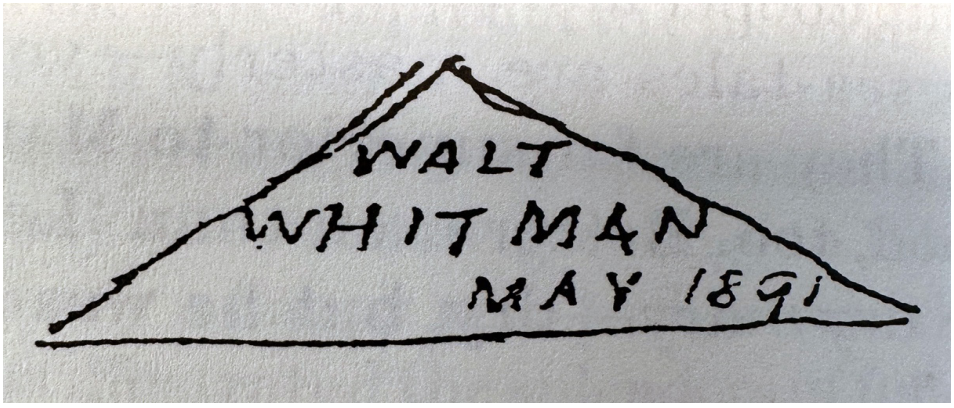


Figure 6*: WWWC*, 8:245.

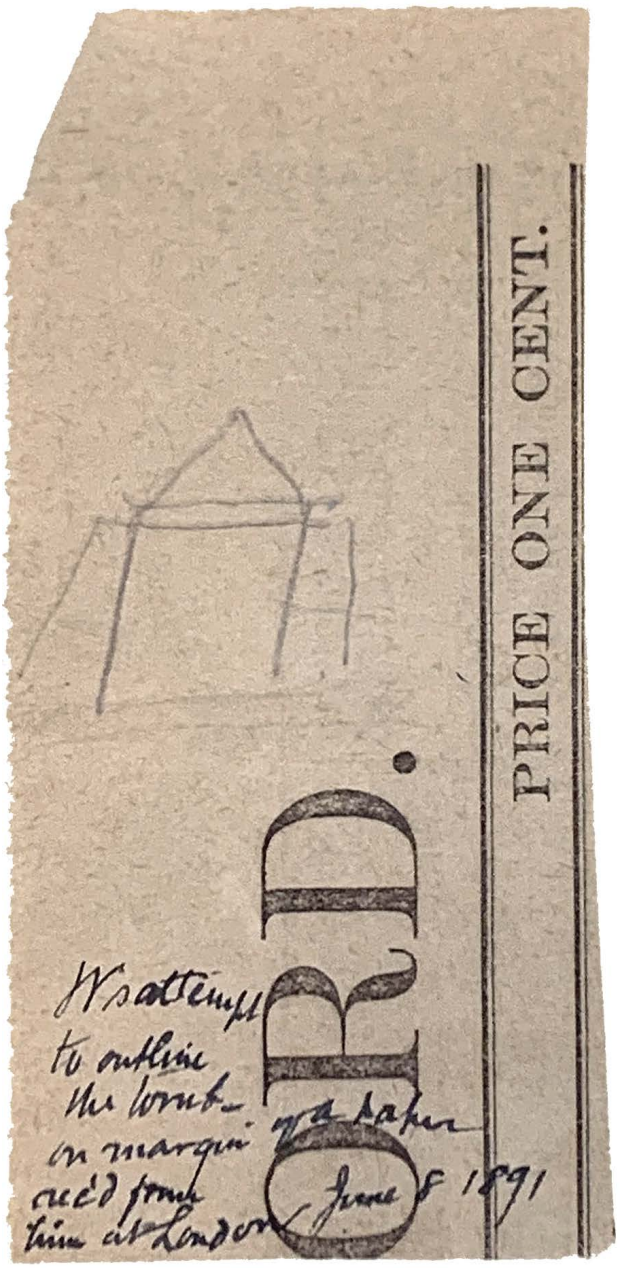


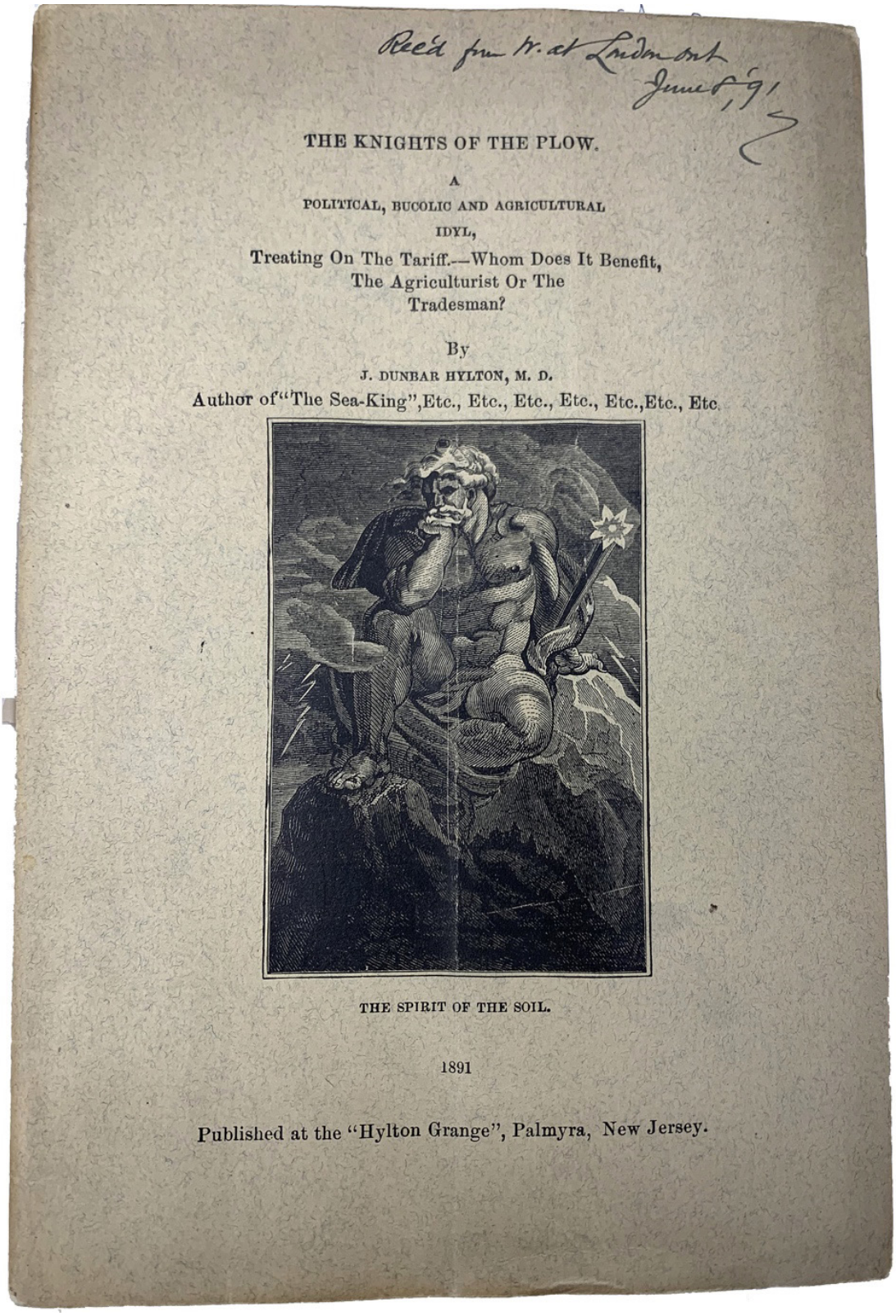
Figure 7: Horace Traubel and Anne Montgomerie Traubel Papers, 1824-1979, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

On seeing the tomb, Whitman told his friends, "'My first look is unfavorable—somehow, my printer's eye has been offended. I am not satisfied with it, yet cannot say why.'"[61] Bucke and Traubel did not like the date below Whitman's name, and after some conversation, Whitman ultimately agreed with them, "declaring, 'Let it go—it might as well—it is an easy matter—let it go!'"[62] Fritzinger reported in a letter to Traubel on June 8th that the date had been "chipped off."[63] That week, Traubel and his wife Anne were visiting Bucke in Ontario, Canada. In a letter to Traubel, Whitman enclosed two pencil sketches that he had made of the tomb, perhaps to show what it looked like after the date was removed. The first sketch, on a newspaper clipping, is very crude but captures the basic shape of the tomb. The handwriting on the clipping (in ink) is Traubel's; he writes, "Ws attempt to outline the tomb. on margin of a paper rec'd from him at London June 8 1891." The second drawing was made on the back of a pamphlet titled "The Knights of the Plow." Traubel notes again the date of June 8, 1891, and the location of London, Ontario, Canada, where Traubel was then visiting Bucke.

The pencil drawing in figure 9 has additional detail: the shape of the tomb is captured more accurately, and its natural setting is sketched in, as is what appears to be Whitman's last name only. Compared to Figure 4, in these sketches the influence of Blake's "Deaths Door" on the structural outline of the tomb is more evident.

Dr. William Reeder, who had taken photos of Whitman in his Mickle Street home in May of 1891, went to Harleigh Cemetery on June 27 to take pictures of the tomb as it was being completed.[64] Whitman had ideas about what kind of photographs of the tomb he wanted and the best time of day for it. He instructed Reeder: "'We don't want a picture of the bare tomb—we want all that goes with it—air, trees, a bit of sky, the hill. . . . The morning is the best time for the tomb,' he said. 'There is better light—'"[65] Nevertheless, Traubel, Reeder, and Whitman's physician, Dr. Daniel Longaker,[66] walked to Harleigh Cemetery in the late afternoon (after 4 p.m.) that same day. While there, Traubel notes, they "met Moore"—Ralph Moore, the Harleigh Cemetery Superintendent. When Whitman received a copy of this photograph on July 8, Traubel notes:

> How he seemed to enjoy it! 'Certainly it is much better than I expected it could be, *much* better. . . . Reeder is quite an artist—I can see that point of view was studied with great care—taste, too, and a good eye! . . . Well, order 20, we can use all of them. There is even a charm about this picture—even its vague, misty lines seem to suggest an atmosphere—rich, quite rich, with traces of the setting sun. Indeed, Horace, I consider this a success.'[67]



Rec'd from H. at Lindmont
June 6, '91

THE KNIGHTS OF THE PLOW.

A

POLITICAL, BUCOLIC AND AGRICULTURAL

IDYL,

Treating On The Tariff.—Whom Does It Benefit,
The Agriculturist Or The
Tradesman?

By

J. DUNBAR HYLTON, M. D.

Author of "The Sea-King", Etc., Etc., Etc., Etc., Etc., Etc., Etc.

THE SPIRIT OF THE SOIL.

1891

Published at the "Hylton Grange", Palmyra, New Jersey.

Figure 8: Horace Traubel and Anne Montgomerie Traubel Papers, 1824-1979, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Figure 9: Horace Traubel and Anne Montgomerie Traubel Papers, 1824-1979, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Whitman had specific ideas of what the copies should look like. He wrote directly on the plain yellow wrapper that accompanied the photo:

To head plate printer Can't you make me a photo: cut round plain round like a full moon or silver dollar & mounted on ab't this size card—of wh' this is a (crude) suggestion & sample? [on superimposed paper] put lines at bottom of photo & show taste in space—not too near, & not too low. After printing six (6) with the line "U S America" take out the line & print the rest (14) without it (the photographer Dr. Reeder, says the plate will show better by being printed middling light—I leave all that to y'r taste & judgment) –WW

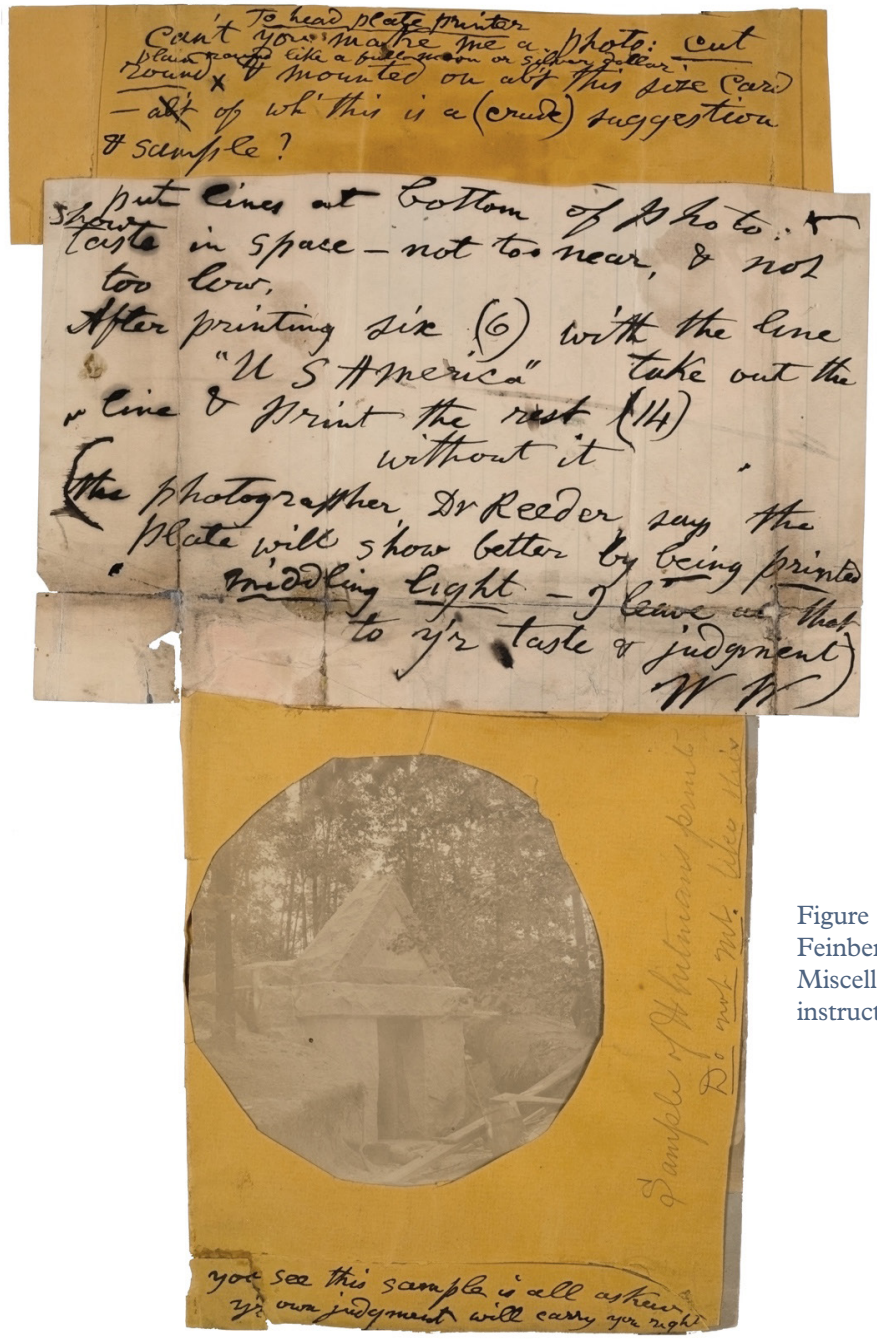


Figure 10: Walt Whitman Papers in the Charles E. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress: Miscellany, 1834-1918; Burial vault; Printer's instructions with notes.

Under the photo Whitman writes, "you see this sample is all askew y'r own judgment will carry you right." On the right side of photo, in what appears to be Reeder's handwriting: "Sample of Whitmans print Do not mt. like this." Figure 11 shows the reverse side of the photograph and a yellow wrapper. Whitman used the reverse side of a letter from an admirer in Chicago requesting a book to write instructions to the printer. Figure 12 is the rest of the yellow wrapper, with Whitman's directions, "To Head Plate Printer, and lightly penciled in "July 13 1891" as well as, in ink "see note July 13 1891." A close up of just the photograph shows Moore's right leg; he had been present when Reeder, Traubel, and Longaker visited the cemetery. Whitman noticed Moore's leg and commented on it to Traubel: "He examined the picture a long time. Merry over my face, lost almost in the trees on the hill. Moore's knee, too, exposed from the trunk of a tree."[68] Looking carefully at the inset photograph, Traubel's face can be seen to the right of the crossbeam at the base of the triangle, and Moore's right leg and knee can be seen further right, near the trunk of the tree (figure 13).

Figure 11: Walt Whitman Papers in the Charles E. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress: Miscellany, 1834-1918; Burial vault; Printer's instructions with notes.

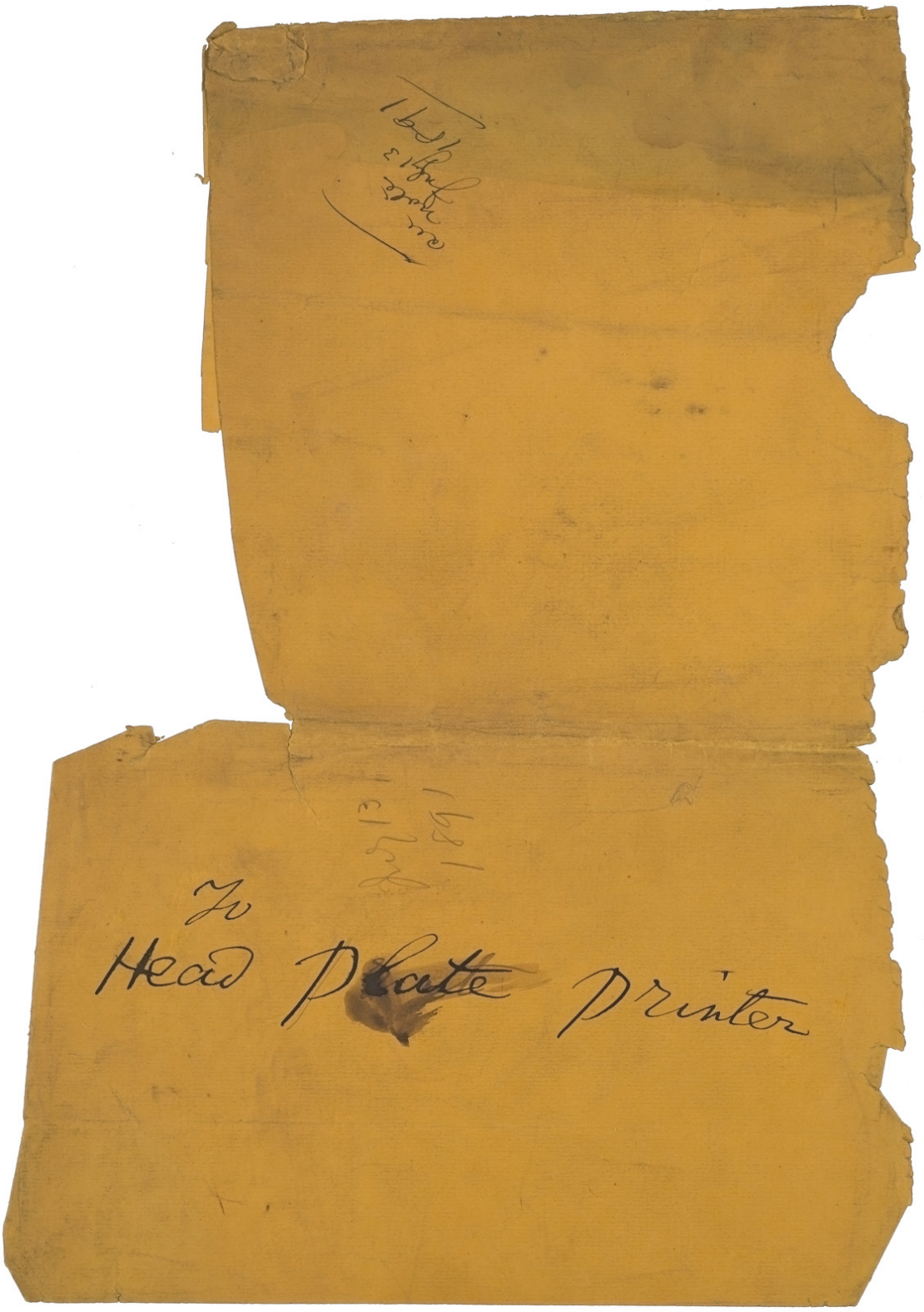


Figure 12: Walt Whitman Papers in the Charles E. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress: Miscellany, 1834-1918; Burial vault; Printer's instructions with notes.

Figure 13: Walt Whitman Papers in the Charles E. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress: Miscellany, 1834-1918; Burial vault; Printer's instructions with notes.

Contract Controversy

Moore met up with Traubel at the cemetery, however, because he wanted to present Whitman with a bill for the tomb. Traubel notes, "What he really wished to see us about was the payment—whether the money could not be raised among W.'s friends. Showed me contract for $4,678. Thought that would pinch W., etc."[69] The controversy over the exact cost as agreed to by Whitman and the Reinhalters would continue to cause concern for Whitman and for his friends until shortly before Whitman died. As the receipt in figure 14 shows, Whitman paid two sums to the Reinhalters: $500 (May 12, 1891) and $1,000 (July 10, 1891). The receipt information is written in Whitman's handwriting and dated thirteen days after Moore first approached Traubel (June 27, 1891). P. Reinhalter signed the receipt on July 10, but that same day also presented Whitman with the final bill for the full amount. Whitman told Traubel, "'The bill staggered me. I had expected a matter of a couple of thousand dollars, but this is literally a stunner. But,' after a pause, 'the job pleases me—it is done as I wanted it done, and that is about all I can ask.'"[70]

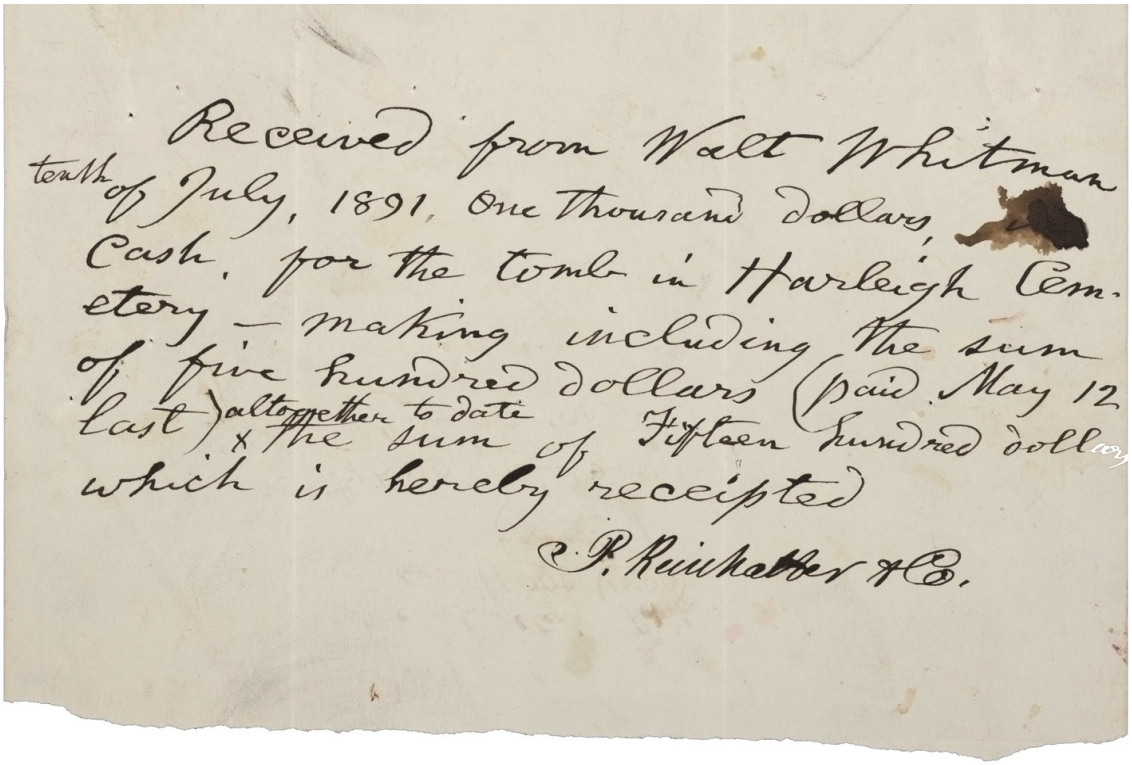

Received from Walt Whitman
tenth of July, 1891, One Thousand dollars,
Cash, for the tomb in Harleigh Cem-
etery — making including the sum
of five hundred dollars (paid May 12
last) altogether to date
the sum of Fifteen hundred dollars
which is hereby receipted
E. P. Reinhalter & Co.

Figure 14 Walt Whitman Papers in the Charles E. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress: Miscellany, 1834-1918; Burial vault; Receipt.

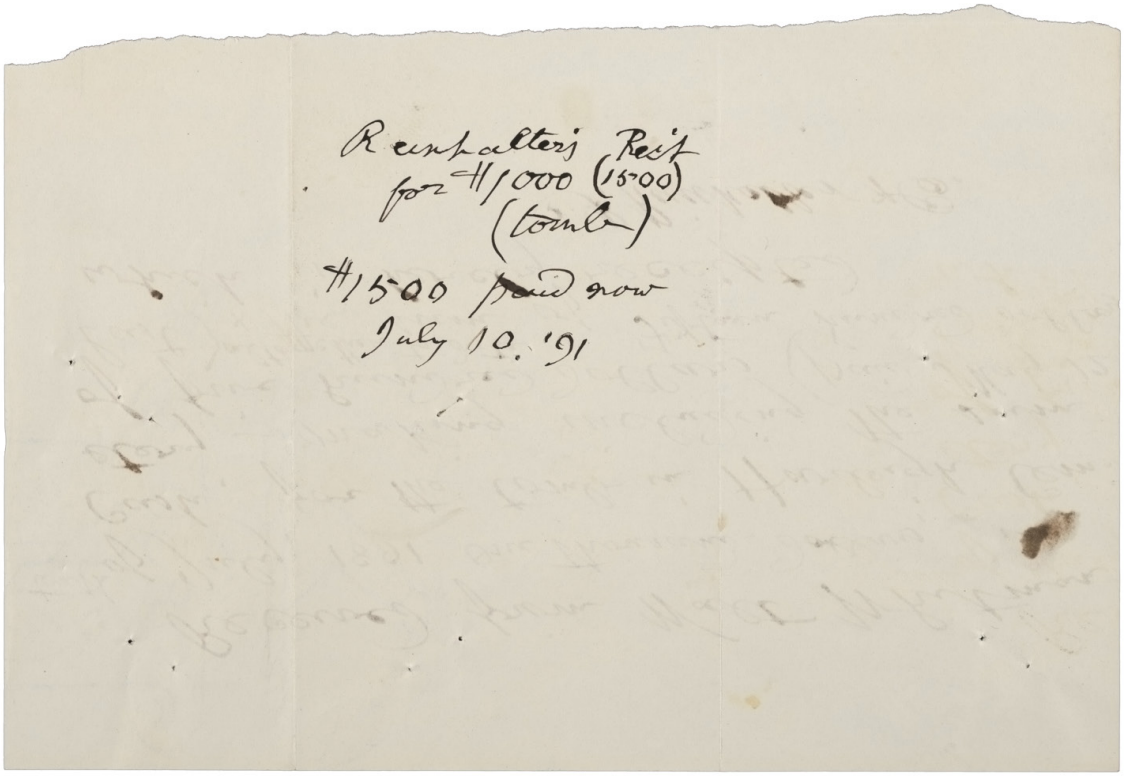

Reinhalters Rect
for $1000 (15-00)
(tomb)
$15-00 paid now
July 10. '91

Figure 15: Walt Whitman Papers in the Charles E. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress: Miscellany, 1834-1918; Burial vault; Receipt.

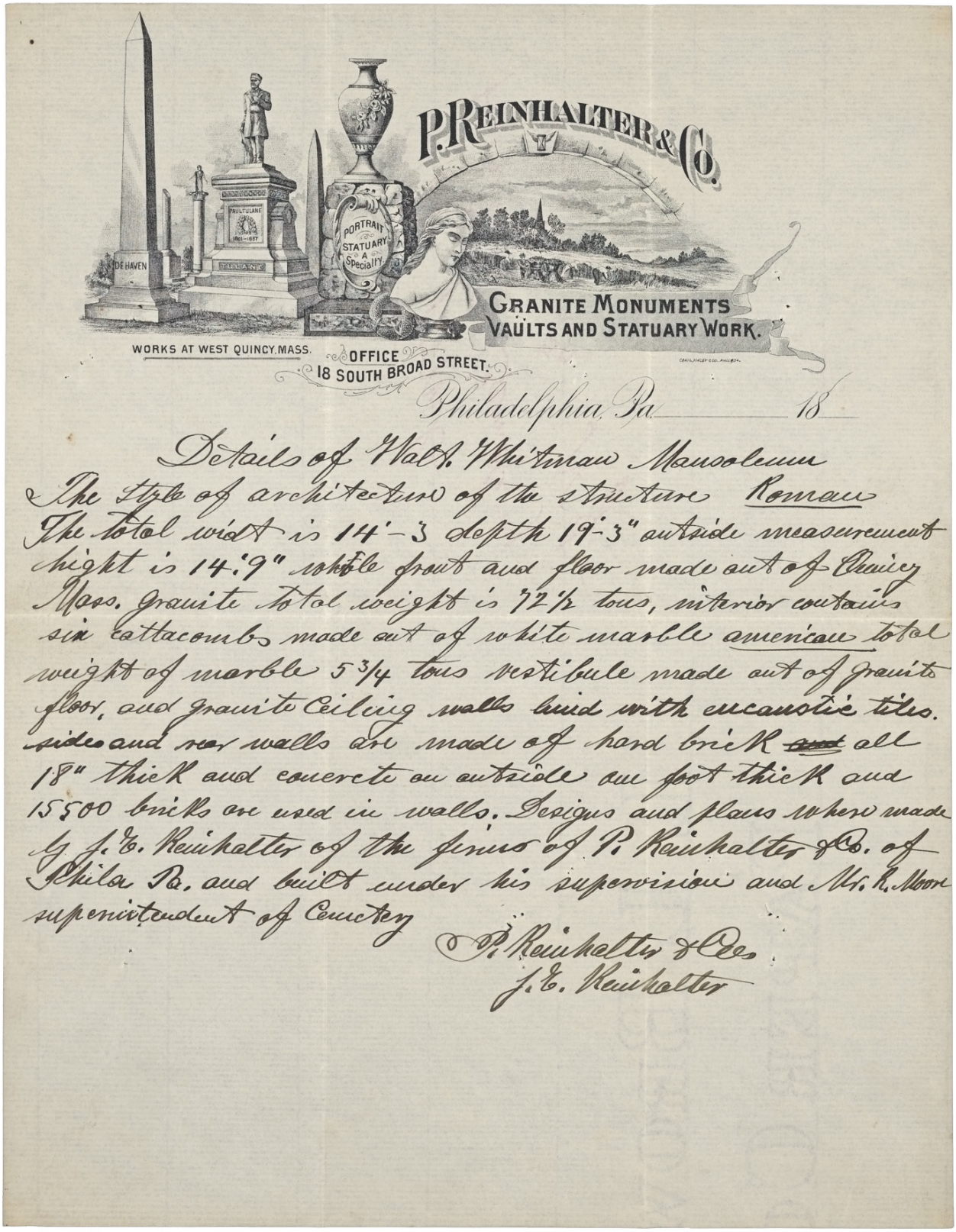


Figure 16: Walt Whitman Papers in the Charles E. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress: Miscellany, 1834-1918; Burial vault; Design and description.

Below is Reinhalter's description of the construction of the tomb, titled "Details of Walt Whitman Mausoleum" (figure 16). The document states:

The style of architecture of the structure *Roman* The total width is 14'–3 depth 17'–3" outside measurement hight [sic] is 14'.9" whole front and floor made out of Quincy Mass. Granite total weight is 72 ½ tons, interior contains six cattacombs [sic] made out of white marble *american* total weight of marble 5 ¾ tons vestibule made out of granite floor, and granite Ceiling walls lined with encaustic tiles. Sides and rear walls are made of hard brick all 18" thick and concrete on outside one foot thick and 15500 bricks are used in walls. Designs and plans where [sic] made by J.E. Reinhalter of the firm of P. Reinhalter & Co. of Phila Pa and built under his supervision and Mr. R. Moore superintendent of Cemetery

P. Reinhalter & Co.

J.E. Reinhalter

Significantly, this document is not dated, nor does it contain any information about what Reinhalter would charge for the work. It may have been crafted earlier in the construction process because there are eight catacombs, not six as indicated in this document, in the tomb.

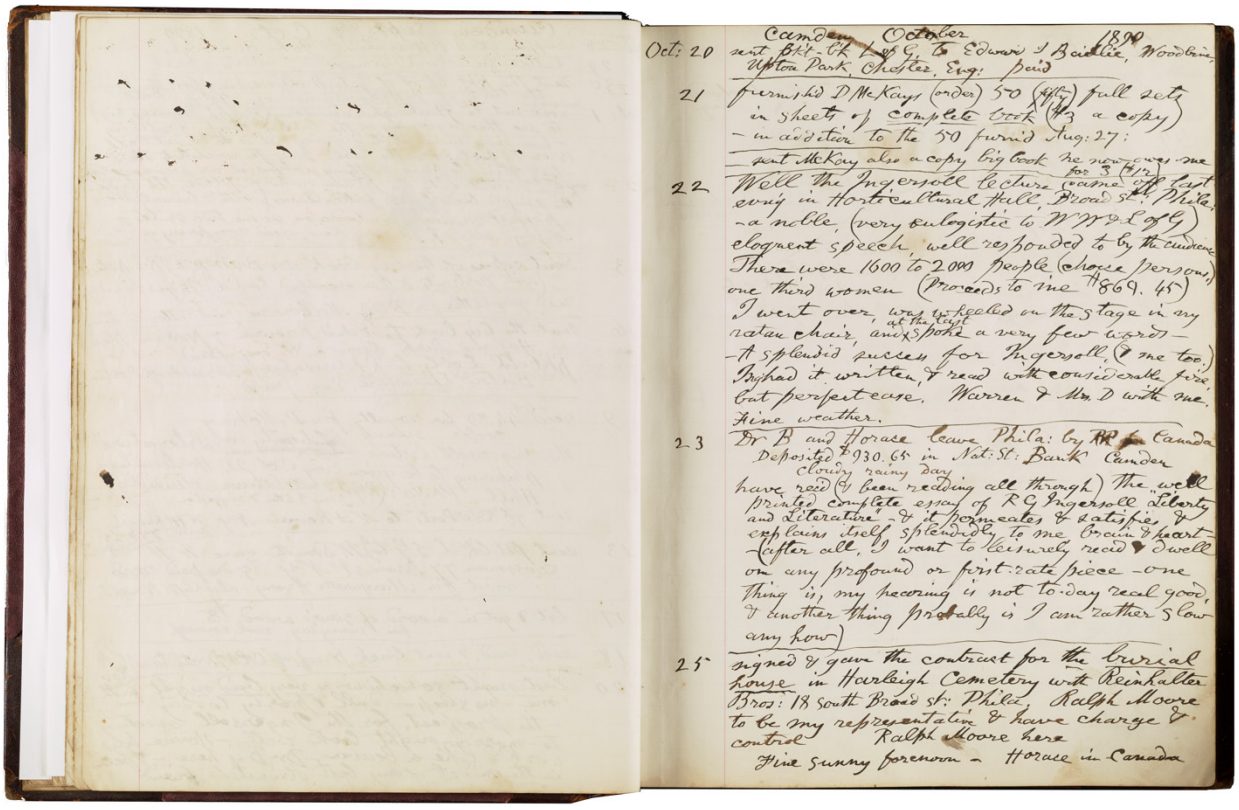
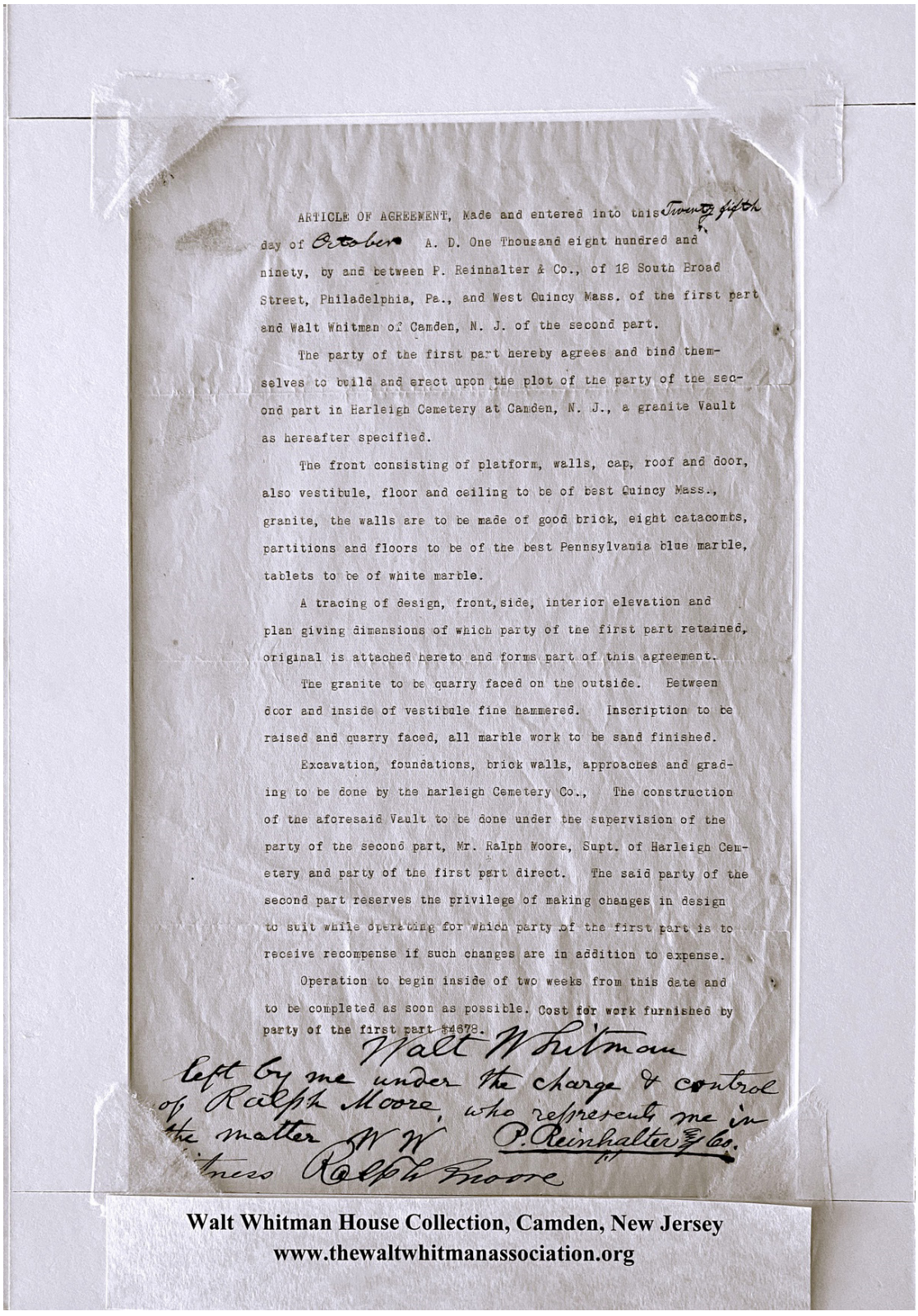


Figure 17: Walt Whitman Papers in the Charles E. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress: Diaries, Diary Notes, and Address Books, 1863-1891; Diaries; 1876 to 1891, commonplace books.

Whitman had signed a contract with Reinhalter on October 25, 1890, nearly nine months before he was presented with the final bill, according to an entry in his commonplace book (figure 17). Whitman writes, "signed & gave the contract for *the burial house* in Harleigh Cemetery with Reinhalter Bros: 18 South Broad st: Phila. Ralph Moore to be my representative & have charge & control Ralph Moore here Fine sunny forenoon – Horace in Canada." That Traubel was not present at the signing of the contract is significant. As this entry indicates, Traubel was in Canada[71] when Whitman signed the contract and so did not witness the signing; therefore, Traubel likely did not read or see the contract. Whitman states that Ralph Moore was to be his "representative" and "have charge & control," but it is not clear what type of authority Moore had been given and what kind of "control" he could exercise. Whitman used the same language in a letter to Richard Maurice Bucke dated October 25, 1890: "have signed & sent the contract with Rheinhalter [sic] Bros: 18 Broad st: Phila: architects &c: for my *burial house* in Harleigh Cemetery—Ralph Moore to have control & charge under my name & be my representative."[72] Viewing the contract that Whitman signed, however, it is clear that a line has been inserted at the end of the typed document and above Walt Whitman's signature (figure 18). As this image shows, the last typed sentence of the contract, "Cost for work furnished by party of the first part $4678," appears to have been added *after* Walt Whitman signed the document. A closer look reveals that the sentence that begins with "Cost" is slightly lower than the sentence that precedes it. The usual amount of space between the end of one sentence and the next has been shortened from two or three spaces throughout the document to one space ("possible. Cost"), and the word "party" slightly obtrudes onto the left hand margin. However, the most convincing evidence that the line has been added is the space between the lines in the preceding text. In the contract, the lines are 1/2 inch apart, but the inserted sentence is 7/16 of an inch from the line above it. Had the line been inserted at 1/2 inch, it would have cut across Whitman's signature. As it is, the section of the line that reads "the first part $4678" partly intersects with the "W" of "Walt" in Whitman's signature.[73]

On November 20, 1891, Whitman told Traubel that Thomas Harned had gone to see the Reinhalters, and "made them confess they had inserted that paragraph about the price—actually drove them to the wall, and made Reinhalter own up to that. What a petty fraud it was meant to be! They had the contract with them."[74] Until this time, Whitman had thought highly of the Cemetery Superintendent Ralph Moore. However, while Moore may not have collaborated in the deception, Whitman told Traubel, "it *does* look bad for Ralph, too, when we know he held the contract and must have known the tricks it was up to."[75]



ARTICLE OF AGREEMENT, Made and entered into this Twenty fifth day of October A. D. One Thousand eight hundred and ninety, by and between P. Reinhalter & Co., of 18 South Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pa., and West Quincy Mass. of the first part and Walt Whitman of Camden, N. J. of the second part.

The party of the first part hereby agrees and bind themselves to build and erect upon the plot of the party of the second part in Harleigh Cemetery at Camden, N. J., a granite Vault as hereafter specified.

The front consisting of platform, walls, cap, roof and door, also vestibule, floor and ceiling to be of best Quincy Mass., granite, the walls are to be made of good brick, eight catacombs, partitions and floors to be of the best Pennsylvania blue marble, tablets to be of white marble.

A tracing of design, front, side, interior elevation and plan giving dimensions of which party of the first part retained, original is attached hereto and forms part of this agreement.

The granite to be quarry faced on the outside. Between door and inside of vestibule fine hammered. Inscription to be raised and quarry faced, all marble work to be sand finished.

Excavation, foundations, brick walls, approaches and grading to be done by the Harleigh Cemetery Co., The construction of the aforesaid Vault to be done under the supervision of the party of the second part, Mr. Ralph Moore, Supt. of Harleigh Cemetery and party of the first part direct. The said party of the second part reserves the privilege of making changes in design to suit while operating for which party of the first part is to receive recompense if such changes are in addition to expense.

Operation to begin inside of two weeks from this date and to be completed as soon as possible. Cost for work furnished by party of the first part $4678.

Walt Whitman

Left by me under the charge & control of Ralph Moore who represents me in the matter W W

P. Reinhalter & Co.

Witness Ralph Moore

Walt Whitman House Collection, Camden, New Jersey
www.thewaltwhitmanassociation.org

Figure 18: Conservation photograph of the October 25, 1890, Tomb Construction Contract between Walt Whitman and the P. Reinhalter & Co. monument engineering firm of Philadelphia, PA. Witnessed by Ralph A. Moore, Manager, Harleigh Cemetery, Camden NJ. Courtesy, Walt Whitman House, Camden, NJ.

Whitman made out a check to the Reinhalters for $1500 and gave it to Harned, bringing the total up to $3000, although Harned did not turn the check over to the Reinhalters until months later. Nevertheless, Whitman felt somewhat vindicated. He told Traubel, "'You see now that my memory served me well this time: I did not sign that document—not, at least, as it stands.'"[76] Later that same day Traubel met with Harned, who described the Reinhalters as "damned buggers! I said to them—'You ought to be ashamed of yourself, to drive this old man to the wall, to worry him. . . .' By God! With their admission of the fraud, I had them right in my fist and I made 'em squirm."[77] A few weeks later, Harned told the Reinhalters and Moore that unless the matter was settled equitably, the tomb would be deserted: "let it stand there unused—even bury Walt somewhere else."[78]

The check that Whitman had written to the Reinhalters for $1500 was still in Harned's possession and still uncashed as of January 27, 1892, Traubel notes, adding that Whitman's bank account "shows over $5000."[79] The Reinhalters delayed settling the bill as long as possible; in late February 1892, Traubel and Harned agreed that "evidently [they] have been waiting for W. to die, but as he is in no hurry about that, and they are under financial pressures, they are forced to initiate some proceedings looking towards settlement."[80] The next day, exactly one month before Whitman's death, the matter was concluded. The Reinhalters agreed to accept the $1500 check from Whitman plus $1000 from Harned (which he would later collect from Whitman's estate) for a total of $4000.[81] Traubel and Harned concurred that burdening Whitman with the details would not be necessary. Three weeks later, on March 18, 1892, Whitman told Traubel, "'I guess Tom cleaned it all out without any heavings of dirt.'"[82] Whitman died one week after this comment, on March 26, 1892. Four days later, his funeral service was held at Harleigh Cemetery.

Parting Thoughts

In mid-November 1891, Whitman had told Traubel, "The tomb was built for a specific purpose—a purpose clear in my own mind, however it may have been mysterious to other people."[83] While friends, critics, biographers, and admirers of Whitman were mystified by Whitman's elaborate above-ground tomb, in his last years he possessed a vision for where his tomb should be located, its design, and, perhaps, its ultimate purpose: an imposing yet understated presence.

Figure 18 Walt Whitman's Tomb, Harleigh Cemetery, Camden, New Jersey. Photo taken by Maire Mullins, May 20, 2017.

His proximity to Harleigh Cemetery during the last years of his life allowed him to choose the lot, design the tomb, and observe its construction. This choice was not merely a pragmatic one but allowed the hands-on poet to co-create his final statement to the world. The sheer scale and cost of the tomb were matters of concern even during Whitman's lifetime, but Whitman's decisions about his "burial house" have, it seems, been vindicated: the tomb has become a place of pilgrimage for admirers of Whitman.

Many of the Whitmanites reading this essay will have experienced an encounter with the poet's tomb (or, at least, can imagine such an encounter). Standing in front of the tomb at Harleigh Cemetary (figure 19), it becomes clear that the site accomplishes the kind of communication across death that Whitman celebrated in this poetry. Whether it be stone or page—who touches this, touches a man. Tracing the site's complex history in no way diminishes this intimate effect. Instead, it suggests that Whitman's last act of autobiographical editing discloses the same care that his readers relish in *Leaves of Grass*.

Whitman's final statement was carefully plotted and long in the making. Consequently, it needed a title, just like his other poems. So, Whitman nicknamed his tomb "Beth." He explained his choice to Traubel, "'You see,' he said, 'I have given it a name. Has it music, sense? *Beth*, you know, generically, means the unseen, the way up, mystery. And that fixes us a near-enough significance.'"

Pepperdine University

Notes

1 Walt Whitman to Dr. William M. Reeder, as reported by Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, 9 vols. (various publishers, 1906-1996), 8:290, entry for June 27, 1890 (hereafter *WWWC*).

2 Whitman mentions driving out to Harleigh Cemetery in a letter to Richard Maurice Bucke dated December 7, 1889: "have just been out an hour or two, a drive in a smooth cab in the rural roads & to Harleigh Cemetery." Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (whitmanarchive.org), ID: loc.07737 (hereafter *WWA*). Later, Whitman refers to his "*burial house*" in a letter to Richard Maurice Bucke, October 25, 1890. *WWA*, ID: loc.07850.

3 See Bliss Perry, *Walt Whitman: His Life and Work* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1906); George R. Carpenter, *Walt Whitman* (New York: MacMillan, 1909); Gay Wilson Allen, *The Solitary Singer: A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, rpt. 1985), 540-544; Justin Kaplan, *Walt Whitman: A Life* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1980), 24-25, 48, 52-54; David Reynolds, *Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 571-572; Jerome Loving, *Walt Whitman: The Song of Himself* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 479-481. See also Lindsay Tuggle, *The Afterlives of Specimens: Science, Mourning, and Whitman's Civil War* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017), 181-185; and Matthew Ifill, "'The Rudest Most Undress'd Structure (with an idea) since Egypt': The Story of Walt Whitman's Tomb, Harleigh Cemetery, Camden, NJ," *Conversations: The Newsletter of the Walt Whitman Association* (Fall/Winter 2011–2012), 1–4.

4 From *Song of Myself* in *Leaves of Grass* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1881-82), 78; available on *WWA*.

5 Perry, 270-271.

6 Carpenter, 162.

7 Allen, 540.

8 Allen, 540.

9 Kaplan, 51.

10 Kaplan, 51.

11 See, for instance, "As Toilsome I Wander'd Virginia's Woods," *Leaves of Grass*, 240-241.

12 Kaplan, 52.

13 "To Think of Time," *Leaves of Grass*, 334.

14 Reynolds, 572.

15 See Dena Mattausch, "Harned, Thomas Biggs (1851-1921)," *Walt Whitman: An Encyclopedia*, ed. J.R. LeMaster and Donald D. Kummings (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 267-268; hereafter *WWE*.

16 Reynolds, 572.

17 Reynolds, 572.

18 Geoffrey M. Sill, "Harleigh Cemetery," *WWE,* 266-267.

19 Most famously, perhaps, in *Jack Engle*, which celebrates New York's decidedly urban Trinity Churchyard as an old, quasi-rural site of respite, removed from the hustle and bustle of the city. For context on Whitman, his graveyard writings, and the rural cemetery movement, see Adam Bradford, "'Move Slowly Through that Beautiful Place of Graves:' Walt Whitman's Cemeteries," *The Oxford Handbook of Walt Whitman*, ed. Kenneth M. Price and Stefan Schöberlein (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024), 298-321.

20 Until the 1840s cemeteries often had iron railings around individual gravesites; this practice was discontinued after the Spring Grove Cemetery (1845) in Cincinnati abolished internal fencing; other cemeteries followed suit. This phenomenon became known as the "lawn cemetery" movement. See Stanley French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the 'Rural Cemetery' Movement," *American Quarterly* 26 (March 1974), 52.

21 Cited in Gail Greenberg, "A History of Harleigh Cemetery," *Camden County Historical Society Bulletin*, 36 (Fall-Winter 1983-84), 1.

22 Horace Traubel, *WWWC*, 6:175-176; entry for December 5, 1889.

23 *WWA*, ID: loc.07737.

24 Lydia Cooper Wood (John's wife), had sold the land to the Harleigh Cemetery Association in 1885. See Greenberg, 2.

25 *WWA*, ID: loc.07740.

26 *WWA*, ID: loc.07741.

27 Greenberg, 2.

28 John B. Wood to Walt Whitman, December 24, 1889. *WWA* ID: loc.04634.

29 April 28, 1890. *WWA*, ID: loc.07915.

30 *WWWC* 6:217-218; entry for December 27, 1889.

31 See Thomas Bender, "The 'Rural' Cemetery Movement: Urban Travail and the Appeal of Nature, *New England Quarterly* 47 (June 1974), 207. Desiree Henderson notes that the "impact that these memorial, spatial, and horticultural changes had upon American culture was profound," stretching from "new sanitary practices," to landscaping and gardening, to "the leisure practices of the rising middle class." See Henderson's essay, "'What is the Grass?': The Roots of Whitman's Cemetery Meditation," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 25 (Winter 2008), 89.

32 Bender, 196.

33 Cited in Bender, 205 n. 32.

34 Walt Whitman to Richard Maurice Bucke, December 7, 1889. *WWA*, ID: loc.07737.

35 Walt Whitman to Richard Maurice Bucke, May 14, 1890. *WWA*, ID: loc.07866.

36 July 18, 1891. *WWA* ID: rut.00032.

37 See for instance, Whitman's letter to Bucke where he writes "had a nice drive (took Mrs. Davis) out yesterday to the Cemetery & through the woody lane & around a little," June 5, 1890. WWA, ID: loc.07798.

38 *WWWC* 6:405; entry for May 14, 1890.

39 See, for instance, "In Paths Untrodden" and "When I Heard at the Close of the Day."

40 *WWWC*, 6:405.

41 September 20, 1890. *WWA*, ID: loc.07838.

42 Walt Whitman to Richard Maurice Bucke, December 25, 1889. *WWA*, ID: loc.07741.

43 *WWA*, ID: loc.07918.

44 See Sarah Ferguson-Wagstaffe, "'Points of Contact': Blake and Whitman," in *Sullen Fires*

Across the Atlantic: Essays in Romanticism, ed. Lance Newman, Chris Koenig-Woodyard, and Joel Pace (November 2006), Romantic Praxis Circles, Praxis Series, ed. Orrin Wang. Ferguson-Wagstaffe notes that Whitman had read Alexander Gilchrist's *Life of Blake* in 1881, and that "Whitman beheld Blake's 'Death's Door' in Gilchrist's book and decided to use it as a model for his tomb," but there is no direct evidence linking Whitman's reading of Gilchrist's biography and the design of the tomb. Amanda Gailey writes that Whitman was likely referring an illustration in *America, A Prophecy* (1793) "where the top figure is also missing, and where the tomb is nestled in a hillside with a tree on top, making this illustration much closer to Whitman's design and lending it additional significance as stemming from Blake's poem about the American spirit of resistance. Though we cannot be certain which illustration inspired Whitman, it seems that the illustration from *America* is more similar to Whitman's plans. . . ." See "Whitman's Shrines," in *Proofs of Genius: Collected Editions from the American Revolution to the Digital Age*. (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2015), 68.

45 *WWWC* 8:474; entry for September 5, 1891.

46 *WWA*, ID: loc.08234.

47 Walt Whitman to Richard Maurice Bucke, December 25, 1889. *WWA*, ID: loc.07741; April 28, 1890. *WWA* ID: loc.07915.

48 Walt Whitman to Richard Maurice Bucke, July 23, 1890. *WWA*, ID: loc.07918.

49 Walt Whitman to John H. Johnston, September 20, 1890. *WWA*, ID: loc.07838.

50 Walt Whitman to Richard Maurice Bucke, September 29, 1890. *WWA*, ID: loc.08234.

51 Walt Whitman to Richard Maurice Bucke, October 2, 1890. *WWA*, ID: loc.07970.

52 Walt Whitman to Richard Maurice Bucke, October 25, 1890. *WWA*, ID: loc.07850.

53 Walt Whitman to Richard Maurice Bucke, May 5, 1891. *WWA*, ID: loc.08037.

54 Walt Whitman to Richard Maurice Bucke, May 23, 1891. *WWA*, ID: loc.08050.

55 Walt Whitman to Richard Maurice Bucke, June 4, 1891. *WWA*, ID: loc.08055.

56 Walt Whitman to Dr. John Johnston, June 27, 1891. *WWA*, ID: loc.07980.

57 Walt Whitman to William Sloane Kennedy, July 18, 1891. *WWA*, ID: rut.00032.

58 Walt Whitman to Dr. John Johnston, July 31, 1891. *WWA*, ID: med.00949.

59 See Kaplan, who writes, "An earthquake and an angel of the Lord would have to roll back the stone from his door" (52).

60 Email correspondence, January 30, 2023.

61 *WWWC*, 8:245; entry for May 30, 1891.

62 *WWWC*, 8:245.

63 *WWWC*, 8:258; entry for June 8, 1891. Kaplan notes that the deletion "left his name standing oddly high above visual center" (51).

64 See Ed Folsom, "Notes on Whitman's Photographers," *WWA*. Dr. William Reeder of Philadelphia wanted to take pictures of Whitman in March 1891, but Whitman told Traubel, "It will do no good—he will not get it" (*WWWC*, 8:70). Reeder succeeded a few months later, taking "flash pictures in front and back bedrooms" of Whitman on May 24, 1891 (*WWWC*, 8:226; see Gallery of Images, "Walt Whitman by Dr. William Reeder, 1891," *WWA*). On June 25, 1891, Whitman told Traubel that he wanted Reeder to take pictures of the tomb, describing him as "quite an adept" (*WWWC* 8:287). A month after Reeder had taken photographs of the tomb (late July 1891), Whitman told Traubel, "Reeder seems a very genuine fellow throughout—manly, simple, like all the real fellows" (*WWWC* 8:373).

65 *WWWC*, 8:289.

66 See Carol J. Singley, "Longaker, Dr. Daniel (1858-1949)," *WWE*, 408-409.

67 *WWWC*, 8:312.

68 *WWWC*, 8:312.

69 *WWWC*, 8:290.

70 *WWWC*, 8:321.

71 Traubel left with Richard Maurice Bucke on October 23. They visited Niagara Falls, then travelled to London in Ontario, Canada. Traubel returned on October 30, 1890. See *WWWC*, 7:229, 234.

72 Walt Whitman to Richard Maurice Bucke, October 25, 1890. *WWA*, ID: loc.07850.

73 Kaplan writes that Whitman "obligated himself to pay $4,000 for a mausoleum, more than twice than what his house and lot in Mickle Street had cost" (49-50). Loving notes that Whitman had "more than $8,000 in the bank, but he worried fretfully that there would be too little left of his estate to care for Eddy" (479).

74 *WWWC*, 9:164. See Dena Mattausch, "Harned, Thomas Biggs (1851-1921)," *WWE*, 267-268. Harned, a lawyer, was Traubel's brother-in-law; later, he was one of the literary executors of Whitman's estate.

75 *WWWC*, 9:164.

76 *WWWC*, 9:165.

77 *WWWC*, 9:167, 168. See also Harned's letter to Clara Barrus, *Whitman and Burroughs, Comrades* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931), 341, which corroborates Traubel's account.

78 *WWWC*, 9:209; entry for December 6, 1891.

79 *WWWC*, 9:396.

80 *WWWC*, 9:489; entry for February 25, 1892.

81 *WWWC*, 9:491; entry for February 26, 1892.

82 *WWWC*, 9:561.

83 *WWWC*, 9:142; entry for November 12, 1891.

84 *WWWC*, 9:315; entry for July 9, 1891.

AN UNDETECTED ECHO OF TENNYSON'S "ULYSSES" IN WHITMAN'S *LEAVES OF GRASS*

STEPHEN BERTMAN

Of the more than 400 poems in the 1891-1892 edition of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, only eleven stand-alone couplets exist. One of these is the succinct poem published in 1871 entitled "The Untold Want":

> The untold want by life and land ne'er granted,
> Now voyager sail thou forth to seek and find.[1]

Compressed into these eighteen words is the soul's spiritual yearning for a fulfillment denied to it by time and circumstance. Also contained within them is evidence of the influence of another writer, a contemporary and friend of Whitman's, Alfred Lord Tennyson, England's poet laureate, whom Whitman regarded as "the greatest living poet"[2] and with whom he had corresponded warmly over the course of two decades.[3]

In particular, Whitman had greatly admired Tennyson's 1833 poem "Ulysses," which the American poet often recited before audiences and regarded as "about the best Tennysonian poem."[4] For his part, Tennyson returned Whitman's compliment by calling Whitman "one of the greatest, if not the greatest of living poets, or words to that effect."[5]

In "Ulysses," Tennyson describes what a post-war life of retirement would have been like for an ancient warrior who still thirsted for adventure.[6] Moldering of domesticity in Ithaca, a senescent Ulysses conceived a grand, new adventure and called upon his former shipmates and join him on one final voyage.

Anticipating the driving spirit Whitman would later articulate in "Pioneers! O Pioneers!" and "Prayer of Columbus,"[7] Tennyson has his hero Ulysses proclaim:

> We are not now that strength which in old days
> Moved earth and heaven, that which we are, we are;
> One equal temper of heroic hearts,
> Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
> To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.[8]

In "The Untold Want," envisioning a similarly daring voyage "to seek" and "to find," Whitman would pay tribute to his fellow poet and friend, Tennyson, who, like himself, though no longer young,[9] had not surrendered his appetite for life.[10]

The University of Windsor

Notes

1 Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass and Other Writing* (Norton Critical Edition), ed. Michael Moon, Sculley Bradley, and Harold W. Blodgett (New York: Norton, 2002), 420.

2 Herbert Bergman, "Whitman and Tennyson," *Studies in Philology* 51 (July 1954), 499.

3 John M. Ditsky, "Whitman-Tennyson Correspondence: A Summary and Commentary," *Walt Whitman Review* 18 (September 1972), 75-82.

4 Bergman, 498; Ditsky, 75.

5 Bergman, 495.

6 Stephen Bertman, "The Heroic Challenge of Retirement," *The Journal of Aging Studies* 63 (December 2022), article 101080.

7 Charles B. Willard, "Whitman and Tennyson's 'Ulysses'", *Walt Whitman Newsletter* 2 (March-June 1956), 9-10. Both poems were published in 1881, a decade after "The Untold Want" appeared. Lawrence Buell argues that the end of "Passage to India" is a "hyped-up version . . . of the gist of [Whitman's] favorite Tennyson poem, 'Ulysses'" in "Walt Whitman as an Eminent Victorian" (in Susan Belasco, Ed Folsom, and Kenneth M. Price, eds., *Leaves of Grass: The Sesquicentennial Essays* [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007], 292). Gary Schmidgall offers an extended study of the Whitman-Tennyson relationship, and he emphasizes how Whitman's "Prayer of Columbus" strikes "a very similar pose" to Tennyson's "Ulysses" (*Containing Multitudes* [New York; Oxford University Press, 2014], 277).

8 Alfred, Lord Tennyson, *The Complete Poetical Works of Tennyson*, ed. W. J. Rolfe (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1898), 89.

9 At the time of the publication of "The Untold Want" in 1871, Whitman was 52 and Tennyson 62.

10 For an insightful portrait of Tennyson's psychology see John Batchelor, *Tennyson: To Strive, To Seek, To Find* (New York: Pegasus, 2013).

FELLOWSHIP DINNERS AND THE ARMORY SHOW: TWO UNRECORDED ROBERT HENRI LETTERS TO HORACE TRAUBEL REGARDING WALT WHITMAN

NATHAN TYE

"In seeing Isadora Duncan dance," wrote the artist Robert Henri, "I am always reminded of the great voice of Walt Whitman." His short tribute to Duncan in a pamphlet on "Dionysian art" highlighted the parallels between them. As Duncan danced, she forwarded "the possibility of a life where full natural growth and full natural expression will be the aim of all people," echoing the poet's own program. Whitman heavily influenced Henri's understanding of art. Henri's identification of Whitman-like traits in fellow artists was not unprecedented. As Ruth Bohan has noted, Henri used Whitman regularly in his teaching, and he imparted Whitman's work to generations of students and peers. Henri was recognized, argued Bohan, "as a forceful and dynamic interpreter of the creative potential of Whitman's verse for members of the American arts community." Two previously unrecorded Henri letters, recently acquired by the University of Nebraska at Kearney's Archives and Special Collections, underscore and enhance Bohan's claim.

Addressed to Horace Traubel and dated to 1909 and 1913, these letters broaden what is known about Henri's relationship with both Whitman and Traubel's Whitman Fellowship, as well as about Traubel's response to modern art. Henri was devoted to Whitman. Aware of this, Horace Traubel hoped to bring Henri further into the Whitman fold through the Fellowship Dinners. Later, Traubel wanted a Whitman-infused speech on modern art from a leading artist who exhibited at The Armory Show. Henri had discussed the dynamics of the exhibition's organizers with Traubel; so, Traubel surely assumed the artist would share his insights with other Whitman disciples. Yet, Henri repeatedly declined to attend and speak, as recorded in these letters as well as in surviving correspondence in Traubel's papers. Henri welcomed Traubel's friendship, but his Fellowship was too much.

Given Traubel's voluminous correspondence, unrecorded letters are not uncommon, but these letters offer further insights into the incorporation

of Whitman into Henri's teaching and his involvement with the Walt Whitman Fellowship. Regarding the former, as Bohan found, "For nearly three decades Henri channeled Whitman's emphasis on the self, personality, and bond between into a pedagogical practice that attracted many of the country's leading younger artists." In the first letter, he declined Traubel's invitation to the 1909 Walt Whitman Fellowship dinner. Traubel and Henri had not yet met, as indicated in the letter, but Henri does share that Traubel's letter had inspired him to give a "Walt Whitman speech" to his composition class. He hoped Traubel would agree that the speech was conducted "in the right place." In January 1909, Henri opened his own art school after a financial falling out with the New York School of Art. At his school, recorded former student Helen Appleton Read, Henri "taught us to paint from the inside out so to speak, to try and find that inner thing that made one particular man or woman different from any other man or woman." Achieving this outlook meant going beyond art and engaging with poetry, literature, and politics. After Henri's death she recalled, that "[i]n the Henri class I heard Walt Whitman for the first time unblushingly discussed in a mixed gathering." This newly found letter thus connects Henri's admiration for Whitman and his pedagogical use of his poetry directly to Whitman's leading disciple.

The second letter dates to 1913. Here Henri informs Traubel he did not attend the Whitman dinner because he and his wife, Marjorie, were preparing for a trip to Ireland. It had been a difficult year for Henri. His work at the International Exhibition of Modern Art, better known as the Armory Show, that spring was overshadowed by the presence of modern European artists, and their impact reverberated across the American art community. Traubel implored Henri to speak "for ten minutes or thirty or forty minutes" at the Whitman dinner on the relationship between the Futurists and Whitman. His belated response to Traubel obviously precluded such a talk. For Henri, the subject matter was sensitive. Such a talk would have required, in essence, a reading of the Armory Show through Whitman.

The Armory Show was organized by the Association of American Painters and Sculptors. News of the group's formation reached Traubel, and he asked Henri for his thoughts on the matter. The artist responded: "Your question about the new society of painters and sculptors was almost answered by yourself in the query. I was not one of the founders and did accept membership with a question and hope we will be a good thing any way as it puts a new party in the field." Henri expressed his hopes for and disappointments with the group to Traubel, particularly their reticence to hold a self-organized and award-less exhibition. Henri had laid out this approach at the MacDowell Club and sent

the prospectus to Traubel along with the letter. Given this exchange, Traubel knew Henri would be the ideal dinner guest to speak to Whitman's influence on the show and its relationship to the poet.

Whether Henri's late response was due to his busy schedule or was a deliberate delay to avoid giving the talk is unknown, but the latter is more likely. According to Henri's biographer, the artist either stopped maintaining (or destroyed) his diary for 1913. Traubel's request was not the only abortive engagement on the matter. The Fellowship of the Pennsylvania Academy canceled a talk by Henri on the show. Moreover, Henri made his objection to speaking at the dinner clearer when Traubel once again asked him to talk in 1915:

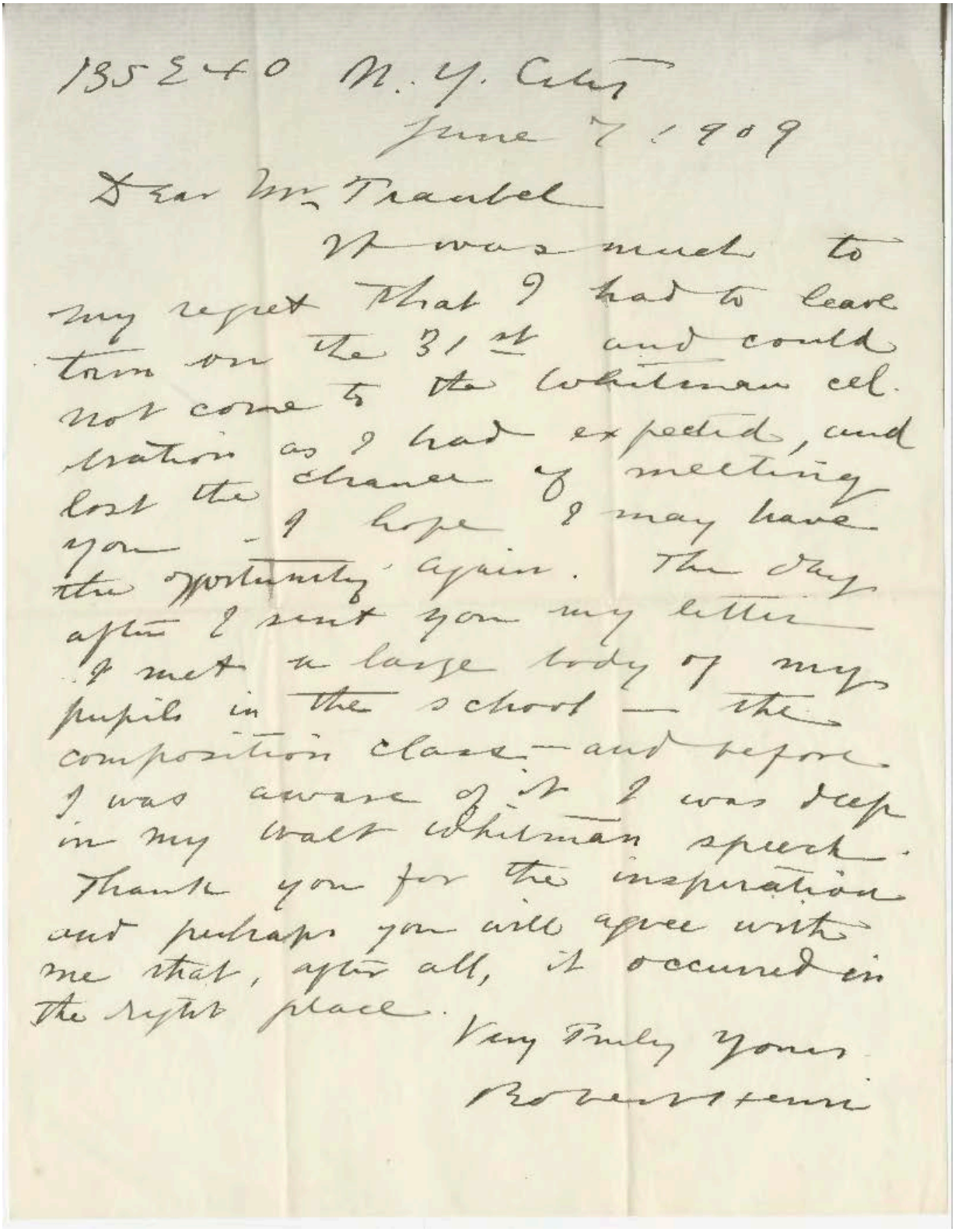
"I'd like to please you but I wont speak at the meeting or the dinner – When I want to speak it is easy for me, would be hard perhaps to restrain me, but when I dont want to its impossible. I have never wanted to speak at a dinner, have always refused. Whitman himself argues strongest against formal celebrations – at least so it is to me."

For Henri, this was a personal preference and a Whitman-supported position. Traubel's reply, if he wrote one, does not survive in Henri's papers at Yale.

Given Henri's refusal to comment on the Armory Show at the Whitman dinner, Traubel offered his own thoughts in a *Conservator* review of *Camera Work*'s special issue devoted to modern art. Traubel admitted his own confusion over the new forms of literary and artistic modernism but recognized their transformative power: "That's what these brave new people are. Beyond people. Not willing to stop where paint stops. Not willing to be executed on a stretcher . . . All of them in glorious pursuit of the impossible."

As the Armory Show moved on to Chicago and Boston, Henri retreated to Ireland. Trip preparations, as indicated in his letter, had kept him from the Fellowship Dinner. He and Marjorie settled on Achill Island, where they later bought a home. There Henri applied his Whitman-oriented eye to the local community, producing some of his best regarded portraits of Irish farmers, domestic workers, fishermen, and children. Henri's method, Ruth Bohan noted, echoed Whitman's own celebratory approach to American difference and recognition of portraiture's impact. His American portraiture celebrates what Bohan calls "the dignity, humanity, and respect" of individuals on society's margins, a sentiment found in Henri's Achill Island works. Henri's correspondence and artwork demonstrate his commitment to living Whitman's words rather than reveling in them through the Whitman Fellowship.

University of Nebraska at Kearney



135 E 40 N. Y. City
June 7, 1909

Dear Mr. Traubel

It was much to my regret that I had to leave town on the 31st and could not come to the Whitman celebration as I had expected, and lost the chance of meeting you - I hope I may have the opportunity again. The day after I sent you my letter I met a large body of my pupils in the school — the composition class — and before I was aware of it I was deep in my Walt Whitman speech. Thank you for the inspiration and perhaps you will agree with me that, after all, it occured in the right place.

Very Truly Yours
Robert Henri

Fig 1. Robert Henri to Horace Traubel, 7 June 1909, Robert Henri Correspondence Collection, University of Nebraska at Kearney Archives & Special Collections, Calvin T. Ryan Library.

Transcription of letter from Robert Henri to Horace Traubel, 1909:

135 E 40 N.Y. City

June 7 1909

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Very Truly Yours
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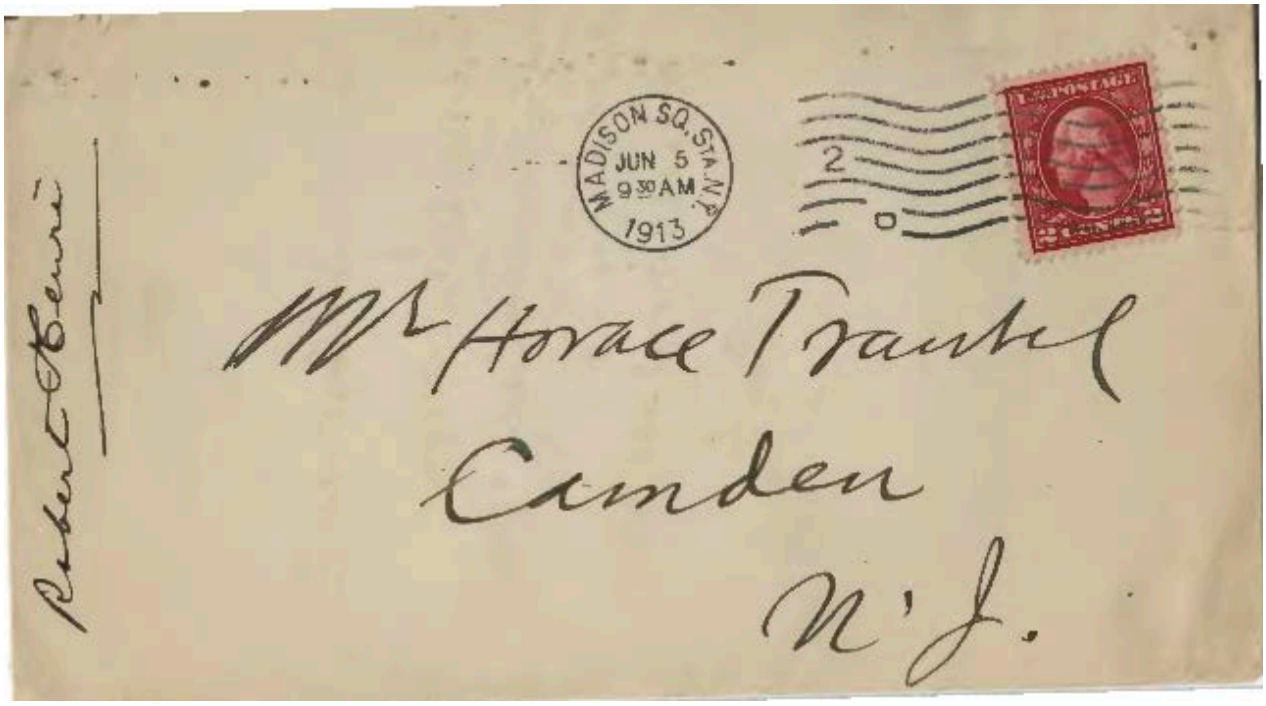
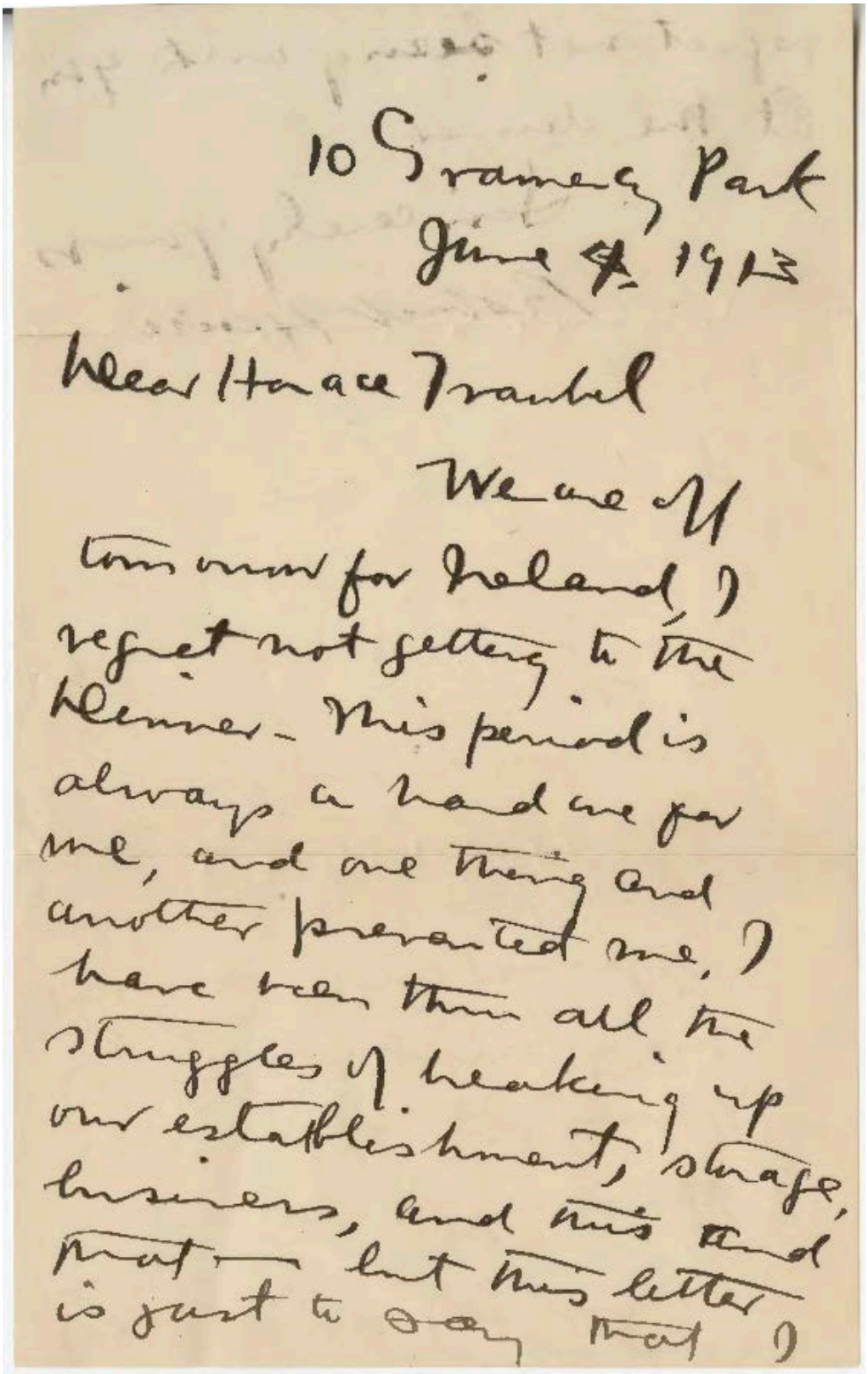


Fig 2. Envelope for letter from Robert Henri to Horace Traubel, 4 June 1913, Robert Henri Correspondence Collection, University of Nebraska at Kearney Archives & Special Collections, Calvin T. Ryan Library.



10 Gramercy Park
June 4th 1913

Dear Horace Traubel

We are all
tom over for Ireland, I
regret not getting to the
dinner. This period is
always a hard one for
me, and one thing and
another prevented me. I
have seen them all the
struggles of breaking up
our establishment, change,
business, and this and
that — but this letter
is just to say that I

Fig 3. Page 1 of letter from Robert Henri to Horace Traubel, 4 June 1913, Robert Henri Correspondence Collection, University of Nebraska at Kearney Archives & Special Collections, Calvin T. Ryan Library.

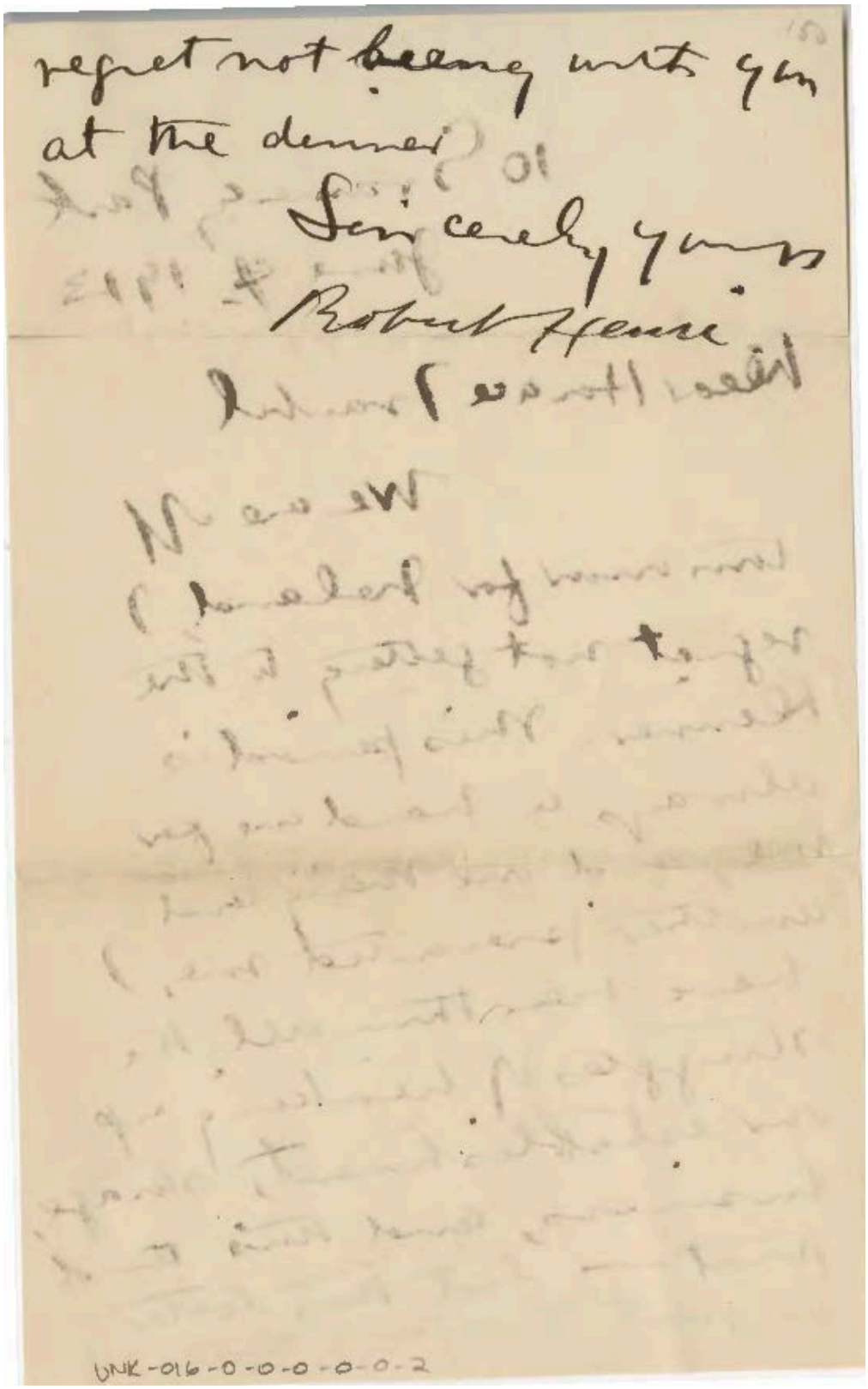


Fig 4. Page 2 of letter from Robert Henri to Horace Traubel, 4 June 1913, Robert Henri Correspondence Collection, University of Nebraska at Kearney Archives & Special Collections, Calvin T. Ryan Library.

Transcription of letter from Robert Henri to Horace Traubel, 1913:

10 Gramercy Park
June 4, 1913

Dear Horace Traubel

We are in tomorrow for Ireland, I regret not getting to the Dinner. This period is always a bad one for me, and one thing and another prevented me. I have been thru all the struggles in breaking up our establishment, stage business, and this and that – but this letter is just to say that I regret not being with you at the dinner

Sincerely yours
Robert Henri

Notes

1 Robert Henri, "Isadora Duncan and Walt Whitman," *Dionysion* 1 (1915).

2 Joseph J. Kwait, "Robert Henri and the Emerson-Whitman Tradition," *PMLA* 71 (September 1956), 617-636.

3 Ruth L. Bohan, "Robert Henri, Walt Whitman, and the American Artist," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 29 (2012), 131-151.

4 Bohan, 131.

5 Bohan, 135-136.

6 William Innes Homer, *Robert Henri and His Circle* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1988), 149-150; Bennard B. Perlman, *Robert Henri: His Life and Art* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1991), 89-90.

7 Helen Appleton Read, "'I Paint My People' is Henri's Art Key," *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (February 12, 1918).

8 Helen Appleton Read, *Robert Henri* (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1931), 10.

9 Perlman, 108-110; Homer, 166-170.

10 Horace Traubel to Robert Henri, May 16, 1913; Robert Henri Papers, Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, New Haven, CT.

11 Henri's reticence to speak on the subject and connect modern art to Whitman is contrasted by his former student and fellow Armory Show exhibitor, Joseph Stella. The Italian-born painter identified Whitman as the forerunner of futurism and carried the poet into his own modernist work. See Ruth L. Bohan, *Looking into Walt Whitman: American Art, 1850-1920* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 189-211.

12 Robert Henri to Horace Traubel, March 28, 1912; Folder: Henri, Robert; March 1912-December 1915, Box 76, Horace and Anne Traubel Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

13 "Prospectus For Exhibitions of Contemporary American Oil Paintings, November 1, 1911-June 1, 1912"; Folder: Henri, Robert; March 1912-December 1915, Box 76, Horace and Anne Traubel Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

14 Perlman, 109.

15 Perlman, 110.

16 Robert Henri to Horace Traubel, May 23, 1915; Folder: Henri, Robert, Mar. 1912-Dec. 1915, Box 76, Horace and Anne Traubel Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Curiously, Henri's best friend and fellow Whitman enthusiast, John Sloan, responded similarly to Traubel the next year: "The idea of speaking at the Whitman Birthday dinner fills me with fright – I would love to feel that I could measure up with the occasion, but I can not." John Sloan to Horace Traubel, May 20, 1916; Folder: Sloan, John, July 1911-Dec. 1918, Box 101, Horace and Anne Traubel Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

17 *Camera Work*, Special Number (June 1913). The issue featured work by Gertrude Stein, Mabel Luhan Dodge, Gabrièle Buffet-Picabia, Benjamin De Casseres, Oscar Bluemner, Maurice Aisen, John Weichsel, Paul Cézanne, Vincent van Gogh, Pablo Picasso, and Francis Picabia.

18 Horace Traubel, "Futurism big and little," *The Conservator* (October 1913), 120-121. Henri subscribed to *The Conservator* at the time and likely read this article with a critical eye. Robert Henri to Horace Traubel, May 28, 1912; Folder: Henri, Robert, Mar. 1912-Dec. 1915, Box 76, Horace and Anne Traubel Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

19 The Henris hoped for a restorative and artistically productive trip. Marjorie Henri informed John and Dolly Sloane, the former another Whitman discipline, that "Bob expects to do great things" in a postcard sent shortly after their arrival. Majorie Henri to the Sloans, July 5, 1913, in *Revolutionaries of Realism: The Letters of John Sloan and Robert Henri*, ed. Bennard B. Perlman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 216-217.

20 Valerie Ann Leeds, "Road to Corrymore: Robert Henri, His Art, and Ireland," in Jonathan Stuhlman and Valerie Ann Leeds, *From New York to Corrymore: Robert Henri and Ireland* (Charlotte: The Mint Museum, 2011), 49-92.

21 Bohan, "Robert Henri, Walt Whitman, and the American Artist," 144.

22 Robert Henri to Horace Traubel, June 7, 1909; Robert Henri Papers, Small Collections, Archives and Special Collections, University of Nebraska at Kearney, Kearney, NE.

23 Robert Henri to Horace Traubel, June 4, 1913; Robert Henri Papers.

REVIEWS

Walt Whitman. *Specimen Days*. Ed. Max Cavitch. New York: Oxford University Press, 2023. Oxford World Classics. xlx + 286 pp.

Whitman's *Specimen Days* has now been given a place in the Oxford World Classics series, where it joins longtime member *Leaves of Grass* (soon to appear in a newly edited version). It has been a long journey for Whitman's piecemeal autobiography, what he himself called an "immensely *negative* book." He knew many readers saw *Specimen Days* as "a great jumble, everything scattered, disjointed, bound together without coherence, without order or system," but, he noted wryly: "So much the better do they reflect the life they are intended to stand for." Max Cavitch quotes these characterizations in his illuminating introduction and goes on to reveal how the book's "negative" qualities, what Cavitch calls its "blanks"—"events, places, people, objects lost to memory, or deemed too trivial, or repressed by guilt or shame, or left unmentioned due to norms of propriety and disclosure"—are precisely what now make *Specimen Days* so fascinating to read and study in an era that has become autobiography-and-memoir obsessed. Nonfiction writing programs have cropped up all over the country; theorizing about autobiography is rampant; and Whitman's nonfiction writing—long considered far inferior to his poetry—is now emerging as an exciting early experimental model for how autobiographical narrative can be productively unsettled, broken, and scattered, revealing a life through seemingly random "specimens" instead of as a coherent and cohesive narrative whole. Cavitch offers a concise and perceptive commentary on just why *specimen* is the perfect choice for Whitman's title: "A 'specimen' is something both visible (Lat. *specere*: 'to look at') and representative (Lat. *specimen*: 'example')—that is, both tangible and symbolic (synecdochal, metonymic); something to be preserved, displayed, studied; to be inventoried."

In 2014, Melville House in Brooklyn issued a paperback edition of *Specimen Days and Collect*, with a wonderfully evocative introduction by essayist and novelist Leslie Jamison, who teaches in Columbia's nonfiction writing program. Jamison writes of how *Specimen Days* altered her own way of experiencing and writing about the world, admiring how Whitman's "rough accounting" could transform the way we apprehend the world around us, how Whitman's love of

"the world in its dross and guts and glitter, in its *everything*," energized Jamison's own journeys through Brooklyn, as "everything turned to specimen before me." Jamison points out that Whitman's joint title for his prose writings, *Specimen Days & Collect*, served to underscore his creative technique, as formative of his poetry as of his prose, to find a way "to hold it all": "The *collect* was just another word for this desire: how can I gather all of these fragments in one place?"

It is notable that Oxford University Press has decided to issue just *Specimen Days* without *Collect*. Whitman himself never issued his autobiography in the U.S. as a separate publication, though *Memoranda During the War*, most of which was absorbed into *Specimen Days*, was published as a stand-alone book. Cavitch only briefly addresses the relationship of *Specimen Days* and *Collect*, calling them "Whitman's two last major prose works . . . published together in a single volume" and then treating them as entirely separable books. As Jamison suggests, however, Whitman's overall inclination was to collect rather than to separate, so Whitman's later editions of *Leaves of Grass* tended to include most of the poems from earlier editions, as the book continued to grow larger, even as individual poems were revised or combined or rearranged (or occasionally dropped); in 1867, he collected into one volume (with separate pagination) *Leaves* and *Drum-Taps* and *So Long!*; in 1870, he began experimenting more with joining his poetry and prose, issuing the first (paperback) 1871 *Leaves* in a matching set with *Passage to India* and *Democratic Vistas*, then in 1876 issuing a matching set of *Leaves of Grass* and *Two Rivulets* (the "rivulets" were poetry and prose, printed in a typographical experiment as a dual stream of poetry and prose appearing one above the other on the same page, followed by alternating pieces of poetry and prose). Then he issued *Specimen Days & Collect* as a matching volume to his 1881 *Leaves* before combining both in a single volume (and including *November Boughs*), which he called *Complete Poems & Prose* (1888). Whitman's final two books, *November Boughs* and *Good-Bye My Fancy*, were mixes of poetry and prose that he added as "annexes" to *Leaves* and *Collect*. It is striking that, as much as our criticism has divided Whitman the poet from Whitman the prose writer, usually valorizing one and denigrating the other, he himself seemed always fascinated with the ways the two forms worked together, even melded, when collected and juxtaposed. If we were to arrange all the various editions and issues of *Leaves of Grass* in chronological order, and read them consecutively, we would enter Whitman's evolving *Leaves* through prose (the 1855 preface) and exit through prose ("A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads," which concluded the 1891-92 "deathbed" issue).

Whitman's disciple Horace Traubel once read aloud an article from

The Critic about how some modern poets like Whitman "whose thoughts are extremely poetical, but whose verses expressing them have little rhythm and less rhyme" should perhaps be known by a new name: "Why not call them 'proets'?" Whitman liked the idea and said such a phenomenon goes back "to the Bible writers—to the old Hebrews, all—to the Hindu scripturists—to many of the Greeks and so on." When *Specimen Days & Collect* first appeared in 1882, several reviewers immediately saw in Whitman's prose all the marks of his poetry. Some of the first reviews even offered excerpts of *Specimen Days* lined out as poetry to demonstrate how easily Whitman's prose could slip into his poetry (and vice versa). "As to Mr. Whitman's prose it is obviously quite interchangeable with his poetry," wrote the critic for *Literary World*: "Many pages of this book might be transferred to *Leaves of Grass* by simply a rearrangement of lines." The *New York Sun* noted that "Many passages have little but continuous typographical arrangement to distinguish them from his poetry," and the *New York Tribune* reviewer praised "an imaginative quality" in *Specimen Days* "which sometimes rises very near the level of poetry if it does not reach it." The *New York Times* offered this perceptive insight:

> Ensemble is Whitman's strength and his weakness. . . . [He] carved out for himself the elastic system of poetry-prose, in which 'Leaves of Grass' appeared. That poem and this volume of essays and notes form in themselves a literary inter-state exhibition or American Institute Fair, such as Whitman has attempted to describe in measures. Every sort of thing is crammed into it, and the manager is the big, good-natured, shrewd and large-souled poet. . . .

Whitman even describes this new "elastic system of poetry-prose" in one of his *Collect* notes, "Ventures on an Old Theme," where he announces that "the time has arrived to essentially break down the barriers of form between poetry and prose" because the modern world and the rough emerging democracy in America "can never again, in the English language, be express'd in arbitrary and rhyming metre." Proetry would be America's major contribution to world literature.

Oxford's decision to isolate *Specimen Days* from *Collect* alters our sense of just how messy Whitman's ensemble of an autobiography can be. By the time he issued his *Complete Poems & Prose* volume (1888), Whitman had added *November Boughs*, which contained a number of pieces that could easily have appeared in *Specimen Days*. Then, in *Complete Prose Works* (1892), his matching volume to his 1891-92 "deathbed" edition of *Leaves*, Whitman included the prose from *Good-Bye My Fancy* as well. Cavitch's notion of the "blanks" in *Specimen Days* is revealing, but it makes me think of just how many small

blanks are filled in in the even more scattered *Collect*, *November Boughs*, and *Good-Bye My Fancy*—how *Collect* and the later prose offer missing sections to *Specimen Days*, including additional Civil War memories (with a vivid recollection of visiting the "First Regiment U.S. Color'd Troops" to hand out pay to Black soldiers, and another powerful recollection of his visits to injured Black soldiers in Harewood Hospital), more memories of Lincoln, memories of his "moonlight walks" along the Potomac with Peter Doyle, of his nights listening to the debates in Congress about the Reconstruction amendments to the Constitution, post-Reconstruction thoughts on the growing inequalities in the U.S., as well as recollections of his boyhood in Brooklyn, of his childhood on Long Island and recollection of slaves on his grandfather's farm, memories of his trip to New Orleans, notes about the singers and actors he saw as a young man, memories of his father and his death, the death of his mother, and additional notes about his restorative visits to the Stafford farm in New Jersey. Whitman even fills in his own youthful life by giving us a sample of his pre-*Leaves* fiction and poetry. Given the "elastic" nature of *Specimen Days*, it is useful to have the stray bits of *Collect*, *November Boughs*, and *Good-Bye My Fancy* at hand when we read it.

Just as *Leaves of Grass* grew for twenty-five years over six very different editions, with endless revisions and rearrangements, and then grew even more during the final decade of Whitman's life with the annexes of poems he wrote for *November Boughs* and *Good-Bye My Fancy*, so we might wonder just how open and changeable *Specimen Days* might have become, had Whitman had the stamina to keep revising and rearranging it. What we now read as *Specimen Days* already is, after all, a recycling and double extension (both before and after the war) of *Memoranda During the War*, with a number of significant changes to his Civil War book to make it sit (if a bit uncomfortably) in the later more extensive autobiography, which he pulled together during the six or seven years following *Memoranda*'s publication. And even in his debilitated condition, Whitman worked with Ernest Rhys in 1886 to publish the autobiography in Britain, with emendations, a new preface, an "Additional Note" (that brought readers up to date on his days), and even a new title, *Specimen Days in America*. How many of the short notes in *Collect* and in the prose in *November Boughs* and *Good-Bye My Fancy* (in clusters with titles—"Notes Left Over," "Some Diary Notes at Random," "Some War Memoranda," "Small Memoranda," "Some Laggards Yet"—that emphasize they are additional specimens of his days randomly gathered or recently found) are elastic extensions of (or potential insertions into) *Specimen Days*—notes he decided to add in the last decade of his life after the

autobiography was first published? He was, to the very end (as he said in his "Last Saved Items," the final entry in his *Collected Prose*), writing "specimen clues" to put himself "quite freely and fairly in honest type." Would these stray discovered memories or recollections—especially the multiple entries dealing with slaves, former slaves, and Black soldiers—have altered our sense of the way *Specimen Days* works? Since I like to raise such questions when I teach Whitman, I have tended to assign students the Library of America Whitman volume, *Complete Poetry and Collected Prose*, which contains *Leaves* in its original and final states, as well as *Specimen Days & Collect* along with the additional late prose in *Boughs* and *Fancy*. The Library of America volume worked well in a graduate seminar I taught in the University of Iowa's Nonfiction Writing Program, where we examined where and how Whitman drew the line between poetry and prose; we searched for the frequent places he crossed that line into the emerging territory of "proetry."

The new Oxford World's Classics volume of *Specimen Days* alone, however, will be an ideal text for the growing number of classes that are now reading Whitman's autobiography as one of a number of autobiographies that have redefined the art of composing a life narrative. Cavitch has done a thorough job of annotating the text, including an invaluable "Glossary of Persons" that draws heavily on the work of Martin G. Murray (as Cavitch acknowledges) in identifying most of the Civil War soldiers Whitman mentions; it is very useful to have these identifications at the back of the book as we read the text instead of having to search for them online. Cavitch also includes in an appendix the preface and "additional note" that Whitman wrote for the 1887 British publication of *Specimen Days in America*—an important inclusion because it indicates, as I mentioned earlier, how Whitman was open to revising and expanding *Specimen Days*, just as he had done with *Leaves of Grass*. Cavitch also offers an up-to-date bibliography of criticism on Whitman's autobiography, and his introduction is informed by his careful reading of that criticism—the introduction is in fact a kind of state-of-the-art examination of Whitman's book, valuable for both students and teachers, and well worth reading for Whitman scholars as well. This well-edited and attractive volume, combined with the Oxford World's Classics edition of *Leaves of Grass*, would serve as an excellent pair of texts for classes largely devoted to Whitman.

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Walt Whitman. *Leaves of Grass / Grashalme: Zweisprachige Fassung der Erstausgabe von 1855*. Translated by Walter Grünzweig and a team of translators at TU Dortmund University. Aachen: Rimbaud, 2022. 226 pp.

The trouble with translating *Leaves of Grass* into German begins with the title. Even Whitman knew that, asking Traubel in 1889 for the "literal translation of 'Grashalme.'" "I prefer the ugly to the beautiful words if the ugly word says more," he explained. A German has to choose: is this a book containing grass or is the book itself disappearing behind the botanic metaphor? In Whitman's German afterlives, the latter, *Grashalme* (grass blades), has reigned supreme until the publication of the first full-length translation of the deathbed edition by Jürgen Brôcan (2009). An accomplished, skillful work in its own right, it is the first to settle on the more literal, and quite a bit more "ugly," *Grasblätter* (grass leaves). Consequently, Brôcan's Whitman is a sort of proto-modern lyricist—unbothered by the fact that New York's Flatiron building on the book's cover was hardly even an architectural fever dream at the time of Whitman's death.

Holding in hand the collaborative translation of the 1855 edition, one might, then, suspect a certain conservatism to have crept back in: here we get the more traditionally "beautiful" *Grashalme*, once more, coupled with a dark-green linen cover with golden lettering, reminiscent in design and size of the original 1855. Such suspicions, though, would be incorrect: instead of merely attempting to painstakingly recreate the famous original, this volume is a daring, radical document that, in its impact, brings us closer to Whitman's strange, unorthodox pamphlet-book than mere historicism ever could.

This impression is confirmed by flipping to the frontispiece. Our old engraved daguerreotype Whitman has been banished to the back of the book. In his place is a Whitman, who—stripped from his yellow-leaved print past—looks us straight in the eye, rendered in the thick, expressive brushstrokes of the multi-talented Armin Mueller-Stahl (known to most American audiences as an accomplished character actor). Whereas the original Whitman almost reclines in a kind of aloof challenge, this one leans forward to engage the reader. It is a daring, powerful beginning that renders strange again those now-familiar opening pages and thereby recreates some of their original impact. Mueller-Stahl's Whitman, editor and lead translator Walter Grünzweig emphasizes, wants to build a "relationship" (*Beziehung*) with the reader. It is a breath of fresh air that carries through the pages to come.

The nature of this relationship, in German, has to be qualified: is "Song of Myself" a whispered conversation between confidants? A prophetic tome? Or perhaps a speech to the masses? *Grashalme* breaks with the mold of tradition by asserting the latter. Here, Whitman's "you" is translated into the informal plural. But instead of sounding like a leftover of the Eastern Block—where those translations were the norm—it feels youthful. We can almost sense Whitman saying "you guys" (as he may have done, had he been born a few decades later).

Much of this impact has to do with the revolutionary method that underlies the edition: a multiyear, collaborative effort by dozens of student translators from TU Dortmund University's prestigious American Studies program. I had the pleasure of sitting in on one of these sessions and was struck by the decidedly Whitmanian and creative chaos at play. The resulting document is multivocal, not lacking a coherent style or creating artificial distance from the original. Like Whitman's American slang, this voice invites readers to *hang out*—in the famous opening stanzas this Whitman loafs around (*rumliegen*), gets inebriated (*berauscht*), and finds sexual gratification (*befriedigt*). By contrast, Brôcan's Whitman saunters (*schlendern*), is poisoned (*vergiftet*), and finds himself pleased (*zufrieden*). The Whitman of Grünzweig's team translation is more raw, less polished. There could not have been a better stylistic fit. In *Grashalme*, we discover a dance taking place between Romantic vocabulary and the sociolect of the multitudinous, diverse Ruhr Valley. It creates some friction—a friction that, I would argue, is a constitutive part of Whitman's 1855 edition, where a line about the "blab of the pave" hangs out with one celebrating "the vitreous pour of the full moon just tinged with blue!"

Coming on the heels of a number of wonderful, recent publications by the Aachen publisher Rimbaud aimed at resurrecting and making available the many Whitmans beyond the deathbed edition, this *Grashalme* not only includes the prose preface and all of the original twelve poems in a bilingual edition, but re-renders key design features of the original printing (such as its font choices and its columned preface), making this by far the most textually and visually appealing of Whitman's German-language editions.

Grashalme recreates the textual feel of the original almost to a fault. It is a bit perplexing, then, that Grünzweig's team decided, for instance, to make Whitman's name omnipresent on the cover and in the edition instead of leaving intact the radical print gesture of the original, where Whitman omits his name from the cover and title page. Additionally, while the text of the poems on hand meticulously follows the 1855 original, titles are supplied via the 1856 edition, which creates odd hybrid titles like "Leaves of Grass. Poem of Walt Whitman,

an American" (i.e., "Song of Myself"). It also leads to poems that do not exist: ellipses-filled 1855 verse with the titles of the 1856, where those ellipses had been removed. The reason provided is the wish to preserve the "autonomy" of these pieces, which could have been achieved by following the more established practice of providing deathbed titles in square-brackets. Or simply by truly embracing the weirdness of the original design of the book object.

The closing pages, authored by Grünzweig, which ingeniously follow the design of Whitman's preface, are a wonderful addition and will undoubtedly serve as a primer both for *Leaves* as well as its German reception for years to come. It is a shame it hasn't been provided as a bilingual text, as well. In it, Grünzweig also briefly explains his instructional method and advocates for translation as a "radical play of interpretation." The book at hand is a powerful demonstration of the viability and vibrancy of such collective efforts and one of many crowning achievements of Walter Grünzweig's long career as a translator and teacher of Whitman. I rarely enjoy reading "method papers"—but I believe that the method here is worth documenting and replicating, even in the constraints of more rigid curricula. Whitman had to rely on notebooks, newspapers, and lectures to make good on his promise to contain multitudes. Grünzweig's method has multitudes in its DNA. In that sense, there could not be a better edition of *Leaves of Grass* for German audiences—be they experts or mere dabblers in Whitman.

Texas A&M University—Central Texas Stefan Schöberlein

Walt Whitman: A Current Bibliography

Arkins, Brian. *The Poetry of Sex: From Sappho to Carol Ann Duffy*. Lausanne, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2023. [Offers a selective overview of poets throughout history who have written about sex, with chapters on "Heterosexual Love: Happiness," "Heterosexual Love: Unhappiness," "Marriage," "Gay Love," and "Lesbian Love"; Whitman, along with Thomas Gunn and James Liddy, are featured in the chapter on "Gay Love."]

Bragg, Melvyn. "Walt Whitman." *In Our Time*. London, England: BBC Radio 4, May 2023. bbc.co.uk/programmes/m001l99w. [Podcast hosted by Melvyn Bragg; this episode, "Walt Whitman," discusses Whitman as a key figure in the development of American culture; with guest commentators Sarah Churchwell, Mark Ford, and Peter Riley.]

Burton, Poppy. "The Walt Whitman poem that shaped a Lana Del Rey song." *Far Out* (October 8, 2023), faroutmagazine.co.uk. [Investigates singer Lana Del Rey's love of Whitman's work, apparent in such songs as her "Body Electric" and claims her "poetry and lyrics . . . are imbued with the carefree nature of Whitman's," a tattoo of whose name is on her right arm.]

Cohen, Jonathan. Review of Rafael Bernabe, *Walt Whitman and His Caribbean Interlocutors: José Martí, C.L.R. James, and Pedro Mir: Song and Countersong. NWIG: New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 97 (2023), 400-401.

De Angelis, Valerio Massimo. Review of Caterina Bernardini, *Transnational Modernity and the Italian Reinvention of Walt Whitman, 1870-1945*. *Iperstoria: Journal of American and English Studies* no. 19 (Spring/Summer 2022), 389-393.

Dehnel, Chris. "Hidden Gems of Hartford and Tolland Counties: The Latest Hidden Gem Is a Pause for Intellectual Reflection." *Patch* [West Hartford, CT], patch.com. [Part of a series on "hidden gems" in Connecticut's Hartford and Tolland Counties; this one is about the "Walt Whitman tribute at the Kingwood Oxford School," a stone with a plaque engraved with lines from Whitman's "Thanks in Old Age."]

Detering, Heinrich. "'This Land Is Your Land': A Note on America as a Nation of 'Varied Carols.'" *Interlitteraria* 28 no. 1 (2023), 26-32. [Argues that "Whitman's poetry laid the foundation for a specifically American tradition of song poetry," influencing Carl Sandburg, Robert Frost, Allen Ginsberg and the Beat Poets, but particularly Woody Guthrie, who transformed "song poetry" into "the simple, yet sophisticated, forms

of his folksongs," creating a "folksong version of an America that is singing with the manifold voices its open landscapes, its free citizens, with the voices of 'you and me.'"]

Di Loreto, Sonia. Review of Caterina Bernardini, *Transnational Modernity and the Italian Reinvention of Walt Whitman, 1870-1945*. *American Literary History* 35 (2023), 1412-1414.

Dilworth, David A. "Review of Jeremy David Engels's *The Ethics of Oneness: Emerson, Whitman, and the Bhagavad Gita*." *Journal of Religion* 103 (July 2023), 379-389.

Fajardo, Anel. "What's Happening to the Walt Whitman Statue?" *The Gleaner* [Rutgers Camden] (February 14, 2022). [Reports that, as a result of two years of campus protests and petitions about the statue of Walt Whitman being in front of the Rutgers-Camden Campus Center, the statue has been removed and now is installed next to the Undergraduate Admissions building, with a QR code on a nearby fence that explains how the statue was removed from the campus center because of Whitman's racist statements.]

Ferry, Peter. *Beards and Masculinity in American Literature*. New York: Routledge, 2020. [Chapter 3, "The Bards and their Beards: Walt Whitman's 'Beard Full of Butterflies' in the Poetry of Federico García Lorca and Allen Ginsberg," investigates the centrality of the beard in images of Whitman and in his writing, as well as in his influence on Lorca and Ginsberg.]

Folsom, Ed. "Seeding and Weeding: L. of G. Construction Set." In Judith Tolnick Champa and Jae Jennifer Rossman, eds., *RE:Making: A Documentation of Work by Angela Lorenz* (New Haven, CT: jenny-press, 2023), 16-17. [Examines visual artist Angela Lorenz's *Seeding and Weeding: L. of G. Construction Set* (2020), a construction kit that allows for a visualization of Whitman's revisions across his various editions of *Leaves of Grass*; proposes that Lorenz's construction set "captures the essence of Whitman's own process of poetic creation."]

Folsom, Ed. "Walt Whitman: A Current Bibliography." *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 40 (Winter/Spring 2023), 154-161.

Fomeshi, Behnam. *Vitman-e Irani: Faratar az Paziresh-e Adabi* [*The Persian Whitman: Beyond a Literary Reception*]. Translated into Persian by Mostafa Hosseini. Tehran, Iran: Khamoush, 2023.

Franklin, Kelly Scott. "Friendship and Memory in the Civil War Poems of Whitman and Melville." *Local Culture* 5 (Fall 2023), 47-56. [Investigates Whitman's and Melville's reactions to the Civil War, arguing that, for Whitman, "Friendship can exist during the war; and friendship is the cure for war"; offers readings of "The Wound-Dresser," "As Toilsome I Wander'd Virginia's Woods," and "Vigil Strange I Kept on the Field One Night"; examines some Melville poems and concludes that "the Civil War poems of Whitman and Melville offer rich meditations on friendship and memory in times of crisis."]

Geis, Deborah. *Read My Plate: The Literature of Food*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2019. [Chapter 1, "The Hungry Yawp: Eating and Orality in Whitman and Ginsberg" (29-38), examines "questions of appetite and transcendence" in Whitman and Allen Ginsberg, finding Whitman celebrates appetite as an aspect of desire, while for Ginsberg "it takes on more of a contentious political aspect."]

Heffner-Burns, R. "Body/Spirit: Walt Whitman's Hicksite Quaker Poetics, 1855." In Edward Sugden, ed., *Crossings in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2022), 41-56. [Examines Whitman's essay on Quaker orator Elias Hicks, published in *November Boughs* (1888), and argues that, "in *Leaves*, Whitman composes an egalitarian poetry of the body in which he renders Hicks's Inner Light as the basis for his celebration of his readers' divine inner selves and their bodily experiences of revelation," particularly in "A Song for Occupations," where "Whitman turns his eye to his readers' lived experience of work and their participation in the greater American marketplace, . . . addressing the way that American industry has dehumanized white working-class families, by consuming but not rewarding their labour"; goes on to analyze Whitman's "adaptation of the Hicksite Inward Light" in recognizing that "labour is itself a sacred act because it is we, as human beings, who put our divinely rendered bodies, spirits and minds into our work, an endeavour through which we may experience spiritual and bodily revelation in return."]

Hiscock, Jared Schuyler. "Transcendentalist Sympathies: A Contextual Study of the Wound-Dresser." D.M.A Dissertation, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2020. [Examines *The Wound-Dresser* (1988, for baritone voice and orchestra) by American composer John Coolidge Adams, showing how "Whitman's literary voice can be seen as resonating with Adams's compositional voice" in the work and how "Whitman's work of care is central to Adams's reading of Whitman in his conception of *The Wound-Dresser*," arguing that "Adams's composition can be viewed as a musical avatar for Whitman's text"; *DAI*-A 92/6(E).]

Huttner, Tobias Reed. "On Occasion: American Poetry at the Margins of the Wage, 1865-1973." PhD Dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 2020. [Argues that "even as the rise of 'the lyric' devalues 'occasional verse,' poets not only continue to think with an expansive sense of poetry's occasionality, they also link it in new ways to the historical movements of American capitalism"; shows how Whitman, Jean Toomer, James Schuyler, and June Jordan "each link the occasion [of their poetry] to a sense of American capitalism's internal unevenness, both geographical developmental, seen through the manifold relations of marginality to the wage—of un-, under-, or informal employment"; the first chapter, "'Not the Abstract Question of Democracy': The Social Ground of Whitman's 'Lilacs,'" examines how Whitman "revises the most recognizable occasional genre in modern poetry—the elegy—in light of the broad social crisis of the Civil War, expanding the occasion of Lincoln's death to include a meditation on the contradiction between expanding white 'free soil' farming and expanding the slave economy"; *DAI*-A 82/7(E).]

James, Zachary. *Song of Myself*. 2023. [Audio album; twelve-part song cycle for bass-baritone, cello, guitar, percussion, and untuned piano, with lyrics from "Song of Myself"; composed by bass-baritone Zachary James, with additional music by cellist Wick Simmons, percussionist Ariel Campos, and guitarist Frederick Poholek; available on Spotify, Apple Music, and other streaming platforms.]

Joseph, Nicholas Aaron. "Finding Themselves by Two: Serial Poetics in Whitman, Oppen, and Baraka." PhD Dissertation, University of California, Irvine, 2020. [Examines, through a study of the work of Whitman, George Oppen, and Amiri Baraka, "the persistence of 'seriality' in Modern poetry and poetics"; argues that these poets' development of "serial poems" offers them "a powerful yet flexible resource for developing distinctive practices of artistic and social self-making" and goes on to examine these poets' "strategies of serial self-making, or 'autopoetics'"; demonstrates how "Whitman aspired to be both the quintessential American bard and a radical queer bohemian in a nineteenth-century America that was largely incapable of recognizing his performance of these identities"; *DAI*-A 83/1(E).]

Juraszek, Dawid Bernard. "Clustering of Cognitive Biases in Walt Whitman's 'Crossing Brooklyn Ferry': An Ecocritical Analysis." *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews* 48 no. 4 (2023), 608-627. [Reads "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry" as exposing "the poet's implication in the early stages of the climate crisis" and argues that "Whitman's attitude towards the future anticipates major issues in present-day environmental (in)action"; points out how Whitman in this poem "freezes in time the exhilarating circumstance of a place in constant flux," and how this poem that posits that readers hundreds of year hence will experience the same thing Whitman experienced in the 1850s was itself becoming outmoded as work on the Brooklyn Bridge began only thirteen years after "Crossing" was published, superseding the Fulton Ferry, yet Whitman did not significantly revise the poem even as its description of the crossing became anachronistic in all kinds of ways: "For all the inspiration that Whitman extracted from the ferry, when its looming demise became apparent, he refused to acknowledge it, let alone come to its rescue," and Whitman "failed to appreciate that future generations might experience—indeed initiate—changes that would seem to him as extraordinary as the ones he himself lived through would have seemed to those who had come before him"; Whitman extrapolates "his fleeting moments on the ferry to the entire future of the nation, even as the scene he immortalized was already being undermined by the very same processes that brought it to being," and "what used to power our world has now (been) empowered itself and is taking the humankind on a wild ride that—unlike Whitman's beloved ferry—has an unknown destination."]

Kapp, Amy. "A Long-Lost *Eagle* Article Puts Walt and Jeff on the Map." *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 40 (Winter/Spring 2023), 143-149. [Offers a transcription of a June 30, 1858, *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* article called "Visit to Baisley's Pond" and argues it was written by Whitman, raising questions about how long and for what reasons he was still writing for the *Eagle* years after he was allegedly fired from the paper; discusses

the significance of the inclusion of Whitman's brother Thomas Jefferson Whitman in the article, which is about how the Brooklyn Waterworks (for which Jeff Whitman worked) had acquired Baisley's Pond as a supply pond.]

Katz, Daniel. "These Feelings of Futurelessness: Peter Gizzi's *Now It's Dark*." *Word and Text* 12 (2022), 34-46. [Examines Peter Gizzi's book of poetry *Now It's Dark* (2020) and analyzes its "lyric temporality" in relation to Whitman's work as well as other poets, especially Wallace Stevens and William Carlos Williams.]

Killingsworth, M. Jimmie. *Moqaddameh-ye Cambridge bar Valt Vitman* [*The Cambridge Introduction to Walt Whitman*]. Translated into Persian by Razieh Sarhadi. Tehran, Iran: Elmi va Farhangi, 2020.

Korchagin, Kirill. "Between Walt Whitman and the Beatniks: Veniamin Blazhenny and Ksenia Nedrasova." *Novy Mir* no. 7 (July 2021), 181-199. [Explores how Soviet poets Vaniamin Blazhenny (1921-1999) and Ksenia Nekrasova (1912-1958) relate back to Whitman and forward to the Beats; in Russian.]

Lakshmanan, Nikila. "Queer Subtext in *The Wicker Man* (1973)." *Journal for Cultural Research* 27 no. 3 (2023), 241-255. [Offers a reading of the "queer subtext" in the 1973 British folk horror film directed by Robin Hardy, *The Wicker Man*, finding particular significance in the character Summerisle's observation of a pair of copulating snails, prompting Summerisle to quote Whitman; argues that Whitman is used in the film as "a code for homosexuality."]

Lahey, Trace. "Star Gazing: Interpretive Approaches to Whitman's 'When I Heard the Learn'd Astronomer.'" *English in Education* 57 no. 1 (2023), 45-58. [Studies "three interpretive approaches to the teaching" of "When I Heard the Learn'd Astronomer" and reports on three teachers' experiences introducing the poem to their students; describes "what each approach afforded students."]

Lawrence, Deirdre E. "Enlisting Whitman: A Pro Memoria Game for Emerson and Whitman." In Judith Tolnick Champa and Jae Jennifer Rossman, eds., *RE:Making: A Documentation of Work by Angela Lorenz* (New Haven, CT: jenny-press, 2023), 20-21. [Discusses visual artist Angela Lorenz's *Enlisting Whitman: A Pro Memoria Game for Emerson and Whitman* (2019), a "trivia game of concentration and memory, based on an elaborate understanding of [Emerson's and Whitman's] character and language" that "challenges the reader/player to partake of its homage to Whitman and the evident influence of Emerson on *Leaves of Grass*."]

Lerner, Ben. *The Lights*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2023. [Mix of poetry and prose, including the long poem "The Dark Threw Patches Down Upon Me Also," responding to Whitman's work in general and to "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry" in particular.

Liberatore, John, and Zohn Collective. *Catch Somewhere*. New York: New Focus Records, 2023. [CD, featuring John Liberatore's "Catch Somewhere" (2021), a composition for guitar, percussion, and prepared piano, based on Whitman's "A Noiseless Patient Spider"; with Dieter Hennings on guitar, Daniel Pesca on piano, and Paul Vaillancourt on percussion.]

List, Andrew. "Song of Myself: A Walt Whitman Triptych." 2019. [Musical composition, written in celebration of the 200th anniversary of Whitman's birth, inspired by three passages from "Song of Myself"; for oboe, bassoon, and piano.]

Lock, Norman. *The Ice Harp*. New York: Bellevue Literary Press, 2023. [Novel about Ralph Waldo Emerson in his final years, after his memory has begun to fail him; Whitman and other writers from his time come to visit Emerson in his mind, and he has imaginary conversations with them.]

Lorenz, Angela. *Enlisting Whitman: A Pro Memoria Game for Emerson and Whitman*. Bologna, Italy: 2019. [A complex artistic rendering of a memory game involving lists of words in works by Whitman and Emerson; limited edition of 100.]

McCarthy, Lucas J. "American Eidolons: Saying, Not Knowing the Immanent Sublime Poetics of Williams Carlos Williams, Walt Whitman, and H.D." PhD Dissertation, Western Michigan University, 2021. [Part 2 "considers how Walt Whitman and [William Carlos] Williams each present forms of 'projection' in the sense that the Real (which cannot be fully represented) is suggested through an emphasis on either the Imaginary or the Symbolic" and argues that "*Leaves of Grass* (1855) presents a project of the American Real that emphasizes the Imaginary (Lacan's term for the interpersonal pressures of identity and ideology)"; *DAI*-A 83/9(E).]

McCoy, Max. "On the eve of uncertainty, looking for the path and a song of America." *Kansas Reflector* (December 31, 2023), kansasreflector.com. [Recounts being lost in the Sierra Nevada mountains, and thinking of Whitman's "Year That Trembled and Reel'd Beneath Me," and wondering who the next Whitman—"America's poet . . . our Homer, singing not of the will of the gods but of the will of ordinary Americans"—will be, "somewhere on the streets of New York or Los Angeles or Wichita, Chicago or Atlanta or Topeka, someone who knows the soul as yet unsung of our 21st century America" and whose "voice may lead us out of the blinding fog."]

McGettigan, Katie, Tomos Hughes, Matthew Salway, and Rebecca White. "American Literature to 1900." *The Year's Work in English Studies* 98 (2019), 1021-1046. [Review of Lindsay Tuggle, *The Afterlives of Specimens: Science, Mourning, and Whitman's Civil War*, 1042.]

McGettigan, Katie, and Rebecca White. "American Literature to 1900." *The Year's Work in English Studies* 100 (2021), 1065-1093. [Review of Christopher Sten and Tyler Hoffman, eds., *This Mighty Convulsion: Whitman and Melville Write the Civil War*, 1088-1089.]

McMullen, Kevin, Kenneth M. Price, and Stefan Schöberlein. "Walt Whitman's Trunk." *Textual Cultures* 16 no. 2 (2023), 54-73. [Examines Whitman's "means of accessing his past writings in a mobile form"—his "trunk" as "both a historical, physical storage medium and an icon of archival practice on the move" as he relocated from place to place—and "proposes a new reading of Whitman as a meticulous record keeper and careful practitioner of nineteenth-century copy & paste authorship," his surprisingly "careful safekeeping of his prose writings in particular and his canny repurposing of them."]

Mehta, Diane. "Whitman at War." *TLS* (November 3, 2023), 3-4. [Review of Walt Whitman, *Specimen Days*, ed., Max Cavitch; and Dara Barnat, *Walt Whitman and the Making of Jewish American Poetry*.]

Miller, E. Ethelbert. "Looking for Walt Whitman inside Martin Espada's Beard." *American Book Review* 44 (September 2023), 120-126. [Examines the multiple influences on poet Martín Espada, "the foremost Latino writer of his generation," including how "he might be the heir not only to Walt Whitman but to Pablo Neruda as well."]

O'Neil, Brandon James. "The Late-Life Whitman: Understanding the Creative Expressions of Senescence." PhD Dissertation, The University of Iowa, 2022. [Examines how "death and dying—always prominent in Whitman's writing—became driving themes in his late-life miscellanies of gathered poetry and prose, *November Boughs* (1888) and *Good-Bye My Fancy* (1891), as well as in his extensive correspondence from the period"; analyzes how Whitman kept "the poetry and prose of his late-life miscellanies intertwined" and offers readings of these works as "ensembles" and views Whitman's "statements of senescence and death within the frame of his nineteenth-century circumstances—including medical, religious, and print culture"; *DAI*-A 84/1(E).]

O'Neil, Brandon James. Review of Maire Mullins, ed., *Hannah Whitman Heyde: The Complete Correspondence*. *Resources for American Literary Study* 44 (2022), 376-379.

O'Neil, Brandon James. Review of Susan Jaffe Tane and Karen Karbiener, *Poet of the Body: New York's Walt Whitman*. *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 40 (Winter/Spring 2023), 150-153.

Piazza, Tom. *The Auburn Conference*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2023. [Historical novel about a fictional conference held at a small upstate New York college in 1883, at which a young professor manages to assemble a group of authors—Mark Twain, Frederick Douglass, Walt Whitman, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Confederate memoirist Forrest Taylor, and romance novelist Lucy Comstock—to discuss the future of the nation and the fate of democracy by answering the question "What is an American?"]

Pind, Jackson. "Ancient pictograph vandalism at Bon Echo Provincial Park reveals ongoing disregard for Indigenous history." *Phys.org* (September 21, 2023), phy.org/news/. [Reports on how vandalism "has once again marred the ancient Indigenous pictographs nestled within Bon Echo Provincial Park" in Canada, pictographs that, for the

Anishinaabe, "hold profound cultural significance and meaning"; recounts the history of Bon Echo, pointing out that it was owned and operated by Flora MacDonald Denison, a journalist and admirer of Whitman, who ran Bon Echo as a center for the Canadian Whitman Fellowship and "had a Whitman quotation carved on Mazinaw Rock, with the title 'Old Walt'"; points out that "this was the very first form of graffiti—and vandalism—that physically altered this sacred site," since for the Anishinaabe, "rocks are animate and have spirits."]

Prynne, J. H. *Whitman and Truth*. Swindon, UK: Shearsman Books, 2022. [A set of reading notes by poet J. H. Prynne, intended to introduce third-year university students to Whitman's reading of war via an analysis of "A March in the Ranks Hard-Prest, and the Road Unknown"; reprints the poem, several passages of Whitman's prose about the war and about *Drum-Taps*, a passage from Henry James's review of *Drum-Taps*, and short passages by Edmund Blunden, Mo Yan, Jerome Silbergeld, Susan Sontag, Sir Philip Sidney, and Michael Riffaterre.]

Raymond, Carl. *The Gilded Gentlemen History Podcast*. New York, 2023. thegildedgentlemen.com. [Two episodes of this podcast (#49 and #50) hosted by Carl Raymond are devoted to "Whitman and Wilde"; Part 1, "Walt Whitman in New York, 1855," examines Whitman's experience in New York City and Brooklyn, with historian Hugh Ryan talking about the revolutionary nature of *Leaves of Grass* and Whitman's own conception of same-sex attraction, with a look at the meeting between Whitman and Wilde in 1882; Part 2 is "Oscar Wilde in New York, 1882," with Wilde scholar John Cooper examining the New York that Wilde visited that year and explaining Wilde's own conception of his sexual identity.]

Requena-Pelegrí, Teresa. "Masculinities, Nature, and Vulnerability: Towards a Transcorporeal Poetics in Washington Irving and Walt Whitman." In Paul M. Pulé and Martin Hultman, eds., *Men, Masculnities, and Earth: Contending with the (m)Anthropocene* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 135-149. [Views Washington Irving's "Rip Van Winkle" (1820) and the 1855 "Song of Myself" as "two antithetical representations of the relation of human beings either as [in Irving's case] separate entities to nature and hence invulnerable or by contrast [in Whitman's case], as being enmeshed in the material world"; goes on to suggest how Whitman's "political project of nation-building" was connected to his "depiction of nature as a facilitator for its inhabitants to become one rather than apart" and argues that "grass is the central element that symbolises this organic union"; examines "Whitman's construction of a vulnerable male body" as a way of undermining "masculine hegemonisation in challenging the hermetic and separate quality of the male body characteristic of a normative masculinity," resulting in a "transcorporeality" that "entails a redefinition of the human subject and belongs in the post-humanist theorization of the transversal subject," with "Whitman's capitalisation on the sensuality and vulnerability of the naked male body and its enmeshment in the natural world" as "integral to his democratic epic of union" and "an essential part of his poetics," a poetics that focuses on "care as an essential aspect of a masculinity that moves away from normative conceptions."]

Riley, Peter J. "Walt Whitman." In Cody Marrs, ed., *American Literature in Transition, 1851-1877* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 91-106. [Argues that "spirit and money media merge so powerfully in Whitman's poetry so as to develop a trance-inducing capacity: a power that not only casts its spell over a swathe of future disciples, radical socialists, and future poets—but also Whitman himself"; goes on to examine "Whitman's medial poetics of exchange value—the straining mutual relationship between circulation and care"—in his work from the early editions of *Leaves of Grass* through his Civil War and Reconstruction writings, emphasizing how, for Whitman, "care and consideration . . . do not form an opposition to inexorable, exhausting circulation, but are the by-products of this circulation."]

Rimby, Andrew. "The Pool of Narcissus: Walt Whitman's Male Homoerotic Poetics." PhD Dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 2023. [Traces "the influence of the Narcissus myth primarily in the writings of Walt Whitman to explore how male homoerotic desire becomes a structuring principle of Whitman's poetics and his vision of American democracy" and explores "why Whitman turns to ancient Greek mythology for his homoerotic poetics"; *DAI*-A 85/2(E).]

Rumeau, Delphine. Review of Behnam M. Fomeshi, *The Persian Whitman*, and Susan Jaffe Tane and Karen Karbiener, eds., *Poet of the Body: New York's Walt Whitman*. *Modern Language Review* 118 (July 2023), 370-372.

Rybina, Polina. "Text-Emotion-Video: The Poetics of Jennifer Crandall's Documentary Cycle Whitman, Alabama." *Academia Letters* (August 2021), doi.org/10.20935/AL3040. [Examines how Jennifer Crandall's "Whitman, Alabama" documentary cycle (whitmanalabama.com) "transforms poetry for the small screen" and creates an "audio-visual poetics" that "fosters and transforms the emotional message" of Whitman's "Song of Myself."]

Sandler, Matt. Review of Stefan Schöberlein, ed., *Walt Whitman's New Orleans*. *American Literary History* 35 (Winter 2023), 1924-1927.

Sueyoshi, Kiyotaka. "Walt Whitman's Poetic-Political Experiment: Jeffersonian Whitman and Whitman's Olfactory Tropes." PhD Dissertation, Szegedi Tudomanyegyetem (Hungary), 2023. [Explores "two overlooked motifs in the criticism of Walt Whitman: the influence of Jefferson on Whitman and Whitman's olfactory tropes" and argues that both motifs are best understood "within the framework of the American experiment of self-government"; proposes that "Whitman's olfactory tropes—the main elements of his 'new decorums'—are the vehicle" for his "invigorating pride to continue the American experiment"; *DAI*-A 85/6(E).]

Smith, Jeff. *Perpetual Scriptures in Nineteenth-Century America: Literary, Religious, and Political Quests for Textual Authority*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2023. [Chapter 7, "Walt Whitman's 'New Bible' and the Spiritual Vitalizing of Facts," in Part II of the

book ("The Quest for New Scriptures"), examines how Whitman sought in *Leaves of Grass* to "vindicate the sacred and to merge the timeless with the urgent present" in order to produce what he called "the Great Construction of the New Bible."]

Thomas, M. Wynn. "'A Singing Walt from the Mower': Dylan Thomas and the 'Whitmanian [Re]turn' in the Post-War Poetic Culture of the States." *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 40 (Winter/Spring 2023), 95-126. [Investigates Dylan Thomas's complex attitudes toward Whitman and argues that "the 'Whitmanian' Thomas inadvertently prepare[d] the way for the emergence of the Confessionals as well as the Beats"; shows how a variety of American poets—including Karl Shapiro, Allen Ginsberg, Kenneth Rexroth, Bob Kaufman, Theodore Roethke, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, and John Berryman—"sensed Thomas's affinities with Whitman" and helped foster "the turn—or return—to Whitman" in the mid-1950s after the long "strait-jacketing influence" of New Criticism and the "perceived social and cultural stagnation" of what Robert Lowell called "the tranquilized fifties"; concludes by indicating how "Whitman and Thomas became twinned in the minds of several American poets"—including Philip Levine, Galway Kinnell, and Robert Bly—"because they were both outcasts who instinctively sympathized with other outcasts and social rejects," and how even as unlikely a poet as James Dickey, while rejecting the notion that Whitman and Thomas had influenced him, praised them as his "liberators and enablers who had set him free to make his own distinctive way in poetry": by the mid-1950s the "unquiet ghost" of Thomas, then, seemed to "buddy up with the equally unquiet ghost of an old Walt who was stealthily preparing for his comeback."]

Thomson, David. "Whitman Tracked Between Editions, Rossetti as a Complex Subversive, and the Collective Sense of Authorship: A Mixed Methods Accounting of a Hyperlinked 'Calamus.'" *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 17.1 (2023), digitalhumanities.org. [Offers a detailed examination of the cultural work that William Michael Rossetti's 1868 edition of Whitman's poems (*Poems by Walt Whitman*) accomplished, with a particular focus on how Rossetti dealt with the "Calamus" cluster of poems; argues that "Rossetti presented a Whitman who was both an all-too-humanly needy American citizen and an egalitarian spokesman for the inherent worth of all—regardless of nationality, vocation or any caste formation," and that, by excluding most "Calamus" poems and distributing the rest in new contexts, he managed "to spiritualize Whitman's emphasis on the body as another sacred site of creation"; offers a hypertextual analysis and "latent semantic analysis" of key terms in order to try to determine "the within-group relatedness of 'Calamus' poems included in *Poems*," to find the relationship of "Calamus" poems across editions, to tease out "the relation of the 'Calamus' content Rossetti sampled to 'Elemental Drifts' in Rossetti's 'Walt Whitman' group [of poems]," and to reveal "the present relevance of [Rossetti's] *Poems* as a study in authorship aided by reception and collaboration."]

Tye, Nathan. "'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."

Walt Whitman Quarterly Review 40 (Winter/Spring 2023), 127-139. [Offers a scan and a transcription of a 1904 letter from Brooklyn carpenter (and friend of Whitman) William C. Booth to attorney Thomas Fenton Taylor, answering Taylor's inquiry about Walt Whitman; examines the letter for what it tells us about Walter Whitman Sr. (Walt's father) and his character and occupation, as well as what it tantalizingly fails to tell us about Walt Whitman.]

Utphall, Jamie Anna. "Pain Management in Nineteenth-Century American Literature." PhD Dissertation, The Ohio State University, 2023. [Explores "how three writers, Emily Dickinson, Walt Whitman, and Charles Chesnutt, imagine and theorize pain and pain relief during a period of burgeoning medical and political upheaval in the nineteenth-century United States," arguing that "each of these authors engages with pain not only as a destructive and destabilizing force but also as a creative one"; offers "a new investigation of Whitman's rendering of soldiers' pain through a cluster of his earliest Civil War poems [to] demonstrate Whitman's attempt to find the most precise language possible to depict the immediacy and immanence of soldiers' pain"; *DAI*-A 85/4(E).]

Waite, Duncan. "Reflections on 'The American Scholar': Words of Inspiration for These Dark Times." *Research in Educational Administration and Leadership* 7 no. 4 (2022), 714-749. [Examines in detail Ralph Waldo Emerson's "The American Scholar" "for its relevance for us today," especially in terms of education, and looks into the work of "Walt Whitman, Emerson's compatriot," for related insights about "the way Whitman, and by extension Emerson, conceived of spirit" (as explained by D. H. Lawrence in his essay "Democracy").]

Weill, Kurt. *Propheten and Whitman Songs*. Vienna Radio Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Dennis Russell Davies, with baritone Thomas Hampson. Vienna, Austria: Capriccio, 2023. [Album containing a performance by Thomas Hampson of Kurt Weill's 1940s Whitman song cycle ("Beat! Beat! Drums!," "O Captain! My Captain!," "Come Up from the Fields, Father," and "Dirge for Two Veterans") recorded at the Salzburg Festival in 2001.]

White Vidarte, Elizabeth J. "Disability, Dependency, and the Mind: Representations of Care-Giving and Receiving." PhD Dissertation, Temple University, 2021. [Chapter 3, "The Traumas and Delusions of the Civil War," deals with Constance Fenimore Woolson's *For the Major* and Whitman's *Specimen Days* "to show how otherwise promising models of care are profoundly compromised by their erasures of race and/or mind-related disability"; *DAI*-A 83/2(E).]

Whitman, Walt. *Barge-haye 'Alaf* [*Leaves of Grass*]. Translated into Persian by Farzan Nasr. Tehran, Iran: Hermes, 2023. [Persian translation of 103 poems from the "deathbed edition" (1891-92) of *Leaves of Grass*, with an introduction by Nasr containing sections on "Growing the Leaves and the Problem of Editions," "Language-Shaping," "Reiterative Devices," "Catalogue," and "Poetic Diction"; in Persian.]

Whitman, Walt. *Leaves of Grass / Grashalme: Zweisprachige Fassung der Erstausgabe von 1855*. Translated by Walter Grünzweig and a Group of Translators from the Technical University of Dortmund. Aachen, Germany: Rimbaud, 2022. [Bilingual edition of the first edition (1855) of *Leaves of Grass*, with the German text translated by Walter Grünzweig and nearly 80 student translators from TU Dortmund, with an afterword by Grünzweig (in German), which offers an overview of the long tradition of German translations of Whitman, examines the first edition as a experiment in form, discusses the variety of topics in the first edition, offers pedagogical ideas about translation as a collective enterprise, and presents a history of this bilingual edition from inception through publication.]

Whitman, Walt. *Specimen Days*. Edited by Max Cavitch. New York: Oxford University Press, 2023. [With introduction, textual note, bibliography, chronology, explanatory notes, and a glossary of persons mentioned in the book, all by Cavitch; also includes Whitman's two prefaces for the British edition of *Specimen Days*.]

Whitman, Walt. *Walt Whitman's Little Book of Selected Quotes: On Life, Love, and Poetry*. West Haven, CT: Helios, 2021. [Small collection of memorable Whitman quotations, mostly from *Leaves of Grass*.]

Zampaki, Nicoleta. *I Viokosmikí Syneídisi tou Poiití: Fýsi kai Sóma sto érgo ton Walt Whitman kai Ángelou Sikelianoú* [*The Biocosmic Consciousness of the Poet: Nature and Body in the Work of Walt Whitman and Angelos Sikelianos*]. Athens, Greece: Sokolis Publications, 2023. [Offers an ecocritical, ecopsychological, and eco-phenomenological comparative study of Whitman's "Song of Myself" and the poetry of Greek writer Angelos Sikelianos (1884-1951), illuminating the "biocosmic consciousness" of the two poets; in Greek.]

The University of Iowa Ed Folsom

"Walt Whitman: A Current Bibliography," now covering work on Whitman from 1838 to the present, is available in a fully searchable format online at the *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* website (pubs.lib.uiowa.edu/wwqr/) and at the *Walt Whitman Archive* (whitmanarchive.org).

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When quoting from individual editions of *Leaves of Grass* (the 1855, 1856, 1860, 1867, 1870-1871, 1881, 1891), please use the facsimiles available online on the *Walt Whitman Archive*, and cite the edition, date, and page numbers, followed by "Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (www.whitmanarchive.org)." Do not list the URL of individual page images or the date accessed. After the initial citation, contributors should abbreviate as "*LG*" followed by the year of the edition and the page number (e.g., *LG*1855 15).

The standard edition of Whitman's work is the *Walt Whitman Archive* (www.whitmanarchive.org) in addition to *The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman*, twenty-two volumes published by the New York University Press under the general editorship of Gay Wilson Allen and Sculley Bradley, and supplemented with volumes published by the University of Iowa Press and Peter Lang. Citations and quotations from Whitman's writings not yet available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* should be keyed to the specific volumes in this edition.

After the initial citation, contributors should abbreviate the titles of the *Collected Writings* in the endnotes as follows:

EPF	*The Early Poems and Fiction*, edited by Thomas L. Brasher (1963)
PW	*Prose Works 1892*, edited by Floyd Stovall. Vol. 1: *Specimen Days* (1963); Vol. 2: *Collect and Other Prose* (1964). with a Composite Index (1977); Vol. 7, edited by Ted Genoways (2004).
DBN	*Daybooks and Notebooks*, edited by William White. 3 vols. (1978).

NUPM	*Notebooks and Unpublished Prose Manuscripts*, edited by Edward F. Grier. 6 vols. (1984).
Journ	*The Journalism*, edited by Herbert Bergmann, Douglas A. Noverr, and Edward J. Recchia. Vol. 1: 1834-1846 (1998); Vol. 2: 1846-1848 (2003).
Corr	*The Correspondence*, edited by Edwin Haviland Miller. Vol. 1: 1842-1867 (1961); Vol. 2: 1868-1875 (1961); Vol. 3: 1876-1885 (1964); Vol. 4: 1886-1889 (1969); Vol. 5: 1890-1892 (1969); Vol. 6: A Supplement; Vol. 7: edited by Ted Genoways (2004).

For Whitman's correspondence, letters available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* take precedence over the *The Correspondence* edited by Edwin Haviland Miller. These should be cited in this format: Sender to recipient, month, day, year, followed by "Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*, ID: xxx.00000."—e.g., Herbert Gilchrist to Walt Whitman, August 20, 1882. Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*, ID: loc.02192.

Horace Traubel's *With Walt Whitman in Camden* (9 Vols) is available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*. After an initial citation followed by "Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (www.whitmanarchive.org)," it should be abbreviated *WWC*, followed by its volume and page number (e.g. *WWC* 3:45).

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Figure 19 Walt Whitman's Tomb, Harleigh Cemetery, Camden, New Jersey. Photo taken by Maire Mullins, May 20, 2017. See pp. 1-34.