

The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman

WALT WHITMAN

Notebooks and
Unpublished Prose
Manuscripts

VOLUME II: WASHINGTON

Edited by Edward F. Grier



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The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman

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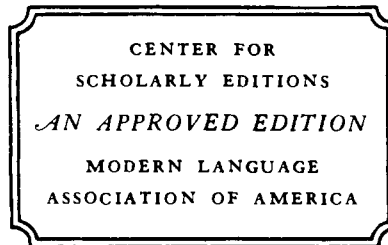
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The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman

III. Washington.

The manuscripts of Whitman's Washington years have been arranged, insofar as possible, in chronological order. The reader will have already noticed, however, a certain amount of chronological overlap in the hospital notebooks, for Whitman did not use them systematically. His own account to Traubel in 1888 (Traubel, II, 137) gives some explanation of his method.

He [WW] showed me several of his little improvised note-books of the war-time. One was marked "September & October, 1863." He read some memoranda from it to me. "I carried sometimes half a dozen such books in my pocket at one time—never was without one of them: I took notes as I went along—often as I sat—talking, maybe, as with you here now—I writing while the other fellow told his story. I would take the best paper (you can see, the best I could find) and make it up into these books, tying them with string or tape or getting someone (often it was Nellie O'Connor) to stitch them for me. My little books were beginnings—they were the ground into which I dropped the seed.

WW also abandoned notebooks, only to pick them up later. "return my book," for example, the earliest of the hospital notebooks, had been used briefly in 1856–1857, discarded, used again in 1862 and then carried to Washington in December of that year.

It has seemed advisable, however, for ease of reference, to group related material together at the date of the earliest manuscript. Such groups are those concerning the projected newspaper series, "*Hours in Our Army Hospitals*," the projected book, "MEMORANDA OF A YEAR (1863)," black soldiers, accounts of the 14th, 51st and 139th New York Volunteer regiments, the imprisonment and release of George Whitman, Abraham Lincoln, and notes toward *Memoranda During the War*.

Return My Book.

Manuscript formerly in LC (#94). The original has disappeared, and there remain only photostats of sheet #'s [3376–3395], 4½" x 2¾". Of these, [3381] and [3395] duplicate others in the series. Some of the photostats show portions of leaves as well as full leaves. There are also reproductions in Glicksberg, facing 80, 122 (duplicates LC sheet #[3376]), 125, 126 (duplicates LC sheet [3379]). *Ten Notebooks*, 15, reproduces LC sheet #'s [3385, 3386]. A further pair of leaves ([14–15]) is in Esther Shephard, *Walt Whitman's Pose* (New York, 1938) facing 244. A description of the notebook can be compiled from the sources mentioned: black leather notebook with gold border on the cover (letter, Esther Shephard) stamped "Walt Whitman 1862" in gold on the cover. Original page size approx. 6" x 4". Faint horizontal ruling on leaves.

The text presented here is based on a number of sources. (1) The LC photostats and other photoreproductions. (2) A typed transcript of the flyleaf and the first fifty-nine pages (actually sixty-one) made by Joseph Auslander when he was Consultant in Poetry at LC in the 1930s. Since this is the only foliated consecutive transcript, it has been followed despite Auslander's misnumbering, but photoreproductions or Glicksberg's more scholarly transcripts have superseded individual pages of Auslander or are used to correct his assumed misreadings. Auslander's foliation is indicated by italic numbers (one- or two-digit numbers followed by four-digit LC sheet numbers) both in italic brackets. (3) Glicksberg, 64–83, and Glicksberg, *AL*. (4) Transcript supplied by Emory Holloway, which has been deposited in the Department of Special Collections, Kenneth L. Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas. (5) Shephard, *Walt Whitman's Pose*. Sources followed have been indicated in the notes.

Even for WW the notebook is a chronological muddle. Although in accordance with the policy of this edition the contents have been rearranged chronologically, a brief history of WW's use of it and contemporaneous notebooks may be helpful.

The notebook was seemingly first used in 1856 and early 1857 for names from "[illeg.] Dick Hunt," a notebook of early 1857, appear in it. Since the wording is sometimes close, they may have been transcribed, in fact, those on (6,7) seem to have been transcribed in 1862. The bulk of the entries begin in early 1862 with names of people he met in New York or Brooklyn, an account of lowlife on the Bowery which looks like material for an article, and the description of the New York Hospital, which he used in the "City Photographs" series in the *New York Leader*, March 15–May 17, 1862 (Glicksberg, 15–62). The notes on omnibuses made August 4 were probably made with a similar purpose in view. "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz" covers the same period and some of the same material.

He left New York on short notice with letters of introduction (see Charles E. Feinberg, "Notes on Whitman Collections and Collectors," *LC Cat*, v), December 16, to find his brother George, whose name had appeared in a list of casualties at Fredericksburg in

the New York *Herald*. With him he apparently took this notebook. On the seventeenth he arrived in Washington and made a few notes of rooming houses and persons. By good fortune, he ran into his friend O'Connor, who helped him locate George's regiment, and on the nineteenth reached Falmouth, Virginia, opposite Fredericksburg, where the 51st New York Volunteers was stationed. Having found his brother only slightly wounded, he began making notes on the history of the 51st and on scenes of camp life just behind the lines. If Glicksberg printed the material as it appeared in the MS., WW entered one series of entries on rectos and the other on versos, a practice which he followed elsewhere, but since one cannot be certain, the entries have been rearranged chronologically. As Glicksberg (68-83) has shown, substantiating Holloway's hypothesis, the historical notes were used for "Fifty-first New York Veterans" in the New York *Times* October 29, 1864 (printed *UPP*, II, 37-41). After his return to Washington on December 28 (*Corr.*, I, 58), he entered a few memoranda on the flyleaf, including probably O'Connor's address where he was staying, and then or not much later, the name and address of the interesting Mlle. Farvarcer, and began keeping records of his hospital visits wherever he could find a blank page or even a blank space. The bulk of the later entries seem to belong to early 1863.

At about the same time he began keeping "a m Dr. L B Russell," which runs with gaps from December, 1862 to December, 1863, he was not only making entries on various scraps, but keeping other notebooks. "The contrabands" covers January, 1863; "Hospitals/Culpepper" covers February and March; "Walt Whitman Soldier's" runs with many gaps from February to August. "Hospital Notebook" has entries for June; and "September & October 1863" covers those months.

The latest entries in this notebook are for August, 1864, after a lapse in use of over a year.

WW first appears in the Washington directory in 1864 as a reporter living at 394 L Street North. This was the home of W. D. O'Connor. He had gotten a job in the Paymaster's office and moved into the same house as the O'Connors, 394 L St., where he also dined (*Corr.*, I, 63, 83). He may, however, have briefly boarded, or considered it, at Mrs. Kirkwood's, F & 12th sts., in late 1862 ("return my book"). In September he moved to the third story and fed himself (*Corr.*, I, 141). On October 16 he signed a lease for a room at 456 Sixth St. ("a m Dr. L B Russell." In 1867 he appears in the directory, without occupation, at 364 13th Street West. But in February, 1867, he writes that he has moved to M St. (#472) where he stayed at least until November, 1868 (*Corr.*, I, 312, II, 70). In 1868 he was working as a clerk in the Attorney General's office, same address. Of course he had been in the Attorney General's Office since 1865. In 1870, he held the same position, boarding at 1205 M Street North. In 1871 and 1872 he is listed as clerk, Department of Justice, same address. In 1873, he is listed as a clerk in the Solicitor-General's Office, same address. But at the time of his stroke he had been living at 535 15th St. NW since March 1, 1871, according to his receipts ("Payments to Mrs. White").

The material has been arranged chronologically, with the exception of a few leaves, such as the flyleaf, where it has seemed not only impracticable to disperse brief entries, some of uncertain date, but also illuminating to the reader to present the leaf as it stands. Undatable material, such as the notes on Dante and the drafts of "A Noiseless Patient Spider," have been inserted where it seemed appropriate. In his transcript, Holloway writes that a brief version of "The City Dead-House" was also part of this MS.

Portions of this notebook have been published by Holloway, *UPP*, II, 93; by Jean Catel, "Carnet de Notes de Whitman," *L'Ane d'Or* (Montpellier), (March, 1926), 52-54,

and "Walt Whitman pendant la Guerre de Secession d'après des Documents Inédits," *Revue Anglo-Américain*, 6 (August, 1929), 410-419; by William E. Barton, *Abraham Lincoln and Walt Whitman* (Indianapolis, 1928), 43, 45, 50-52; and by Glicksberg as noted above. Priority in publication of a given passage has not been indicated. See illustrations for [3383R] (p. 552), [13; 3386R] (488), [30; 3387 L and R] (pp. 496-498), [33; 3385R] (pp. 498-499, 524).

[Flyleaf]¹ return my book to Walt Whitman 4 /
 —Jan '63 now with² Wm. D O'Connor 394 L st 4th 14th st Oreole³
 Washington D, C. W Whitman Portland ave near Myrtle⁴ /
 Soldiers Free Library 407 Fifth street /
 Washington —mails close for N.Y.⁵ 9.30 am 3.30 pm 9[.30] pm /
 arrive from N.Y.⁶ [:] 7 a.m. 10 am 6.30 pm /
 Dr. Leman⁷ /
 Wm Swinton⁸ care of Gen. Hunt chief of artillery Headquarters Army of the
 Potomac
 Jack Macarty co. I 2d N.Y. artillery Fort Corcoran go out by Georgetown cars /
 Mad.lle Sophie Favarger 257⁹—E. Street cor E & 11th /
 Boarding House 377 13th st Jan 11 [1] 503 Twelfth bet E & F up 3d story.

[7]¹⁰ Richard Hunt,¹¹ 68 Stanton st. 2d av. car

1. Text from Auslander. From the two addresses, one can assume that WW put his Washington address on the flyleaf of the notebook he had been using in NY and began making hospital entries on blank pages at the beginning. It has seemed more important in this instance to preserve the text as it stood than to break it up in chronological order. The entries are in column, seemingly separated by short rules from the left.

2. "4 . . . now with" is not in the body of the text in Auslander's transcription, but on the right edge. The significance of "4" is not clear. WW and O'Connor had met in Boston in 1860. Both he and his wife had known LG since 1855. While he was desperately trying to locate George in Washington he ran into O'Connor who loaned him some money to replace that which had been stolen in Philadelphia. By January 3 WW had moved into a room in the same house as the O'Connors (*Corr.*, I, 63). Auslander gives "D st" for the O'Connors' address, but the 1862 directory gives G and the 1863 L.

3. Auslander's reading; possibly for "circle."

4. Auslander's reading was "Wyeth"

5. Mail schedule in column.

6. Three words in column in center of page separated from mail schedule by vertical row of dots.

7. A Dr. Leman was Ward Surgeon in Campbell Hospital, Washington (*Corr.*, I, 71).

8. See "Rambles among Words." At this time Swinton was war correspondent for the NY *Times*.

9. S. Farvarcer, artiste (i.e., entertainer in a variety show), Directory, 1864. See "a m Dr. L. B. Russell" for discussion of her relationship with WW.

10. Pages possibly misarranged by Auslander, or perhaps, as elsewhere. WW made entries at random. Placed here since they refer to NY or Brooklyn, but seem earlier than other NY or Brooklyn entries, possibly from the 1850s. The last entry "gone soldiering" suggests peacetime, whereas [5] and [6] are obviously from wartime. Names are in column some separated by short rules from the left as indicated by slashes.

11. Butcher at this address in the NY directories, 1855-1864. See "[illeg.] Dick Hunt."

Rebecca Velsor¹² 130 Suffolk st.
 Robley¹³ 18st & 9th av Gowanus
 H. Peters,¹⁴ cor Cherry st & Franklin sq.
 Herman Storms,¹⁵ Pascock p.o. Bergen co. N.J.
 Noah Hanford Pelham, (Hank)¹⁶
 Thos. P. Nichols 69 Carlton av.¹⁷
 Wm. Metzler, Tuskilwa, Bureau co, Illinois /¹⁸
 Mrs. Harriet Erwin (Saml. Erwin) Malone, Franklin co, N.Y.
 Robertson M. Bryant.
 Silas S. Soule,¹⁹ Lieut. 1st Colorado Volunteers.
 Albert Jones (Cack Jones sons) /
 Frank, (Beeswax)²⁰
 Jack Campbell, E. Brooklyn, formerly policeman, now carpenter.
 George Applegate tallest—(Dan Applegate²¹
 Wm. Phillips,²² large, light comp. met in '56 or '7 in ale house in Myrtle av. near
 Pearl—afterward told me he was living out in Jersey,—belonged to N. 8 engine
 James (oldest)²³ and John Rose. ('57) Classon av.
 John Stoothoff, policeman, (blonde) Fulton st.
 Charles Held,
 Felix McClusky (from California—red hair)
 Wm Culver, boy in bath, aged 18 (gone to California '56.²⁴
 Tom Egbert,²⁵ conductor Myrtle av. open neck, sailor looking
 Robert (Dad.)²⁶ 23d st. /

12. A Joseph Velsor, "late police," is listed in the NY directories at this address from 1856 to 1860. In the 1863-1865 Brooklyn directories Rebecca Velsor is listed as a widow, living at 76 Coulton Avenue. They may have been related to WW on his mother's side. See *Corr.*, I, 280; "D. W. Wilder" and "George Walker."

13. See "[illeg.] Dick Hunt." A Joseph Robley is listed in the Brooklyn directories, 1855-63, at addresses in this vicinity as superintendant, clerk, and oil cloth manufacturer.

14. Peters is in the NY directories, 1859-1864, as an engraver in a shop at 1 Franklin Square. His house was in Brooklyn.

15. Storms, a driver, visited WW with other drivers in 1876 ("D.W. Wilder") and *Corr.*, I, 368, 376. His relation to George Storms is not stated. Possibly they were brothers.

16. Carman in the NY directories from 1859-1864.

17. In the Brooklyn directories, 1854-1864, as an accountant and clerk.

18. See "[illeg.] Dick Hunt," "81 Clerman."

19. Soule was probably in Colorado or New Mexico on duty with his regiment. He and WW corresponded in January and March, 1862 (*Corr.*, I, 365, 372). See "English Runic."

20. See "[illeg.] Dick Hunt."

21. A George S. Applegate, butcher, is in the Brooklyn directories, 1856-1863, at various addresses on Prince Street. A Daniel B. Applegate is listed as a butcher employed on Myrtle Avenue, 1854-1857. WW had formerly lived on these streets. See "[illeg.] Dick Hunt."

22. See "[illeg.] Dick Hunt."

23. Upholsterer, Classon Avenue, Brooklyn, 1854-1857.

24. See "[illeg.] Dick Hunt" for Stoothoff, Held, and Culver.

25. He was listed as a conductor in the Brooklyn directories, 1857-1859. See "[illeg.] Dick Hunt."

26. See *ibid.* for the next twenty-one names, excepting Stewart, Norris Evans and Sam the plumber.

Edmund Bryant elder Melville [*Bryant*] [:] sons of Dr. Bryant Northport, L.I.
 Charles Quail, policeman N.Y.
 David Stewart, No. 12 E. Brooklyn
 Abe Debevis [:]
 Ike [*Debevis*?]
 (Dave Ackerman (bones Broadway & 42d)
 Johnny Nevin
 Mike Butler, stone cutter, Kent av.
 Martin Evans²⁷ Norris [*Evans*] [:]
 (George Wright plaster
 Martha, in Burroughs's saloon
 Sam, (young fellow I met at Dominick Colgan's plumber)
 Tom Lambert, tall, mason, black-eyed
 David Barnet (elder) Sam [*Barnet*] younger
 Elisha, Bill, & Dave Jones, (4th av.)
 Elias B. Pierson²⁸ John [*Pierson*] [:] sailor gone soldiering
 [6] Hayter's Ale Cellar Pine street south side half way between Broadway and
 Nassau
 178—4th street—near 6th av. S. P. Andrews²⁹
 Capt. Edward Shanley (Alanson Fargo)³⁰ Shyster 9th N.Y.S. Militia Brown's hotel
 [5] Lieut. G. W. Whitman D. 51st New York—Newbern North Carolina Sturges
 Division, Ferrero's Brigade 9th Army Corps³¹
 [33]³² J Bowery Junction Bowery Catherine & Division streets
 great tides of humanity crossing each other—the cars jangling bells of the cars —
 the rumbling of omnibusses the jam and noise of carts
 and huckster wagons &c—an occasional— handsome red-colored
 & Harlem cars drawing to it, bouncing along from³³ Chatham Square
 up to Bowery theatre³⁴ /

27. Listed variously as druggist and Custom House weigher in the Brooklyn directories, 1854–1862.

28. See “June 23d '57,” although this may not be the same person.

29. Author, 178 Fourth Ave., NY. This is certainly Stephen Pearl Andrews (1812–1886), reformer and eccentric. His grand scheme was a “Pantarchy” or “Universal Government of Mankind” of which he was to be Pantarch. In November, 1863, WW visited the headquarters of the Pantarchy to which he was unsympathetic because of Andrews' advocacy of free love. See *Corr.*, I, 183–184. See also Auslander [8] below.

30. For Fargo see Auslander [22] below.

31. This must be an early entry, for George was promoted to captain while WW was at Falmouth in December. His regiment was at New Bern in February, 1862, and he was promoted to second lieutenant then (Glicksberg, 87). Placed here to follow chronology.

32. Auslander comments: “erased and written over.” The ellipses are in Auslander. Possibly, the indicate illegible passages. Entries about the Bowery used for “City Photographs,” Glicksberg, 47–62.

33. Auslander shows “Chatham” “Frank” as deleted.

34. Auslander has a line of periods across the page between entries.

like great dropping banners Kearney & Gregg fine³⁵ carpet store Close & Bell cloths store /

[35]³⁶ U S (?)³⁷ Country hotels Warden House New England Hotel Held's Hotel between Barnard streets and Canal (?)³⁸

about above Bowery /

the hotel Taft

sports of the east side of the city German places—the "Town Halls"—The Branch adjoining Bowery theatre

reminiscence of the time John Hyer whipt (Gillie?)³⁹

[37]⁴⁰ —theatre Appollo summer garten opposite—theatre Bowery theatre⁴¹ /

Crooks eating saloon (white as snow

Citizen's bank reserve corner Ernest street good building & Otto Ernest's furnishing and gents⁴² store on the other corner

Mrs. Parnes writ school

Canal street crosses here now widened from its ancient proportions and paved with the Dutch pavement

[39; 38 *blank*] fine building The Baldwins 5 (double door?) Clothing store 72

then the fine building Bowery Theatre E. Eddy Day the Man of Destiny⁴³ /

through the saloons good many Jews in Bowery

Anderson 99 makes a great show also Anderson 103 (between Hester & Grand lots of carpet stores 110 frame store picture altogether frame

[41]⁴⁴ a good many poor buildings especially in the neighborhood of Grand street —they (bring) (?)⁴⁵ (bundles with food?) piled in the doorways, or (hallways?) — but the buildings are poor & shabby /

The Bowery Savings Bank 128 and 130 Bowery, is a with its brown freestone facade is one of the finest buildings in New York /

35. Inserted.

36. [34], which deals with soldiers, is placed elsewhere. Auslander notes that [35] is "erased and overwritten." The last entries on [35], which list soldiers, are also placed elsewhere. It seems possible that WW began to use blank versos for such notes as well as blank spaces on rectos. See [36].

37. Query may be Auslander's.

38. Ellipses and query may be Auslander's.

39. "City Photographs, V" (Glicksberg, 50–51) describes the triumphant reception of Tom Hyer at the Branch after his defeat of Yankee *Sullivan* in a prize fight in 1849.

40. [36], which relates to WW's Washington hospital experiences, is placed elsewhere. Auslander notes that [37] is "Erased, part cut off."

41. The Bowery Theater, long a popular playhouse, was built in 1826. See "City Photographs, VI," Glicksberg, 52–58.

42. Preceding two words inserted.

43. Edward Eddy made his debut at the Greenwich Theater as Othello in 1846 after gaining a reputation on the road. He was for years a great favorite with the Bowery Boys. *The Man of Destiny* was by Thomas B. DeWalden. "Day" is unidentifiable.

44. [40] and the beginning of [41], which are dated 1864, are placed in chronological order. Auslander notes that the remainder of the page is erased.

45. The parentheses and queries in this entry appear to be Auslander's.

hotels Westchester House corner of Brown street Westchester Exchange opposite
lager-beer places in Bowery not so thick as formerly—as many of them greatest
are now far⁴⁶ up town [43;42 *blank*] The Bowery is best fitted for cars of any
street in the city /

in some bakers windows the dark brown German bread others “servants
wanted” /

along in the cellars great display of Dutch and other cheap⁴⁷ caps /
others /

in the polished glass windows crowded displays of new and second hand jewelry
and watches—pistols curiosities, banjos fiddles pawnbrokers shops

[45; 44 *blank*] Lindenmuller’s Halle 201 Bowery—large—lager beer⁴⁸

A waiter comes out and sprinkles the floor—then the waltzing band strikes
up—very good music—the young fellows select their partners—waltzing alto-
gether—the “officer” rushes in and taps a young fellow on the shoulder—he is
violating the rules by wearing his hat.

The placard at the shooting gallery informs soldiers & civilians, officers &
privates who wish to perfect themselves in shooting that they will be taught free.

Another nominates Gen. Fremont for the Presidency in 1864. The young
fellows are good looking—and still they waltz, waltz, waltz. Some till they are
red in the face. a gay assembly—a dance hall, perfectly respectable, I should think—
some officers.

[47; 46 *blank*]⁴⁹ S. Ward 8 Dr Hogan Case of empyemia⁵⁰ the Forsner, the
Carman—Dining room first

Ward 12 case of boy in German Grocery in Forsyth street—from improper and
deficient nutrition soldiers—wolverine

paralysis cases / in a hospital occur the most pronounced cases—the romance of
surgery & medicine

[49; 50 *blank*; 3392 R; L *blank*]⁵¹ Delerium Tremens /
robust, brown sailor seven days ashore—monkeys after him dogs biting him—
men & women beating him /

46. Inserted.

47. Preceding three words inserted.

48. The following three paragraphs are from Glicksberg, 21. They do not appear in Auslan-
der, nor is there a gap in his pagination.

49. Text from Auslander. The notes in the succeeding pages were used in four articles: “City
Photographs. The Broadway Hospital” in the *NY Leader*, March 15–April 12, 1862, signed “Velsor
Brush.” See Glicksberg, 15–47 and Glicksberg, “Walt Whitman in 1862,” *AL*, 6 (November, 1934),
264–282. See also the reminiscences of Dr. D. B. St. J. Roosa in “World of Letters,” *NY Mail and
Express*, June 20, 1893, printed as an Appendix to this notebook. WW’s friendly recollections of
Roosa and other doctors are in Donaldson, *Walt Whitman the Man*, 205–206. Other NY Hospital
notes are in “Mr. & Mrs. Fitz.”

50. Deleted: “empyemia”

51. The two-digit number is from Auslander, the four-digit number is from LC photostat.
Text from LC photostat. The second and third entries are followed by rules across the leaf.

man in the room imagining⁵² lady with glass of brandy /
 a⁵³ young lady who comes here—she brings the illustrated papers—handsome
 young woman gliding in and out like an angel

[51; 50 *blank*]⁵⁴ North House

Enfan Perdu—case of young man, ankle, Volunteers particularly Dr. McKee, under
 Dr Hogan & Dr. McKee lately House Physician to the N.Y. Hospital /

Dr. M. K. Hogan House Physician to the N. Y. Hosp. /

Dr's Smith & Baken Assistants /

Mention Dr North & Catten as House Surgeons

[53]⁵⁵ April 3d now 307 altogether averages 350— /

volunteers—70 or 80 /

Death in the Hospital from—standing up on the table—young man physician—
 fracture of vertebrae /

accidents take on epidemic form—that is if there is one case of concussion in the
 brain, there come three or four more—Crimes the same—

[55] Mention Mrs Mack the dining rooms the double iron stairs in South Building,
 for safety from fire /

by Dr Thomas Markoe⁵⁶ operation much improved last Friday Symes operation,
 performed by Dr. Stevens in the theatre, last Friday foot⁵⁷ taken off—bone of the
 foot amputated, while the flap of the heel brought around so as to make a cushion
 to walk upon—successful (over [57; 56 *blank*] formerly they would have cut it
 off, on the upper third—⁵⁸ or at most, a little lower down, lea /

Change in Hospital *Juniors*—on Medical side Dr. Barker on 2d surgical side Dr.
 Jenkins on 1st surgical Dr. Foster /

House Surgeon 1st surgical Divisions Dr. Alfred North Dr. Cutter 2d surgical in
 place of Dr. Little

[59; 58 *blank*] *Soldiers* arrangements have been made to receive 300 U.S. soldiers,
 soon to arrive /⁵⁹

Dislocation of the jaw poor woman came to the hospital with a double dislocation
 of lower jaw—so that the jaw just hung helpless, and firm (it was from gaping),⁶⁰
 so 18 hours. She came to Dr. North, the House Surgeon—She was etherized—
 the jaw was then prest in a proper manner, and put back in its proper connec-

52. Inserted above "lady "

53. Deleted: "lady "

54. Text from Auslander.

55. Auslander's [52] transferred to chronological position. Deleted in transcript: "March "

56. Deleted in transcript: "by Dr Stevens" . In "City Photographs, IV" (Glicksberg, 44) Markoe is named.

57. Glicksberg, 20n 12: "of soldiers wounded at Bull Run foot taken off" is deleted in MS. Auslander includes as insertion. WW is probably referring to the First Bull Run, July 26, 1861, since the second battle occurred between August 29 and 30, 1862, after the publication of the article, April 12, 1862.

58. Deleted in transcript: "but now"

59. Following text from Glicksberg, 21.

60. Glicksberg 21n 13, notes that "had been" is deleted in the MS.

tion—and the woman went away rejoicing—Dr. Stevens operation—no pay—
gaping.

{3393}⁶¹ *The Dead Houses* /
by Walter {?} Whitman

Not the low⁶² house⁶³ just⁶⁴ aside from the hospital
But the⁶⁵ [*illeg.*] corpse lying there⁶⁶ after [*illeg.*]
The⁶⁷ prostitute dead dead{?} borne in on a stretcher
The divine woman, lying so still, cold and decaying there
(That is the house I mean, not{?} the other of mortar, brick, and wood,
The house of the woman dead,—⁶⁸ talking erewhile and laughing—but⁶⁹ dead,⁷⁰
Months, years, an echoing, garnish'd house—but dead, dead, dead.

{29; 3389R}⁷¹ Thursday evening April 17th '62 The hour or two with Henry
W. Moore, evening, in Broadway, walking up—and in Bleecker street. —the brief
15 minutes, night July 18th '62, from Houston st. up from a five blocks through
Bleecker street⁷²

{11; 3390R}⁷³ 4 Acorn⁷⁴ /

Sunday, May 25th '62—Fort Hamilton /

William Wylie, Co. E. 5th (Jackson) Artillery sentry—at the south gate of the
Fort—talk &c in the evening—English lad, 23 yr's old /

*Mark Ward*⁷⁵—young fellow on fort Greene—talk from 10 to 12—May 23d '62 /

61. Not in Auslander or Glicksberg. In the absence of information about the original placement in the MS., this location seems appropriate. See "81 Clerman" for an earlier suggestion for this poem. In *LG* (1867). The possible "Walter" in the signature is curious at this date

62. Deleted: "table"{?}.

63. Inserted and deleted: "where I walk" above "house just aside"

64. Inserted above space and "aside"

65. Deleted: "poor woman" ; inserted above deletion [*illeg.*].

66. Inserted and deleted above "there after" : "on the floor" {?}

67. Deleted: "drunken wretch" ; inserted above deletion: "prostitute"

68. Deleted: "joyous" ; inserted above deletion: "talking"

69. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

70. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

71. Placed here in accordance with dates. The passage beginning "the brief 15 minutes . . ." is in a lighter ink or pencil and a slightly different hand.

72. Continues with events in October.

73. The facing leaf, {3390L}, a verso, names Henry D. Boardman and David S. Giles, soldiers whom WW met in January, 1863. See "Hospital Notebook." Underneath {3390L} appears the left edge of Auslander's {8}. Entries on {3390R} are separated by a rule across the leaf. A similar rule follows the last entry.

74. The photostat is very indistinct but Auslander's reading supports this cryptic entry. There was no Acorn Street in NY or Brooklyn.

75. Mason was living on Franklin Ave. near DeKalb St., Brooklyn.

*John Sweeten*⁷⁶—tall, well-tann'd, born in New Jersey,—driver 40 4th av. May 27 '62,—was a boy, in Philadelphia riots of '44 (Aug 19 drives 23) /

Dan'l Spencer (Spencer, pere,⁷⁷ 214 44th st. & 59 William somewhat feminine—5th av (44) (May 29th)—told me he had never been in a fight and did not drink at all gone in 2d N. Y. Lt{?} Artillery deserted, returned to it⁷⁸ slept with me Sept 3d⁷⁹, Dr. Hogan,⁸⁰ Drug store, in Centre street east side {?}⁸¹ just south⁸² of Leonard.—/

Thos Gray good looking young Scotchman elegantly dress'd,—does the tricks, cutting his finger &c—at Pfaff's & Raffeley's⁸³ May, June, July, 1862 /

Chas Kingsley,⁸⁴ (young man, upper class at Pfaff's &c—fond of training for boat-racing, &c. June, July, 1862 /

Dr. *Wm Lamont Wheeler*, surgeon U. S. N. met at Pfaff's June '62, with Charles Kingsley—*damned shyster*⁸⁵

{12} Robert Paterson, No 10, 23d st 37 years old

Wm Miller 8th st (has powder slightly in his face.)

Harry (the old fellow, starter, Madison av. & 40th street) /

Sunday evening July 6th '62 /

William Mead,⁸⁶ 36 or 7—on Fort Greene Said he was at Hungtinton in 1838, when I printed the Long Islander there⁸⁷—is now a book canvasser, for Thomas Pelham,⁸⁸ Hamp's brother—thinks there must be 60,000 Peterson's and Godey's magazines taken in New York City—talked about canvassing—Huntington &c—Ezra Brown—Bradford⁸⁹ Platt⁹⁰ &c /

May—June—July—'62 *Dick Sullivan*—No 1—8th st & Broadway /
afternoon July 3d, in front of Hospital, Broadway

Aaron B. Cohn—⁹¹ talk with—he was from Fort Edward Institute⁹²—appears to be 19 years old—fresh and affectionate young man—spoke much of a young man

76. He was a driver living on East 41st St. corner of Third Ave., NY.

77. He was in the paper business, living at 214 W. 44th St., NY.

78. Written in a column in the left margin as if a later entry: "gon . . . it" ; "returned to it" at end of entire entry.

79. In column at right margin.

80. In drugs, Centre St., NY. Probably not the Dr. Hogan on the staff of the New York Hospital.

81. Preceding two words inserted above "street{?}"

82. Deleted: "west" ; inserted above: "just south"

83. Possibly the "saloon" of Pisan Raffaele, 20 Church St., NY.

84. A nonliterary Pfaffian; later a merchant. See *Corr.*, I, 84n68, 127, 143, 158, 366, 373, and Auslander [84], following.

85. Written sideways along the left side of entry.

86. He was a canvasser, house 427 Hudson Ave., Brooklyn.

87. From June, 1838 to May, 1839. The paper had appeared irregularly towards the end.

88. Agent, house, 10 Bank St., NY. "Hamp" may be Hanford Pelham, carman. See n12 above.

89. Printer, 145 Fulton St., NY.

90. Printer, house 365 W. 12th St., NY.

91. See Auslander [17], following for Cohn and Bill.

92. Fort Edward, N.Y., is about fifty miles north of Albany on the Hudson River.

named *Gilbert L. Bill* (of Lyme, Connecticut) who thought deeply about *Leaves of Grass*, and wished to see me.

[13; 3386R]^{92a} *George Marler* (April 29—driving No. 8. on 4th av. large-nosed, tallish fellow—Western Is from Ohio—has traveled with a show as “candy butcher”/

James Willis, (tall, talks sort of spasmodically April 29—driving No 1 4th av—is a carman or truckman—first appearance as a driver) /

Phineas (on 23d st 37—is from New Jersey—brown faced. /

Willard Mead— (April, drives 25 4th av. quiet, and serious looking.) July 4, gone to Newbern⁹³ /

*Victor Smith*⁹⁴ (Evening June 30, '62 Met a man who introduced himself to me as *Victor Smith*—in the government employ on the Pacific Coast, northern Oregon, as collector &c. there—he and wife thought very much of L of G said it had made a disturbance between her & her sisters, &c. Said that Mr. Chase, (Secretary of Treasury) one evening, seeing the book on the centre table said, “How is it possible you can have this nasty book here?”—&c &c Met him in Washington is a light house agent Pugets Sound⁹⁵ /

June '62 *Elijah Tompkins*⁹⁶ 1304 Broadway joined 2d N. Y. artillery Deserted arrested in Brooklyn '64 [14]⁹⁷ July 7th '62 *Henry Kelly*,⁹⁸ Madison avenue, about 24, born in Lawrence, Mass. father Irish, mother English, has worked about the Lawrence factories—had a brother and sister in Pemberton Mill, when it fell—has travel'd some time south and west with Dan Rice's show—⁹⁹ florid face—manner fresh and direct—(I notice a few gray hairs)—seems to be inclined to join the army—rode all the way to Wall st. and back to Howard (July 10—talk about the mishaps &c of a showman's life south & north

Charles Winthrop Morse (45 5th av) July, '62—Yankee says he has a farm, and is working to get money for it &c

*James L. Metcalf*¹ is appointed in the 5th precinct. July 7th '62

Frank Swezey, (July 8th, '62.) 5th av. brown face, large features, black moustache (is the one I told the whole story to, about *Ellen Eyre*)²—talks very little

92a. See illustration.

93. In February and March, 1862, the Union forces under Burnside and Goldsborough had seized Roanoke Island and New Bern, N. C. George Whitman was engaged in this expedition.

94. See “Baily D Damon,” Traubel, II, 397, and “Friday Dec 11 '63.”

95. The preceding sentence is written along the left margin as if a later entry.

96. Listed as a policeman at this address in 1860 and 1861. In 1861 and 1862 he is a policeman, but living elsewhere. In 1863 he was a corporal (see “a m Dr. L B Russell.”) The last four words of this entry appear to be a later addition. Possibly the *Elijah Tompkins* named in “Addresses ”

97. Text of [14-15] from photograph facing 244, *Esther Shephard, Walt Whitman's Pose* (NY, 1938).

98. Carman, house 808 Washington St., NY.

99. The celebrated minstrel troupe.

1. See also “Sept 16” (LC, Feinberg) where he is named twice.

2. “*Ellen Eyre*,” on Mar. 25, 1862, wrote WW a letter which can only refer to their having made love the evening before. The name is thought to be a pseudonym, and she has never been identified, but see “Mr. & Mrs. Fitz.” At one time Traubel had the letter, which has since disap-

Pell, young man, American, introduced by Chas. Kingsley,³ at 6th st. lager bier house, night July 8th '62

Issac Bennett, deck hand, ferry, square built young fellow, black moustache & imperial July 10. '62

[15]⁴ *John Wattles*⁵—young man on ferry boat goes to Baily Velsors, in N. J. Life of M. Angelo Buonarrotti vol. 1—page 231. for medallion of (Leonardo da Vinci)

for pattern for my picture for medallion /⁶

*Omnibusses*⁷—first, in London, 1829. [*first, in*] N. Y. 1830 /

"Small is my theme—yet hast it the sweep of the universe—⁸

Elliot Worth⁹ 450 Water street left side, saw mill

[16] William Cochran,¹⁰ (July 11th) 5th av. is aged 30, was born in Nova Scotia, lived there till 16—went to Boston, was clerk &c—made some money—married—went back to Nova Scotia—went into business—lost all—has a family of wife & two children—middling sized—clean shaved (Aug '64 is sup't coaches at Astor House)

July 12 '62 John Myers (Whitey) 6th av. —white hair and complexion—brother of Dan Myers¹¹—John tells me he has lately been very sick with measles &c—

Campbell McEwen, (July 18, '62) fireman Fulton ferry—Scotch by birth

Sunday night July 20, on Fort Greene *Mark Graynor*, young, 5ft 7in black moustache, plumber—has lived west—travel'd West Indies, &c

Hazard—(or Hazell)—Yankee, with full beard, very smart—quite a great trav-

peared, and allowed it to be copied (Emory Holloway, "Whitman Pursued," *AL*, 27 [March 1955], 1-11; Allen 279-280). The tempting suggestion that her real name is Ellen Gray (or Grey) mentioned in "[illeg.] Dick Hunt," [36], in 1857 is probably not valid because Swezey's name is not among those which appear in both notebooks. (C. Carroll Hollis, "Whitman's 'Ellen Eyre,'" *WWN* 2 [1956], 24-26.) See also Allen, 399, and "a m Dr. L B Russell" for evidence of other possible heterosexual liaisons.

3. See Auslander [11], [LC 3396] above.

4. Page from Shephard, *Walt Whitman's Prose*, facing 244.

5. WW met Wattles and his sister in November and apparently discussed Bailey Velsor, with whom Wattles had some connection. See Auslander [28], [LC 3389L] below. Velsor may have been a descendant of Alonzo Van Velsor, a son of Major Van Velsor by a second marriage, who is mentioned as living in Newark in 1850 ("September, 11, 12, 13-1850.")

6. John S. Harford, *The Life of Michael Angelo Buonarroti*, 2 vols. (London, 1857). Facing I, 228, is a profile medallion of Leonardo. His long hair and beard were probably suggestive to WW.

7. WW had been interested in omnibuses possibly a year earlier. See Auslander [19], and "81 Clerman above."

8. A draft line for "Small Is the Theme of My Chant" (1867) later "One's-Self I Sing." See [LC 3394R], following and "To the Reader at the Entrance of Leaves of Grass."

9. Treenails, 450 Water St., NY, house, Brooklyn. See "D. W. Wilder."

10. He was a carman living at 289 W. 26th, NY. Note that WW met him again in 1864 and dug out this entry.

11. A butcher on 107 Sixth Ave., NY.

eler—especially west and south, and in the West Indies—has had much to do in railroad building—South & in Cuba &c—says that white men can labor¹² as well as blacks, or better, in the tropics

[17] Dr Roosa¹³ 67 East 23d street

Geo. H. Hall¹⁴ up three flights of stairs 650 Broadway artist has lived some time in Spain

Gilbert L. Bill Lyme Ct. (Aug. has gone to study in the Albany Law school

Aaron B. Cohn 23 Park Row New York * Talk with Aaron Cohn July 3d, in front of the Hospital—his acc't of Gilbert Bill (at Fort Edward Institute)—of his being a general favorite &c¹⁵

[18] July 22, '62 *George Myers*, deck hand, Nassau, with J. Baulser's¹⁶ crew young, medium size, brown—brother of John Myers.¹⁷ Bill White's engineer—deserted from 14th—was arrested—Sept 19th has deserted again

Fred Vaughn¹⁸ 1393 Broadway

Hugo Oscar Fritsch¹⁹ 10 west 14th

Jonathan Carpenter, 25 4th av. July 24 '62 countrified, 24, red face, smallish sized

Charles Tyrrel, (alias George Peters)²⁰ July 30—Madison av. has parents on Staten Island—25 or thereabouts—light complexion

Charles xxxxxxxxx²¹ Aug 3d. young man walked up with late Saturday night from Fulton ferry to cor. Portland—had lately joined No. 3 in Henry st. as fireman—is in Collani's china store in Broadway

12. Deleted: "li"

13. He was a physician at the NY Hospital. See Appendix to this MS.

14. He was a portrait and genre painter (1825–1913) who had studied at Düsseldorf and Paris; he settled in NY, ca. 1852 and made many trips to Europe and North Africa.

15. This entry about Bill and Cohn seems to record the meeting noted earlier, Auslander [12], with the exception of the August note, which is probably a later insertion.

16. See Auslander [26], following. The Baulsirs (or Baulsers) are mentioned as ferry pilots in "My Passion for Ferries," *SD, PW* 92, I, 16. In 1891 John Y. Baulsir expressed admiration for *LG* and remembered that *WW* had nursed him through an attack of typhoid fever. (J. Johnston and J. W. Wallace, *Visits to Walt Whitman* [London, 1918], 65.)

17. See above.

18. Vaughn (or Vaughan) is not in the directory. Miller, *Corr.*, I, 182n47, identifies him as a driver. Auslander shows "812 Greenwich" deleted. *WW*'s letters to him (if this is the same person) in 1860 are lost; Vaughan's to *WW* in 1874 are in LC, Feinberg. He became deeply attached to *WW* and had an unhappy life. See "Epictetus."

19. One of the nonliterary young men at Pfaff's whom *WW* called the "Fred Gray Association." He was the son of the Austrian consul-general and in the late 1860s or early 1870s was connected with the manufacture of papier mâché. *Corr.*, I, 3, 11, 86, 142, 123–127, 158–160, 366; "a m Dr. L B Russell," "Hugo Otto Fritsch," "D. W. Wilder," "Addresses."

20. Carman, 434 W. 85th, NY. There is no listing for a Tyrrel.

21. The nine small "x's" are Auslander's.

[19]²² Omnibus in Paris Talk with Dr. & Chas Chauncey²³ Sunday²⁴ Tickets— which give you a seat Horses are stallions—mostly gray fare inside²⁵ is 6 cts outside 3 omnibusses are larger asphaltum pavements / In Phil & Boston nearly all cars / Omnibusses were first introduced in Paris in 1825—and gradually into the cities of Europe—and into great Britain and America In London first—1829 [In] New York [first]—1830 [23] Omnibuses Paris horses are stallions—gray stages larger—set lower seats partitioned off—4 of them Conductor at door—drest in blue with visor cap stands on step behind—no doors—fare in²⁶ seats outside six sous driver in his sailors hat driver only attends to horses and driving 6 seats on top—each side²⁷ has²⁸ 12 seats altogether fare on top 3 sous—you are allowed to smoke [25] you go to *bureaux des omnibus*—a man there gives you a numbered check, entitling you to the seat of that number you dont pay for the tickets, when you buy them—you pay the driver perfect system of transfer, so that you pass anywhere over Paris all the omnibusses in Paris are owned by one grand company routes are as long as ours—[27]—when they get full they²⁹ change the white board to “complet”,

The Inferno³⁰

the work is in rhyme “terza rima”

The action of the poem begins on Good Friday, year 1300—

Dante was at that time 35 years of age.

(it seems to have been known soon)

Of course it was for a long time (over a century and a half) in MSS. only—more than 200 yet exist—the British Museum has one or more, &c

22. See previous entry on Auslander [15], above. The entries, all on rectos, have been assembled here for convenience since they were apparently written in one session after the talk with the two Chaunceys.

23. Charles Chauncey seems to have been one of WW's friends of the Pfaffian “Fred Gray Association.” WW mentions him in *Corr.*, I, 84, 123, 126. He died aged 25, on June 29, 1863, according to the *NY Times*, July 1, 1863, and his death moved WW to an emotional effusion. He was an importer in business with his father, William, with offices at 10 Old Slip and residence at 23 Lafayette Place. Assuming that this is the same person, there is no apparent reason why his father is called “Dr.”

24. Auslander's lineation, which seems to follow the MS., indicates that the talk took place Sunday, rather than that it concerned Sunday tickets. August 3, 1862 was a Sunday, and one may assume that WW wrote the preceding dated entry on Sunday morning after a late night out. The information about omnibuses was probably for a continuation of “City Photographs.” See “Mr. & Mrs. Fitz.”

25. Deleted: “are” ; inserted above “are” : “is”

26. Deleted: “benches”

27. Inserted above space and “has”

28. Deleted: “altog”

29. Deleted: “put up p”

30. Glicksberg, 82n51, mentions this entry. Text from J. C. Mathews, *Univ Texas Stud Eng*, 19 (1939), 175n21. See also “Spring of '59.” Although the original location in the MS. is not known it was probably written in the summer or fall of 1862.

first printed edition—1472

a good copy Italian text in British Museum

first edition with the title “divina commedia” 1516 at Venice

Dante’s own comparison of the styles &c of tragedy and comedy

1373—the republic of Florence set apart an annual sum of 100 florins for lectures on Dante—

Boccaccio was the first lecturer

“The whole works of Dante, in prose and verse, may be comprised in two moderate volumes—when separated from the unwieldy notes &c.”

Dante died 1321—aged 56

See the other book of Dante “the Paradise”

Sept. ’62—looked carefully over the quarto Dore’s³¹ illustrations of Dante—very, very fine—yet some of them too melodramatic

[20] Thaddeus Dwyer,³² 29, 4th av. Aug. 11th ’62 — /

John Macready³³ (Nicaragua Jack Aug 16 ’62—with wound in his forehead—red shirt—yellow hair’d)—has been in ship of war—Nicaragua—two slave voyages—2d one was taken and thrown into Moro Castle, Havana, 7 months—New York boy born—28 years old—join’d 2d N Y artillery—

William Robertson, Brooklyn lad (Socratic nose) Aug 16—driving on 23d st—is going to enlist—said he would enlist with me in two minutes—has enlisted in 2d N. Y. artillery

Merriam—³⁴(Aug 16th) at Pfaff’s—young man was with John Brown—strong abolitionist of course—black eyed, (with a cast)—pale—makes a good impression on me

Mr. Deming. (lawyer, 1 Park Place—) his mother is a Whitman in R. I. (has joined the army Oct ’62)

³⁵Joseph Perry, (Aug. 19 ’62) No. 11. 23d st. 21 yr’s old—thinnish, rather tallish—always cheerful and laughing—father killed by accident coupling railroad cars—has 3 younger brothers & mother

³⁶Theodore M³⁷ Carr—Deserted Capt. Dawson’s Co. C. Monitors Co. C.³⁸ Col

31. (Paul) Gustave Doré (1833?–1883). French illustrator and engraver. His illustrations for *Don Quixote*, *Paradise Lost*, and *The Divine Comedy* were long famous and are still reprinted.

32. Auslander notes as erased: “July 25 ’62”

33. “John Macready . . . Mr. Deming . . . Oct ’62” from Glicksberg, 142. A Macready is listed as driver, 316 W. 33rd St., NY. A John Mecredy is named on a scrap (not published here) in LC #79, sheet #753.

34. Francis Jackson Merriam (1837–1865) was from a well-known Massachusetts abolitionist family. He was not in Kansas with Brown, but joined him at Chambersburg, Pa., October, 1859, with a large cash contribution. Being frail and erratic, he was excluded from the Harper’s Ferry raid. He escaped to Canada, but later became an officer in the 3d South Carolina Colored Infantry. The “cast” was actually a glass eye. Villard, Oswald Garrison, *John Brown*, rev. ed. (NY, 1943), 568–576.

35. Following text from Auslander.

36. From Glicksberg, 142.

37. Inserted.

38. Inserted.

Conks 139th Reg. N. Y. Vol—met on Fort Greene forenoon Aug. 28—and came to the house with me—is from Greenville Green County³⁹ 15 miles from Coxsacki left Sept 11th '62⁴⁰

[21]⁴¹ Mr. Percy's baths 482 Broadway—nearly opposite St. Nicholas

Dr. Roosa 67 East 23d⁴² /

Dr. Watson 117 10th

Joh M'Cabe No 3 5th av. (has ? '62⁴³ been in the Crimean war—Irish legends and wraith stories, &c. Sept. '62—ride night Oct. 24th.

Tom English, has been some at sea, married young, has three children living—good looking, 24 yr's—No. 3 Knickerbocker. Sept. '62

? Tom Kinney,⁴⁴ Sept. 6 '62. No 3, 4th av. from Philadelphia

Aleck Richmond—Sept 8 '62—late at night coming up Fulton st. Brooklyn—long talk and walk to cor. Myrtle & Bridge—brother of Lieut. Duncan Richmond—(Dunc)

James Sloan (night of⁴⁵ Sept 18 '62) 23d year of age—born and always lived in N. Y. is an only son—lives with his mother and two young sisters—plain homely, American—No 7 on 23d street—has driven cart and hack—

Willaim Talbot—harsh-faced—friend of Erie—Sept 17 '62—14th st—told me of Erie's death—

[22] *Alanson Fargo*⁴⁶ (Erie) Sept 17th '62 heard of his death—was shot on Pope's retreat, 15 days since,—Co E. 9th New York—was left on the field, supposed to be mortally wounded. *Later—A Mistake*—Alanson Fargo is living saw Erie at Culpepper Va he came home safe Oct '64

Joseph Cornell, 15, 7th av (306)—smallish, married, friend of Erie's—(the night, Sept 18th '62, I rode down and up with him, and we talked of Erie's death—I left him at Amity st)

William Giggee,⁴⁷ Sept 18th '62. I heard of poor Bill's death—he was shot on Pope's retreat—Arthur took him in his arms, and he died in about an hour and a half—Arthur buried him himself—he dug his grave

[24] *William Ross*, 18 Knickerbocker, Sept '62. born and brought up on a farm in New Jersey /

39. Preceding two words inserted.

40. Written in column at left.

41. In Auslander "(First three names and addresses erased.)"

42. See Appendix to this MS.

43. Inserted: "? '62" From here to "I left him at Amity st)" ([22]) from Glicksberg, *AL*, 278.

44. He was a coachman, living at 399 10th Ave., NY.

45. Preceding two words below line in Auslander.

46. Auslander reads "Eric" . The identity of Erie (or Eric) is not clear. Obviously he is not Alanson Fargo. Glicksberg says that "he came home safe Oct '64" is a later note. Auslander types it off to one side. It is not clear whether Eric (or Erie) or Alanson Fargo came home. Like many of these entries, this one is an overlay of early and late notes. Fargo was mentioned above (Auslander [6]). Here again WW drops back two years to find an entry.

47. Giggee was in Co. E., 1st Regiment, New York Volunteers and was possibly an earlier NY or Brooklyn acquaintance. Pope's retreat was after Second Bull Run, August 29–30. Glicksberg, 142, thinks it possible that this incident may be the germinal idea of "Vigil Strange I Kept on the Field One Night." See "William Giggee."

John Evans /

*Charles Denike*⁴⁸ met on Fort Greene [.]⁴⁹ Brooklyn boys. Evans black-eyed, young⁵⁰ was in the drum corps 13th Reg't—Denike looks like Ed. Spencer⁵¹ in the 48th Col. Perry, at Port Royal—Sept. '62, on Fort Greene

Thos. Evans, was 2 years at sea, went to Calcutta

James Doyle,⁵² plumpish young fellow, always smiling, (Madison avenue) (hardly any chin) coarse pleasing smiling round face ride Oct. 3 '62, night

William Henry Clarke, lad of 15, Scotch by birth, is learning to be an organist, father a printer—lives in Washington st. Brooklyn Sept 29, on Fort Greene⁵³

[26] John H. Stevens Sept 30 Fort Greene young man married from W. Virginia—mason—light complexion

Thomas Cummings Sept 30 '62 32 Madison av aged about 34—smallish sized brown beard (Gen. Kearney fashion) went to sea when about 21, as a whaler, deserted at Valparaiso—has a wife and children

David Burver Oct 1 '62 rodman for Jeff,⁵⁴ has been army 3 mos. with the 47th in Baltimore. American stock—tall and slender /

Jarvis Abrams Sept. 30 '62—new deck hand on Fulton ferry, with Jo Baulsir's crew⁵⁵

John McNelly night Oct 7 young man, drunk, walk'd up Fulton & High st. home works in Brooklyn flour mills had been with some friends return'd from the war⁵⁶

[27]⁵⁷ Charles W. Chauncey

George M Van Tassell

Wm N Field Schenectady U.C. New York

Charles W. Chauncey 23 Lafayette Place⁵⁸

[8] Franklin Sivall⁵⁹ (Oct '62) driving on 8th st.

R. P. Cooke M.D. (Dentist)

Elliot Carpenter

Albert Brisbane⁶⁰

48. See Auslander [31], [LC 338], following.

49. Following written at the left. Separated by vertical column of colons.

50. Preceding two words inserted.

51. Preceding four words inserted.

52. A carman living at 45 Bergen St., Brooklyn.

53. Entry for Vincent Reynolds moved to Auslander [30], [LC 3387L] following.

54. Probably WW's younger brother, who became an engineer.

55. See Auslander [18], above.

56. Entry for Cornelius Van Winkle on Auslander [30], [LC 3387L], above.

57. Upper part of leaf printed in chronological order. See preceding *nn* 53, 56.

58. William H. Field (1843-?) of NY was graduated from Union College in 1863 and took his law degree at Columbia in 1865. He practiced in NYC. (Information courtesy of Henry J. Swanker, Director of Alumni Relations, Union College). For Chauncey, see Auslander [30], above.

59. See "[illeg.] Dick Hunt" for Sivall, Morrow, Hannah, Ike, Bonnard.

60. Residence 27 Bond St., NY. This may be Albert Brisbane (1809-1890), the Fourierist and social reformer, whom WW has described unsympathetically in "New York Dissected, V. Street Yarn," *Life Illustrated*, August 16, 1856, *NYD*, 129. WW knew the Brisbanes in Washington and when they left there gave them a copy of "To India" [sic]. As Mrs. Brisbane was reading it aloud on the train her husband said: "I could write as good poetry as that" and dictated "Cosmic Aspira-

Mike Morrow
 Henry Nelson Hannah
 Ike, (boy in Myrtle av. gray eyes light comp.
 Sam Bonnard—(Frank Bonnard)
 Mrs Walton,⁶¹ Dean cor. Hoyt.
 Mrs Rose⁶² 92 Prince
 John J. Irwin,⁶³ (Lieut.) (died in Florida, poor boy.) aged 23
 Rob. Cooper,⁶⁴ 41 Troy.
 Mike Lawn Pete [*Lawn*]⁶⁵ [:] 23d st
 Aristides⁶⁶ 5th av.
 Mrs. Case⁶⁷ 54 Greenwich st. 3d floor (Nov '62 now in France Jack Abbott⁶⁸
 Houghton (Boston) tall, was with show, in Boston
 Mrs. Bond, 70 west 14th st. near 6th av.
 Hines,⁶⁹ 174 10th av. bet. 21st & 22d st.
 S. P. Andrews,⁷⁰ 178 4th st near 6th av.
 Aunt Phebe Pintard,⁷¹ 30 New Canal st 2d floor
 Eliza W. Farnham⁷² Nov. '62, now in New York, having returned again from
 California
 Mr. & Mr. Fitz,⁷³ 237 5th st. between av. B. & C. (name on the door)
 J. Talbot,⁷⁴ Clymer st. 5th house from Lee av.
 Mrs. Butt, 54 Market st.
 Lieut George Porter (late co. E. 51st N. Y.) 232 Water st. lantern manufactory
 Sol McElroy 171 near Spratt's bakery
 [28; 3389L]⁷⁵ Joseph Le Charlier No 8 8th st. of French family, father a Col. in
 France under Louis Philippe, mother with some fortune 26 yrs old—parents in
 N.J.—night Oct 7 Oct 2 '62 /
George Wright 45 5th av tallish, thinnish, brunette, Oct. '62—black moustache
 &c—oily, labial way of talking /

tion" (Redelia Brisbane, *Albert Brisbane* [Boston, 1893] 15, 44–45). See also "[illeg.] Dick Hunt" and "D.W. Wilder."

61. She was a widow living at 182 Hoyt St., Brooklyn. Possibly the Mrs. Walton mentioned in a letter of 1857 in *Corr.*, I, 43.

62. Probably the Mrs. Rose from whom WW received information about Frances Wright in 1857. See "Frances Wright," "W Whitman Portland av.," "Addresses," and "[illeg.] Dick Hunt."

63. See "W Whitman Portland av."

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid. Possibly "Aristideo."

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. See "81 Clerman."

70. Ibid.

71. WW's great aunt. See "Oct 29, '62."

72. Writer and western traveller. See "Nov '57—Talks with Mrs. Farnham."

73. See "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz." After "237," deleted: "Cor 438"

74. Jesse Talbot, a Brooklyn artist whom WW had known since the 1840s. See "albot Wilson."

75. Entries separated by rule across leaf indicated by slash.

Jacob Morris, No 4. 23d st born and raised near Long Branch, N.J. been on a farm and on the steamboat "Highland Light" Sept & Oct '62 Nov. 27—rode two trips—Thanksgiving night /

Peter Calhoun,⁷⁶ Oct. 10 '62 aged⁷⁷ 23, born in Rome, N. Y. worked on canal 3 years—his affair with the woman in Brooklyn and N. Y.—my ride with him a trip and more at night—⁷⁸40 5th av has one brother younger, larger, works on the river—Pete told me of his taking the \$100 from home—also of David Helpers care of him when he had the bad disorder /

David Wilson—night of Oct. 11, '62, walking up from Middagh—slept with me—works in blacksmith shop in Navy Yard—lives in Hampden st.—walks together Sunday afternoon & night—is about 19 /

John Wattles—⁷⁹ Nov. '62 (also his sister—at night, late, stopt at corner by Fulton ferry, in the rain

(Baily Van Velsor,⁸⁰ at Newark—he married a widow who has two or three children) /

William Vreeland—Oct. 13 '62—23d st now—was teamster down on the Peninsula &c—mother on a farm in New Brunswick N. J.—night Oct 13 took a mug of beer together in the House of Lords

[29; 3389R]⁸¹ John Gilchrist, Myrtle av. car, (was on the Sands st. car, and has now returned to Myrtle—unmarried, boards opposite stable Oct. 16 /

James Myers,⁸² 5th av. fat, lymphatic & rosy 5th av. boards at same place with Pete Calhoun⁸³ /

Patrick McMakin "Johnny, Graball"⁸⁴ 5th av. 6 children Oct '62 /

Milton Acheman, 21⁸⁵ 5th av. born and raised in Ohio, grandfather one of the first settlers west—Nov. 8 '62 /

Philip ? Nov. 8 '62 on Broadway I rode up to 35th st. tallish, black-eyed brownish sharp-faced, with a suspicion of squint in his eyes—reckless—(had a bout with Hughey Smith 2 years ago /

James Gillen, policeman Fulton ferry N.Y. Nov. 14th '62 smallish, round faced [30; 3387L]⁸⁶ Mr. Marsh (red haired) "Doc" or Doctor—the one I had the drink with in the Howe[?] House with Ross Wallace Oct. 13 /

76. Name set off in box at left. See below, "D. W. Wilder," *Corr.*, above II, 57. Edwin Haviland Miller's reference to "Addresses" (*ibid.*) is possibly wrong, since the name there is "Calhune."

77. Deleted: "26 or 7" ; inserted: "23"

78. Deleted: "31" "35" ; inserted above "av" "40"

79. See Auslander [15], above.

80. Probably a cousin. His relation to Alonzo, who died in Newark in 1883 is not known. See "Sept 11, 12, 13—1850."

81. Entries separated by rules across leaf. Passages dated April and July, 1862, are chronologically relocated.

82. The street inserted.

83. See Auslander [28], [LC 3389L] above.

84. "Grabald" appears in a list of nicknames of drivers in "memorials," a notebook of 1854 and later.

85. Inserted. Acheman is mentioned in connection with Fifth Avenue in "Addresses."

86. Entries separated by rules across leaf. See illustration.

John Gueey Gwoeey Gooeey,⁸⁷ 84 Broadway—20 yrs of age—little fellow, very youthful—born and raised in Troy, N. Y. worked there as Hackman &c. Oct. 22, rode with him 14 6th av. does not board home /

Neil McBride⁸⁸—young Irishman I met at the corner of Raymond & Myrtle av. hatter in Prentiss's Oct 15 '62 /

Horace Ostrander⁸⁹ Oct. 22 '62⁹⁰ 24 4th av. from Otsego co. 60 miles west of Albany was in the hospital to see Chas. Green) about 28 yr's of age—about 1855 went on voyage to Liverpool—his experiences as a green hand (Nov. 22 16 4th av.) slept with him Dec. 4th '62 /

Frederick Goodall, English, in the dry goods, (was the man that told me I was at a "social," in 27th st. /

George (Beauregard) Oct 21, 5th av. formerly 4th av. /

James Nelson, Oct 21 34 4th av. was at sea Sandwich islands &c—father an old whaleman /

David Smith, Oct. 24. 5th av. tall, pink & white complexion, was on the canal—(is the one who was asleep on 5th av by 14th st) /

Cornelius Van Winkle Nov. 62 17, 5th blondish sandy is from Bergen N. J. married, no children.⁹¹

Vincent Reynold (Cockney) 20 4th av. round, plump, red-haired, was from Gloucester, England Nov. 10th '62⁹² /

George Nauck⁹³ Nov. 19. 62 aged 23, blonde and boyish, German parentage, picture-frame maker, lives home, east side has a step mother, drove on Bowery & Grand—has been three months down in Port Royal

{31; 3387R}⁹⁴ Charles Brunel, 13 23d st: Dec. '62 /

Lawrence ? (Burns) Ward,⁹⁵ went to S.S. Nov. 18th, '62, for passing bad money—

87. WW tried three spellings, the last two above the line.

88. He was a conductor, E. 33rd St. His name is entered above the date at the left and separated from remainder of text by a waved line.

89. Preceding five words inserted above "go co. was"

90. Date under name at left.

91. Inserted in chronological order from Auslander [26].

92. Inserted in chronological order from Auslander [24].

93. Name above date at left and separated from the remainder of text by a brace or waved line.

94. Entries separated by a rule across leaf. The top of the leaf contains the following lines, not in WW's hand:

I greet with love each field and grove,
And show, blue, billowy Sea I love
Lifegiving light, in depth & height,
Thou, heavenly Sun, art my delight.
But more than all earths fair array,
More than the blue wave's dancing play,
Love I,
The dancing light of heavenly rest,
Within a trembling human breast.

Auslander reads "Charles" erased above the verses. See illustration.

95. Preceding name and question mark written above "Ward."

(is from Rome, N. Y.) was liberated Nov. '64—heard that he asked specially about me /

Edward Payne,⁹⁶ Nov 20 '62 5th av. aged 24, youthful, hectic, drives 44. born in New York /

Charles Gryer, Nov. 20 '62⁹⁷ Irish, 7th av. Sleepy manner and countenance /

Henry Dilks Nov. 20 '62⁹⁸ lad, very blonde, (spoke to me at corner of Wall & South st. said he was introduced by Charley Denike⁹⁹ on the hill /

Louis Herring,¹ painter, &c. (was out in the 13th) (East Brooklyn) Nov. '62

{32}² James McOwen Nov 22 '62 Irish, Broadway & 42d st. talk about the drivers & \$2 a day—and being more square & respectable

James Bland Nov '62 smallish, from Cincinnati, Ohio, —came on to get work—(tight) stopping at Lyman's, Park av.

George Sanburn Nov. 24 '62 large, sanguine temp.—on 5th av; was in Charleston 5 months in the rebel service, transportation dept

Frank Mettern?³ smallish, blond, 31 4th av. was in

William Leslie, Nov. 25 '62 now on Madison, lately Knickerbocker—smallish size—still—blonde, with moustache—illness in throat

Thomas Wright Myrtle av. friend of George's—Brooklyn police sergeant—9th ward

James Sweeney (Sweeney 23d st that broke his arm) married

Johnny Myers⁴ Dutch, sandy, light blue eyes 23d st.

Jonathan B. Luffkin fat, black-eyed, black moustache and beard—Yankee 23d st.

Chris 964 Madison av his dispute with Timson the broker

Barney Riley Nov. '62 stout, plump Irish boy (Amity st. 7th av) Nov. '62

{33; 3385R}⁵ Charles (Jenkins ?)⁶ Nov. '62 19, 7th av. from Boston, has been in California, New Orleans, &c. full sized young man, brunette, Yankee pronunciation /

Peter Burdette

Patrick, 7th av. (always asks me about going up to 33d st /

Courtland Gridley, formerly 5th av. Nov. 1 (Dec '62) 7th av /

Lewis Calhoun (Pete's⁷ brother) we went to the theatre, Niblo's, Dec. 6, '62 /

96. Name above date at left. Separated from remainder of text by a brace or wavy line.

97. Name above date at left. Separated from remainder of text by a brace or wavy line.

98. Name above date at left. Separated from remainder of text by a brace or wavy line.

99. In September. See Auslander [24], above.

1. He was a portrait painter who exhibited at the National Academy in 1859. After 1868 he was a restaurant or saloon keeper.

2. An identifiable margin of this leaf shows at left of photostat [3385].

3. The question mark is over the first "e"

4. Possibly the John Myers mentioned Auslander [18], above.

5. Material on the Bowery placed Auslander [33], above. LC photostat [3385L] gives no evidence that the Bowery notes were originally here where Auslander has them. Entries separated by rules across leaf.

6. Name above date at left. Separated from remainder of text by a brace or wavy line.

7. For Pete Calhoun, see Auslander [28], [LC 3389L]. The performance they saw was probably that of Edwin Forrest in John Augustus Stone's *Metamora*.

John Koon, Myrtle av car 113 /

Edward Evans, (21 ?) 23d st.—sharp features, black moustache & imperial Dec '62 cars /

Lewis Seaman,⁸ (Union Ferry) his daughter married Ira Smith /

James Boyd—⁹ Union ferry (lives on Hudson av.) engineer I believe South ferry /

John Loon, 33 years old, fish market Fulton Market /¹⁰

Fatigued by their journey they sat down on Nature's divan whence they regarded the sky. Pressing one another's hands, shoulder to shoulder neither knowing why both became oppressed, their mouths opened, without uttering a word they kissed one another. Near them the hyacinths & the violet marrying their perfume; on raising their heads they both saw God who smiled at them from his azure balcony: Love one another said he it is for that I have clothed your path with velvet; kiss one another, I am not looking. Love one another, love one another & if you are happy, instead of a prayer to thank me kiss again.¹¹

[9]¹² Dec 17th '62 John Carpenter Delevan House cor. 9th st & Pennsylvania av.

Dec. 16 '62 Mrs. Fuller cor. 183 Fulton av. Brooklyn

Dec 17 Fuller, Hall's farm Cavalry camp over the river from Washington

Mr. Wall M. C.¹³ 248 F street

Major Hapgood¹⁴ U. S. Paymaster corner 15th st & F street north 5th floor

Dr. Chas. P. Russell U. S. Army 11th infantry, Sykes Division

Mrs Kirkwood (boarding) cor: of F & 12th street Washington

Notes brigade drill, obs. balloon, dead soldier, night sounds etc. at camp.¹⁵

*51st N. Y. Col. Ferrero*¹⁶

Started for New York, Oct. 30, '61. went to Annapolis, and laid in the Camp of Instruction two months & six days. Sailed Jan. 6th '62 in transports for Hat-

8. He was a ferrymaster, living on Fulton Ave., Brooklyn.

9. He was a ferryman, living at 271 Hudson Ave., Brooklyn.

10. He was a fishmonger at the Fulton Mkt., living at 84 Fulton St., NY. Passage dated August 26, '64 placed in chronological order (p. 524). There appear to be faint traces of writing at the foot of [3385].

11. Text from a transcription by Emory Holloway from the MS when it was in the possession of Thomas B. Harned. This location between WW's NY and Washington notes seems as appropriate as any.

12. Text from Auslander. WW left Brooklyn on December 16, 1862 and arrived in Washington December 17, and at Falmouth on December 19.

13. A Republican member of the House from New York, 1861-1863. Two William Walls (father and son), rope manufacturers in NY with residences in Brooklyn are in the directories, but no congressman of that name is listed. WW was possibly looking for help to get a job.

14. WW was employed in Major Hapgood's office by January 2, (*Corr.*, I, 62). His friend and Boston publisher, Charles W. Eldridge, was also in this office.

15. Also from Holloway's transcript. The original location in the MS is unknown.

16. Glicksberg, 64-82, prints the following material pertaining to WW's visit to George W and the 51st N.Y. Volunteers, the history of the regiment, his impressions of military life from an

terras—terrible storm & blow. Some vessels sunk. Short of water & rations—started from Hatteras Feb. 4th up Pamlico Sound—¹⁷ arrived at Roanoake Feb 6th battle of Roanoake,—bombardment of the rebel works, rebel batteries, by our own gun boats near all day on the 7th—latter part of the day troops landed—Capt. S. Sims & Company G were first ashore—bad weather, raining miserable weather. No fires would burn &c. men lay in the wet &c. Morning 8th the battle commenced—51st marched¹⁸ through a horrible swamp to avoid a road battery—the Brooklyn colors were the first planted ashore—the 51st were ordered on in some of the most difficult positions, rebel force 4500 men and several batteries, some of the guns very fine. On the charge, the Brooklyn boys were ahead with the foremost. loss of the 51st 4 killed and 28 wounded.

Dec. 20 '62.¹⁹ “Shebangs”²⁰ the little huts of green boughs, pine or what not, put up for the impromptu shelter of soldiers in Virginia &c.

*The 51st at Night, 20th Dec.*²¹

My walk out around the camp, the fires burning—groups around—the merry song—the sitting forms—the playing light on the faces—they would tell stories—one would tell a story of a dead man sitting on the top rail of a fence—he had been shot there at sundown, mortally wounded, clung with desperate nerves, and was found sitting there, dead, staring with fixed eyes in the morning—

Charley Parker

Then I heard of Charley Parker, a young man in Company E. in the 51st; how he was shot on the advance at Fredericksburgh, died hard, suffered much, frothed at the mouth—his body on the return, found entirely stript by the Secesh, and was decently buried by his companions. How he was a noble, beloved young man; one of the soldiers knew his father, and how than Charley no one could possibly be a greater credit to his family. A clean, gallant soul, lad of the 51st; old Brooklyn.

unspecified notebook. A reproduction of “? Dec. '62 Friday 26th Brigade Drill” (facing 80) which also exists as LC photostat sheet [3376] proves that his source is this notebook. Unless otherwise specified, the text follows his, but it has been rearranged chronologically. The material was probably written at Falmouth, Virginia between December 19, 1862, when he arrived, and December 28, 1862, when he went to Washington, for the historical matter blends imperceptibly into his own observations. For the 51st see the numerous notes made in 1864 and 1865. For Ferrero see “Sketches of Edward F. Ferrero.”

17. The combined campaigns against positions on the North Carolina coast.

18. Glicksberg, 65n7, says “debouched” was written above.

19. From Glicksberg, 67, placed here in chronological order. WW had arrived at Falmouth the day before.

20. WW used the word in “After First Fredericksburg,” *SD, Prose* 92, I, 33. According to *DA*, he was the first to use it in print.

21. Following two entries from Glicksberg, 69, placed here in chronological order.

Dec. 21 '62

*Regiments in Ferrero's Brigade*²²

Men for duty / 170 21st Massachusetts / 180 51st N.Y. / 300 / 51st Pa. was not in Roanoake [:] the three old reg. formerly Reno's²³

35th Mass. came in brigade 10th Sept

11 New Hamp. came in 1st Oct.

Stopt in Roanoake in the barracks till 6th of March—went aboard transports—sailed on the 11th destination unknown—arrived at Slocum's Creek, Neuse river, on the 13th, landed, formed on shore (raining like blazes,) and started for 16 miles distant Newbern, passed lately-deserted barracks, earthworks, &c. —marched 13 miles, and bivouack'd, (rain continues, bad as ever.) —morning of the 14th started for²⁴ Newbern, attack'd the rebels, protected in their breastworks—after 4 hours fighting, the battle was won—(all this was 3 miles from Newbern)—in this affair the 51st lost 103 kill'd and wounded, 8 of them officers—²⁵when near Newbern, found it was in flames—that night bivouack'd outside of Newbern—

After entering Newbern, (which was not till a week or two after the above battle,) the regiment there till July 5th on which date the 51st starts for Newport News. (The 51st has lost 5 men by drowning.)

Landed at Newport News, July 9th, and lay in good quarters, till Aug. 2nd—then struck tents, and went aboard transports to Fort Monroe—from there went up the Potomac to Aquia Creek, and thence to Falmouth,²⁶ opposite Fredericksburgh—Aug. 12, left and arrived at²⁷ Culpeper Station where they arrived Aug. 14th.—15th (under General Pope) moved on to Cedar Run, (there pitched into corn, sheep, and vegetables)—19th made up a large camp fire and at 10 o'clock at night moved off to Rappahannock, at Kelly's ford. forded the river, (under a bad rain.) —Aug. 23d. left and the next day reach'd Sulphur Springs. 25th at Warrenton.

—Aug 29th at Bull Run,²⁸ on the 30th in the battle. This is the third general engagement the 51st was in, (loss 10 killed and 50 wounded)—they were of great help in saving the artillery and baggage wagons.

22. Written in a column with numbers of men opposite the names of regiments.

23. Major General Jesse Reno, who had been killed in September. See "Sketches of Edward F. Ferrero."

24. Glicksberg, 65n8, says "advanced toward" written above.

25. Glicksberg, 65n9, notes that in the *NY Times*, October 29, 1864, WW says: "killed and wounded, some twelve officers and one hundred fifty men" (*UPP*, II, 37).

26. Falmouth, Va., forty-two miles from Washington on the Rappahannock River near Fredericksburg. The Union troops returned there after their defeat at Fredericksburg, December 13 and 14, 1862, five days before WW's arrival.

27. Glicksberg, 66n10, says "marched to" written above.

28. The Second Battle of Bull Run.

Frederick B. McReady²⁹
 (Orderly Sergeant, Co. G. 51st N. Y. Vol.)
 115 Schermerhorn St.
 Capt. Saml. H. Sims Co. G. 51st N. Y.³⁰
 Lieut. Frank Butler [Co. G. 51st N. Y.]³¹

—Sept 1st left Centreville at 5 A.M. and at dusk, (in the midst of the damnest rain) came off the sharp engagement³² of Chantilly, loss of the 51st, 7 wounded, some of them proved mortal—(the above was the *fourth battle*)—marched on and on, about a month's marching, and bivouacking—Sept. 14th the *fifth battle*—the battle of South Mountain,—commenced at dusk, and lasted till nine o'clock P.M. —slept on their arms—slaughter of rebels heavy—loss of the 51st 6 killed and 15 wounded—15th and 16th march'd, fought, shot and shell from the enemy pretty heavy—17th *Sixth battle*³³

Friday,³⁴ Saturday, & Sunday, Dec. 19, 20, and 21, was at Falmouth, opposite Fredericksburgh.

The grub was good—had a tip-top time every way. Capt. Sims, Lieut. Frank Butler, Orderly McReady, and all used me well—grub good—went around among the camps—saw the hard accommodations and experiences of campaign life—the shelter tents—the improvised fireplaces in holes in the ground, with small subterranean passages and small mud chimneys, lengthened out by a barrel with both ends knocked out—Went round mornings and evenings among the men—heard their conversation &c. The bivouac fired at night, the singing and story telling among the crowded crouching groups. Everyone speaks so well of George—they say he is so brave, steady, is good natured, of few words—he is now Captain.

Monday³⁵ Dec 22 '62 in the Hospital on the ground at Falmouth—John Lowerie—³⁶Co G. 51st N. Y. arm amputated—plucky—(trade machinist). Amos H. Vliet—³⁷feet frozen—Hospital tent— 51st N. Y.

Thomas F. Nichols—Co D.

Saml. A. Appel
 Co. B. 51st Penn. Vol
 Adj't. Abm. W. McKee.³⁸

29. Glicksberg, 66–67. See "a m Dr. L B Russell."

30. See "Some interesting items."

31. Glicksberg reads "N. J." for both officers. Entry centered. Glicksberg's next entry: "About mules—Jan 3d . . ." placed in chronological order. For Frank Butler see "aged about 35."

32. Glicksberg, 66n14, says original word "battle"

33. Entry: "Dec. 20 '62" placed in chronological order.

34. Text from Glicksberg, 70–71.

35. Glicksberg, 67. Placed here in chronological order.

36. For Lowerie (or Lowery) see "Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 19, 1863, *CPW*, VII, 95; *Corr.*, I, 64; "from Hooker's command."

37. For Vliet see "a m Dr. L B Russell" and "from Hooker's command."

38. See "Adj McKee."

The 51st has been in *seven general engagements*, and *sixteen skirmishes*—acquiring a reputation, (in common with the whole 2d brigade (of the 2nd division of the 9th Army Corps) for endurance, perseverance, and daring, not excelled by any in the whole army of the U.S.—at Antietam and Fredericksburgh they did the work of old veterans—At the former in taking the bridge, (conjointly with the 51st Pa.) the regiment performed a deed of daring hardly excelled anywhere. Gen. Burnside pronounced it the best thing he had seen in the whole war. At Fredericksburgh, the regiment held an important hill acting as an advanced picket in force, going on 9 o'clock on the evening of Dec. 14th and holding it till Monday night, at 12 o'clock—they lay flat on the mud.

17th³⁹ *Sixth battle* of Antietam—in this battle the 51st fought the fight for an important bridge (see rebellion record,) between two hills—the rebels on one side—advancing on the bridge, shouting loudly &c. (loss 80 or 90 kill'd and wounded)⁴⁰ order was⁴¹ given by Col. Potter⁴² to “charge the bridge!” the 51st did go with a cheer, cleared the bridge, to the end—fight lasted all day—51st were again at the end of the day ordered on further desperate service, taking the bridge again—the battle was—

Seventh battle, that of Fredericksburgh

Col. Robert B. Potter

After Colonel Ferrero was promoted, Lt. Col. Potter became colonel of the Regiment, acting for the first time as such, at the second battle of Bull Run. On inquiry I found his chief merits are courage and coolness. When he orders the men to lie down, for protection in an engagement, he will be very likely to walk coolly in front of them, observing operations all around. “Lie down yourself, Colonel,” the men will cry out. “Some of the rebs will see you.” “Yes,” he will answer, “but I want to see them too.”

The regiment now numbers about 300 men—on the rolls 550—started from N. Y. with 1000 total and have had 80 recruits since.

They call the new men “bounty regiments”—“\$700 men” “healthy beat” a man who would shirk, and make something up “dead beat”—a man who would shirk and not make something up.

eating the green corn—grated through tin pans with rough holes pierced in them—the troops had to do this repeatedly in Virginia on Pope's retreat.

“army pies” and “wash” hard crackers and coffee. “western milk” i.e. whiskey (when put in your coffee)

39. WW goes back to September 17.

40. In the N.Y. *Times* article WW says, “The regiment lost 100 men here.” (*UPP*, II, 38.)

41. Text from Glicksberg, 68.

42. Ferrero's successor. See “Martin Weaver” and below.

After a march at dusk, in fifteen minutes after the men get the order to halt, they will have their camp fires burning in all directions, and the grub in process of cooking, coffee, pork, beef, potatoes boiling, chickens, or anything they stole or grabbed in any way.

Sunday Dec. 21st⁴³

Regimental Inspection Parade / 51st N. Y. V.

Fine pleasant day, bright & sunshining but cool enough to freeze; about 11 o'clock Col. Potter had a regimental inspection, and read the articles of war. The men looked well to me, not in the sense of a march down Broadway, but with the look of men who had long known what real war was, and taken many a hand in—held their own in seven engagements, about a score of skirmishes &c. a regiment that had been sifted by death, disablement &c. from eleven hundred men, (including recruits,) down to about two hundred—any one of whom had now an experience, after eighteen⁴⁴ months, worth more, and more wonderful, than all the romances ever written—whose story, if written out, would be first class.

The balloon—⁴⁵

Monday, Dec. 22—forenoon very pleasant. Sun shining, a partial haze—Saw the balloon up—a great huge, slow moving thing, with⁴⁶ a curious look to me, as it crawled up, and slanted down again, as if it were alive. The haze, I suppose, prevented any good use—for it staid up only a little while. A beautiful object to me—a graceful, pear-shaped thing, some 30 by 50 feet, (at a guess.) I examined it, by and by, when it was grappled on the ground, in a picturesque ravine, west of Gen. Sumner's headquarters, swelling up there in its diamond-shaped netting, with a watchful sentry over it night and day.⁴⁷

Monday forenoon, Dec. 22. I write this in the tent of Capt. Sims, of the 51st New York.⁴⁸

Sight at the Lacy house—⁴⁹

at the foot of tree, immediately in front, a heap of feet, legs, arms, and human fragments, cut, bloody, black and blue, swelled and⁵⁰ sickening—in the garden

43. Text from Glicksberg, 70, placed here in chronological order. The use of past tense, however, suggests that he is writing from memory.

44. Glicksberg, 70n21, notes that WW originally wrote "fifteen"

45. Text from Glicksberg, 68. Then a novelty in warfare.

46. Text from Glicksberg, 69.

47. Two entries for December 20 placed in chronological order.

48. Text from Glicksberg, 69.

49. Text from Glicksberg, 69. Barton, *Abraham Lincoln and Walt Whitman*, 39–50, has challenged the authenticity of WW's claim to have seen this and has pointed out that these notes show WW as a casual visitor rather than as the active participant in military life he later claimed to be.

near, a row of graves; some distance back, a little while afterwards, I saw a long row of them.

The walk along the Rappahannock in front, a pleasant shore, with trees—
See that old town over there—how splintered, bursted, crumbled, the houses—
some with their chimneys thrown down—the hospitals—the man with his mouth
blown out the balloon

*Artillery drill—Va. Fal. Friday Dec. 26*⁵¹

The artillery drill, off on the open plain, the movements by sound of trumpet—
The battery of six guns—the order, *limber to the left*—the horses quickly
attached, the trumpet blast a signal, and off they go.

The men attached to the guns

—Picture of a battery drill

The order—*limber to the front*, the bugle sounds, and off they go on a full run
The picturesque scene of a battery drill on the open plains, the men at their
positions, the orders, and signal by trumpet—off they go on a run

The⁵² cannons of pale yellow

—the hurrying horses, the ammunition wagons, carrying an extra wheel behind—
some of their horses in the rear.

*Antietam—the fight at the bridge. 17th Sept.*⁵³

This was a stone bridge over Antietam Creek, in a position naturally almost
impregnable and was fortified by the rebels.⁵⁴ Orders were given to carry this
point at all hazards, and the work was deputed to the 51st N. Y. and the 51st
Penn. At 1 o'clock these regiments made a charge with the bayonet, carrying this
through with determination and courage never surpass'd. They cleared the bridge,
gained the opposite side, and held it—in the contest losing a large number of
officers and men. *The 51st going on picket*, on the hill in advance, on the battlefield
of Fredericksburgh—Sunday 14th Dec., the day after the engagement—

—The general engagement was Saturday 13th. Sunday was comparatively
quiet, with occasional picket firing. On Sunday night, the 51st was ordered on a

It is striking that six days after the battle amputated limbs were being left unburied, but 9600 wounded placed an incredible strain on the Medical Corps. WW describes the incident and his Falmouth experiences in Corr., I, 59, 80–81, and "Down at the Front," "After First Fredericksburg," SD, Prose 92, I, 33–34. Later scholars agree with Glicksberg's defense, 69n20, 71n24, while recognizing that WW did exaggerate the amount of time he spent with troops. There seems, to be no evidence that he was ever in or immediately behind the lines during actual combat, despite his assertion (Corr., I, 80).

50. Text from Glicksberg, 70.

51. Text from Glicksberg, 71.

52. Text from Glicksberg, 72.

53. WW is picking up from several pages back.

54. Glicksberg says "Rebels" was deleted, "Secesh" written over it but also deleted.

picket in force, to relieve the men holding a hill in advance of our line, south of Fredericksburgh, perhaps two miles beyond the river. The 51st men went on this duty about 9 o'clock Sunday night. Any member of the regiment will recollect⁵⁵ till his dying day the circumstances of this night and the following day, up to 12 o'clock Monday night—the regiment being on continuous duty in a most dangerous position about 27 hours. During the whole of that time, every one from the Colonel down was compelled to lie at full length on his back or belly in the mud, which was deep and tenacious. The surface of the ground, slightly elevated just south of them, served as a natural bulwark & protection against the rebel batteries and sharpshooters, as long as the men lay in this manner; but the moment the men raised their heads or a limb, even if only a few inches, snap & o-o-st went the weapons of Secesh. In this manner, the 51st remained spread^{55a} out in the mud, all Sunday night, all Monday and Monday night till after midnight. Although the troops could plainly hear the rebels whistling &c. the latter did not dare to advance upon them. Although⁵⁶ this was a night to be remembered. Soon after midnight, the 51st (as a blind) took up their march (the relief soon followed) through Fredericksburgh, over the pontoon bridge to Falmouth where they halted and took their old camping ground. The 51st was relieved Tuesday morning, 16th, about 3 o'clock, after four days' absence.

Just after early candle light—Papers! Papers!

At dark a horseman will come galloping through the camp, with something white thrown across the pommel of the saddle in front of him, and you will hear the cry, papers! papers! Then quite a rush out of the tents, and the shinplasters fly around lively—the New York papers are 10 cents, and the Washington and Philadelphia ones 5.

Falmouth. Tuesday morning Dec. 23 '62

I write this standing on high slope between Gen. Sumner's headquarters and the railroad terminus down towards the river. The day is soft, brightly beautiful. Down below is spread out a picturesque scene. The countless baggage wagons, with their white roofs, the numerous strings of mules, the railroad locomotive, the broad spread⁵⁷ of slopes and hills winding their way over the railroad track, and making a huge S. towards the river, which is only a few hundred yards distant, are the whole of the 51st N. Y. 51st Penn. and 100 men of the 11th N. H. going on picket duty along the shore.

55. Glicksberg notes "remember" deleted; "recollect" inserted.

55a. "speed" in Glicksberg.

56. Following text from Glicksberg, 73.

57. Glicksberg notes that "stretched" is written above.

*Christmas*⁵⁸ *Afternoon, 1862. In Virginia, near Rappahannock Army of the Potomac*

I write this paragraph in the midst of a large deserted camp ground, with the remains of hundreds of mud-huts, and the debris of an old brigade or division of soldiers all around me. On a road near at hand successive caravans of army wagons, some of them apparently interminable, with their six-mule teams, are passing and passing, with only slight intervals, nearly all the time. Not far off is camp of several hundred teamsters with rows and half-moons of wagons ranged around, and heaps of forage, hay, temporary stables, &c. In sight as I sweep my eye over the open ground, (for I can see without obstruction from two to four miles every) I behold several other such teamsters' camps. Off outside I see the carcasses of dead horses and mules. The wooded parts of the surface have been cleared for fuel, & building purposes, for a hundred thousand soldiers.

I hear plainly the music of a good band, at some Brigadier's quarters, a mile and a half away; it is a beautiful, soft sunny Christmas day with thin haze in the air. Then the drum tap from one direction or other comes constantly breaking in. Where I sit, I am not within many hundred rods of any soldiers' quarters, but I can see them, regiments, brigades and divisions, spread out in the distance, at every point of the compass. All is open ground; not a particle of fence anywhere. Squads of soldiers are wandering, crossing the space, the roads, &c. at a distance; but where I sit a couple of hundred feet off a road, I am quite solitary. I am sitting on a remnant of pine log, the old groundsite of what was probably a large camp hut. I can see to the south-east the depression in the landscape, where the Rappahannock runs, and one or two signs of Fredericksburgh, (a battery could easily shell it from where I sit.) I hear the sound of bugle calls, very martial, at this distance—a fine⁵⁹

{3394L} (written by Mrs. Barbauld, in very old age
 Life! we've been long together,
 Through pleasant and through cloudy weather
 'Tis hard to part when friends are dear,
 Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh or tear,
 Then steal away—give little warning
 Choose thine own time,
 Say not Good night—but in some happier clime
 Bid me good morning

58. Text from Glicksberg, 80–82, placed in chronological order.

59. Narrative resumed below. Glicksberg, 81n46, says: "The next page contains Mrs. Barbauld's poem, 'Life! we've been long together.'" LC photostat [3394] shows Mrs. Barbauld's poem on a verso and on the facing recto (shown only in part) "as if One's-Self. . . ." They are therefore inserted here. Anna Letitia Barbauld (1743–1825). In 1889 WW remembered these lines well enough to paraphrase them (Traubel, V, 28).

[3394R]⁶⁰ as if "One's-Self"—as the term is used at the inscription at entrance
 What do you call One's-Self? (Came one asking me
 What is one's-self (what myself or yours?)
 This⁶¹ curious identity
 This something that gives me the pow—

large⁶² troop of cavalry is just passing, the hoofs of the horses shake the ground,
 and I hear the clatter of sabres. Amid all this pleasant scene, under the sweet sky
 and warm sun, I sit and think over the battle of last Saturday week.

The old flag of the 51st

Old flag, all shot through with fragments of shell, bullets, &c. its staff shattered,
 carried sternly into seven engagements, and into the thickest of the fight,
 and safely brought out again—all full of shreds, fringed as with the sword, the
 silk stained with blood.

*The fighting at F*⁶³

Taking the army as a whole, it is almost certain that never did mortal man
 in an aggregate fight better than our troops at Fredericksburgh. In the highest
 sense, it was *no failure*. The main⁶⁴ body troops descending the hills on the Fal-
 mouth side, to cross the pontoon bridge could plainly see over back of Fredericks-
 burgh, the Secesh batteries, rising in tremendous force and plenty, on the terrace
 required to our men's crossing exposed stretches of land, which were fearfully
 commanded by their batteries, and also the flats thick with their rifle-pits. Yet all
 the brigade went forward unflinchingly. Nearer view on Saturday, the day of the
 fight, made everything still more ominous to our side. But still the men advance
 with unsurpassed gallantry—and would have gone again further, if ordered.

*Va.*⁶⁵ *On the Falmouth side, Friday, Dec. 26th, '62*

Early this morning I walked out, in the open fields, one side of the camp. I
 found some of the soldiers digging graves—they were for the 51st N. Y. and 11th
 N. H. There was a row of graves there already, each with a slat of board, gener-
 ally a piece of barrelhead, on which was inscribed the name of the soldier.⁶⁶ Death
 is nothing here. As you step out in the morning from your tent to⁶⁷ wash your

60. The text is from Glicksberg, 126, corrected from what is visible on the LC photostat. For the poem alluded to, see Auslander [15], above.

61. WW began the line with "N" which he deleted.

62. Text of prose narrative, Glicksberg, 81, resumed.

63. Fredericksburg.

64. Following text from Glicksberg, 82.

65. Following text from Glicksberg, 73.

66. See "Down at the Front," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 32.

67. Following text from Glicksberg, 74.

face you see before you on a stretcher a shapeless extended object, and over it is thrown a dark grey blanket—it is the corpse of some wounded or sick soldier of the reg't who died in the hospital tent during the night—perhaps there is a row of three or four of these corpses lying covered over.⁶⁸ No one makes an ado. There is a detail of men made to bury them; all useless ceremony is omitted. (The stern realities of the marches and many battles of a long campaign make the old etiquets a cumber and a nuisance.)

I walked on over to a camp of teamsters, in the woods—or rather what had been the woods, but was now pretty well cut down; a few trees standing at intervals, stumps all over and plenty of boughs and branches strewing the ground. The teamsters were in groups around, here and there, mostly squatted—by the fires, idling, or cooking breakfast, &c.

Near by was the camp of the 26th Penn., who have been out since the commencement of the war. I talked with a couple of the men, part of a squad around a fire, in the usual enclosure of green branches fencing three sides of a space perhaps 20 feet square—breaks the wind from the north and east. Where there are boughs to be had these sylvan corrals are to met with in all the camps—some of them are built very finely, and making a picturesque appearance for a camp. They serve as the company kitchens, and the same purpose of rendezvous, of an evening that the public house, the reading room, or the engine house, did at home. (describe one of these sylvan corrals)

Brigade consists of 51st New York, 51st Penn. and 21st Mass. (about 1800 men.) (See further on)—⁶⁹ At Leesboro' Sept. 7th joined by the 35th Mass. with 1000 men.

To a stranger the men in the ranks appear great growlers: a large proportion of men in the world even the good fellows would burst if they couldn't grumble.

The⁷⁰ men I talked with in the 26th Penn. appeared to be in the best spirits and less growling than any I had met with yet. To a stranger the men in the ranks appear great growlers. By & by you learn this is nothing; a large proportion of men in the world even the good fellows would burst if they couldn't grumble. The tents of this camp were quite comfortable, such moderate weather as we are having now. One of the men came out of a tent close by with a couple of slices of beef, and some crackers, and commenced cooking the mess in a frying pan, for his breakfast. It looked very good. Another man was waiting with similar articles, to have the use of the frying pan. As I examined the little shelter tent through the open entrance, the ground strewn with pine twigs, and protected on each side with a pine log for an entrance, the knapsacks piled at one end for pillows, (three men asleep in one of the tents.) I thought, rough as it was, that men in health

68. Glicksberg, 74n30, points out the resemblance to "A Sight in Camp in the Daybreak Gray and Dim."

69. See "100? ^ days fighting" below.

70. Following text from Glicksberg, 75.

might endure it, and get along with more comfort than most outsiders would suppose—as indeed the condition of the men around me was a tolerable proof.

The mass of our men in our army are young—it is an impressive sight to me to see the countless number of youths and boys—there is only a sprinkling of elderly men. On a parade at evening, there you see them,—poor lads, many of them already with the experiences of the oldest veterans.

100? The ⁷¹ days fighting—march—on the bivouac

After leaving Newport News for Falmouth (via Aquia Creek) left Falmouth, about 500 men,⁷² brigade consisting of 51st Penn. and 21st Mass. (about 1800 men)—*Aug 12* for Culpeper—now begins a most emphatic and experience, being a continued life of rapid marching, on the bivouac, fighting, the sound of cannon, hardly a day intermitted for the best part of 100 days. (The regiment now has a part of Maj. Gen. Pope's Army.) —15th Aug. at Cedar run to Kelly's ford—19th started on the retreat, marching double quick most all the way—lay at Kelly's ford region two⁷³ days—had a fight with the rebel Longstreet—23rd left Kelly's ford, following the line of the Rappahannock, the rebels on the other side—24th at Sulphur Springs—left the springs next morning, and arrived at Warrenton the same day (25th)—alarm of the enemy, line of battle formed, proved false report—marched to Warrenton Junction, arriving 26th, laid there that day—27th started for Gainsville.

28th started for Manassas, arriving there 29th. 30th and 31st were engaged in the battle—2d Bull Run—the troops behaving with great coolness, courage and in perfect order—About 11 o'clock at night left the battle field, (being the last regiment that left, and having the credit of saving the artillery,) and bivouack'd that night at Centerville. Left the latter place Sept. 1st at 5 A. M., arriving at Chantilly at dusk—here occurring a sharp engagement, (Battle of Chantilly), lasting till 10 o'clock at night. (It rained furiously and the conflict was in the woods.) Sept. 2 at 3 A.M. started for Fairfax Court House, arriving there soon after sunrise—2 P.M. for Alexandria, reaching the latter place at dark—Sept. 3d in temporary camp near Alexandria—4th at 8 P.M. started for Washington,—encamped at Park Garden in Washington at 3 A.M. on the 5th—

The greatest march that ever was made
Since the days of old king Pharaoh
Was the march that was made by the 2d brigade
Under Brigadier General Ferrero.
Gen Sturgis⁷⁴

71. WW's caret.

72. Glicksberg, 75, prints a pointing hand and an asterisk and notes that they refer to "(See further on)" above.

73. Following text from Glicksberg, 76.

74. Glicksberg, 76n37, says quatrain in WW's hand. Signature "written," presumably in another hand.

lay there 5th and 6th—7th marched from Washington to Leesboro' Md., arriving there the same evening—here joined by the 35th Mass. 1000 strong—6th laid at Leesboro'—9th march'd to Brookville. 10th march'd to Damascus—11th and 12th on the march to Frederick City—13th to Middleton—14th engaged in the Battle of *South Mountain* (one of the fiercest fights of the war)—15th march'd toward Sharpsburgh—16th (as all the past four days,) fighting, shelling, constant fusillades, every hour on the alert; and shelling the enemy) near Sharpsburg, lying till 17th when the reg't was hotly engaged in the *battle of Antietam*, taking this bridge at the point of the bayonet, (in conjunction with the 51st Pa.)—and towards night rising and holding it against the violent efforts of the enemy to retake it. (See back.)⁷⁵ 18 lay in the⁷⁶ neighborhood, (no grub for two days,) expecting an attack from Secesh but they now retired for scores and hundreds and hundreds of miles—all this through mud, rain, heat, snow, cold, woods, bog, fording rivers, slipping down steep descents, rocks, climbing upright & hills, exposed, in the first part to the⁷⁷ sweltering summer, in the last to severe changes, nipping and cool, amidst an active enemy, in secretiveness, the inhabitants full of treachery and venom, our men often marching without food, often worse, no water, the muddiest water sometimes a precious luxury, dragging their limbs, deadly tiresome, carrying heavy burdens, nature sometimes exhausted, any moment liable to surprise, moving to every point of the compass, hither and yon, now to escape from a superior force, now in pursuit to capture him, through gaps, shoes worn out, feet bleeding, clothing torn, dirty, not only sleeping on the ground in the open air, (that was nothing), sometimes having to scrape away the snow to make a place to lie down,—fighting in some heavy historic battle one day, under arms perhaps all night in the field, resuming the march next day, halting a little while on the bivouac at night and then with knapsack on back and guns on shoulder, again resuming the march for ——— days———

Continue this⁷⁸

19th encamped two miles distant, near mouth of Antietam Creek—lay in camp there till Oct 7th. At that date moved on to Pleasant Valley, Md., and lay there till the 27th & then struck tents, and crossed the Potomac on a pontoon bridge at Berlin, marching to Lovettsville, Va. arriving there that night—30th marched to near Wheatland, Va. (And now commenced another march, of nine days, bivouacking at night, fighting by day, every day hearing far or near the sound of cannon, but oftener near than far.

2nd. Nov. marched for Purceville, encamping there that night, (they were now following up with Gen. Pleasanton and his U. S. Cavalry the movements of the Secesh Cavalry under Gen. Stuart.)—3d on to Bloomfield. 4th on to Upper-

75. See "*Antietam—the fight at the bridge, 17th Sept.*"

76. Following text from Glicksberg, 77.

77. Glicksberg notes that "heat" was deleted and "sweltering summer" written above.

78. Glicksberg notes that this passage, beginning with "all this through mud, rain, heat" is very difficult to decipher. He has incorporated WW's revisions in his text.

ville—5th on over the Piedmont railroad, encamping near Piedmont—6th on the march, (cold spiteful snowstorm,) near Orleans, Va.,—7th lost the road, had to retrace ground, wandering a number of miles, descending a very⁷⁹ steep, rocky hill, sharp dangerous ledges of rocks, that night laying exhausted in the road and woods, in the snow—8th, started for Jeffersonton, arrived there at night, and bivouac; (the enemy, under Stewart had just left.)—9th nothing new.—10th no grub—11 on a reconnoissance, (no grub yet)—12th at 3 A.M. retired to Sulphur Springs—13th had crackers for the first time in several days—15th left Sulphur Springs at 7 A.M.,—As soon as our artillery had gone, the Secesh opened their guns on our baggage train, creating a panic among the teamsters—our artillery returned, and silenced them—same day marched to Fayetteville, and bivouack'd near there—16th left camp at 7 A. M. and that night bivouack'd near Warrenton Junction—17th nothing new—18th started for Falmouth—19th encamped on the Rappahannock opposite Fredericksburgh—thus ending a march of about 100 days, which if properly narrated would stand on a par with anything in military movements, ancient or modern.

Next comes the battle of Fredericksburgh. 13th—the 51st (as part of the 2d brigade, 2d division, 9th Army Corps, comprising besides it the 51st Penn. 21st Mass. 11th New Hampshire & 35th Mass.) crossed the river on the 12th—advanced on the batteries on the 13, the day of the battle, fought hotly, and with unflinching courage, in the⁸⁰

[3380L]⁸¹ —The chaplain—the doctors (and the general account) of the incompetency of the chaplain. /

the mail—the letters in the adjutants tent—50 letters to be sent off, franked—going to all parts⁸²

[3380R] (*the Doctor's statement*) going into battle

When I went down the hill, on Falmouth side⁸³ and saw up the hills on the opposite side, the long rows of batteries, completely protected, we had to advance upon, I felt worse than⁸⁴ later in the day, when in the hottest part of the fight. The enemy had every advantage over us—we had to advance over a considerable open space exposed to their batteries, and their infantry & sharpshooters⁸⁵ pro-

79. Following text from Glicksberg, 78.

80. Glicksberg's note, 78n40: "The manuscript was left unfinished at this point. This note, relating to the Battle of Fredericksburg, properly belongs here: '*truth*—wounded in battle of Fredericksburg between 6 and 7000 in full.'"

81. This passage follows the preceding in Glicksberg. [3380] is identical with [3382]. Line across leaf after first entry.

82. Hanging indentation.

83. Preceding three words inserted above "the hill"

84. Deleted: "when [?]"

85. Preceding four words inserted above "and protected by ri"

tected by rifle-pits. Yet it was deliberately done. (I think there was as much bravery exhibited by our troops, in deliberate advancing, with perfect steadiness, and in their general conduct on Saturday, and sternly holding the field Sunday and Monday, as was ever exhibited by any military force in the world. (Describe the slope on the Falmouth side—the bridge—the advance

[3384L] omit⁸⁶ performing surgical⁸⁷ operations on the battle field—Dr. Leonard at Fredericksburgh Saturday on the advance

old⁸⁸ vet's, (i.e veterans) / Skeddaddlers—some would skulk, of course, on their way to fight—but not many. /

*Sight*⁸⁹ at daybreak⁹⁰ (in camp in front of the hospital tent)⁹¹ on a stretcher,⁹² three dead men lying,⁹³ each⁹⁴ with a blanket spread over him—I lift⁹⁵ up one⁹⁶ and look at the⁹⁷ young man's face,⁹⁸ calm and yellow. 'tis strange!

(⁹⁹Young man: I think this face, of yours¹ the face of² my dead Christ!)

*Sights*³—*The Army Corps*,⁴ encamped on the war field.

The clusters of tents—the brigades and divisions⁵

The shelter tents—the peep through the open⁶ entrance flap—the debris around

The balloon up for reconnoissances

86. In left corner, possibly not by WW.

87. Inserted above "ing opera"

88. Above line, deleted: "VV"

89. Glicksberg, 79n41, notes as first version of "A Sight in Camp in the Daybreak Gray and Dim." First printed *UPP*, II, 93. WW's repeated use of "sight" suggests that he had a poem-cluster in mind.

90. Deleted: "in front of the tent[?]"

91. Parenthetical phrase inserted below "at daybreak [*five words del.*] in front of the tent." Deleted: "out"

92. Deleted: "a dead man"

93. The preceding three words originally parenthesized.

94. Inserted above word space and "with"

95. Inserted and deleted above word space between "lift" and "up" : "it"

96. Inserted above space at end of line after "up"

97. Inserted above "at the face" : "young [*del.*] dead man's"

98. Deleted: "so"

99. Original beginning of line deleted: "How"

1. Preceding two words inserted above space and "the"

2. Deleted: "the" ; inserted: "my" above "The"

3. Text from a photograph facing Glicksberg, 125. LC photostat [3384] shows that this leaf faced "Sight at daybreak" above. Text published in Glicksberg, 125, and *LG CRE*, 667–668. Appears to be in pencil.

4. The poem appears to be written in pencil with, perhaps, emendations in black ink. The preceding three words, which appear to be written in ink, are inserted above the rest of the title without caret as if afterthoughts, perhaps as an alternate.

5. These words are crammed in between the title and the following line.

6. Inserted above "open" and deleted "door" ; inserted above "flap" : "entrance."

The sights of the⁷ hospital tent—the pale-faced wounded—⁸ the men lying flat⁹
 on the ground, on the pine boughs,
 The shebangs of branches,—the fires built
 The¹⁰ men emerging from their tent in the gray of the morning
 The great camp of army corps, the divisions, the brigades and camps of the
 regiments¹¹
 The sound of the drums—the different calls,¹² the assembly, the early¹³ reveille,
 the tattoo at night, & the dinner call, &c.
 The rows of tents, the streets through them
 The¹⁴ squads out on the open ground going through their evolutions
 The long trains of baggage wagons—the huge clouds of smoke rising over the
 tents
 The ambulances—

Butcher¹⁵ shop in the woods

The fenced enclosure in the midst of the woods, for butchering the beef, the
 just quartered cattle, in huge pieces lying around—the men with rolled up sleeves
 and stained arms.

& sounds

Sights¹⁶

& a on the

The shriek of the mule at night
 the roll of drums—the men drilling with their muskets on their shoulders
 —the enclosures of green boughs, for fires for cooking
 The graves with slight boards, rudely inscribed with the names.
 In front of the hospital, the dead brought out, lying there so still,
 The piece of board, hastily inscribed with the name, placed on the breast, to be
 ready.
 The squad at the burial, firing a volley over the grave.

7. Preceding three words inserted above wordspace and "hospital"

8. Preceding three words inserted above "tent—the men"

9. Inserted above "ing" of "lying"

10. Deleted: "morning gr"

11. This line appears to have been crammed between the preceding and following lines.

12. Deleted: "attention"

13. Preceding two words inserted above wordspace and "reveille"

14. Deleted: "men" ; inserted above: "squads" and line continued on that level.

15. Following text from Glicksberg, 79.

16. Following text from Glicksberg, 79. Glicksberg, 79n43, believes that these lines were also intended to be part of "A Sight in Camp in the Daybreak Gray and Dim."

{3376L}¹⁷ ?Dec. '62 Friday 26th
Brigade drill

About 1 o'clock there was a drill of the ? 2d Brigade of the 2d division of the 9th Army Corps, comprising the 51st N. Y. Vol's, the 51st Penn., the 21 Mass., (old regiments,) and the 35th Mass., and 11th N. H., under command of Brigadier General Ferrero. The Brigade turned out less than 1000 men—a significant commentary on war, for¹⁸ nearly every one of its five regiments originally started with¹⁹ as many as that number, and besides there have been a good many recruits. What remain of the men,²⁰ though nearly all young fellows, have the look and gait of veterans. No show at all²¹ in the way of uniforms, but marching and evolutions perfect.

The drill closed with a spirited charge, the men shouting like wild Comanches.²² (This is an error—they do cry loudly in a charge.²³ But our troops generally go in with loud cries.

{3376R}²⁴ *A battle.* (Scenes, sounds, &c)²⁵

The opening of the fight, when the skirmishes begin, the irregular snap, snap
The varied²⁶ sounds of the different missiles—the short s-s-t of the rifled ball
Of²⁷ the shells exploding, leaving a small white cloud,
The hum and buzz of the great shells,
The²⁸ grape like the²⁹ rushing whirr of wind hurtled³⁰ through the trees,
bursting like a fan the³¹ rattle of musketry from your³² own side never
intermitted³³ —from the other side, the short th-h-t, th-h-t, th-h-t, with
irregular intervals between,

17. Photograph also faces Glicksberg, 80.

18. Deleted: "any" ; inserted above "for [*del.*] any" : "nearly every"

19. Deleted: "more" ; inserted above "more" and space at end of line: "as many as"

20. Deleted: "how[?] have the a"

21. Preceding two words inserted above "w" in "show" and "in"

22. Deleted: "Indians" ; inserted above: "Comanches" . Sentence deleted: "I have been informed that the secession troops never utter these loud cries during[?] their movements, but are as stealthy as cats."

23. Preceding eleven words written above "[*del.*] cats. But our troops"

24. Glicksberg prints this on 121-123 with photograph. LC photostat {3376} shows that it belongs here. Glicksberg notes that it is an early version of "The Artilleryman's Vision." The spirit of the final poem varies considerably from this sketch.

25. In MS, l. 13 (l. 4 on {3377R}), but placed here according to WW's marginal note: "tr to beginning"

26. Deleted: "different" ; inserted above: "different" "varied"

27. "Of" inserted before "The" ; "The" reduced to lowercase.

28. Inserted above and deleted: "hurtled"

29. Deleted: "whistle" ; inserted above "[*del.*] whistle of" : "rushing whirr"

30. Inserted before "through"

31. Deleted: "continual"

32. Deleted: "side"

33. Inserted: "own . . . intermitted" above: "your [*del.*] side—from"

The peculiar shriek of certain shells,—the thud of the round ball falling in the soft earth,
 The shouts and curses of men—the orders from the officers.—³⁴
 The wild cry³⁵ of a regiment charging—(the colonel³⁶ leads with his unsheathed³⁷ sword)
 The gaps³⁸ cut by the enemy's batteries, (quickly fill'd up, no delay,)
 The groans of the wounded, the sight of blood,
 {3377R; *L blank*} Sometimes the curious lull for a few³⁹ seconds, awful quiet no firing on either side
 The resumed again, the noise worse than ever,
 All of a sudden from one⁴⁰ part of the line, a cheer for a fine movement{?} or charge, spirited attack⁴¹
 The position of the dead, some with arms raised, poised in the air,⁴²
 Some lying curl'd on the ground—the dead in every position⁴³
 The wild excitement and delight infernal,
 *⁴⁴One reach'd forward, with finger extended, pointing—one in the position of firing
 (Some of the dead, how soon they turn black in the face and swollen!)
 {3378R; *L blank*} The scene at the batteries—what crashing and smoking!⁴⁵
 (how⁴⁶ proud the men are of their pieces!)
 The chief gunner⁴⁷ ranges and sights his piece, and selects a fuse of the right time,
 (After a shot, see how he⁴⁸ leaning aside and looking⁴⁹ eagerly off, to see the effect!)
 Then after the battle, what a scene! O my sick soul⁵⁰

34. Deleted: "the shouts of men"

35. Deleted: "on the" ; inserted above "[*del.*] on [*del.*] the" : "of a regiment" ; inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*]

36. Deleted: "leading" ; inserted above "[*del.*] leading" : "leads"

37. Inserted above "his sword"

38. Deleted: "made" {?} ; inserted above "[*del.*] made" : "cut"

39. Deleted: "moments" ; inserted above "few . . . firing" : "seconds, [*illeg. del.*] awful quiet"

40. Deleted: "end" ; inserted above "[*del.*] end" : "part"

41. Preceding two words inserted; "spirited" above "charge" . Following line in MS has been moved to top of {3376R}, following WW's marginal direction: "tr to beginning"

42. WW marked this line: "tr to back" . Although the seventh from the last line of the entire passage {3378R} is a version of this one, it is more likely that WW intended only to move it down two lines to immediately before "One reached forward . . .," which is marked by a marginal asterisk.

43. Deleted: "you can think of"

44. Deleted: "Some with" ; inserted above "[*del.*] Some" : "One"

45. Preceding four words inserted above "at the batteries [*del.*] (the)"

46. Deleted: "(the pride of the men in" ; inserted above "[*del.*] of the men in [*not del.*] their"

47. Deleted: "sights"

48. Deleted: "they" ; inserted above "[*del.*] they" : "he"

49. "look" changed to "looking"

50. Phrase inserted above the line. The original entry had been: "the dead lying thick!" After deleting this WW wrote *below* the line "how the dead lie" . This, however, he transferred on an

O the hideous⁵¹ damned hell of war
 Were the preacher's preaching of hell?⁵²
 O there is no hell, more damned than this [*illeg.*] hell of war.
 O what is here?⁵³ O⁵⁴ my beautiful young men! O the beautiful hair, clotted!
 the faces!⁵⁵
 how the dead lie.⁵⁶ Some lie on their backs with faces up & arms extended!)⁵⁷
 Surgeons operating, attendants holding lights, the smell of ether, the odor of
 blood,
 The crowd, O the crowd of the bloody forms of soldiers!—the yard outside also
 fill'd,
 Some on the bare ground—some on planks or stretchers—some in the death-
 spasm,
 An occasional scream or cry—the doctor's shouted orders or calls.
 The glisten of the little steel instruments catching the flash of the torches,
 These I resume as here I chant—I see again the shadowy forms—I smell the
 odor.

At⁵⁸ Antietam there was a very large barn & farm house—the barn was filled
 with wounded, & the barn yard as full as it could stick—a peaceful barn, now
 bloody—the fragrant hay they used to place the men on for operations—they
 turned the cattle out of their stalls.

[3379L]⁵⁹ Quicksand years that⁶⁰ whirl me I know not whither 1861–2.⁶¹
 Years⁶² that whirl I know not whither⁶³

arrow four lines down where it is now inserted. Deleted: "The wounded—the [*del.*] am surgeons
 and ambulances—the hell, the"

51. Deleted: "horrid" ; inserted above "[*del.*] horrid" : "damned"

52. Crammed between lines.

53. Crammed at the beginning of the line.

54. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above "[*del.*] the" : "my"

55. Two versions of this line in "Baily D Damon" [1175] are later than this (either 1863 or
 1864).

56. Four words brought down from above after "O my sick soul" according to WW's arrow.
 See *n11* above. Cf. this whole line to l. 15 above, *n38*: "The position of the dead . . ."

57. The remainder of the passage is from Glicksberg, 123, who points out that it is a draft
 of ll. 15–20 of "A March in the Ranks Hard-Prest and the Road Unknown." The anecdote from
 which this part of the poem was developed is in Glicksberg, 123–124. The event occurred June 30,
 1862. See "Scene in the Woods" above.

58. Following text from Glicksberg, 124–125.

59. There is no indication of where these two leaves stood in the MS. They are placed here
 because they seem to be a culmination of his experiences at Falmouth. The spaces between lines are
 irregular as if for insertions. "Quicksand Years" was part of *D-T* (1865) but transferred to *WHD* in
 1871.

WW began with "You" above which he wrote "Quicksand" . The diagonal slash that de-
 deletes "You" may be intended to delete "Quicksand" also.

60. Above "that" : "insane fanatic" deleted. The variants that remain resist description.

61. The next line consisted of "Whither" deleted.

62. The line began: "You," deleted.

63. The original following line, "nothing is sure" was moved down one line on an arrow.

Schemes, politics fail—all is shaken—all gives way⁶⁴
Nothing is sure⁶⁵

Only the theme I sing, the great⁶⁶ Soul,⁶⁷
One's-self, that must never be shaken—that⁶⁸ out of all is sure,
Out of failures, wars, death—what at last but One's-self is sure?

With the Soul I defy you Quicksand years, slipping from under my feet.⁶⁹

[3379R] *Quicksand years that whirl*⁷⁰ *me I know not whither* (1861-2.)⁷¹

Quicksand years that whirl me I know not whither,
Your schemes, arrangements⁷² politics, fail—your⁷³ laws, lives gives way⁷⁴—all
is⁷⁵ shaken, eluding,
Only the⁷⁶ scheme I sing, the great, possess'd Soul, eludes not,
One's-Self,⁷⁷ need never be shaken—⁷⁸ that stands firm—⁷⁹ shall stand that out of
all is sure,
Out of politics, wars, death—what at last but One's-Self is sure?

See Jour of Commerce of Dec. 20, '62 for Col Potter's letter.⁸⁰

About⁸¹ mules —Jan 3d — forenoon the drove of mules, as many as a
thousand, going up K Street. The outriders the leaders ahead—the obstinant lag-
gard away behind.

64. Above this line floats a deleted “—the” . A deleted line follows: “But what can shake”

65. Inserted from position after “years that whirl”

66. Inserted above “Soul”

67. Deleted: “Ones self” . The next line consisted of the deleted phrase: “The great Soul”

68. Deleted: “[*illeg.*] above” ; inserted and deleted successively: “after all” , “through all” ; inserted: “out of all” above blank at end of the line.

69. At the bottom of the leaf is “Quicksand” deleted. Above “Quicksand” is “W”

70. At the top of the leaf are a number of undeleted words that seem to be variants for “whirl” : “descending” (with a curved line below it), “engulf” , “engulfing” . A question mark after “descending”

71. Date inserted somewhat to the right, possibly in pencil.

72. Inserted above “schemes politics”

73. Inserted above “laws”

74. WW originally wrote “gives way” , deleted it, inserted and deleted “lives”[?], finally reinserted “gives way” at the beginning of the line, one word above the other, possibly in pencil.

75. WW originally wrote and deleted: “is shaken gives way” ; inserted: “shaken, eluding,”

76. Deleted: “theme” ; inserted above “[*del.*] theme” : “scheme”

77. Deleted: “that must” ; inserted above “[*del.*] that must” : “[*del.*] indeed need”

78. Inserted above “that . . . sure” : “—let the rest go—that stands firm—” ; “—let the rest go” deleted.

79. Inserted in right margin somewhat above and brought down on arrow: “shall stand”

80. Text from Glicksberg, *AL*, 280. Glicksberg says it is the last entry in the notebook. The letter, dated December 16, 1862, tells how the 51st N.Y. was pinned down before Fredericksburg between December 15 and 16. See “Martin Weaver.”

81. Text from Glicksberg, 66. WW had gone to Washington.

[5]⁸² Service in the U.S. Senate Chambers by W H Channing⁸³ Sunday 4th 11 am
Smithsonian Institute lecture by Prof Guyot⁸⁴ "Matter and the life system — the
idea character and relative rank of the great classes of the vegetable kingdom
— Monday eve, 8 o'clock Jan 5th.

[1] 503 Twelfth bet E & F up 3d story.

Solomon

S.R. Carpenter

Washington, Jan 10, '63 Ridgeboro Vt.

+⁸⁵ Cody M. Reid saw in Hapgood's office, Jan 10th, '63⁸⁶ from Hastings, Barry
co. Michigan co. K 3d Michigan ward G armory hospital

+Lucania Holmes, Campbello, Plymouth co. Mass John A. Holmes,⁸⁷ co. C 29th
Mass

+David S. Giles⁸⁸ co 5 28th N. J. (52)

Thos Butterworth, bed no. 2—something to read

Elisha Beebe bed 3 (blond lymphatic)

Pierre P Hurlburt—drummer—bed 5 Campbell H⁸⁹ [*illeg.*] 5

Henry Thurer⁹⁰ bed 62 Ward 6 wants to see a German Lutheran clergyman

Henry Horner bed 63 Indiana, Indiana co. Penn.

Frederick⁹¹ Huse, private Co. I 35th Mass died in Campbell Hosp. died 5th Jan
'63, overdosed by opium pills & laudanum, from an ignorant ward master

Joshua Ford, private co. E. 1st Delaware, wardmaster gave him inwardly lead
muriate of ammonia,⁹² intended for a wash for his feet. Jan 4th '63

82. Text from Auslander.

83. Auslander reads "Chany," but Glicksberg, 152n26, reads "Channing," which is confirmed by the *Daily Morning Chronicle*, of Monday, January 5, which reports the sermon, on the Emancipation Proclamation, at length. William Henry Channing (1810–1884) was leader of the Unitarian congregation in Washington, worked with the Sanitary Commission, and was Chaplain of the House, 1863–1864. See "The President's Proclamation."

84. Arnold Henry Guyot (1807–1884) was a distinguished geographer who had come to the United States at the invitation of Louis Agassiz in 1848. In addition to being professor at Princeton, he did important work for the Smithsonian in establishing weather stations and in topographical mapping.

85. The cross is probably some sort of aid to WW's memory.

86. Auslander reads "'62", an obvious slip.

87. *Corr.*, I, 63–64 and "The Great Army of the Wounded," *NY Times*, February 26, 1863, *CW*, VII, 85–89.

88. See Auslander [10], [LC 3390L], following. The number is possibly a bed number.

89. Text from Glicksberg, 151.

90. Probably the unnamed tubercular soldier mentioned in "Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers," *CW*, VII, 95. There are several partial coincidences between the two passages, but usually the bed-number differs. WW handled his notes freely when he used them in print.

91. Deleted: "Hughes"

92. Glicksberg, 168, says "nitrate of ammonia"

*The*⁹³ *comic side of death*—(Joshua Ford)

Death of a middle-aged man, (he belonged to Co. E. 1st Delaware reg't.) in one of the hospitals, Jan 13th '63. Occupied bed 31, ward 6, Campbell hosp. He seemed to be perfectly conscious—he had a good-natured attentive⁹⁴ who never wearied of well doing—he wanted plug tobacco—he said to the nurse every few moments during the night, "Now give me another plug of tobacco—I'm going to die soon." He had plenty of rum and water, by order of the physician. He said, would often say, "Now give me some more toddy"—He wished some person would come in—liked company—he was quite curious—did not seem to mind death at all—took it very phlegmatically—(—spoke of it with perfect coolness.)—was a widower—died towards morning without pain—one of the last things was taking a drink of rum & water.

{2}⁹⁵ Jan 13, Speak to Penn. apt⁹⁶ Major Gilliland, 15th near Riggs & Co. bank about Richard Gardiner co I, 100th Pa. sick in hospital (bed 39, Ward 6. Camp H.) his hearing is quite gone—and he has heart disease—is a perfectly fit⁹⁷ case for discharge, and wants to be discharged

Jan 13th John Watson, 49, get some apples

Llewellyn Woodin (bed 14) sore throat co. E. 145 Penn. wants some candy
+ bed 15—wants an orange

399 9th st. Mr Howells

354 Penn av. 3d floor Mr. Wood

bed 59. (Janns) wants some liquorice

+ 57 wants me to write for his description list

{3} Patent Office Hospital Ward 1 & 2—bed 53 James E. Woodmansee (co. C. 114th N. Y. Rev. Ray Woodmansee Norwich Chenago co. N. Y.

61. Camp. (something to read a good book)⁹⁸ Saml. F Taries co. G. 1st Delaware
+ 27 wants some figs and a book and some cakes ginger

+ 23 & 24 wants some horehound candy

{4} John Evans Room 64, 2d flight upstairs 2d auditor's office 17th st.—Windrs[?]⁹⁹ Building

John W. Gaskell, co. E 24th N. Y. V. bed 57 W. 6. Camp weak and prostrated—pulmonary—sent for his descriptive list bring him some *nice* cake sponge cake /

93. Glicksberg 82. He does not give his source, but probably it is in the parts of this notebook Auslander did not transcribe.

94. Glicksberg inserts "nurse" in square brackets.

95. Text from Auslander.

96. Deleted: "Mr C"

97. Preceding two words inserted above "a case for"

98. Deleted: "S.F.F."

99. The query is Auslander's.

Chester H. Lilly¹ bed 6. ward 6. Camp 145th Penn. Erysippelas Jaundice & Wounded some preserve or *jelly*, or oranges /

Armory Hosp. James H. Culver² Ward G bed 24 Jan. 21 '63 Co. B. 136 N. Y. gave him 15cts a young man 20 yrs of age a farmer's son from Livingston Co. N. Y. down with pneumonia, talks in a whisper—has been sick two months,—one month here—7 have died since he has been here—is pretty weak, sore from lying so much in bed—³ would like some oranges—his father, since he enlisted has sold his farm, and gone to Jackson co. Michigan—has applied this morning for a discharge—a interesting, affectionate, thankful young fellow

{5} Boarding House, cor 4½ & E street Mrs Rabbett over the bridge

James Ferguson, cor 15th & av. resturant first class—Hammicks on steamboat "Young America"

Abner C. Kinney the firm of Barnes & Co Contractors [*illeg.*] in Washington on F. street

Clymer, 205 Pennsylvania av.

Young Men's Christian Association Penn. Av. nearly opposite Mr Shears or Sheeren Brown's hotel

{6} get Standard Dec 14 Dec 21 Jan 4 Jan 18 Feb. 1⁴

'es-ca-pä-de (French Dict. prank, frolic, lark, spree)

?? (Eng. Dict irregular motion of a horse—misdemeanor fault)

{10; 3390L}⁵ Henry D⁶ Boardman⁷ co. B. 27th Conn Vol young man, from Northford⁸ Conn (near New Haven 7 miles)⁹ bed 25, W 6 Camp H¹⁰ wants a *rice pudding* milky & not very sweet /

Mrs. Susan A. Voorhees, Metuchen, Middlesex co. N.J.

David S. Giles,¹¹ co F. 28th N. J. V. bed 52, W. 6—bed 52 wants an apple/bed 52 wants me to see about his brother John H. Giles, young man¹² Serg't Major 28th N. J. Vol. now in some¹³ hospital in Wash /

1. See "Hospital Note book."

2. See "Hospital Note book."

3. Deleted: "wants"

4. Auslander says "Clipping listing the hospitals in Washington pasted over this sheet at the top." See also Glicksberg, 152n26. The dates are all Sundays. No *Standard* which published on Sunday has been found.

5. These entries are on a verso and face entries made in May and June 1862 on a recto. A rule across the leaf separates the two entries.

6. Inserted.

7. See "Hospital Note book". Referred to in "A Connecticut Case," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 42-43 and "Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers," *CW*, VII, 95 as "H.D.B."

8. Inserted above "from Conn"

9. Entry in box at left. Most of leaf blank.

10. Entry in box at left. Most of leaf blank.

11. See above, "Hospital Note book". Referred to in "Items from My Note Books," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 83 as "D.S.G." . The latter entry gives the impression that the meeting took place in the autumn or winter of 1864.

12. Preceding two words inserted above word space and "Serg't"

13. Inserted above "in hospital"

come Christmas day /¹⁴

[34] Will W Wallace¹⁵ Cort 100 P. V.

G O White Uncalf 475—13th st Washington D C

R H Lee 2 Lieut 16th N. Y. Battery Camp Barry—D. C.

Cha. E. Collins 475 13th St—[35]¹⁶ Corp. John J. Taylor, co. F. 122d Penn. Mt.

Pleasant Hospital Tent 12

David S. Giles, 52 Campbell Hospital (orange jelly)¹⁷

Janus Mafield¹⁸ 59 the Va. Vol 2 oranges

[36; 339*IL*] Helen B. Worthing.¹⁹ from New Bedford Jan. 21—fine, young girl, acting as nurse in Ward G. Armory Hospital.— she gave me her name as above — — tells me she has been acting as nurse &c. for the past five months—her care, gentleness, and fitness, and marked superiority and magnetism, imprest me much.— but she tells me she is sent for to go home, to New Bedford²⁰ and must soon go — /

Armory Ward G. bed 7 [:] Jarvis Spaulding, co F. 142d N. Y. from Oswego co. severe thyphoid fever—very low—quite lethargic, needs to be roused wants an orange²¹

[52] Armory Hosp. Ward G. bed 8 Henry L. Mitchell,²² 5 Conn. Vol wounded in leg—aged 19 has been five mos in prison in Richmond—his description of prison life in R.—was claimed as a deserter from an Alabama reg't and came very near being shot—the Col. of the 5th Conn. was meantime

[54] Armory Hospital Ward g. bed 32 John Reichart²³ co I, 128th Penn (fever & bronchitis) from²⁴ Reading, Pa only 17—a handsome boy, looking like a girl—²⁵ flesh burning hot—a couple of oranges

[3383*R*; *L blank*]²⁶ The Soul, reaching throwing out for love.
As the spider,²⁷ from some little promontory, throwing out filament after

14. Since WW was not in Washington at Christmas, 1862, this note probably refers to 1863.

15. Probably the same person as the Will W. Wallace, a hospital steward who offered WW the delights of the nurses in his Nashville hospital as an inducement to visit. See "a m Dr. L B. Russell."

16. Upper part of leaf has NY material. See Auslander [33], above.

17. See Auslander [10], [*LC 3390L*] above.

18. James or Janus Mafield or Marfield. See "I buy it" and "1863—23 February" (*LC*, Feinberg). Glicksberg, 153, reads "James Marfield—7th Va. Vol.—2 oranges"

19. The name is in another hand. See "Walt Whitman Soldier's."

20. Preceding three words inserted.

21. At upper right with line alongside and below.

22. See "I buy it."

23. See "Take (Marg. D Valois)."

24. Deleted: "Reding"

25. Deleted: "hot"

26. The text, on a recto, faces a blank page on the photostat and there is no indication of its location in the MS. First published in *UPP*, II, 93.

27. Deleted: "on a" ; inserted above deletion: "from some"

filament, tirelessly²⁸ out of itself, that one at least may catch, and form a link,
 a bridge, a connection
 as the the
 O I saw one passing alone,²⁹ saying hardly a word, yet full of love I detected
 him by certain signs
 O eyes ever wishfully turning!³⁰ O silent eyes!³¹
 For³² then I thought of you oer the world O³³ latent oceans,³⁴ fathomless³⁵
 oceans of love!
 O³⁶ waiting oceans of love!³⁷ yearning and fervid!³⁸ and of you sweet souls³⁹
 perhaps for the future, delicious and long:
 But Dead,⁴⁰ unknown on this earth—ungiven,⁴¹ dark here, unspoken, never
 born:
 You⁴² fathomless latent souls of love—you⁴³ pent and unknown oceans of love!

Left⁴⁴ Brooklyn for Falmouth, Va. Dec. 16, 1862— Washington Dec. 17—
 Falmouth camp of 51st N.Y.V.⁴⁵ Dec. 19th '62—Ret to Washington about Jan. 2
 '62. Remained in Washington among wounded, sick, &c. in hospitals (was home
 in Nov. a month—Andrew died early in Dec. '63) till taken sick. Left Washington
 June 23, 1864 for Brooklyn.⁴⁶

[40]⁴⁷ August 11 '64 Mother was telling me at dinner today, how glad she was
 when peace was declared, after the war of 1812 &c. She said her father told them
 he hoped they never would be compelled to see the horrors of war, as he had seen

28. Deleted: "from himself" ; inserted above deletion: "out of itself"

29. Deleted: "and silent!" ; inserted in two lines above deletion: "saying hardly a word,"

30. Deleted: "wishfully!"

31. Deleted line follows: "O those eyes turning [*illeg.*] wishfully [*ins.*] in the street"

32. Inserted above "O latent oceans, the" : "(Then I thought . . . world"

33. Deleted: "the"

34. Deleted: "the"

35. Deleted "sweet"

36. Deleted: initial "The" ; inserted above deletion: "O"

37. Deleted: "the"

38. Deleted: "O" ; inserted above deletion and "sweet": "and of you" . The line from this
 point to the end appears to be an interlinear insertion.

39. Deleted: "of" ; inserted above deletion: "perhaps for"

40. Deleted: "Dying" ; inserted above deletion: "But Dead"

41. Inserted above "unspoken" : "dark here," ; inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*]

42. Deleted: initial "Those" ; inserted above deletion: "You"

43. Deleted: "those" ; inserted: "you"

44. Text from Glicksberg, 82.

45. It is fairly clear that WW was back in Washington before January 2, 1862. Mrs. O'Connor says that she met him on December 28th, the day of his return (Ellen Calder, "Personal Recollections of Walt Whitman," *Atlantic Monthly*, 99, [1907], 825). The first dated entry in "a m Dr. L B Russell" is December 31, 1862, when he made a note of a Brooklyn man who was steward in an army hospital in Alexandria, just across the Potomac from Washington.

46. WW said that he returned to Washington January 23, 1865. See "Hugo Oscar Fritsch."

47. Text from Auslander.

them in the Revolution. Mother's brothers were in the army at Brooklyn in 1812. She told me that her father came down to visit the & bring them some things, & she came with him. The [41] camp must have been somewhere in the neighborhood of what is now Washington Park

[3385R]⁴⁸ Aug 26 '64 Cornelius Kittletas (gave change of \$2 for \$20 bill 4th av. born on Staten Island,⁴⁹ father died early, was in stores & shipping office in N Y—married, went to Montgomery Ala kept a restaurant—war broke out came home

48. Text transferred here from 1862 context (p. 499).

49. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

APPENDIX

From Richard Henry Stoddard,⁵⁰ "The World of Letters," NY
Mail and Express, June 20, 1893

Dr. D. B. St. John Roosa, the distinguished oculist, whom so many men of letters have reason to remember gratefully for his skill as a surgeon and his kindness as a man, contributes a chapter of personal reminiscences to these columns, where they are certain to find sympathetic and intelligent readers. They are interesting as a trustworthy retrospect of an earlier condition of life and manners in this great city of ours, and valuable as a lively and kindly presentation of the personality of a curious character who figured therein at the period described—Walt Whitman, concerning whom and his partiality for stage drivers Dr. Roosa appears to have been reading before he began to write his rambling recollections, which are as follows:

"While I was a member of the house staff of the old New York Hospital, I became acquainted with Walt Whitman during his visits to disabled stage drivers that were in our wards. In all the reminiscences that have been published of the poet very little has been said about this portion of his life. My acquaintance with him continued for so long a time and under such peculiar circumstances that I think it possible the general public may be interested in the new light, or rather the additional light, thrown upon his character by the recollections of a house doctor, who entertained Walt Whitman during these visits to the New York Hospital.

"The period in which he was so much interested in stage drivers occupied possibly the two or three years preceding the great rebellion of 1861. It is difficult for even the old New Yorker to picture Broadway as it was before the advent of horse cars and the cable road. A recent article by Mr. Howells recalls to us how this great thoroughfare has become comparatively quiet since his visit to the metropolis in 1860. There are perhaps, at present, no streets in the world to remind one of Broadway at the period of which I am writing, except the Strand, Fleet street and Cheapside, in London. Almost numberless white and red, yellow and black, cumbersome, noisy vehicles crowded Broadway from the Battery to Union square. There was the Broadway and Twenty-third street line, the Broadway and Fifth avenue, the Fourth avenue, the Dry Dock, Bleecker street, and perhaps other stages—for the real New Yorker never said omnibus. With their loud-mouthed drivers and heavy wheels, they often made a noisy jam in lower Broadway.

"These drivers, like those of the omnibuses in London, were a set of men by themselves. A good deal of strength, intelligence and skillful management of horses was required of a Broadway stage driver. He seems to have been decidedly a higher order of

50. (1824-1903). A man of industry but no literary talent, Stoddard came from a working-class background even more disadvantaged than Whitman's and worked his way into the NY literary establishment in the 1840s and 1850s. He clung to accepted standards and disapproved of both Poe and WW. WW heartily reciprocated his dislike (Traubel, III, 411-414). Dr. Roosa (1838-1908) became a distinguished ophthalmologist and medical educator.

man than the driver of the present horse cars. He usually had his primary education in the country, and graduated as a thorough expert in managing a very difficult machine, in an exceptionally busy thoroughfare.

"It was this kind of a man that so attracted Walt Whitman that he was constantly to be seen perched on the box alongside one of them going up and down Broadway. I often watched the poet and driver, as probably did many another New Yorker in those days.

"In the intervals of collecting fares, in which Whitman assisted—for a New York stage, in the memory of the present and preceding generation, never had a conductor—there always seemed to be a great deal of spirited talk between the driver and his passenger. Whitman appeared to be about forty years of age at that time. He was always dressed in a blue flannel coat and vest, with gray and baggy trousers. He wore a woolen shirt, with a Byronic collar, low in the neck, without a cravat, as I remember, and a large felt hat. His hair was iron gray, and he had a full beard and mustache of the same color. His face and neck were bronzed by exposure to the sun and air. He was large, and gave the impression of being a vigorous man. He was scrupulously careful of his simple attire, and his hands were soft and hairy. The picture in the first edition of 'Leaves of Grass' gave rather an idealic, but still correct, representation of his appearance at that time. He gave me a copy of this picture, and for a long time it ornamented the room of which I will shortly speak.

"Had my observations been confined to seeing Walt Whitman next the stage driver's seat, I should not have ventured on these reminiscences, for hundreds of my fellow New Yorkers must have made the same. I was at this time, which was during the year 1860, one of the house staff of the old New York Hospital, whose central building of dark stone, with its antique little cupola, some hundreds of feet back from Broadway, with two iron gates and a roomy, grassy sward between, then faced Pearl street. This street, after a serpentine course, ends directly in front of what was the front gate of the yard of the old hospital, now occupied by large wholesale business houses. Walt Whitman's friendship for stage drivers, whose companionship he maintained in sunshine or storm, led him to regularly visit any one of the number who might be lying disabled in the wards of the hospital. It was there that I made his acquaintance. He was something of a celebrity even then, for he had published his 'Leaves of Grass,' but, so far as my limited knowledge and that of my young colleagues in the hospital went, this book was not very popular at this time, while it was even considered by some to be vulgar or indecent in some parts. But this concerned us very little. We were interested in the man, and hardly any one could fail to be. Whatever might be the truth about the literary merit and good taste of his poems, his personality was extremely pleasing. Why this was so it would be hard to say. It must have been from the gentle and refined cast of his features, which were rather rude, but noble. No one could see him sitting by the bedside of a suffering stage driver without soon learning that he had a sincere and profound sympathy for this order of men. Close observation of their lives at that time would convince one that they endured hardships, which naturally invited the sympathy of a great nature. When we found that Walt Whitman was anxious to visit sick stage drivers, the house staff gave him the largest liberty of entrance, and very soon he became a frequent visitor to the little room over the entrance, with its windows with small, old-fashioned window panes, which constituted the house doctor's bedroom, as well as office. In that little place a large variety of women and men were to be seen at intervals. Policemen attending men charged with what might be homicide;

despairing women, anxious for wounded husband, lover or child. A President of the United States, whose term of office had just expired, Mr. Franklin Pierce, once strolled up the broad pathway, past the inner gate and into the office, and examined the wards with great interest. A famous novelist, Anthony Trollope, did the same thing, but he was so overcome by one of the sights that he grew faint by the side of the superintendent, as he was taking him arounds the wards. All these visitors first passed through the wicket of the house doctor's room, which was the hiding place of many a secret, and the source of no inconsiderable brief authority.

"The house doctor of a great hospital is always an important functionary, and although Walt Whitman may not be said to have courted him with a view of favors to be granted, he seemed always very glad, when our time and his permitted, to stop and have a chat, in which he managed to get pretty complete details of the case of his friend, the stage driver, whom he might be then visiting. So far as I can recollect, all of us young doctors were greatly interested in Whitman—very much as we were in other celebrities and oddities, who, for one reason or another, sat down and discoursed and questioned in the quaint old room. We young men were often very tired, for our labor was arduous, day and night, and Walt Whitman interested us, and his presence was always restful. He seemed to live above the ordinary affairs of life. I do not remember—and I saw him at least fifty times—ever having heard him laugh aloud, although he smiled with benignancy. He did not make jokes or tell funny stories. We always wondered why he was interested in the class of men whom he visited.

"The New York stage driver bears no great resemblance to what may be considered, in some respects, his prototype, the driver of the London bus. The latter is attired like a coachman of a tally-ho. He wears a double-breasted frock coat, tightly buttoned, a stylish white hat, and a rose in his buttonhole. He is a man of great dignity, although he is generally willing to converse affably with the gentleman who pays him the compliment and takes a seat beside him, and opens up conversation in a discreet and modest manner. There was nothing stylish about the Broadway stage driver. The whole force of four or five hundred would present nearly as many varieties of costume. In summer they wore straw hats, in winter caps or hats of various degrees of uncouthness, but never high hats. They drove well, and were usually good specimens of the American yeomanry. After the lapse of thirty years I think I understand them better. The London bus driver is nothing if not a cockney, while the Broadway Jehu was a pure and simple countryman, with more than ordinary intelligence, who, after two or three years, summer and winter, from 4 o'clock in the morning until 12 midnight, up and down Broadway, with all kinds of passengers, and always in imminent danger of collision at certain parts of his trip, had become thoroughly conversant with the outdoor aspect of New York society, for be it remembered that thirty or forty years ago everybody in New York, fair maiden, steady-going matron, opulent merchant, busy lawyer and noisy youth, rode in a Broadway stage.

"I do not wonder as much now as I did in 1860 that a man like Walt Whitman became interested in these drivers. He was not interested in the news of everyday life—the murders and accidents and political convulsions—but he was interested in strong types of human character. We young men had not had experience enough to understand this kind of a man. It seems to me now that we looked at Whitman simply as a kind of crank, if the word had then been invented. His talk to us was chiefly of books, and the men who wrote them—especially of poetry, and what he considered poetry. He never said much of the class whom he visited in our wards, after he had satisfied himself of the nature of the

injury and of the prospect of recovery. He gave me a copy of 'Leaves of Grass,' and he was apparently very proud of his achievements in verse. I must confess that I did not understand them then, any more than I understood the character of the man who wrote them.

"Whitman drank beer at this time, but I do not recollect that he smoked. I think he did not. The house staff generally did both, and we therefore went with him on several occasions to Pfaff's rather famous cellar restaurant. This kind of an eating and drinking place was very common on Broadway in the time of the stages. I doubt, however, if any now remain on the whole thoroughfare. One went down a number of steps to a large and usually white-painted room, where there was a bar, an oyster stand and several stalls, such as obtain still in the chop houses in London. They were respectable places in the main, but men only frequented them. Pfaff's was not such a spick-span place as the typical oyster cellar—it was not so white—and there were tables instead of stalls. Lager beer, which was just coming into repute among the American-born people of New York, was the chief drink, while there were Schweitzer kase, schwartz brod, Frankfurter wurst, and even sauerkraut.

"I knew nothing of the literary men who affected this cellar, as our visits with Whitman were usually made in the afternoon, when the place was nearly empty. I remember one conversation with him there, in which he talked of the relative merits of Boston and New York as centers of American literature. It is my impression that he thought New York a much broader place, and that it would some day wield more influence in literature than what was then the American Athens. I do not know that Whitman was one of the Saturday Press set, or that he made any visits to Pfaff's, except occasional ones, such as those with members of our house staff. Indeed, I am pretty strongly of the opinion that Richard Henry Stoddard, Henry Clap, Fitz James O'Brien and that ilk did not think very much of Walt Whitman's poems. At any rate, he had no intimate acquaintance with the literary New Yorkers of that time. He was not generally considered to be a literary man.

"My reminiscences of Whitman's personality cover a period of his life of which very little has been said, but I am very sure that his devotion to stage drivers was the preparation for what occurred to him during the civil war. It was in the following spring of my rather intimate acquaintance with Walt Whitman that the war broke out. As everybody knows the poet transferred his interest in injured and sick stage drivers to sick and wounded soldiers in the camp and hospital. I never saw him again, that I remember, after my service at the hospital terminated, but as I read of him and his verses, 'Oh, Captain! My Captain,' and his many sayings, I became convinced that I had known in his early manhood a great personality, of rude, but profoundly sympathetic nature. A man of high aspiration for his race, and deeply moved by the endurance and sufferings of the really noble spirits that were found among the Broadway stage drivers and the American volunteer of 1861."

Reminiscences like those of Dr. Roosa are readable anywhere, and nowhere more so than in these columns, which, representing the world of letters, are surely broad enough to include Whitman, whatever we may think of his alleged poetry.

a m Dr. L B Russell.

Manuscript notebook in LC (#98, sheet #s 1057-1094). Green leather fold over cover with tab and loop for fastening. Tab stamped in gold "Diary [rule] 1862" surrounded by oval. Inside is a loop for pencil. Size 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". When the notebook was mounted, sometime after World War II, LC removed the blank leaves. The pagination, however, can be recovered with the aid of a typed transcript made by Joseph Auslander, at some time after his appointment as Consultant in English poetry in 1937. There are one hundred and sixty-six pages printed for the 1862 diary, three days to a page, with "Cash Accounts" and "Bills Payable" at the end. The diary leaves are lined in blue with dates set off in red lines. WW altered dates for 1863 use. Many blank leaves, some redated, are preserved. All inscribed leaves are in pencil with occasional ink entries. Except as noted, entries in more or less hanging indentation. Auslander's page numbers and the LC sheet numbers have been placed in square brackets for identification, but entries are printed in the order of inscription. Pages which are still extant but have no inscription other than the changed date are described as blank. Portions have been printed by Jean Catel, "Carnet de Notes de Whitman," *L' Ane d'Or* (Montpellier: March, 1926), 54-55, and "Walt Whitman pendant la Guerre de Secession," *Revue Anglo-Américain*, III (August, 1926), 419. Furness, 226, n.77; Glicksberg, 138-140.

[*Recto of front flyleaf*; 1057R] a m Dr. L B Russell 34 Mt Vernon st Boston¹/
Alonzo S Bush² Co A First Indiana Cavalry Army of the Potomac

[13, 1058R; *Verso of front flyleaf*; ³ 1-12 cut out.] January [Wednesday] Dec. 31,
[1862] Geo. J. Holman Hospital Steward, U.S.A. at Alexandria is a Brooklyn
man, tended drug store for Dr. Betts—enlisted in 87th N Y. Vol

[48, 1060V; 14-47 blank] [Thursday] [1]6⁴ sent letter to George,⁵ Lexington

1. Dr. LeBaron Russell (1814-1889) was a Boston abolitionist and a friend of Emerson and Carlyle. He was responsible for the first publication in book form of Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (*Corr.*, I, 182, n73, and passim). See also Traubel, I, 27, II 292; Donaldson, 145-152. Rule across leaf.

2. See [128] below; "Baily D Damon"; *Corr.*, I, 176n, 177n, 332n, 367, 374, 375.

3. Pasted on verso of front flyleaf is a calendar for 1863.

4. WW's failure to keep this notebook up to date from January to April is probably due to the fact that he was keeping several notebooks at that time. "return my book" has entries up to January 21, 1863, "Walt Whitman Soldier's" has entries for January, February, May and August of 1863; "from Hooker's command" covers May 6-11, 1863.

5. This letter is lost.

Ky—first saw Calvin P. Riegel⁶ (is from York co. Pa father a minister—has been teaching school

[Friday] [1]7 rec'd letter from Jeff and dear mother.—to-day went with C.P.R. to Smithsonian Institute—collection of Indian portraits, scenes,⁷ &c. mostly by Stanly⁸— —Chemical apparatus room—collection of stuff'd birds—room for sculptures—&c—the Building is good, solid, &c—the grounds around are fine—I must go walk there oftener—I weight 196 ½ pounds

[49, 1061R] [April,] [Saturday] [1]8 [1862] spent about 4 hours in Armory Sq. Hospital—gave Clinton Minzey⁹ some preserved peaches—took Dr. Stewart to him, he said he would bring him before the board, & favor his discharge—went through the other wards, distributed paper & envelopes to all that wanted—gave John T. Lund a book—wrote a letter for Thomas Wren— /

Dennis Barret,¹⁰ 169th N.Y. Vol. from Whitehall N.Y.

[Monday] [2]0 spent the evening in Armory Sqr. with Lew Brown,¹¹ & others—saw Dr. Augusta black surgeon U.S.A. (with Major's Commission).¹²

[50, 1061V] [April,] [Tuesday] 21 [186]3 sent letter to Serg't Thos P. Sawyer,¹³ Co. C. 11th Mass Vol.

6. See "Walt Whitman Soldier's."

7. WW was greatly interested in Indian affairs and worked for the Indian Bureau in 1865. As early as November 7, 1846, he published an essay in the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle* dealing with Indian culture (*GF*, II, 136). See also "An Indian Bureau Reminiscence," *NB, Prose* 92, II, 577-580, and *Corr.*, I, 115n65.

8. WW misspelled the name. John Mix Stanley (1814-1872) was a well-known painter of American Indians who had deposited about 150 of his paintings in the Smithsonian Institution in 1852. All but five of the paintings were destroyed by fire in 1865. For a description of the entire collection, see *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. 2, Article 3 (1852). The first dash ends this entry, the second precedes the following phrase on a new line.

9. Minzey is mentioned in "Walt Whitman Soldier's."

10. WW mentioned Barret (or Barrett) in a letter to his mother on April 28 (*Corr.*, I, 96).

10a. Also mentioned in "Hospitals/Culpepper".

11. Lewis K. Brown (1843-1926) was wounded in the left leg on August 19, 1862 and was taken eventually to Armory Square Hospital, where WW met him, probably in February, 1863 ("Walt Whitman Soldier's"). On January 5, 1864, Brown's leg was amputated, and WW was present and described the operation ("Baily D Damon"). WW mentioned the present visit to Brown in a letter to Thomas P. Sawyer, April 21, 1863 (*Corr.*, I, 91, 118n70). See *ibid.*, I, 118n70 for biographical information, and *passim* for correspondence. Apparently they kept up the acquaintance while WW was in Washington.

12. Dr. Alexander T. Augusta was one of eight Negro physicians commissioned during the war. He was a native of Virginia and had, significantly, received his medical education at Trinity College in Toronto, where he set up a thriving practice, mostly white. Dr. Augusta had received his surgeon's commission on April 14, 1863, just one week before WW saw him and made this note. See "Walt Whitman Soldier's."

13. Letter in *Corr.*, I, 91-93. Their first meeting is probably recorded in "Baily D Damon." Inserted: "Serg't" ; "P" written over "B"

[Wednesday] 22 saw Henry Howell,¹⁴ of Brooklyn—sent letter to dear mother 1.00 [*sent letter to*] George,¹⁵ Mt Sterling, Kentucky Dr. Augusta called this evening spent 3 hours at Armory

[Thursday] 23 darkish, rainy, east wind, season very backward, no leaves out yet worth mentioning sent letter to Fritsch¹⁶ spent two hours at Armory

[51, 1062R] [April,] [Friday] 24 [186]3 rainy morning—the season is from three to four weeks behind hand—not warm enough yet, this season, to be oppressive recd letter from dear mother—sent letter to George, including mother's & Han's of April 2d¹⁷

[Saturday] 25 fine bright coolish day spent 3 hours early in afternoon at Armory, & 3 again in the evening. Sat with Lew Brown till quite late

[Sunday] 26 sent letter to Han¹⁸— (paper to George). [*sent letter to*] Thos. Sawyer¹⁹

[52, 1062V] [April] [Monday] 27 [186]3 rec'd letter from Jeff

[Tuesday] 28 rec'd letter from dear comrade & brother Thos. P. Sawyer, serg't. co C. 11th Mass. Vol.²⁰ sent letter to dear mother²¹ 1.10²² —Major Hapgood & Charly Eldridge²³ returned from paying the army. sent letter to Eagle²⁴

[Wednesday] 29 sent letter to Mr. Lane.²⁵

14. Henry D. Howell, who worked with WW's brother Andrew in the Brooklyn Navy Yard, had visited Armory Square Hospital the week before in search of his son and was told that the boy had died some weeks earlier in a hospital in Yorktown. WW was so taken with Howell's description of his son that he wrote a letter about the boy to the Brooklyn *Eagle* (*Corr.*, I, 95n3, and Glicksberg, 133n8). This letter was apparently never published, but a similar piece concerning young Howell was published in the Brooklyn *Daily Union* on September 22, 1863 (*UPP*, II, 28–29). See "Walt Whitman Soldier's" and "Henry D. Howell."

15. These letters to WW's mother and to George are lost.

16. Hugo Otto Fritsch, a Pfaffian friend. See "return my book."

17. These three letters are lost. "Han" is Hannah Whitman Heyde, WW's sister.

18. This letter is lost.

19. Letter in *Corr.*, I, 93–94.

20. See *Corr.*, I, 90n86.

21. Letter in *Corr.*, I, 95–97.

22. Possibly he sent \$1.10.

23. Major Lyman Hapgood, Army Paymaster, and Charles W. Eldridge, a clerk in his office. Eldridge was formerly of Thayer & Eldridge, the publishers of the 1860 edition of *LG*. See *Corr.*, I, 10–11, and *passim*, "Walt Whitman Soldier's," and "D.W. Wilder."

24. This, apparently, is the letter concerning Howell's son. See n14 above.

25. Moses Lane, the chief engineer in the Brooklyn water works, where WW's brother Jeff was employed. This letter is lost, but WW wrote again on May 11, thanking Lane for his contributions to the hospital fund which WW had started (*Corr.*, I, 67n, 98–99, and *passim*). See also "Baily D Damon," "Walt Whitman Soldier's" "My Visits and Distributions," and "D.W. Wilder."

[53, 1063R] April [Thursday] 30 [1863] Fast day²⁶

May [Friday] 1st rec'd letter from dear mother (warm & sunny, with a slight haze in the air) sent letter to George, Winchester Ky²⁷ most lovely nights, full moon sky pale transparent yellowish-green

[Saturday] 2d rec'd letter from Mr Lane. \$5 from W. C. Kingsley sent letter to Amos Vliet²⁸ Campbell Hosp [sent letter to] Will W. Wallace²⁹ Gen Hosp No 3 Nashville papers to George battles at Chancellorsville & Fredericksburgh

26. April 30, 1863, had been set aside by President Lincoln as a day of wartime fasting, penance, and prayer. The *Washington Daily Morning Chronicle* for May 2 reported that the city had a "Sunday aspect" about it.

27. This letter is lost.

28. A Brooklyn soldier. See "return my book." WW mentioned him again in an article for the *Brooklyn Eagle* on March 19, 1863 (*CW*, VII, 96). This letter is lost.

29. A hospital steward in charge of an army hospital in Nashville. See "Addresses." He wrote three letters to WW whom he called "Prince of Bohemians" (April 5, May 7, July 1, 1863) printed by Roger Asselineau in "Walt Whitman, Child of Adam?" *MLQ*, X (March, 1949), 91-95. WW's replies are lost. The first letter invites WW to visit him in Nashville and speaks glowingly of a French nurse with whom he is carrying on a liaison. The May letter, in response to a lost reply, says: "I am surprised at your frenchy leaving you in such a deplorable state, but you are not alone."

The inference is that WW declined the invitation on the plea that he had just had a disastrous affair with a Frenchwoman, specifically that he had caught venereal disease. Asselineau believes that WW was telling a defensive white lie, because of the unusual coincidence of Frenchwomen and because by April 21 he had fallen passionately in love with Sgt. Tom Sawyer ([50, 1061V] above). Although it is not impossible that WW had a heterosexual affair in the early months of 1863, one would accept Asselineau's conclusion except for the fact that in those months WW did know a Frenchwoman, whose name and address appear in two notebooks of the period.

The name of Mlle. Sophie Farvarcer appears on the flyleaf of "return my book" immediately preceding an entry dated January 11, as "Mad.lle Sophie Farvarger 257 — E. Street cor E & 11th." She appears in the present notebook (rear flyleaf, [1097R]) as "Madzelle Favanger 260 Penn Av. 3d floor." She is not listed in the 1862 or 1863 city directories, but appears in 1864 (which gives information for 1863) as S. Farvarcer, 256 Pennsylvania Avenue. One can assume that all three names refer to the same person: WW knew no French. Her occupation is given as "artiste"—that is, an entertainer in a music hall or variety show. According to advertisements in the *Washington Star*, there were three variety halls in Washington. The *Washington Varieties* and *Canterbury Hall* advertised lavishly and listed the names of the various artistes in some fullness. The *Metropolitan Rooms*, evidently a theater of a lower order, advertised with brief notices which do not specify the turns or artistes. Mlle. Farvarcer, however, is not listed as appearing at the *Varieties* or the *Canterbury*. Possibly she appeared at the *Metropolitan* or was a member of the anonymous "Ballet of Feminine Loveliness" which was a feature at the *Varieties*. Possibly "Artiste" was a euphemism.

That Mlle. Farvarcer is not mentioned elsewhere by WW or that he does not give any details about her is not especially significant. If he had contracted a venereal disease or found the relationship otherwise difficult he would not likely have maintained it. It must be remembered that in his notebooks and diaries, he was extremely reticent about himself. Were it not that he kept drafts of his letters, we would attach no particular importance to Sgt. Tom Sawyer. Only occasionally does he give any details beyond name and address or where they met about the scores of men whose names appear. The significance of his mentioning Mlle. Farvarcer twice is obscure, other than that he did know a Frenchwoman at the time of his correspondence with his raffish friend Wallace and that he was sufficiently interested in her to keep track of her change of address. That he had an affair with her is not impossible.

[156, 1091V]³⁰ see over May 2, '63 saw the procession of rebel prisoners (about 100) march down Pennsylvania av. under guard, to the Old Capitol prison.³¹ We talk brave & get excited & indignant over the "rebels," & drink perdition to them—but I realized how all anger sinks into nothing, in³² sight of these young men & standing close by them, & seeing them pass. They were wretchedly drest, very dirty &³³ worthless in rig, but generally bright good looking fellows—I felt that they were my brothers just about the same as the rest—I felt my heart full of compassion [157, 1092R] & brotherhood, & the irrepressible absurd³⁴ tears started in my eyes,—these too are my brothers—it was in the look of them & in my heart—the common people these Americans, silent proud young fellows

—(there was not one single expression of insult in³⁵ comment from the crowd, along Pennsylvania avenue—not the slightest—the prisoners were surrounded with a cordon of guards with loaded muskets) [158, 1092V] —to haave suffered! what a title it gives—! all the honors, the President at his levee,³⁶ the ribbon'd & starr'd ambassadors, the the —these must & shall yield place, curious as it seems, to prisoners³⁷ in man[?] clothes, with wretched blankets, marched to prison, surrounded by armed guards—³⁸ must yield to the³⁹ poor boys, faint & sick in hospitals,⁴⁰ without grace, have not an eye for pictures [159, 1093R] have ? not read the elder poets, but have⁴¹ amputated limbs⁴²

[54, 1063V] [May,] [Sunday] 3d [1863] Hooker's⁴³ advance still fighting glorious nights—soft fine full moon

[145, 1088R] saw portrait of Prince of Wales on a Penn av car in Washington May 3 63⁴⁴

30. Transposed from "Bills Payable" at back of book. Fists pointing left precede and follow "see over" . Conventional paragraphing.

31. The Washington *Daily Morning Chronicle* reported on May 4 that prisoners were arriving daily from the battle of Fredericksburg and that they were marched through the streets to the old Capital Prison. See "Walt Whitman Soldier's" for the same event.

32. Deleted: "con"

33. Deleted: "played out in"

34. Preceding two words inserted above "the tears"

35. Inserted over "or"

36. Preceding three words inserted above "President"

37. WW had originally written "prisoners under guard"

38. Deleted: "these"

39. Deleted: [illeg.]

40. Deleted: "with suf"

41. Deleted: "lost the [illeg.]"

42. WW described this procession of prisoners again in a letter to his mother on May 5 (*Corr.*, I, 98). See also "Walt Whitman Soldier's." Printed in Furness, 75. See "As of the orator."

43. General Joseph Hooker (1814–1879), the commanding general of the Army of the Potomac, was defeated at Chancellorsville on the following day. For WW's description of Hooker and the battle of Chancellorsville (which is west of Fredericksburg) see "The Wounded from Chancellorsville," "A Night Battle, Over a Week Since," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 44–48. See also *Corr.*, I, 92, 98n, 99, 101, and "from Hooker's command."

44. From "Cash Accounts March" at back of book. Edward, Prince of Wales, had visited New York City in October, 1860. WW had saluted him in "Year of Meteors."

{Monday} 4th Hooker's battles around Fredericksburgh to night the wounded begin to arrive from Hooker's command

{Tuesday} 5th sent letter to Moses Lane⁴⁵ / rec'd letter from Fred Gray⁴⁶

{55, 1064R} {May,} {Wednesday} 6th {1863} rec'd letter from Jeff.⁴⁷ [*rec'd letter from*] Ben Knower⁴⁸ 105 Reade st cold, dark, heavy rain the past two days & nights—very bad for Hooker

{Thursday} 7th last night we heard of Hookers recrossing the Rappahannock news very depressing {Friday} 8th sent letter to George⁴⁹ Winchester

{56, 1064V} {May,} {Saturday} 9th {1863} new rig⁵⁰

{Sunday} 10th spent the day at Armory wrote many letters

{Monday} 11th Corp. Geo. Keeler, co A. 20th Conn is at Stanton hospital / Chs. S. McMonord[?], co G. 11th Mass is at Armory / E.H. Eggleston, co B. 20th Conn is at Finley / sent letter to Mr Lane⁵¹. rec'd let. from Mr Lane hot weather

{57, 1065R} {May,} {Tuesday} 12th {1863} John T. Keeher co C 11th Mass is at Campbell / Thos E. Sullivan,⁵² co C. 11th Mass also at Campbell / And Pfuld, co C. 11th Mass also at Campbell hot weather

{Wednesday} 13th wrote to mother dear⁵³ [*wrote*] Mr. Lane [*wrote*] (Mrs Eveline Ballou⁵⁴ Sullivan Ashland co. Ohio) went down to depot for Wm H. Moore, 126th Penn. to bring him up to his brother, James Moore in Ward I, Armory Hosp. rain in afternoon

45. This letter is lost.

46. John Frederick Schiller Gray was a captain in the 20th New York Infantry and later became a physician. He had been one of a group of young men WW had known at Pfaff's in NY. The Fred Gray Association was named for him by WW. See n16 above. See also *Corr.*, I, 10–11, 80n, and passim; Allen, 316. Gray's letter is in Texas (Hanley) (*Corr.*, I, 373).

47. Letter in Feinberg (*Corr.*, I, 373).

48. Benjamin Knower, another member of the Fred Gray Association, was listed in the 1862–63 NY directories as a clerk and in 1863–1867 as a merchant. See *Corr.*, I, 85, 127, 143, 158, "Mrs. H. J. Wright," and "D. W. Wilder."

49. The letter is lost.

50. This probably refers to a new set of clothes. WW had left Brooklyn in a hurry, with little baggage, and eventually found himself in rags. For a description of these new clothes which he purchased, see a letter to his mother (*Corr.*, I, 103).

51. For letter, see *Corr.*, I, 98–99. In this letter, WW thanks Lane for his letters of May 6 and 7, both of which are lost.

52. See *Corr.*, I, 98.

53. See *Corr.*, I, 99–101.

54. These letters are lost. For Ballou see "from Hooker's command."

[58, 1065V] May [Friday] 15th [186]3 letter from Mr. Lane⁵⁵ \$5 from J.B. Kirkwood⁵⁶ & Conklin Brush⁵⁷

[Saturday] 16th letter from dear mother, & one from George bundle from home wrote to Mrs. Sarah A Hudson Rock City Falls, Saratoga co N.Y.⁵⁸ at Armory,—death scene in ward E.

[Sunday] 17th at Armory Sq. afternoon & night sent letter to Jeff⁵⁹

[59, 1066R] [May,] [Monday] 18th [186]3 wrote to George—⁶⁰ also Han — have had 4⁶¹ good days now, just right temperature

[60, 1066V] May [Thursday] 21st [186]3 recd letter from George⁶² at Lancaster Ky

[61, 1067R] [May,] [Sunday] 24th [186]3 Spent nearly all day in Armory Sq. Hospital went through every ward, from A to K, & in the tent wards, for erysipelas, &c.

[Monday] 25th More than 4000 emigrant passengers arrived in New York from Europe this day

[164, 1095V] May 25,—are now 10,000 contrabands in Washington—Alexandria 3000—they shove them off, the men to work, the women & children to places—1500 have died⁶³

[Tuesday] 26th sent letter to dear Mother⁶⁴ spent 3 hours evening in Armory

55. This letter is lost.

56. James B. Kirkwood, a Brooklyn engineer in charge of the water works development. See *Corr.*, I, 105*n*, and *passim* and "Baily D Damon."

57. Conklin Brush was president of the Mechanics Bank, Brooklyn, according to the directories for 1857–1867. Possibly he was related to WW.

58. This letter is lost. See "from Hooker's command."

59. This letter is lost.

60. This letter is lost.

61. WW had originally written "3"

62. The letter is lost. WW does mention it, however, in a letter to his mother on May 26 (*Corr.*, I, 104).

63. In August, 1861, and again in July, 1862, Congress passed confiscation acts declaring that all slaves of rebel masters were free as soon as they came into Union lines. These "freed" slaves were called "contrabands," and their numbers increased greatly in the next few years, especially after the Emancipation Proclamation of January, 1863. Committees to aid the contrabands were set up in several of the major cities, and they issued periodical newsletters with statistics and appeals for help. WW probably found his information in one of the newsletters published by the Contraband Relief Association of Washington, founded by Elizabeth Keckley in September, 1862. (James M. McPherson, *The Negro's Civil War* [1965].) See above. This entry has been displaced to preserve chronology.

64. *Corr.*, I, 104–106.

[62, 1067V] May [Wednesday] 27th [186]3 sent letter to Tom Sawyer⁶⁵ a procession of contrabands, men women & children, 300, just up from front, through Penn av. guarded by cavalry.

[Thursday] 28th rec'd letter from Mr. Lane,⁶⁶ with \$10 from himself also letter from Jeff.⁶⁷

[Friday] 29th visited Columbian Hospital forenoon Armory Sq. Afternoon

[63, 1068R] [May,] [Saturday] 30th [186]3 rec'd letter from dear mother⁶⁸

[69; 1069R; 64-68 blank] [June] [Wednesday] 17 [186]3 Mat's⁶⁹ little girl born at⁷⁰ 11 o'clock to-night

[70, 1069V] [June,] [Saturday] 20 [186]3 rec'd letter from Jeff⁷¹—a little girl born—all well

[97, 1070R; 71-96 blank] [September,] [Tuesday] 15 [186]3 sent letter to Tom Sawyer⁷² letter to dear mother⁷³ papers to George

[Wednesday] 16 sent letter to Thuey Smith⁷⁴ saw death of Lorenzo Strong, in ward F Armory wounded & sick coming in again from front, from the cavalry fights, & the breaking up of the reg & brigad hospitals

[Thursday] 17 sent letter to Moses Lane⁷⁵ [*sent letter to*] Sam Probasco⁷⁶

[98, 1070V] [September,] [Friday] 18 [186]3 (Peaches good & plenty here in Washington 20 cts ¼ peck) I buy them often, they are very acceptable to sick, cut up with sugar) severe rain shower most of the forenoon

65. *Corr.*, I, 106-107.

66. This letter is lost.

67. Letter in Feinberg (*Corr.*, I, 373).

68. This letter is lost.

69. "Mat" is Martha E. Whitman, the wife of WW's brother Jeff. The baby was named Jessie Louisa Whitman, but WW referred to her in later letters as "black head" and "California" (*Corr.*, I, 110n).

70. Deleted: "6"

71. This letter is lost.

72. This letter is lost.

73. Letter in *Corr.*, I, 146-149.

74. Bethuel Smith, Company F, Second U. S. Cavalry. See "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz."

75. This letter is lost.

76. This letter is lost. Samuel Probasco is listed as a cooper in the Brooklyn directory for 1861-1862, as a navy man in 1862 and 1863, and as a bookkeeper in 1864 and 1865. He contributed money to WW's hospital fund. His son, Louis, was in the water works with Jeff. (See *Corr.*, I, 66n, and "Walt Whitman Soldier's.")

[Saturday] 19 rec'd letter from Thuey Smith⁷⁷ —Allen King⁷⁸ said he had rec'd letter from 51st dated Sept 11th

[102, 1071V; 99–101 *blank*] October 1st [Thursday] among other things in my visits to hospitals I commence reading pieces⁷⁹

[103, 1095R; 1093V,⁸⁰ 1094V⁸¹] Oct. 1st 2000 blacks have been enlisted in Maryland up to date for the U S A. under direction of⁸² one officer alone, Col Birney[?]& the work is still going on⁸³

[103, 1072R] [Sunday] 4 letter in N Y Times celebrating Washington⁸⁴

[Monday] 5 sent letter⁸⁵ to Thuey Smith either this day or yesterday

[104, 1072V] [October,] [Tuesday] 6 [186]3 receiving now the letters from L B Russell⁸⁶ Margaret Curtis & Hannah E. Stevenson Boston⁸⁷

[105, 1073R] [October,] [Friday] 9 [186]3 Jerry Taylor, (NJ.) of 2d dist. reg't slept with me last night weather soft, cool enough, warm enough, heavenly. rec'd letter from Jeff⁸⁸ with \$10 from *Mr. Kirkwood*⁸⁹

77. Letter in Feinberg.

78. King, a Brooklyn soldier in Emory Hospital, is mentioned in WW's letter to the *Brooklyn Eagle*, March 19, 1863, "Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers," *CW*, VII, 97. The 51st was George's regiment.

79. See "Recitation."

80. In another hand: "J. T. Trowbridge Somerville, Mass." Trowbridge came to Washington in November. See "Baily D Damon."

81. In another hand: "Fred McReady, Brooklyn." McReady had been orderly sergeant in the 51st New York Volunteers and WW had met him in 1862. In October, 1863, he had been promoted to lieutenant and was in Brooklyn, where WW saw him the next month. See "return my book," "Some interesting items," "Hospital Book no. 12," "Typical Soldiers," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 111, and *Corr.*, I, passim.

82. Deleted: "by" ; inserted: "under direction of" above "of . . . one"

83. WW was very interested in Negro troops during the war and frequently jotted down information about them. See "*N.Y. Tribune* April 22d." For a list of his newspaper clippings, many of which concern the Negro soldier, see Glicksberg, 181–192. The entry has been moved forward for the sake of chronology.

84. "Letter from Washington, Our National City . . .," *N.Y. Times*, October 4, 1863. See *UPP*, II, 29–36. For WW's references to its composition and publication see *Corr.*, I, 141, 157.

85. This letter is lost. Evidently WW did not always keep his diary current. See next entry.

86. WW received letters from Russell dated October 4 and 6. The manuscripts are in Texas (Hanley); the text of the October 4 letter in Donaldson, 147–148.

87. WW received a letter from Mrs. Curtis dated October 1 and from Mrs. Stevenson dated October 6. The manuscripts are in Texas (Hanley) and the texts in Donaldson, 147, 150. See also *Corr.*, I, 153–155.

88. WW received letters from Jeff dated October 7 and 8. Manuscripts in LC (Feinberg).

89. See *n*56 above and *Corr.*, I, 213–215.

[Saturday] 10 rec'd letter from Jeff⁹⁰ with \$5 from Moses Lane 2 [from] J D Martin 1 Henry Carlow⁹¹ wrote to Cale Babbitt⁹²

[106, 1073V] [October,] [Monday] 12 [186]3 rec'd letter from J Redpath Boston—wrote to him⁹³

[Tuesday] 13 photographs from Brady's Washington⁹⁴ sent letter to dear mother⁹⁵

[Wednesday] 14 wrote to George,⁹⁶ enclosing two letters from mother

[107, 1074R] [October,] [Thursday] 15 [186]3 sent Mrs Price⁹⁷ George papers

[Friday] 16 sent letter to dear mother \$2.⁹⁸ got Jeff's letter—Andrew is pretty bad⁹⁹ moved to 456 6th st bet S{?} & D—paid \$5 in advance

[138, 1084V¹] Washington October 16 1863

Received Five dollars in advance. Mr Whitman rents of me from this date the room furnished with service gas &c² in 3d story 456 Sixth st. Is to have the privilege of keeping it through the winter, if he desires. Rent \$10 per month, first month payable half monthly in advance

[139, 1085R] Received, Ten Dollars of Mr Whitman as pay in advance for room 456 Sixth street. This pays up to December 3d 1863³

90. Probably the letter of October 8, referred to above.

91. Carlow (or Corlow) made occasional small contributions. See "Walt Whitman Soldier's."

92. This letter is lost.

93. See *Corr.*, I, 164. WW thanked Redpath, an author, impresario of lyceums, and editor, for help in raising funds and proposed a little book about the war. He eventually sent Redpath a fuller proposal. See "MEMORANDA OF A YEAR" (1863).

94. It is unclear as to which of the two known Brady photographs of WW is referred to. In 1889 WW and Traubel discussed one which appears to have been made in New York in the late 1860s if WW's memory is to be trusted (Traubel, III, 552-554).

95. *Corr.*, I, 165-166.

96. This letter is lost.

97. Mrs. Abby H. Price. See "Baily D Damon" and *n*10 below; *Corr.*, I, 42*n*, 161-164. He does not mention the papers in this letter.

98. This letter is lost.

99. For Andrew's illness see *Corr.*, I, 88-89, 97, 103, 130, 135, 137-138, 140, 143-144, 148, 151, 156, 158, 165, 166-167, 172, 183, 185, 189.

1. This note is written sideways on leaf in WW's hand, but is signed E. S. Baker in another hand. This and succeeding similar memoranda have been moved here for the sake of chronology. See below for continuation of [1084R].

2. Preceding two words inserted above "service"

3. See *n* just preceding.

{140, 1085V} Washington 1863
Mr Whitman rents of me from this date⁴

{1074R} {Saturday} 17 Lewy Brown with me

{108, 1074V} {October,} {Sunday} 18 {186}3 rec'd letter from dear mother⁵
Andrew is better somewhat

{Monday} 19 3 shirts, 1 under, 1 dr 1 hdkf⁶

{Tuesday} 20 wrote to dear mother⁷ —John Stilwell Comac L I⁸ sent papers to R W Emerson & Dr Channing—⁹ / Josiah 5th Maine with me

{109, 1075R} {October,} {Wednesday} 21 {186}3 sent 40 (or 41) hdkf's & napkins¹⁰ —to-day a dept'n slaveholders from Md waited on President to remonstrate against taking slaves for soldiers—President told them he should take all slaves he could for soldiers—should take them not only from Maryland, but from all the border states & all slave states—said the necessities of the country demanded it, & it should be done

{Thursday} 22 the sunset (I write this on Louisiana av at 6th looking at the sunset)—it is the most languidly gorgeous I have ever seen, the crimson golden light, flooding the west, flooding all with the same peculiar hue, slightly veiled with haze / Hugh A. Roe co M 9th N Y Cav ward 5 Lincoln

{112, 1076V; 110-111 blank} {Saturday} 31st Oct Called at the Presidents house, on John Hay¹¹—saw Mr Lincoln standing, talking with a gentleman, apparently a dear friend. Nov 1st {Sunday} —his face & manner have an expression & are inexpressibly sweet—one hand on his friends shoulder the other holding his hand. I love the President personally.

4. This is in WW's hand.

5. This letter is lost.

6. A laundry list, new clothing for himself (see {56, 1064V} above), or necessities for patients.

7. Letter in *Corr.*, I, 166-169.

8. Father of James S. Stilwell, a soldier who was confined in Armory Square hospital for a time. (*Corr.*, I, 168-170).

9. Dr. William F. Channing (1820-1901), son of William Ellery Channing, brother-in-law of Mrs. W. D. O'Connor, was a medical doctor but devoted much of his time to scientific experiments. Among other things, he perfected the first fire-alarm system. He entertained WW in Rhode Island in 1868. (*Corr.*, I, 241n, 248; II, 20, 47, 48, 60, 65, 66, 145, 230; III, 315, 331, 332, 333, 335, 336; Traubel, I, 54; II, 61, 101, 239, 258, 496; IV, 9, 412, 460; "Walt Whitman Soldier's" "Washington as a central"; "Addresses".

MARCELLUS.10. Possibly for surgical dressings. Next two entries in block paragraph.

11. Because of Andrew's illness he was returning to Brooklyn after much urging from Jeff, but he did not have the necessary fare. William D. O'Connor spoke to John Hay, the President's secretary, about it, and Hay agreed to supply a free pass (Glücksberg, 138).

[113, 1077R] [November,] [Monday] 2 [186]3 came through to-day from Washington to Brooklyn got home about 8 in the evening—very pleasant trip, weather fine¹² country looks good, the great cities & towns through which I passed look wondrously prosperous—it looks any thing else, but war—every body well drest, plenty of money, markets boundless & of the best, factories all busy— / I write this in Brooklyn election day

[Wednesday] 4th Opra, (Lucrezia Borgia) Medori, Mazzoleni, Biachi very fine¹³

[114, 1077V] [November,] [Thursday] 5th [186]3 Am home three days Mats little one a most splendid child— —rec'd letter from Lew Brown

[117, 1078R; 115–116 blank] [November,] [Saturday] 14 [186]3 went down over the line of the water works with Jeff—went to Hempstead ponds—stopt at the engine pump at East New York

[Monday] 16 Opera¹⁴ wrote to Ellen OConnor¹⁵

[118, 1078V] [November,] [Tuesday] 17 [186]3 wrote to Elijah Fox [*wrote*] Han [*wrote*] Eldridge¹⁶

[120, 1079V; 119 blank] [Wednesday] 25th Saw a large regiment of blacks, marching in from the country,¹⁷ all armed & accoutred with the U S uniform muskets, &c march up Broadway about 11 o'clock to night

[122, 1080V; 121 blank] Dec 1st [Tuesday] parted with Andrew this morning wrote to George¹⁸

[123, 1081R] [December,] [Wednesday] 2d [186]3 Returned to Washington—came through last night by railroad

12. Preceding two words inserted above "trip, . . . country."

13. *Lucrezia Borgia* by Gaetano Donizetti was performed at the NY Academy of Music on November 2 and 4, under the direction of Max Maretzek. Giuseppina Medori was a soprano, Francesco Mazzoleni was a tenor, and Hannibal Biachi was a basso. All of them had been introduced to the NY audience in March, 1863 (Odell, VII, 580). WW described Act I, sc. ii to Lewis Kirk (Lewy) Brown in a letter (*Corr.*, I, 178–179).

14. The opera was probably Verdi's *Il Trovatore*, which was performed at the NY Academy of Music on November 16. Medori and Mazzoleni were again starred.

15. Letter in *Corr.*, I, 182–184. Ellen O'Connor was the wife of William D. O'Connor, whom WW had met in Boston in 1860. See Allen, *passim*; *Corr.*, I, *passim*; and Florence B. Friedman, "New Light on an Old Quarrel: Walt Whitman and William Douglas O'Connor," *WWR*, XI (1965), 27–52. Their quarrel was not caused by politics, as is traditionally believed, but by Mrs. O'Connor's announcing that she was in love with WW.

16. The letters to Eldridge in *Corr.*, I, 185. The letters to Elijah Douglas Fox and WW's sister Hannah are lost.

17. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

18. This letter is lost.

{Thursday} 3d Andrew died—I have just rec'd a telegraphic dispatch wrote to George Han Jeff Dr Russell¹⁹ John Stilwell²⁰

{128, 1082V; 124–127 blank} {December,} {Thursday} 17th {186}3 sent letter to Jeff Alonzo S Bush Co A 1st Indiana Cav. C H Babbitt, Mason Gen hosp, Boston E D Fox Wyoming²¹

{Friday} 18th wrote to Mat²²

{Saturday} 19th wrote to John Stilwell²³ Liv J Brooks Co B 17th Penn Cav²⁴

{133, 1083R;²⁵ 129–132 blank}

{142, 1086V; 133;²⁶ 134–137 blank; 138–140;²⁷ 141 blank}

Finale

*for (Democracy)*²⁸

—Yet through War itself—aye through these hells, these thrice hot hells of Civil²⁹ War—through flashing bayonets & out many a volly—through the³⁰ yells of the men & the colonel's³¹ cries leading with unsheathed sword the cries³² of charge! charge! —through³³ the pth-t! pht of the minnie—& the bursting of shells, the thud of the great ball falling³⁴ in the ground{?} and whistling of round shot, & the wild shriek of the rifled³⁵? pounder {143, 1087R} —though the fields are

19. The letter to Russell is in *Corr.*, I, 188. The other letters mentioned are lost.

20. This letter is lost.

21. All the preceding letters are lost. For Bush, see *n*2 above. For Caleb H. Babbitt, see "Hospital Note Book." For E. D. Fox, see "Baily D Damon." For John Stilwell, see *n*99 above. For Livingston J. Brooks, see "Ward A bed 47."

22. His sister on Long Island, Mary Van Nostrand.

23. See *n*8 just above.

24. Co. B, 17th Penn. Cavalry. See "Ward A."

25. Three names and addresses in another hand or hands: "John Alphonso Tabor, West Concord Vt" "Lewis Kirk Brown, Cecil Co. Md." "Hiram Scholes" Brown was one of WW's favorite patients. WW wrote him often and frequently mentions him. Tabor and Scholes were friends of Brown's and patients. See *Corr.*, I, 120, 133, 331; II, 91, 93, 331.

26. Placed in proper chronological order.

27. Rent receipts placed in chronological order.

28. Original reading of first printed line: "Finale for Democracy" ; deleted: "Finale" ; inserted above printed word "MEMORANDA" at top of page: "Finale" . Despite the misleading similarity of title to WW's "Democracy" (*Galaxy*, 4 {December 1867}) which is the first part of "Democratic Vistas," there is no relationship. The passage is, rather, an early version of "The Artilleryman's Vision" and "A Sight in Camp in the Daybreak Gray and Dim." Other drafts are to be found in "return my book." Block paragraph.

29. Inserted above "of . . . War"

30. Deleted: "cha"

31. Deleted and reinserted following the deletion.

32. Inserted: "leading . . . cries" on a line above "cries of charge! charge!"

33. Deleted: "falling" and three illegible words.

34. Inserted: "the thud . . . falling in the ground" "on a line above and around "shells . . . in" in right margin.

35. Deleted: "can" {cannon?}

covered with dying and with dead—and the hospitals crowded long & long³⁶—out of all that & the like,³⁷ and the ghastly face, just dead upon the cot outside the tent³⁸ and the other form upon[?] a stretcher outside the tent covered with a dark gray blanket, and waiting to be buried³⁹ for these. & worse [144, 1087V] than these if worse than these there be,⁴⁰ —if any thing more monstrous, more unnatural than these there be Democracy goes on the Modern soul America⁴¹ goes on, and must &⁴² shall go on.

[152, 1089V; 145,⁴³ 146–151 *blank*] About this business of Democracy & human rights &c, often comes the query—as⁴⁴ one sees the⁴⁵ shallowness and miserable selfism⁴⁶ of these⁴⁷ crowds of men, with all their minds so blank of high⁴⁸ humanity & aspirations⁴⁹—then⁵⁰ comes the terrible query and will not be denied,⁵¹ is faith Democracy—In⁵² this thing of human rights⁵³ humbug after all—are these flippant⁵⁴ people with hearts of rags & souls of⁵⁵ chalk, are these worth [153, 1090R] preaching for⁵⁶ & dying for upon the cross. May be not—may be it is indeed a dream—Yet one thing sure remains—⁵⁷ but the exercise of⁵⁸ equality to him who, believing preaches, Democracy is not a dream⁵⁹ and to the people who work it out *this*—to work for Democracy⁶⁰ is good, the exercise is good—⁶¹ strength it makes & lessons it teaches—goods it makes at any rate, though it crucifies them often.

36. Deleted: “thogh” ; inserted above: “though”

37. Deleted: “with wounded & with sick and”

38. Deleted: “contained” [?] ; inserted above: “and the”

39. The reading is difficult. “Thrown on” was deleted and “upon [?]” inserted; “outside the tent” was inserted below the line. The whole passage was obviously written in haste. Cf. “return my book.”

40. Inserted: “If anything . . . there be” on a line above “these . . . there be”

41. Inserted: “America” above “soul”

42. Inserted: “must &” above “and . . . sh” in “shall”

43. Visit of Prince of Wales, placed in chronological order above.

44. Originally “you” ; inserted above: “one”

45. Deleted: “self” [selfishness?]

46. Originally “selfishness” ; “ism” inserted above.

47. Deleted: “vast” ; inserted above: “these”

48. Deleted: “honor &”

49. Inserted above preceding “ty—”: “& aspirations”

50. Deleted: “the” ; inserted above: “then”

51. Inserted: “and . . . denied” above deletion; deleted: “whether the idea of” ; inserted: “Is faith”

52. “Is” would seem to be correct, but the reading is clear.

53. Deleted: “is not a great”

54. Original reading: “whether these shallow flippant and” .Not all words were deleted, no doubt unintentionally.

55. Inserted above word-space. There may be a question mark above “chalk”

56. Deleted: “after all?” ; inserted above “for” and deletion: “& dying for upon the cross (“cross” below deletion).”

57. “Yet . . . remains” appears to have been inserted between lines.

58. Inserted: “equality . . . preaches”

59. Inserted: “and to the people who work it out *this*—”

60. Deleted: “it” ; inserted: “Democracy”

61. Deleted: “It strengthens”

[155, 1091R; 154 *blank*] in dim outline we see (I see)⁶²

Picture of strong⁶³ imperial Stern Democracy, its attitude & gesture toward the South,⁶⁴ this hot rebellious rise we call the south—If then you will not own your fate, but dare to lift the knife⁶⁵ to plunge it at my breast, learn what it is to rouse the devil—on your head be the red blood, and on your children's heads, for whether now, or in a year or ten or twenty years, my hand will have

[163, 1095R]⁶⁶

[165, 1096R; 156–159; 160; ⁶⁷ 161 *blank*; 162; ⁶⁸ 163 ⁶⁹–164 ⁷⁰] David Gummere 1355 Marlborough st. Kensington Philadelphia [166, 1096V] Major Carpenter 503 12th / Dr Norton Metropolitan Hotel room 19 / Capt. Geo. W. Whitman 51st New York Vol 2d brigade 2d Division 9th Army Corps dep't of Ohio [*Recto back flyleaf*, 1097R] 1st brigade, 2d Div, 3d Corps, Serg't Thos. P.⁷¹ Sawyer co C 11th Mass Vol near Falmouth Washington / corp Elijah Tompkins Fort Woodbury Co. I 2d N.Y. Lg't Artilly⁷² / Birnback[?] 106 High st / James Redpath⁷³ 221 Washington st (room 7) Boston Mass / Madzelle Favanger⁷⁴ 260 Penn av. 3d floor [*Verso of back flyleaf blank*; *inside back cover blank*.]

62. "(I see)" in upper right corner of the page. Slightly variant version in Furness, 74–75.

63. Inserted above "of"

64. Inserted and deleted: "toward" above "the"

65. Deleted: "against"

66. Description of parade of prisoners transposed to chronological order above.

67. Printed by Furness, 74–75. See "As of the orator."

68. See n80 above.

69. Comment on black enlistments transferred to chronological order.

70. See n81 above.

71. Deleted: "Forsman[?]" ; inserted above: "Sawyer" . This is an April entry. See "Madzelle Favanger" below.

72. See "return my book."

73. See [106; 1073] above.

74. The same "artiste," Mlle Farvarcer, is mentioned at another address in "return my book," also of early 1863. The writing may not be WW's. See n29 p. 532 above for possible significance of this entry.

Recitation.

Manuscript in LC (#292). Inscribed in column in black ink on brown paper wrapper, 11" x 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Torn upper left. According to LC *Cat.* it at one time contained proofs or offprints of "The Battle of Naseby" and "The Bridge of Sighs" (Thomas Hood?). "the Passions" is probably that by William Collins and "John Anderson" is probably by Burns. In LC (Feinberg) is a scrap on which is pasted a clipping from "Ballads of the People," *Westminster Review*, 63, NS 7 (January, 1855) which prints "The Battle of Naseby," an imitation Roundhead ballad, which it attributes to Macauley. "A Word out of the Sea" is "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," which is a curious choice for a hospital reading. The poems were probably some of those he read in the hospitals ("Summer of 1864," *SD, Prose*, 92, I, 74). See "a m Dr. L B Russell."

Recitation

Familiar{?} & favorites of mine)

the Passions

battle of Naseby

The Bridge of Sighs

John Anderson

A Word out of the Sea

The President's Proclamation.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in black ink on white wove scrap. Since the centered heading marked for small capitals is characteristic of WW's journalistic layout, the MS was probably written to be used as a letter to a New York newspaper. The Emancipation Proclamation was formally issued January 1, 1863. WW probably heard a sermon on it by W.H. Channing on January 4. See "return my book."

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

To one who is used to the animation and excitement which a marked and first-class¹ event creates in New York, the day it appears, with all its big headings in the morning papers, the phlegmatic coolness all through Washington, under the new emancipation document, from the executive, is noticeable. I hear little allusion made to it in the public places of the city, where people most do congregate.²

1. Preceding two words inserted above "marked event"

2. A reference to *The Merchant of Venice*, I, iii.

The Contrabands.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg). Inscribed in black ink and pencil as noted on white wove paper folded to form an eight-page notebook approx. 8" x 5". Faint blue rules ¼" on versos. A deleted passage on [7] mentions "Thursday afternoon, Jan 8 '6 [illeg.]" Thursday fell on the 8th in 1863. Other allusions to contemporary events and to WW's life date this notebook early in 1863. For other notebooks WW was keeping simultaneously see "return my book." The earlier parts seem to be notes for newspaper articles. See the notes on Congress written not long afterward: "Wednesday 4th March." First printed with facsimiles by William White, ed., "An Unpublished Notebook—Walt Whitman in Washington," *ABC*, 12 (January, 1962), 8–13. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

[1]¹ The contrabands,² (about 60) just come in, going up 14th street, toward the contraband camp —trudging with³ sundry specimens of Africa junior—the baggage wagon behind.⁴ /

Was in the Senate when Saulsbury of Delaware made his brief and angry retort to Wilkinson from Minnesota⁵ /

Describe the Chamber H. of R—and the Senate Chamber—the looks, the pages &c. (pretty full, and long—)⁶ /

The Herald, Times, Cincinnati Gazette, &c. have little offices here—Mr. Winchell is chief of staff of the Times⁷ /

1. In black ink. Hanging indentation.

2. "Contrabands" were slaves captured by or escaped to Union forces.

3. Deleted: "the little" ; inserted above: "sundry specimens of"

4. Two irrelevant waved lines or squiggles above next entry. Hanging indentation. Rule almost across leaf.

5. On January 12, 1863, in a discussion of suspending Habeas Corpus, Morton S. Wilkinson (1819–1894) in a long speech, accused Willard Saulsbury (1820–1892), who opposed the measure, of treasonable behavior. Saulsbury responded, referring to the "low scurrility and blackguardism of the senator from Minnesota." This entry in hanging indentation. Rule almost across leaf.

6. Irrelevant squiggle at end. This entry and the next in hanging indentation.

7. Rule across leaf.

Personal descriptions—Sumner⁸—Hale⁹—¹⁰ /

Soldiers, swarms & swarms, waiting for their Pay—no money, some of them, for months & months—delayed, wearied out—scenes around the paymaster generals office, 15th & F. st. Building is full of Paymaster offices¹¹

[3; 2 *blank* except for a crude drawing which looks like a clenched fist with pointing finger]¹² When a member¹³ free and easy style speaks as the¹⁴ members gather around him, standing up without order—clustering in groups — — — a gentleman with iron-grey hair from Mass—well shaped¹⁵ room 140 or 50 feet by 100 / 35¹⁶ or 40 feet high¹⁷ /

prevailing hue¹⁸ drab & gold—45 panels—over the speakers chair two Amer. flags crossed—Wash on one side—Lafayette on the other—members two by two—(ladies off in their gallery¹⁹ green carpet—²⁰ elegantly ornamented door-casings—a roomy &²¹ well sloping gallery—reporter's gallery back of the speaker—a low hubbub & depress'd confusion²² horse-shoe of desks /

where the States of the g't Am Un from Maine to Cal—the clerks busy—splendid panels of glass with state arms²³ splendid dead panels²⁴ of the ceiling in gold and drab—clock over the door—now a speaker for²⁵ the newspaper public, nobody gathers about him

[5; 4 *blank*]²⁶ The old days of Clay, John Randolph, Calhoun, Webster. /

8. Charles Sumner (1811–1874), Senator from Massachusetts. See “Walt Whitman Soldier's.”

9. Probably John Parker Hale (1806–1873), Senator from New Hampshire and in 1852 Free Soil candidate for President. Mentioned in *NB* (1888) and *GBF* (1892), *Col., Prose* 92, II, 551, 697; *IS&LO*, 39–40, 89.

10. Rule almost across leaf.

11. WW found a job in the Paymaster's office in late December, 1862. In a letter of January 3, 1863, he refers to a similar scene (*Corr.*, I, 62–63). Hanging indentations. Heavily blotted.

12. In black pencil.

13. Inserted over empty set of parentheses: “free and easy style”

14. Deleted: “g”

15. Preceding two words inserted above “—room”

16. Written over [*illeg.*]

17. Preceding five words inserted below entry, brought up by a short curved line.

18. Deleted: “g”

19. Preceding five words and parenthesis inserted on a line above “green . . . eleg” in “elegantly”

20. Deleted: “sp”

21. Deleted: “well” ; inserted and deleted above: “sp”

22. Deleted: “desks in”

23. Preceding seven words inserted on a line above “busy . . . panels”

24. Inserted: “of the ceiling” above “in gold”

25. Deleted: “tr”

26. In black ink. At top of leaf: “21[?]”

A large-square-shaped room but without any angular appearance,²⁷—a room full of cheerful color, a good deal of a golden hue, profusely ornamented around the ceiling and upper walls, all the light coming²⁸ down from overhead, (through large panels of glass, forty or fifty of them.) /²⁹

every one moving about freely—subdued³⁰ conversation going on every where—some members reading, others writing—the sound³¹ muffled, yet sharp of the clapping hands, the call for one of the little imps of pages—the lower³² walls of the room of light³³ gray, relieved with figures of a deeper hue— /

the galleries are well-filled plenty of common soldiers, quite a number evidently convalescents from the Hospitals

[6] Walt Whitman Missionary³⁴ to Hospital, Camp, & Battle ground

[7]³⁵ Miss Catherine Kreider Half Moon, Centre County Penn³⁶

the parents come to see them &c.

my nook in Major Hapgood's office.³⁷

hope if the army don't move to go down there again.

Must not worry about George, for I hope the worst is over—must keep³⁸ up a stout heart³⁹

have seen Swinton⁴⁰ &c.

27. Inserted: “—a room” above “ance,” in “appearance,”

28. Deleted: “in” ; inserted above: “down”

29. Subsequent entries on this page in black pencil.

30. Inserted above “conver” in “conversation”

31. Inserted: “muffled, yet sharp” above “sound . . . of” . Perhaps should precede “sound”

32. Inserted above “the . . . walls”

33. Inserted above “gray”

34. “sionary” obscured by blotted ink.

35. Entry in brown ink. Deleted: “Miss Susan A. Voorhees, Metuchen Middlesex [*not del.*] Co New Jersey” ; inserted between deleted material: “Miss Catherine . . . Penn.” Irrelevant squiggles. Susan Voorhees is mentioned in “return my book” and in *Corr.*, III, 118. Catherine Kreider has not been identified.

36. In black ink. Three squiggles at left. Deleted: “Washington. Thursday afternoon, Jan 8 '6 [*illeg; blotted in brown ink.*] meeting Jim Cornell, (about [*not del.*] Andrew.) visits to the hospital,—the cots, the little [*not del.*] tables.” Preceding entry continued with “the parents . . . &.” This and the following brief entries on this page are in hanging indentation.

37. Deleted entry: “am in good spirits again.”

38. Deleted: “up”

39. Deleted entry: “have written [*ins. above* “to”] twice to Han, and sent paper.”

40. Probably William Swinton who was then a war correspondent. See “Rambles Among Words.”

My opinion is *to stop the war now*.

awful expensive here⁴¹—(38 cts for beer)

⁴²got the Eagles all right, and sent several to camp, to George, and others.

Washington—describe—(on a big spacious plan &c) public buildings of white marble, with lots of columns, &c.

I am first rate in health, as ever—

Specify the letters I have wrote home

Papers rec'd.

Mrs Mrs.⁴³

[8]⁴⁴ Journal of items—names &c—of the sick & wounded, from day's to day's visits at the Hospital—cases, peculiarities &c— —(the saluting business,) /

Pennsylvania avenue—a walk through—Gurowski⁴⁵—Gen. McDowell⁴⁶—the shops, Willards⁴⁷—the hackmen with whips in hand—the cars running, (giving you transfer tickets—(from the Capitol up to the Treasury building)—⁴⁸ /

I heard Butler⁴⁹ make his speech the other evening at the National &c &c /

Restaurants, good but costly, (the 38ct ale episode)⁵⁰ /

Officers, officers, officers, in all directions /

Smithsonian Institute—At night, under unfavorable circumstances—all dark—pokerish to walk through there in the dark /

41. Inserted above "ive" in "expensive"

42. Deleted: "have been to"

43. Both written in a large hand.

44. All paragraphs on this page in hanging indentations. All rules across leaf.

45. Count Adam Gurowski (1805–1866), author, Polish patriot, radical. A naturalized American, Gurowski worked for the government and published a politically sensational diary in which WW is mentioned favorably. See *Corr.*, 236, 274–275; Traubel, I, 314, II, 194.

46. Possibly Irvin McDowell (1818–1885).

47. The principal Washington hotel.

48. A squiggle in red ink.

49. Probably Gen. Benjamin F. Butler (1818–1893), who, in December, 1862, had been relieved under a cloud from his stormy tour as military governor of New Orleans.

50. Irrelevant squiggle.

(Jan 63) (in Armory, Ward H).

Manuscript in Huntington. Inscribed in black pencil and black ink on laid paper embossed "CONGRESS—CARSONS" with blue rules on recto only, $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. "(Jan. '63) Thos A. Morrison" is on same paper. Geiger is mentioned in "Walt Whitman Soldier's." The date is January, 1863.

(Jan 63) (in Armory, Ward H.)¹

The badly² wounded are generally in good³ spirits—the sick, those low with fevers, &c are disheartened and out of sorts—T.H.B. Geiger,⁴ Co B. 53d Penn, enlisted in Oct. '61, is a young Pennsylvania lad, from Geiger's Mills, [*illeg.*] Berks co Pa—has a brother in the army⁵ was at Fair Oaks, and through "the seven days battles on the Peninsula—is one of a family of 14 children 10 boys—⁶ at⁷ Fredericksburgh, wounded, lost his right fore-arm,⁸ —an intelligent friendly young man,—was brought up from the front to Armory (bullet wound⁹ in leg also)¹⁰—arm amputated there 5th January—has been doing well ever¹¹ since—expresses satisfaction with his treatment, doctors, &c in the hospital. Still there the young man is, with his right arm gone, a memento of war, one of thousands & thousands. I talk with him awhile, ask him is he is going to have an artificial arm? Yes, when he gets home, he thinks—says the government does not give artificial¹² arms to the soldiers. They give legs, but not arms!

1. Preceding notes added at top left, enclosed in curved lines here indicated by parenthesis.
2. Inserted "wo" in "wounded"
3. "spirits . . . out of sorts" in heavy black ink, apparently over pencil.
4. Deleted: "Geigers Mills Berks Co" (on two lines); inserted above: "Co B. 53d Penn"
5. Preceding nine words inserted on two lines above "county . . . was at"
6. Preceding ten words inserted on two lines above "the . . . —at"
7. Deleted: "was"
8. Inserted: "fore-" above "arm"
9. Deleted: "rt{?}"
10. Parenthesis and words inserted above "to . . . arm"
11. Written over "every"
12. Inserted above "arms"

(Jan. 63) Thos A. Morrison.

Manuscript in Huntington. Inscribed in black pencil on a half-sheet of white laid paper torn along left edge. Embossed "CONGRESS—CARSONS." Blue rules ca. $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart on recto only. "Jan '63 in Armory, Ward H" on same paper. The date is January, 1863.

(Jan, 63)¹

Thos A. Morrison, Co. A, 127st Penn is a young fellow 22 yrs old raised² in Holland, Venango County, Penn.³ Came in service in August, '62—was at Fredericksburgh, was wounded early in the morning of the battle—had his arm amputated on the field, taken off close up to the shoulder, (hasn't a smitch of arm left,)—when wounded was carried to the rear, to the river and operation performed⁴—lay on the field⁵ all day Saturday, all Saturday night, and all Sunday—then carried over to the Falmouth side, lay in hospital-tent there awhile, (⁶weak, little or no consciousness, too⁷ much stupor to suffer any great pain,)—just remembers being carried to the cars,—it is like a dream—on the boat from Aquia creek the same. Had \$30 he had saved; some thief stole it on the journey. Was pale, feeble, exhausted, just alive; but soon began to pick up slowly—has got along very well, but he has[?] had[?] a tough siege of it

1. In an open-topped loop at top of sheet to right.
2. Deleted: "from V" ; inserted: "22 yrs old raised in" above "fellow" and "[del.] from"
3. Deleted: "Came from"
4. Preceding thirteen words inserted on two lines above "smitch . . .—by"
5. Deleted: "Satur"
6. Deleted: "no"
7. Deleted: "insensible"

Hospitals / Culpepper.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #710). Inscribed in black pencil, except where noted, in a homemade notebook, approx. 8" x 5", vertical rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart, held together by pink tape. A number of leaves embossed in lower right corner with shield surrounded by flourishes or scrolls. Star not visible. See "Wednesday 4th March" and other MSs of spring, 1863. The cover is yellow, with three leaves pasted down for stiffening. The entries have been rearranged according to date. WW was working part-time as a copyist in the Paymaster's Office and was permitted to use the office for his own writing (the window-gazing recorded in this notebook was not necessarily at taxpayers' expense). In connection with the symbolic descriptions of the weather see "The Weather.— Does It Sympathize with These Times?" *SD, Prose* 92, I, 94–95. As to WW's descriptions of the Capitol, which was still under construction, the new Congressional wing had been completed in 1859. Cf. George C. Hazelton, *The National Capitol: Its Architecture, Art and History* (NY: J. F. Taylor, 1906). For concurrent notebooks see "return my book," "a m Dr. L B Russell," and "Walt Whitman Soldier's." Date: February 11 to March 3, 1863. (Gene Edward Veith, Jr.)

{*Outside front cover*} Hospitals / Culpepper¹ / Cases / Memoranda &c² Capitol to{?}

{5; 4 *blank*; 2–3³} Feb. 11. 1863—Wednesday.

Called to-day about 1 p.m. upon Preston King⁴—he did not know me, and said candidly he could not do any thing in the way of getting me a place—did not at first remember that Mr. Sumner⁵ had spoken to him about me—but at last had⁶ a vague recollection of something. King was blunt, decisive and manly—(said he could not endorse me—how did he know but what I was a secessionist?) My impression of King was good, I think Sumner is a sort of⁷ gelding—no good.

1. WW's visit to Culpepper, Virginia, was in 1864 and is not treated in this notebook. See "Hospital book 12."

2. Preceding five words in column at upper left corner of leaf. "Capitol to{?}" is at right of column and is in blue crayon.

3. [2] blank; [3] put in chronological sequence, Feb. 12.

4. (1806–1865), Senator for New York. See [15]. WW, who was seeking a federal appointment, elaborates on this meeting in *Corr.*, I, 73–74. See also Traubel, II, 414–415, and Allen, 291. King did give him a noncommittal letter of recommendation [15].

5. Senator from Massachusetts. See "Walt Whitman Soldier's."

6. Deleted: "an"

7. Deleted: "g"

Went with Mrs. O'Connor⁸ a while in the Senate gallery—then we went into the Supreme Court room (old Senate Chamber)—saw Chief⁹ Justice Taney and all the other¹⁰ black gowned Supreme Judges— their¹¹ faces¹² old,¹³ wrinkled, heavy—a lot of old mummies. {7; 6 *blank*} Feb. 11th¹⁴—Went¹⁵ also into the Congressional library—a splendid view from the high colonnade in front of it. Then went off¹⁶ into the rich chamber, for the meetings of the Agricultural committee of the Representatives—a magic, painted, marble rich-hued¹⁷ palace room.—Also into the H. of R. session—the interior¹⁸ work of the new Capitol impresses me more and more with its¹⁹ beauty and perfect manipulation.²⁰

{3; 2 *blank*} bed 15—Ward I Mrs. Wood's tea man²¹ Wm H. Earle, co F, 2d New Jersey²² pneumonia—lay sick at Windmill point,²³ about a week—came down there to help, had charge of one tent as nurse—and fell sick himself—is a widower, with children—gave him the tea, (I saw it made strong for him²⁴ Feb. 12th—the doctor said it would be good for him)—is a²⁵ gristly, hard, style of man—pretty sick—poor fellow—gave the 25 cts. Feb 12th—said he had no great use for mon but²⁶ should use it for milk {9; 8 *blank*} bed 37— Ward I. John T. Lund.²⁷ [:]²⁸ from Suncook Merrimac co. N. H. Co²⁹ F. 9th N. H. / wants a plug of tobacco / gangrene of feet, pretty bad— will have to lose three toes—(a regular hearty country boy.)³⁰ /

Case in Ward H.— swelled face, fearfully distorted and out of all proportion—scrofula—poor boy, lies³¹ all the time uttering a sort of³² purr-purring

8. Ellen M. O'Connor, wife of William D. O'Connor. See "am Dr. L B Russell."

9. Initial letter over "T"

10. Inserted above "the" and "black"

11. Deleted: "forms and"

12. Deleted: "good" "fit them"

13. Deleted: "and"

14. Date at upper left corner of leaf.

15. Capital over lowercase.

16. Inserted in wordspace above "went" and "into"

17. Inserted above "arble" in "marble" and "p" in "palace"

18. Inserted above "work"

19. Deleted: "richness"

20. See *Corr.*, I, 74-75.

21. Preceding four words at upper right in pencil.

22. Initial letter written over [*illeg.*].

23. There is a Windmill Point, Virginia, on the James River below Richmond, scene of a Federal crossing on June 14, 1864. In February, George's unit was at Newport News, Va., at the mouth of the James river, which Union forces were holding. See "51st New York Volunteers."

24. Preceding five words inserted above "saw" and "Feb. 12th"

25. Deleted: "strong, [*illeg.*]"

26. Preceding seven words inserted on a line above "should . . . for"

27. See "a m Dr. L B Russell."

28. Brace to right of "Ward I." and "Lund" setting off "from . . . N. H." in upper right corner.

29. Deleted: "F"

30. Preceding entry in hanging indentation. Rule across leaf.

31. Deleted: "with" ; inserted: "all the time uttering" on a line above "[*del.*] with" and "a sort"

32. Deleted: "groaning"

sound, pitiful to hear³³ different from any thing I had before heard very sick—got well and got his discharge—but spoilt his stomach and blood with pastry &c.³⁴ in excess—

{13; 11–12 *stub*³⁵} scene of the Catholic priest administering the extreme unction to a patient,³⁶ an Irish boy not expected to live. /

Friday night Feb. 13th

went in to see a few particular³⁷ soldiers in Armory Square, in Ward I. This is the gloomiest ward in³⁸ any Hospital I have visited—amusements are prohibited by the³⁹

{15; 14 *blank*} Friday Feb. 13th 1863⁴⁰

Had an interview this morning with Preston King, in a room in rear of the Capitol, (gorgeous fresco ornamentations on ceiling)—he made a good impression on me—with him⁴¹ there was a lady, middle-aged, drest in black—also a garrulous Irish soldier—he attended to their cases, and then to me—talked quite freely—gave me a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury⁴²—also to Gen'l Meigs,⁴³ Chief of⁴⁴ Quartermaster dep't—(met Lucien Cole,⁴⁵ walked around together a little, rode up in cars—he got out with me—his parents live in Washington—he is a miller, works somewhere in a flour mill between here and Baltimore)

{17; 16 *blank*} Saturday⁴⁶— Feb. 14th—

Spent a large part of the day in Armory Sq. Hospital—saw Johnny Mackay,⁴⁷ Ward E, in one of his spasms of pain.—in ward F. gave money for the third time to a young man⁴⁸ this afternoon Jut Boyd⁴⁹ come up and took dinner with Mr & Mrs O Connor and me—he went back to the hospital at dark

Sunday Feb. 15th was down at office 15th & F,⁵⁰ writing most of the day.

33. Preceding five words inserted. Inserted and deleted below line: “indicating gr” ; inserted below line: “different . . . heard”

34. Inserted in wordspace above “pastry” and “in”

35. Inked line on {12}, leading to trimmed part of {13}. Entry closed by rule across leaf.

36. Inserted and deleted: “poor dying” above “patient” ; inserted: “an Irish boy” following deletion and above “nt” in “patient” and “not”

37. Deleted: “patient”

38. Deleted: “the Ho”

39. Remainder of leaf cut out. See {12}n.

40. See {5}. For this interview see *Corr.*, I, 73–74.

41. Preceding two words inserted above “—there”

42. Salmon P. Chase (1800–1873). See “return my book.”

43. Montgomery C. Meigs (1816–1892), quartermaster general. See *Corr.*, I, 74, and Traubel, II, 415.

44. Preceding two words inserted above “Quart” in “Quartermaster”

45. Deleted: “first [*illeg.*]”

46. Initial letter written over “F”

47. Probably the John Makay of “Walt Whitman Soldier’s.” He died in 1864. WW treats his case in *SD, Prose* 92, I, 39, 82–83.

48. Preceding thirteen words inserted between lines.

49. Justus Boyd. See {20} and “Walt Whitman Soldier’s.”

50. The Paymaster’s office, where WW was working as a copyist. See Allen, 286–287.

[19; 18 *blank*]⁵¹ Sunday evening. Feb. 15th 1863

I write this just at sundown in the high 5th floor room, Paymaster's office, cor 15th & F.⁵² Washington—it is a most beautiful sunset, clearing up bright & golden after a cloudy wet day.— I never saw any thing more beautiful than the scene around Washington—⁵³ the sun dazzling in gold, is just set over Arlington heights—the lordly Potomac spreads, reflecting the evening clouds—the great white Capitol, with its⁵⁴ huge, pope's-tiara-looking dome, lifts itself calmly on Capitol hill, with windows gilded by the⁵⁵ day's last yellow-reddish⁵⁶ halo—the [21; 20⁵⁷]⁵⁸ dark⁵⁹ sombre brown Smithsonian stands there,⁶⁰ with the shadows growing rapidly⁶¹ deeper around it—⁶² the Patent Office, its severe and grand proportions show well, as they catch the last flood of light, the day vouchsafes—the mists and darkness grow heavier and heavier over there on the Maryland side—I see⁶³ toward the north the long white barracks of clusters of hospitals—also the soldiers home—southward⁶⁴ I see the smoke of a single steamer⁶⁵ just⁶⁶ moving⁶⁷ up⁶⁸ crawling this side the bridge— —I see⁶⁹ the grayish white of the [23; 22 *blank*]⁷⁰ half-carried up monument to the noblest of Americans—⁷¹ see the spots of forts and camps on the hills above the river⁷² on the Virginia side—see the⁷³ transparent copper-colored clouds hang up there, gradually fading—sweep my eyes in admiration around the unsurpassed⁷⁴ broad-stretched en-

51. Cancelled in ink.

52. This building stood north and west of the Capitol and the Smithsonian Institution, west of the Patent Office (then a hospital), southwest of the Soldiers' Home and just east of the White House. The roofs of the surrounding buildings were evidently lower, giving WW the unobstructed view he describes.

53. [*Illeg.*] mark.

54. Deleted: "great"

55. Deleted: "setting sun's" ; inserted above "sun's" : "day's"

56. Inserted above "last halo"

57. [20] put in chronological sequence, Feb. 25.

58. Cancelled in ink.

59. Deleted: "bro" ; inserted: "sombre" following.

60. Deleted: "as" ; inserted above: "with"

61. Inserted above "ing" in "growing" and "de" in "deeper"

62. Deleted: "the" "—the" ; redundant dash not deleted, not shown here; inserted: "the Patent Office, its" above "— . . . severe"

63. Deleted: "to" ; inserted: "toward" above "[*del.*] to" and "the"

64. Preceding five words and double dash inserted above "of . . . see" . Redundant dash after "hospitals" not printed.

65. Deleted: "crawling"

66. Deleted: "gliding" between "just" and "moving"

67. Preceding two words inserted above "[*del.*] crawling" and "up"

68. Deleted: "The Potomac" ; inserted: "crawling this side the bridge— ."

69. Preceding two words and dash inserted above "—the" . Redundant dash before "the" not printed.

70. Cancelled in ink.

71. The Washington Monument was started in 1848 by a private society, which ran out of money in 1855. It was finished in 1885. See [35].

72. Preceding three words inserted on a line above "hills"

73. Deleted: "clear bright" ; inserted above: "transparent"

74. Inserted: "[*del.*] and broad-stretched" above "passed" in "unsurpassed" and into right margin.

viron-scenery of river, hill, and wood, that makes this one of the most⁷⁵ natural locations on the Continent—⁷⁶

[25; 24 *blank*]⁷⁷—A long string of army wagons are defiling along 15th st, and around into Pennsylvania avenue—⁷⁸ white canvas coverings arch them over, and⁷⁹ each one has its six-mule team—the teamsters are some of them walking along by the sides of their animals—⁸⁰ squads of the provost-guard are⁸¹ tramping frequently along— —and once or twice a party of cavalry in their yellow-trimmed jackets gallop⁸² along⁸³— I see sick and wounded [27; 26 *blank*] soldiers, (but that's nothing now—I have seen so many thousands of them)—the light falls, falls, touches the cold white of the great public edifices⁸⁴—touches with a kind of death-glaze here and there the windows of Washington—first⁸⁵ lingers on the gilt balls and crosses on the steeples—⁸⁶ I see the street-lamps beginning to be touched up, like bright sparks in the distance—⁸⁷ a bell from some church begins to toll with mournful musical⁸⁸ sound—and I close.⁸⁹

[35]⁹⁰ sights and⁹¹ Washington— (streets bright day Feb 16th⁹²
 (by⁹³ the Treasury⁹⁴ building 15th st
 long trains of army wagons, some with six-team⁹⁵ mules,⁹⁶ some with horses—
 the teamster astride of the wheel-horse, or walking along by⁹⁷ the side, drest in⁹⁸

75. Deleted: "beautiful" ; inserted and deleted above: "beauteous"

76. [*Illeg.*] word or mark followed by "?". At bottom of leaf, in center, WW's notation: "(over"

77. Cancelled in ink with a vertical and a horizontal stroke.

78. Deleted: "the"

79. Deleted: "six mules draw each" ; inserted above: "each one has its six-mule"

80. Deleted: "a"

81. Deleted: "passing"

82. Deleted: "ing[?]" ; deleted: "pro"

83. Preceding six words inserted above "rty" in "party" and above and to the right of "jackets". WW's cancellation of the leaf goes through "party . . . along"

84. I. e., "edifices"

85. Inserted above dash preceding.

86. Deleted: "the"

87. Preceding fifteen words and the two dashes inserted between the line "the gilt . . . crosses" and the line "on . . . bell" ; "in the distance" written on three lines to the right after "bell" . Redundant dash not printed.

88. Inserted above "sound" . Inserted and deleted: "f"

89. Deleted: "a"

90. [29-33] relocated in chronological order, Feb. 11. On [34] begins a description, dated March 3, that is continued on the succeeding versos through [42].

91. Inserted above "Wa" in "Washington"

92. Preceding five words enclosed by curved line in right margin after "Washington—" .

93. Written over "cor"

94. Across 15th St. from WW's office.

95. Inserted above "th" in "with" and "mu" in "mules,"

96. Deleted: dash.

97. Inserted in the wordspace above "along" and "the"

98. Deleted: "his"

blue overcoat⁹⁹ with¹ whip over² shoulder—the tinkling bells³ of the cars, plying toward Georgetown one way, or the Capitol, the other—the⁴ unfinished monument, in reservation No 3⁵ like an erect bar of soap, slightly tapering, and more than⁶ half gone⁷—the strapt officers walking the sidewalks, singly or in⁸ twos or threes, or sometimes in quite big squads—the soldiers, partially recovered from wounds or sickness,⁹ limping along with canes or on crutches—the contrabands,¹⁰ all sorts, some with the physiognomies of hogs or chimpanzees, others {37} again,¹¹ as dandified and handsome as any body—¹² a long train of wood wagons twenty, thirty forty of them¹³ passing up the avenue, slowly, heavily rumbling, driven by black drivers, the mules straining with their tails out, as it is up hill here.—¹⁴ The Treasury Building opposite, with its long,¹⁵ absurd collonnade, two hundred feet long, thirty costly columns, darkening all the rooms, and the scrolls on the capitals of the columns. Soldiers sitting around, many on the steps near me¹⁶ sick, half-sick, feeble, untidy—plenty of improvised sticks to help locomotion—plenty of woe and¹⁷ lassitude in their faces—sometimes a look of despair, horrible. Now a long train of lumber ten or twelve stript wagons, with long beams and joists, drawn by four horse teams. More shoulder straps¹⁸ {39} parading, idling¹⁹ along, many pompous and flippant;—more sick soldiers, with canes,²⁰ feebly stepping, more contrabands—a downward train of empty government wagons, going to the river, to be loaded—²¹ —six or seven²² of them, each²³ with a²⁴ fine²⁵ team²⁶ of four stout²⁷ grey²⁸ horses.²⁹

99. Preceding four words inserted on a line above “side . . . whip”

1. Deleted: “his”

2. Deleted: “his”

3. Inserted in wordspace above “tinkling” and “of”

4. Deleted: “sight of the”

5. Preceding four words inserted above “ment” in “monument” and “an”

6. Preceding two words inserted above “and” and “ha” in “half”

7. See {23}.

8. Deleted: “groups”

9. Preceding six words inserted on a line above “diers” in “soldiers . . . canes”

10. Liberated slaves.

11. Deleted: “quite” ; inserted above: “as”

12. Preceding three words and dash inserted above “handsome” . Redundant dash not printed.

13. Preceding five words inserted above “passing the avenue”

14. Dash inserted before “The” ; inserted and deleted: “[illeg.] a” above “The”

15. Deleted: “costly”

16. Preceding six words inserted above “sitting . . . sick”

17. Deleted: “despair” ; inserted above: “lassitude”

18. Officers.

19. Inserted above “along”

20. Deleted: “and”

21. Deleted: “all”

22. Deleted: “wagons” above “fine” ; inserted above “wagons” : “of them”

23. Preceding six words inserted, brought down by line.

24. Inserted.

25. Deleted: “stout”

26. Plural deleted.

27. Inserted in wordspace above “r” in “four” and “g” in “grey”

28. Deleted: [illeg.]

29. Deleted: “Where”

Quite a crowd to-day on Pennsylvania avenue— —ask you³⁰—Whither bound?³¹ Some to the Capitol—both houses are deep in session, and it draws toward the close³² of the term. High themes are up—war, slavery, finance³³—many dull edged³⁴ axes wait their anxious grinding Some wend³⁵ toward³⁶ the Departments—the Provost Marshals—Willards³⁷—³⁸to some of the scores of paymaster offices.

{41} Now some yellow trimmed cavalry, in big boots, a squad of ten of them, healthy fellows, American faces, from the west.

More shoulder-straps, more contrabands,³⁹ more army wagons. Many well-drest people, yet all has a scattered, loose look—⁴⁰ —little or no identity of aggregates here, as in New York, and other great cities.⁴¹ A carriage with liveries—some⁴² foreign diplomat or one of the great⁴³ Secretaries. The city cars, all driven by tidy handsome young American men—the⁴⁴ drivers of the wagons of the⁴⁵ Express lines ditto. Occasionally some ladies, very richly drest, with children, in furs and feathers—(they⁴⁶ *make* merry now in Washington)

{43} Then Ambulances—not so frequently just here, though there are plenty of them,—hundreds, I don't know but thousands, constantly on the move—but they⁴⁷ generally take the other streets. The ambulance,—⁴⁸ at last⁴⁹ arrived here, in our land, domiciliated,⁵⁰ a common word, used and understood⁵¹ at last every where in These⁵² States—⁵³ that unknown term three years ago⁵⁴—but⁵⁵ no one is at fault now⁵⁶ Is it⁵⁷ not significant?

30. Preceding two words and dash inserted above “—Whither”

31. Deleted: “ask you?”

32. Deleted: “of”

33. Comma deleted.

34. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

35. Inserted above “me” in “mend”

36. Inserted: “ward”

37. A busy and fashionable hotel for many years.

38. Deleted: “the”

39. Initial letter written over “a”

40. Deleted: “they have” ; inserted above: “—little or”

41. Deleted: “I have been in”

42. Inserted: “[*del.*] big and foreign” above “dipl” in “diplomat”

43. Inserted in wordspace above “the” and “secretaries”

44. Deleted: “great” ; inserted: “drivers of the” above “[*del.*] great” and in left margin on the next line.

45 Deleted: “big”

46. Deleted: “p”

47. Deleted: “more” ; inserted above: “generally”

48. Deleted: “now”

49. Deleted: “then” ; inserted: “arrived” on a line above “e” in “here” and “dom” in “domiciliated”

50. Preceding six words inserted above “[*del.*] then” and “a common”

51. Deleted: “no”

52. Capital over lowercase.

53. Deleted: “yet” ; inserted above “[*del.*] yet” : “that unknown term” inserted above “three years”

54. Deleted: “an unknown term” . The idea of special vehicles for the wounded was borrowed from Europe in 1859. Originally referring to mobile hospitals, the word, from the French,

Now goes along a⁵⁸ soldier, young, yet bent over⁵⁹ as he walks just like a capital C. He looks at the numbers⁶⁰ inquiringly— ten to one, the hospital has given him his discharge papers, and he is after⁶¹ the back pay. (His discharge⁶² papers!—the nation has used him to the utmost, short of life, and leaves him with the shape of a capital C, and may-be eight dollars a month.)

{45; 44 *blank*}⁶³ again, more army wagons,⁶⁴ Commissary, lumber, ambulances— more tinkling of car-bells,⁶⁵ dull glistening of yellow and blue⁶⁶ shoulder straps—more⁶⁷ feeble-footed, sunken-faced soldiers,—⁶⁸

The⁶⁹ squad of the guard,⁷⁰ part of the provosts men,⁷¹ patrolling about, examining passes⁷²— —a sentry⁷³ at the door—a cavalry⁷⁴ man, on horseback with naked⁷⁵ sabre over his shoulder, like a statue⁷⁶ at the corner—a great white Aladdin's palace, with an unfinished dome (reported to be cracking) the Goddess of Liberty meanwhile⁷⁷ standing in the mud yearly{?} waiting{?}⁷⁸ with rooms above⁷⁹ whose ceilings,⁸⁰ (committee⁸¹ rooms) float⁸² swarms ethnic goddesses and

was not current in England until the Crimean War (1853–1856), according to the *OED*. The earliest occurrence of the word in the U.S., according to *DAE*, is 1854. WW used “ambulanza” in 1855 (“Song of Myself,” sec. 33, l. 865), one of his “Spanish” coinages.

55. Inserted above “no”

56. Preceding seven words inserted above “[*del.*] an unknown term”

57. Deleted: “very” ; inserted above: “not”

58. Deleted: “man”

59. Deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted above “[*del.*] . . . just”: “as he walks”

60. Comma deleted.

61. Deleted: “his” ; inserted above: “the back”

62. The “h” in the word is inserted.

63. Deleted: “And”

64. Deleted: “of”

65. Deleted: “glistening”

66. Preceding two words inserted on a line above “w” in “yellow” and “sho” in “shoulder”

67. Deleted: “contra”

68. Deleted: “some [*illeg.*]” . New paragraph indicated by symbol.

69. Capital letter over lowercase. Deleted: “patrol”

70. Preceding three words inserted on a line above “uad” in “squad” and “part”

71. Deleted: “going about” ; inserted above: “patrolling about,”

72. Deleted: “&c” ; dash inserted following.

73. Comma deleted.

74. “ca” which WW had inadvertently omitted, inserted above “v” of “cavalry”

75. Inserted above “th” in “with” and “s” in “sabre”

76. Preceding three words inserted on a line above “ulder” in “shoulder” and “at the”

77. Inserted above wordspace and “standing” in insertion (see *n*78).

78. Deleted: “meanwhile” . Preceding nineteen words inserted on a line above “white . . . with” and down right margin. In December, 1863, the dome was completed when, with great ceremony, Thomas Crawford's “Goddess of Liberty,” which had rested on the Capitol lawn for several years, was raised to the top.

79. Inserted above “whose”

80. Deleted: “float”

81. A caret at this point in the MS, pointing to “waiting{?} [*del.*] meanwhile” in insertion noted in *n*78. WW's long insertion extended into the margin and between the lines, so the caret here is probably simply to draw attention to the previous insertion.

82. Deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted above: “swarms”

cupids, painted at three thousand dollars apiece—a long⁸³ thin form, with⁸⁴ sad, dark, deep-furrowed⁸⁵ gentle⁸⁶ face most ugly most grotesque⁸⁷—haze in the air, a lordly river,⁸⁸ a cot⁸⁹ a bloody bandage and a crutch— such are my last [*illeg.*] my remembrances of Washington 1863⁹⁰

[29; 28 blank]⁹¹ Tuesday, Feb. 17th 1863 (noon)

What a change from yesterday—Now there is a thick snow falling,—⁹² it commenced before day-light, and is quite deep—no wind so it covers the trees, every limb and twig—the trees in the streets, and in the Reservation grounds, are thickly powdered—⁹³ a coverlid of white snow, everywhere, walks,⁹⁴ surfaces, roofs, flats, &c.— meanwhile, falling fine and thick, the air full of it—warmish, but not warm enough to melt fast—the sound of the vehicles (Pennsylvania av. by 15th st),⁹⁵ muffled by the snow—not the rolling rumble of yesterday—⁹⁶ the army wagons are much less frequent—the blue overcoats of the soldiers serve well now, protecting them⁹⁷ with⁹⁸ the capes drawn over their heads, this weather,—a strong,⁹⁹ four-team¹ [30] express wagon is wending its way heavily loaded, up the hill² above 14th street—The driver shouts to his horses—it is a hard pull through the clotting snow.—³ I look forth again and again—⁴ all is⁵ so white, so apparitional—not a square foot but has received its deposit—⁶ I see a lot tent-shaped trees,⁷ evergreens, heavily loaded with snow—the green showing through them⁸ a little in places—I stop a long while in the falling drops⁹ to look at the beautiful

83. Deleted: "f"

84. Deleted: "long"

85. Inserted above "rk" in "dark" and "gentle"

86. Comma deleted; inserted: "face" above "m" in "most"

87. Perhaps Lincoln.

88. Preceding seven words inserted on a line above "a cot a bloody"

89. Question mark over word, obscured by insertion.

90. Preceding six words enclosed by curved line at lower left corner of page.

91. At top of leaf: "(tr four or five pages beyond—it is out of place here)". Passage has accordingly been relocated chronologically.

92. Deleted: "the s"; inserted above: "it"

93. Deleted: "a deep"

94. Deleted: "grou"; inserted above: "surfaces,"

95. Preceding parenthetical phrase inserted apparently with a finer-nibbed pen over "vehicles muffled"

96. Deleted: "but"

97. Preceding two words inserted in a finer-nibbed pen above "I now, w"

98. Deleted: "their"; inserted above: "the"

99. Deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted above: "four-team"

1. At bottom right of leaf: "(over"

2. Deleted: "on Pennsylvania av"

3. Deleted: "all is so"

4. Deleted: "it is"

5. Inserted above wordspace.

6. Deleted: "the"; inserted above "[*del.*] the tent-": "—I see a lot". Redundant dash not printed.

7. Word and comma inserted above wordspace.

8. Deleted: "a little in"

9. Preceding four words inserted above "long while to"

curious show¹⁰ they the tent-shaped evergreens¹¹ make.— —I look off toward the Potomac—nothing can be distinguished—the air is too full—the patrol is passing along, their sharp¹² naked bayonets elevated—a contraband woman,¹³ balancing a great burden a whole sheet-full, on her head—[31]¹⁴ there is the tinkle of the car-bells—passengers,¹⁵ protected with the little black, moving¹⁶ domes of umbrellas—the slate-colored,¹⁷ white-mottled pigeons, with slanted wings, wheel and¹⁸ sail about in the air, or sink¹⁹ in momentary squads in the middle of the street, seeking²⁰ food—I myself²¹ look down from the high, very high window, upon the street, and out²² across the white²³ expanse—I see—²⁴ those²⁵ funny mannikins below there, trudging along; slouched, black-dressed, blue-dressed, shawled,²⁶ or enveloped²⁷ someway—how they trudge, so slow, so moody they appear, with more or less deprest heads,²⁸ shuffling along—(whither? to what and ? what is the point of the²⁹ line, the final use?)³⁰ —car 76 passes, (that is the driver {33; 32 *blank*}) —beautiful yesterday, I stood on the platform, rode down to the Capitol and back³¹ I rode with yesterday, and felt I loved that boy, from the first, and saw he returned it,³²)—and still as I look the snow is steadily falling,—all is spread³³ so white—the innocent, thick, gigantic coverlid—yesterday the sun shone, a brown and variegated earth,³⁴ all was³⁵ soft and balmy, the atmosphere³⁶ velvet of clearness,³⁷ with beams, toned by a transparent haze—now

10. Deleted: “of”

11. Preceding three words inserted above “they make.—”

12. Deleted: [*illeg.*] ; inserted above: “naked”

13. Deleted: “bearing” ; inserted above: “balancing”

14. [31–34] have been pasted on a hinge to [30]. The hinge covers the ends of certain words on [30], indicating that the inserts were pasted on after [30] was inscribed.

15. Deleted: “domed over” ; inserted above: “protected”

16. Inserted in wordspace.

17. Extra “l” in word deleted.

18. Preceding five words inserted above “ons, sail . . . air”

19. Deleted: “down”

20. Deleted: “for”

21. Inserted above wordspace and “look”

22. Deleted: “on” ; inserted above: “across”

23. Inserted above wordspace.

24. Preceding two words inserted in left margin and above “th” of “those”

25. Deleted: “black” ; inserted above: “funny”

26. Deleted: “and otherwise” “however” ; inserted in right margin: “or”

27. Dash deleted; inserted in space in left margin: “someway—”

28. Final letter overwritten.

29. Preceding three words inserted above “line, the”

30. Deleted: “does any one know?”— [*final three punctuation marks not del.*]

31. Preceding fourteen words inserted in smaller script in top margin. No caret in MS.

32. Probably not Peter Doyle, whom WW did not meet until 1865 or 1866, but did meet in the winter (“Epictetus”). WW’s attraction, however, is characteristic. Cf. “Song of the Open Road” (1856), sec. 7, ll. 101ff.; “To a Stranger” (1860). There is no evidence that a leaf has been removed at this place.

33. Inserted above “is”

34. Inserted above “n shone . . . [*del.*] so” : “a brown and variegated earth”

35. Deleted: “so”

36. Inserted above “the velvet”

37. Deleted: “and”

the air is³⁸ thick with these beautiful things,³⁹— denser and⁴⁰ denser they come—⁴¹ a white earth⁴² now,⁴³—and nothing else—⁴⁴ nothing but that— —as if it were going to last⁴⁵ yet in a few hours more,⁴⁶ I know what will happen—ephemera! ephemera!—in a few hours—⁴⁷ —in a few hours more⁴⁸

[1] No 7—ward H some plug tobacco⁴⁹ /

Alfred J. Sanborn Feb [*illeg.*]⁵⁰ Ward I⁵¹ bed 51⁵² / Co F. 2d U. S. Sharpshooters— shot in leg, is from Auburn, New Hampshire has been out from the beginning of the war—⁵³ was wounded five months ago—has just returned from a furlough of 30 days home.— gave him a jar of spiced apple preserve, very nice— a quiet good young man—much deprest in spirits /

J. V. Read, co H. 155th Penn. [:]⁵⁴ bed 23 ward G Feb. 18.⁵⁵ Come in from Windmill Pt.⁵⁶ last Saturday night—⁵⁷ was there a month.— typhoid fever,⁵⁸ for some time flighty, very sick, a gentle lad, in his 20th year—folks in Rimersburg Clarion co. Penn—father & mother there—father a tanner—lost a brother⁵⁹ killed in the 7 day fight before Richmond,— seems to have joined the army from a genuine sense of duty—gave him some money—also some paper, envelopes &c.⁶⁰

[47; 46 *blank*] Thursday, 19th Feb. 1863

went to day through Wards D, & E, distributing mostly paper & envelopes.— Lewis H. Brown,⁶¹ in Ward⁶² E, a most affectionate fellow very fond of having

38. Deleted: "full" ; "of" not deleted, not shown here; inserted above: "thick with these"

39. Deleted: "thicker" ; inserted: "—denser"

40. Deleted: "finer" ; inserted above and deleted: "thicker" ; inserted above: "denser"

41. Deleted: "the view[?]"

42. Comma deleted.

43. Comma deleted.

44. Preceding three words inserted above "now,—no"

45. Preceding seven words inserted above "but that—"

46. Inserted above "hours"

47. Deleted: "the snows"

48. Deleted: "—(how strangely the simple phrase seizes me; and—"

49. Following entry marked by curved line at right.

50. Preceding two words inserted above "Ward I"

51. Deleted: "near door"

52. Deleted: "½ a pie, or some cake" . Rule across leaf.

53. Deleted: "has been"

54. Brace.

55. Deleted: "just"

56. See [3] above.

57. Deleted: "has been" ; inserted above "been" : "was"

58. Inserted above "fever" and deleted: "when" ; inserted above wordspace and "flighty": "for some time"

59. Deleted: "in this war" ; inserted above "a brother [*del.*] in this war" : "killed . . . Richmond"

60. Preceding five words written sideways in right margin.

61. Lewis H. Brown became a close friend of WW's. See "a m Dr. L B Russell."

62. Deleted: "D" ; inserted above: "E"

me come and sit by him—saw the dinner distributed, pretty fair grub—beef (not⁶³ as good as it ought to be)—good soup, pudding, potatoes &c.—the scene at dinner is quite worth seeing—all who can walk, go out to the general table, those in their beds, who have their dinner brought to them, fare better. In Ward E a good dinner, well distributed by the excellent⁶⁴ nurse⁶⁵ (The hospitals ought all to have better diet, better cooked. The bread is always good, and plenty. Never any⁶⁶ tea or coffee)

[49; 48 *blank*] The house corridor⁶⁷

Turning from the main door to the floor,⁶⁸ for members, you pass through a splendid corridor, I should say as beautiful a piece of interior⁶⁹ finishing as there is in the world—the white ceiling, arched, and simply ornamented, the delicate colors of the tessellated pavement, blue, white,⁷⁰ brownish yellow, &c—the⁷¹ arched inside window and door⁷² frames of bronze,⁷³ the outer ones of the same, the chandeliers with brilliant lights,⁷⁴ (it is⁷⁵ of a night I am standing in it, in a window niche, describing it). [51; 50 *blank*] then as you turn to go toward the gallery⁷⁶—the⁷⁷ superb and massive marble⁷⁸ balustrades and staircase, with the⁷⁹ columns of mottled brown & white, and the steps of pure white, the hodge-podge of pictures in the great panel,⁸⁰ (a⁸¹ masquerade or nightmare dream, of an overland emigrant train crossing the Rocky mountains)—the blue bay of San Francisco frescoed⁸² underneath— —the whole grandeur and beautiful proportions and color and⁸³ enduring[?] material of this staircase and its area altogether, (I think it the best⁸⁴ thing I have seen⁸⁵ in Washington)—the upper corridors surrounding the

63. Deleted: "too"

64. Deleted: "woman"

65. Preceding twelve words inserted on two lines above "better . . . ought"

66. Deleted: "good" . WW earlier records having tea specially made, just as he brought preserves or tobacco and so on [3].

67. See also his description of the interior decoration of the Capitol on Feb. 11 [7, 13, 45] and *Corr.*, I, 74.

68. Deleted: "yo"

69. Deleted: "w"

70. Deleted: "yellow,"

71. Deleted: "bronze"

72. Preceding two words inserted above "w" in "window" and "frames"

73. Deleted: "the noble"

74. Preceding three words inserted above "ndeliers" in "chandeliers" and "(it"

75. Deleted: "at" ; inserted above: "of a"

76. Inserted. The preceding nine words seem to have been added in the top margin.

77. Deleted: "elegant"

78. Inserted above "ive" in "massive" and "bal" in "balustrade"

79. Deleted: "mo"

80. Preceding four words inserted on a line above "pictures" and "(a"

81. Deleted: "dream"

82. Inserted above "under" in "underneath"

83. Deleted: "m"

84. Deleted: "mad"

85. Preceding three words inserted above "in Wash-" at the end of the line.

gallery, very beautiful, in their tessellated panneaux {53; 52 *blank*} and white walls, divided by green ⁸⁶ [*illeg.*] and ⁸⁷ with ⁸⁸ marble columns in slight relief—

{55; 54 *blank*}—the night session, the house is lighted from ⁸⁹ gas which is itself not visible, except as its ⁹⁰ powerful jets ⁹¹ shine ⁹² through the ⁹³ panels of astral glass overhead—making pouring ⁹⁴ a broad flood of light down on the members—over ⁹⁵ the ⁹⁶ broad, surrounding horse shoe of members desks (⁹⁷ avoids the odor of gas in the room, so bad to breathe and for the eyes) ⁹⁸—the clerk is reading some long dull bill,—it is toward the last of the th ⁹⁹ session (19th Feb. 1863)—¹ Altogether, the house, at night, affords a curious scene—the members are idling in their seats—the galleries are full—the clock points to 8—² in the speakers chair sits the black-dress'd, thin rather nervous but always prompt speaker of the Congress ³—the white steps ⁴ ascend to it,—and there stand lounging on the steps talking in an undertone several of the members, and a good-looking ⁵

{57; 56 *blank*} Friday, Feb. 20th '63

Had an interview with Charles Sumner ⁶ this morning— I said:

Mr. Sumner, if I don't succeed for the present—dont dont get any thing till the 4th of March, ⁷ may I count on your ⁸ then giving ⁹ me a boost?"

He said: "Yes, I will—if I can."

86. Inserted above "by" and "[*illeg.*]"

87. Deleted: "stuck"

88. Deleted: "the"

89. Deleted: "invisible"

90. "s" added.

91. Preceding two words inserted above "shine" and "th" of "through"

92. "s" deleted.

93. Deleted: "astral"

94. Written above "making" as alternate reading.

95. Inserted above "the"

96. Deleted: "thick" ; inserted: "broad, surrounding" above "[*del.*] thick" and "horse"

97. Deleted: "saves" ; inserted above: "avoids"

98. Parenthetical phrase inserted on a line above and in the right margin after "members . . . clerk"

99. It was the 37th Congress. See {36}.

1. Deleted: "it is" ; inserted: "Altogether . . . affords" on a line above "[*del.*] it is" and "a curious scene—"

2. Deleted: "the ladies galler"

3. Preceding twelve words inserted on two lines above "chair sits . . . the white" . The Speaker of the House was Galusha A. Grow (1823–1907) of Pennsylvania.

4. Deleted: "that"

5. Preceding eighteen words written in a smaller hand at bottom of leaf.

6. See {5}.

7. Deleted: "will" ; inserted: "may I count on" above "March" and "[*del.*] will"

8. "r" added.

9. "ing" added.

{61; 60 *blank*}¹⁰ Saturday night. Feb. 21' 1863.

Heard Mrs. Swisshelm¹¹ read¹² a statement of the Minnesota massacre by the Indians there last fall. It was enough to harrow one's soul. The poetical Indian is all lollypop. The real reds of our northern frontiers, of the present day,¹³ have propensities, monstrous and treacherous, that make them unfit to be left in white neighborhood. The details of their murders, mutilations, last fall in Minnesota¹⁴ and¹⁵ the violations of women and children,¹⁶ make as bloody and¹⁷ heart-rending an episode as there is in American history.

One thing in¹⁸ Mrs. Swisshelm's address; I never¹⁹ yet heard, before a first-class²⁰ public audience, (which this was)²¹ such plain-speaking upon matters and things of the body.²² It was well done, and well received.

{59; ²³ 58 *blank*} Sunday. Feb. 22, 1863

Washington has the deepest and most driving snow-storm of the season—would be considered a pretty big²⁴ storm even in the north—I write this at noon—I should say the snow is three or four inches thick, with drifts—nobody is out—the expanse looks very, very²⁵ white—every thing is so ample and open here, it makes a very different appearance, under a snow-storm, than from²⁶ the closely crowded old cities—being Sunday, no business, no army wagons, nor²⁷ other vehicles, no pedestrians—a city housed, still, muffled in snow—²⁸ hardly a sound breaks the repressed city—yes, there I²⁹ see one sleigh, hear the merry tinkle of the collars of bells on the horses—³⁰ a first-class old-fashioned yellow sleigh³¹ for four persons. there they go, trotting cheerfully through the storm, up the avenue.

10. Inscribed in ink.

11. Jane Grey Swisshelm (1815–1884), feminist, reformer, and journalist, had lived in Minnesota prior to the war. In the fall of 1862, the Sioux went on a rampage of slaughtering settlers. See Arthur J. Larsen, ed., *Crusader and Feminist: Letters of Jane Grey Swisshelm* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1934) and C. M. Oehler, *The Great Sioux Uprising* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1959).

12. Deleted: "an address"

13. Deleted: "are showed"

14. Preceding four words inserted above "rs" in "murders" and "mutilations and"

15. Deleted: "many of the"

16. Deleted: "are"

17. Deleted: "awful" ; inserted: "heart-rending" above "[*del.*] awful" and "an"

18. Deleted: "this"

19. Deleted in pencil: "before" ; inserted in pencil above: "yet"

20. Inserted above "public"

21. Parenthetical phrase inserted on a line above "nce" in "audience" and "such"

22. Deleted: "and"

23. In black ink.

24. Deleted: "fall" ; inserted above: "storm"

25. Inserted in wordspace above "very" and "white"

26. Written in pencil above "than"

27. Deleted: "bus"

28. Deleted: "no sounds"

29. Deleted: "hear" ; inserted above: "see"

30. Deleted: "an" ; inserted: "a first-class" above "[*del.*] an" and "old-"

31. Deleted: "of the"

[10] Tuesday, Feb. 24 Armory Sq. Hospital afternoon / Ward E. gave the occupant of bed 3 (he wanted pickles)³² some horse-radish & a book to read,³³

THE CROW³⁴

The crow plays (to a shrewd, upward-looking observer)³⁵ quite a part in the Washington landscape. You see them flying in plentiful straggling lines, in a west by northwest direction, thousands and thousands of them, over the city³⁶ at this season of the year. You can hardly look out indeed, over the Capitol, or any where, especially by the Potomac, without seeing one or more, steadily flapping along, up above there, and sometimes flying quite low.

[20]³⁷ Wednesday, Feb. 25th 1863.

To-day Spent between³⁸ from three to four hours in Judiciary Hospital, 1st, 3d³⁹ & 5th Wards—⁴⁰ gave the men in all those wards paper, envelopes, pens, pencils &c.; also tobacco, quite generally, (I⁴¹ think I must have distributed about two pounds in small plugs.)⁴² Talked with many of the men—wrote a letter⁴³ home for Albert Knapp,⁴⁴ of Washington Macomb county, Michigan, (he is in the 102d⁴⁵ N. Y. Vol)—very⁴⁶ sick with pneumonia.

When I came to L. street, to dinner,⁴⁷ found Justus Boyd,⁴⁸ waiting for me! His papers are through—he is DISCHARGED—and expects to leave forthwith for home.

[34]⁴⁹ Tuesday, March 3d

All the elements, capricious, light and shadow, tears and smiles, to-day. Most of the forenoon was beautiful exceedingly, bright sun, steady⁵⁰ soft⁵¹ atmosphere.

32. Parenthetical phrase inserted above "pant" in "occupant" and "bed 3"

33. Deleted: "(he wan"

34. Entire entry inscribed in black ink.

35. Parenthetical phrase inserted on two lines above "ys" of "plays" and "quite a part in"

36. Preceding three words inserted above "them, at"

37. Entire entry inscribed in black ink.

38. Preceding two words inserted above "To-day from three" . Ink smeared, but it is possible to tell what is deleted.

39. Deleted: "& 4th" ; inserted above: "& 5th"

40. Deleted: "distrib"

41. Written over [*illeg.*]

42. Deleted: "I" ; lowercase "t" capitalized.

43. Deleted: "f"

44. See "Hugo Oscar Fritsch."

45. Deleted: "N [*illeg. letter*]"

46. Inserted.

47. WW was living with the O'Connors, who supported him by giving him dinner every day (Allen, 291).

48. See [17].

49. Leaf inscribed in black ink.

50. Deleted: "and"

51. Comma deleted.

At about noon, it grew very dark and cloudy, about 1 it rained—⁵² from 2 to 3 we⁵³ had a driving snow-storm. I never saw the flakes larger—they drove and rampaged away,—very good view from my high window looking across to the Potomac,⁵⁴ Arlington heights, and down to Alexandria. I watched this noble and peculiar storm for an hour— full of fine effects. (When it snows heavily, get into a high place, and look up into the air.) Soon after 3 it began to break. I saw the sun shining over in Old Virginia, away down⁵⁵ toward Fairfax seminary,⁵⁶ and all along shore, for some time while the storm was dark and driving⁵⁷ all around [36]⁵⁸ where I stood at my high window watching it. Half past 3, it is all clear and bright again— yet almost as I jot this down the clouds come swiftly up. This is the last day of the 37th Congress, the body during whose existence (1861, '2, '3,) the most important, confusing, and abnormal ?⁵⁹ events in American history, (shall I not say in the history of the world?) have happened. The 37th Congress— as I have watched their debates,⁶⁰ wrangles, propositions, personal presences, physiognomies, in their⁶¹ magnificent sky-lighted halls—gone night and day, sat, seen, listened—sometimes⁶² literally doubting for a moment⁶³ my own eyes and ears— I have learned⁶⁴ many new things. These then are the men who⁶⁵ do as they do, in the midst of the greatest historic [38]⁶⁶ chaos and gigantic tussle of the the greatest of ages.— Look at the⁶⁷ little mannikins, shrewd, gabby, drest in black, hopping about, making motions, amendments.— It is very curious—⁶⁸ At night I have⁶⁹ gone in the gallery to look at them, down there, flooded with light stronger than sunshine, in the most magnificent, and best proportioned rooms in the world— What events are about them, and all of⁷⁰ us? Whither are we drifting? Who knows? It seems as if these⁷¹ electric and terrible days were enough to put life⁷²

52. Preceding four words inserted above “from 2 to 3”

53. Deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted: “had”

54. Deleted: “and”

55. Deleted: “to” ; inserted above: “toward”

56. Deleted: “and”

57. Deleted: “wher” ; inserted above: “all around”

58. Leaf inscribed in black ink.

59. Question mark over “abnormal”

60. Deleted: “(or r”

61. Deleted: “rich and”

62. Deleted: “almost” ; inserted above: “literally”

63. Preceding three words inserted above wordspace and “my own”

64. Deleted: “much”

65. Comma deleted.

66. Leaf inscribed in black ink.

67. Deleted: “These” ; inserted above wordspace and “These little” : “Look at the”

68. Deleted: “perhaps” ; “at” capitalized.

69. Deleted: “liked” ; inserted: “gone in the gallery”

70. Preceding four words inserted above “about us” ; “of” written below “all”

71. Deleted: “powerful” ; inserted: “electric and terrible”

72. Deleted: “and blood” ; deleted in pencil: “into” ; inserted in pencil above wordspace: “in”

in a paving stone,— as if there⁷³ must⁷⁴ needs⁷⁵ form, on the⁷⁶ representative men that have to do with them,⁷⁷ faces of grandeur, actions of awe,⁷⁸ vestments of majesty. [40]— the day goes on, a strange, wild, smiling, promising, lowering, spitting,⁷⁹ day— full of threats and contradictions— black at times as⁸⁰ murkyest⁸¹ eve— then snowing in great flakes, obscuring the air,⁸² with fits of furious driving, and of whirls and eddies around and around as you look up— then a sharp short shower of rain. It goes on and on—not without gleams, returns of repentance, a fine sky, with sunshine and much promise—but much disquiet too. Then at last, with a long wide — [42] breadth of heavy sombre slate and⁸³ opaque⁸⁴ iron or lead in the west, but with a thin belt below it, as of clearish⁸⁵ water, crimsoned⁸⁶ And there the sun goes down in blood. It seems to me to be looking at These States⁸⁷ fratricidal states⁸⁸ It lingers, not glaring, but astonished, pained, shall I not say terrified—⁸⁹ seems⁹⁰ indeed to pause⁹¹ to pierce⁹² the wonder, the mystery and⁹³ urged chaos of these lands, these days⁹⁴—but⁹⁵ yet goes down in a flood.

73. Deleted: “com”

74. Deleted: “be a” ; inserted above: “needs”

75. Deleted: “come, to” ; inserted above: “form, on”

76. Deleted: “m”

77. Deleted: “an inevitable”

78. Deleted: “almost clothes of”

79. Deleted: “snow-”

80. Deleted: “the”

81. “est” inserted above “y” in “murky”

82. Deleted: “and”

83. Deleted: “blacknes”

84. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

85. Inserted above “water” and deleted: “crimson”

86. Inserted above wordspace and “And”

87. Deleted: “at these”

88. Preceding sentence inserted in two lines above “It lingers . . . but”

89. Deleted: “lingers, looks gleams”

90. Deleted: “to take a”

91. Deleted: “and” ; inserted above wordspace before “pierce” : “to”

92. Deleted: “, out flooding a flood clear”

93. Deleted: “gr”

94. Comma deleted.

95. Deleted: “still” ; inserted: “yet”

Hospital Note book.

Manuscript in Huntington. Inscribed in black pencil in homemade notebook, 4" x 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ ", tied between [32] and [33]. Yellow paper covers. White laid paper with vertical blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart, embossed "CONGRESS—CARSONS."

The notebook is more complex than might appear. WW apparently folded and cut the notebook and began entries at what now appears to be the back in late January 1863, two weeks after he settled in Washington. He made entries on the rectos up to [23], and put it aside. In June, he apparently took it up again and pasted on the yellow paper cover, concealing his name, address and the names of hospitals on the original white blue ruled cover ([1]). He then turned it upside down and over and inscribed a title and his name on the new yellow front cover. To preserve the order of entries the text presented here begins with the January entries. The yellow covers are labelled as covers, and foliation begins with the original front cover on blue-ruled white paper. Since the MS has not been examined by the editor he is indebted to Mr. Herbert C. Schultz, Curator of Manuscripts and Mr. Alan Jutzi, Assistant Curator of Manuscripts, The Huntington Library, for full description.

The date is January–June 1863.

{1 Ruled paper glued to yellow inside front cover; outside front cover blank; inside front cover blank} Hospital Note book W Whitman 394 L. Street¹ 3 [illeg.] Washington / Campbell Hospital / also Armory Hospital

{3; 2 blank} Campbell Hospital Ward 6. Jan 24² / David S. Giles,³ bed 52 co F. 28th N J. V. apples a book horehound candy sweet plug tobacco

{5; 4 blank} Ward 6 Wm Doty. (bed 53) liquorice — good book, sweet plug tobacco

{7; 6 blank} bed 51 a stick of liquorice a little note paper⁴ / Chester H. Lilly⁵ (bed 6) 145th Penn down with Erysypelas and jaundice also wounded / wants some preserve or Jelly /

{9; 8 blank} bed 25 Henry D Boardman⁶ co B. 27th Conn. Vol is from Northford, Conn. 7 miles from New Haven / gave him a rice-pudding another day a lemon

1. W. D. O'Connor's address. WW is listed at this address in 1864 directory.

2. Rule across leaf.

3. See "Items from My Note Books," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 83, and "return my book."

4. Rule across leaf.

5. See "Items from My Note Books," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 83, and "return my book."

6. See "A Connecticut Case," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 42–43, "I buy it by the pound," and "return my book."

custard [*another day*]⁷ a pipe & tobacco has been a sailor-boy, knocking around the Atlantic Coast—his table and⁸ window-sill, and at the head of his bed are little knick-nacks &c
 [11; 10 *blank*] shirt & drawers for J. H. Culver,⁹ Ward G. bed 24 — Armory Hosp / things wanted note paper & envelopes / some jelly or preserves / books / tobacco
 [13;¹⁰ 12 *blank*] bed 47—some tobacco¹¹
 [15; 14 *see below*]¹² Ward F. Mrs. Gaylord¹³ (—nurse) wants some brandy from New York Relief¹⁴ /
 [17; 16 *see below*] Jan 30th '63 / Ward F. Armory Hospital gave Mrs. Gaylord a bottle brandy—Mr. Ramsdell,¹⁵ Chief Clerk, “Edwin [*illeg.*]
 [19; 18 *see below*] bed 52 Ward I John Grimes¹⁶ co B. 7th Penn gave 15 cts envelopes &¹⁷ bring some tobacco
 [21; 20 *see below*] John D. Patterson co B 125th Penn bed 29— Ward I
 [23, 24 *stubs*; 25 *blank*]
 [*Yellow outside back cover*] Hospital Note Book / Walt Whitman
 [63; *inside back cover glued to 64*]¹⁸ M D Landon 451 73th st. up stairs /
 [62] Oscar H Cunningham¹⁹ bed 20 — ward K / Andrew bed 22 ward H. / Geo W Cooley ward I near door / ward D bed 50 Geo W Monk²⁰ g s wound in head Co A 78th N Y father W—D Monk Brooklyn S[?] D
 [60; 61 *blank*] ward A Armory Wm C Thomas²¹ bed 3 boy / ward a Livingston J Brooks²² co B 17 Penn Cav bed 47 /²³ Vernon Yates, has been in 4th N Y Cav —bugler in Armory Sq /
 [58; 59²⁴ *blank*] bed 29—ward D Amster Moore²⁵ co F 73d Ohio / bed 39 ward

7. Ditto-marks in MS.

8. Deleted: “head”

9. See “return my book.”

10. Deleted: “Ward F. bed 18 some *raspberry jelly* / bed 12 *some jelly* John S McCoy Co G, 147th NY. Vol fever / bed 6 (some *raspberry*) /” . Rules across leaf.

11. Deleted: “& pipe”

12. Since WW began, after [21], to write from the back on the versos, this page is the last entry.

13. See “Items from My Note Book,” *SD, Prose* 92, I, 83. In *SD* WW says he got the brandy from the Christian Commission.

14. Rule across leaf.

15. See “D. W. Wilder.”

16. See “Some Specimen Cases,” *SD, Prose* 92, I, 50.

17. Deleted: “tobac”

18. All rules across leaf.

19. See “June 20 —'63.”

20. See *Corr.*, I, 112 and “Ward D, bed 50.”

21. See “June 21, '63.”

22. See “Ward A bed 47.”

23. Rule across leaf. Deleted: “ward A east end Young man from New Jersey gone to New York /”

24. All rules across leaf.

25. See “bed 29—Ward D”

B Wm E Vandemark²⁶ co I 120th N Y / John Grundke²⁷ co B 26th Wis bed 23
Ward F /

[56; 57 *blank*] ward F get from the 1st Mass Cavalry man, as good & vivid
account as possible of a cavalry fight—he tells me of full regiments charging / bed
32 ward G Close by the door / also a²⁸ rebel capt. in ward G,

[54; 55 *blank*] *Lectures*²⁹

— pieces must not be dry opinions & prosy doctrines, &c. must be animated life-
blood, descriptions, full of movement—with questions—apostrophes—declama-
tory passages, &c (a little ad captandum is allowable)

[52; 53 *blank*] Ward G—bed 12 Milton S Roberts³⁰ Co B. 5th Maine V amp of
left leg / mother Mrs. Betsey A Roberts South Waterboro York co Maine /³¹

[50; 51 *blank*] ward K / two brothers Mass cav men co A 1st Mass Cav John
Strang shot badly in neck died June 28 '63³² / bring no 5 ward C some ginger
for diarrhea /

[48; 49 *blank*] Lewis B White / rebel Captain Ward G gone to Old Capitol³³ /
North Carolina prisoner ward F /³⁴ take some jelly to ward B to diarrhea men &
some ginger to ward D /

[46; 47 *blank*] ward C bed 34 Thos Brumby Co E 55th Ohio *compo* fract thigh
sandy comp — good sport /³⁵ Luther D Livingston³⁶ Maine reg't in Convalescent
Camp since abt 1st July (saw him at Carver³⁷ Spring of '64 doctor thinks he is
shamming /

[44; 45 *blank*] bed 13 ward G Albert J Maurier³⁸ co B 55th Ohio / amp left
leg— tooth brush /³⁹ ward D bed 44 Joseph Rissenger Co L 8th N Y Cavalry—
operated for gravel father Mathias Rissenger Mumfor Munroe Co. N Y get him
some lemons

[42; 43 *blank*] Erastus Haskell⁴⁰ ?⁴¹ ward E Typhoid⁴² came in June 11th /

26. See "William E. Vandermark." WW is inconsistent in the spelling of the name.

27. See "John Grundke."

28. Preceding two words inserted above "rebel"

29. See "Restrain Gesture."

30. See "Scene in the woods."

31. Rule across leaf.

32. Entry of death appears to be later. Rule across leaf.

33. See [56] above. Rule across leaf.

34. Rule across leaf.

35. Deleted: "Albert J. Maurier Ohio—ward G /" . See [44] below. Rule across leaf.

36. See "Walt Whitman Soldier's."

37. Deleted: "June" ; inserted above: "Spring of" . Evidently a later entry.

38. See n35 above.

39. Rule across leaf.

40. See "Absalom Swanger."

41. Question mark above "Haskell"

42. Rule across leaf.

young man in Ward H or I / sitting in chair waiting to have his arm taken/off — I saw him on the operating table, frothing at mouth *dead*⁴³

[38; 41 *blank*; 39–40 *stub*] ward I bed 33 J W Smith co G 25th Ohio comp fr right thigh also some fever / some fruit (strawberries or sweet peaches) /⁴⁴ Caleb H Babbitt⁴⁵ co E 34th Mass (ward A bed 12) sun stroke been in Mobile sister Mary A Babbitt Barre Mass

[34; 37–35 *blank*] *Shot for desertion*⁴⁶

— I noticed an elderly man weeping bitterly—Joseph Grover—June*⁴⁷ 25 '63 Ward A Armory)⁴⁸ in ward A—poor man! wretched,⁴⁹ wretched father — (he is a butcher now a drover this⁵⁰ season

[32; 33 *blank*. *Conjugate leaves, binding ribbon between 32 and 33*] Wm Butler⁵¹ Grover (the boy shot) Co A. 46th Penn / aged about 18 or 19—shot at Leesburgh Va for desertion last Friday (June*⁵² 19th⁵³ '63 / (three were shot) he has been out two years & a good soldier— / he was very fond of his mother & as others had gone [30; 31 *blank*] off for a while & returned, & nothing done about it, he tried to get away to see his mother⁵⁴ raised in Lewistown Mifflin co Penn. / June 25 I have been talking with a lady who is from Lewistown [30; 29 *blank*] — I sit talking with her, her son is in the hospital—she tells me about the boy, she knew him well, from childhood—says he was dotingly fond of his mother—had never been allowed a furlough the whole two [26]⁵⁵ years—others had been, but he had not—poor unfortunate boy—good looking dark haired fellow—

[27]⁵⁶ / the tray containing a forceps scissors sponge⁵⁷ oiled silk & pin cushion bandages / bucket & pans of warm & cold water

[22; 25 *blank*; 24–23 *stub*] N Y Herald, June 25, '63 1st page / Wm Grover & Wm McKee of Co A 46 Penn & Christopher Kumbart of Co H 13th N. J were

43. A later insertion in ink.

44. Rule across leaf.

45. Entry in black ink. For Caleb Babbitt, see *Corr.*, I, 141, 175, 191, 196; "am Dr. L B Russell," "Baily D Damon," "September & October," and Traubel, I, 338, 340, II, 96, 108, 109, 524.

46. See "William Grover Shot for Desertion."

47. The significance of the asterisk is not clear. Perhaps it relates to the asterisk before the date on [32].

48. Parenthetical statement inserted above date.

49. Deleted: "fa"

50. Inserted above.

51. Name inserted above "Wm" and "Grover"

52. Relation to asterisk in preceding date not clear.

53. Written over "20th"

54. Deleted: single parenthesis.

55. WW wrote on recto. Page inserted out of order to follow order of inscription.

56. Deleted: "that"

57. Deleted: "bandages"

shot for desertion at the camp of the 12th Army Corps. on Friday last — (19th June 1863)

[20] Ward C bed 5 Thomas J Carson⁵⁸ Co G. 4th Ohio Vol comp fract knee bad, but healing / Mrs. Eliza McElroy Hassar p o. Hancock co Ohio / currant jelly

[16⁵⁹; 17 *see above*; 18 *blank, upper half of leaf torn off*] Wm C Thomas [?] we are there as—the dresser bed sores great hole in which you can stick—round edges rotted away / flies— / two men hold him / the smell is awful great sores

[14] —the flies act as if they were mad / he has one horrible wound three bad ones / a fracture— / & several shocking bed sores — three men besides the dresser⁶⁰

[12-2 *blank*]

58. See *Corr.*, I, 176, 177, 184.

59. Very irregular writing on [16 and 14].

60. Possibly related to [27].

Armory, Now Ward E.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black pencil on a scrap of white laid note paper with vertical blue lines, ca. 1/8" apart. Embossed blank shield surmounted by star and surrounded by flourishes (see "*Hours in Our Military Hospitals*"). The date is February or April, 1863. For verso see "April 7."

Armory, now ward E¹ Ward E (April 3d now in ward K² bed 41 Daniel Sullivan Co F. 1st Penn Rifleman —is from Eastern Penn³—has been two years in service—left leg amputated, a quiet soldierly fellow—Dr. of the Ward Dr. Bartlett—

about 20th February
Dr. Hayes

1. "now ward E" inserted above "Ward" in black ink.
2. Note in parentheses in upper right.
3. Deleted: "Irish of h"

Hours in Our Military Hospitals.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on scrap approx. 2¼" x 7¾" pasted to top of "The Army Hospitals." Blue rules ⅜" apart. Embossed US shield with star and scroll above and scroll below with "CONGRESS—CARSONS." (See "Armory, now ward E.") Directions to printer in maroon ink, enclosed in loops at side and below. Cancelled by two slashes in blue crayon.

As a practical journalist, a patriot and a humanitarian, WW quickly grasped the possibilities of a series based on his work in the wards. Possibly he could not get a commitment for a series, for on February 26, 1863 "The Great Army of the Wounded," the first of several separate articles, appeared in the *NY Times* (*WD, CW, VII, 81-90*). He tried again to publish a book in October, 1863, "MEMORANDA OF A YEAR (1863)," but was not successful until *Memoranda During the War* (1875).

(large head¹ *Hours in Our Military Hospitals*²

(middling³ *in Washington*⁴

(small⁵ No. 1 — February 21.1863⁶

(sub-heads sm. caps⁷ WHO IS NOT INTERESTED IN OUR HOSPITALS?⁸

1. Inscribed with a fine-nibbed pen diagonally and to left of the first following word.
2. Large script with a broad-nibbed pen.
3. Inscribed as in *n1*.
4. Small script.
5. As in *n1*.
6. Small script.
7. As in *n1*.
8. Small script.

Wednesday 4th March.

Manuscript in Duke (25, #30). Inscribed in ink and black pencil as noted on home-made notebook approx. 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " made of eight sheets of white laid paper torn, folded and fastened at fold with a pin. Blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart on recto of original leaves. Embossed shield with a flourish or scroll below and above, all surmounted by a star at upper left of original sheets. [2] in black ink, written either before or after remainder of text. Occasional short lines from left are indicated by a slash. Evidently written on the spot for one of his letters to NY or Brooklyn papers. Cf. "The Contrabands." First printed, except for last two entries, *WDC*, 49-52. This was written in March, 1863.

Wednesday 4th March / scene up to noon,—Close of the 37th Congress—House¹

[1]² 4th of March, 1863. Well, here is the 4th of March, and two out of the four³ years of the Lincoln administration have gone by. And now there are two to follow. What will happen during those two years?

[3; 2 *blank*] forenoon—4th March The House now presents⁴ a most animated and characteristic scene—The ranges⁵ of crowded galleries are in shadow, while the⁶ strong day⁷ showers its powerful and steady streams upon the floor.⁸ Did I think and say it looked so much better at night?⁹ Well I [5; 4 *blank*] think I never saw it look better than now (11 $\frac{1}{4}$ a.m.) A member from New York has just been making a most excited little speech¹⁰—At this moment the clerk is calling the ayes and noes—the members and many distinguished and undistinguished [7;6 *blank*] visitors are filling the floor, talking, walking, sauntering in twos or

1. Outside front cover. Date "[1863]" upper right in unknown hand. Circular brown stain, probably from a glass or cup, shows through to verso.

2. In black ink, regular handwriting.

3. Preceding four words inserted above "two years"

4. Inserted above "w" on "now" and "a"

5. Inserted above "The" and "of"

6. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

7. Deleted: "falls in" ; inserted above: "showers its"

8. Deleted: "thought" ; inserted: "Did I [*del.*] think and say" above "I [*del.*] thought" and "it"

9. The location of his earlier opinion has not been found. He praised the interior as seen at night in a private letter of March 19, 1863 (*Corr.*, I, 81).

10. Possibly Representative Charles H. Van Wyck, who made a report for a committee which had been investigating government contracts.

threes, or gathered together in little knots—the clapping of hands calling the pages—the fresh green of the carpets and desks—the strong good-tinted panel frames of the glass roof,—the short decided voice of the Speaker—the {9;8 blank} continual (like¹¹ soda-pop) burstings of members calling Mr. Speaker, Mr Speaker—the incessant bustle, motion, surging¹² hubbub of voices, undertoned but steady—¹³

There is a rather notable absence of Military uniforms on the floor of the house—Crowded as it is at the moment, I do not as I sweep my eyes around¹⁴ see a single shoulder-strap

{11; 10 blank} interruption— —a message from the Senate of the United States—it is half past 11—there are¹⁵ but thirty minutes left for the 37th Congress—the ladies gallery in the House is about half¹⁶ of the whole room devoted to the public—A resolution is adopted giving a boy who was employed by the House \$100. he has had {13; 12 blank} his ankles crushed, disabled—¹⁷ The hands of the clock move on— there is great hubbub and confusion, actual disorders—¹⁸ bang! bang! bang! The speaker's hammer is rapidly falling, and he sternly calls¹⁹ for gentlemen to come to order—, and still the hands of the clock invisibly²⁰ move on—there are but {15; 14 blank} fifteen minutes left— voices of hubbub,—bump, bump, bump, bump, bump—Gentlemen will please take their seats—not an²¹ step²² further, gentlemen, till there is²³ something like order— / —five minutes to 12—there is a kind of hush and abeyance—nothing {17; 16 blank}²⁴ the hubbub now²⁵ there has been—some filibustering is attempted on a small scale²⁶—tellers are called to clear up a disputed vote—²⁷ the strong hum goes on,—the crowd is very great—the laws of the door have been relaxed, {19; 18 blank} and everybody appears to have somebody in tow— / 12²⁸ the hands are on the hour the speaker rises, the clerks, officers, pages gather in a close phalanx around the desk, on the steps, and close to them²⁹—³⁰the hubub subsides into the stillness of

11. Preceding two words and parenthesis inserted above “soda-pop” . Later parenthesis probably inserted.

12. Deleted: “under”

13. An asterisk is inserted between paragraphs.

14. Preceding six words inserted on a line above “not see a”

15. Deleted: “is” ; inserted above: “are”

16. Deleted: “, as well as”

17. Reported in the *NY Tribune* to be William Bradford.

18. Deleted: “The”

19. Deleted: “better”

20. Inserted above “move”

21. Deleted: “inch”

22. Deleted: “will”

23. Deleted: “more” ; inserted: “something like” above “is [del.] more”

24. WW obviously omitted “like” in turning the page.

25. Inserted above “there”

26. Either a caret or a deleted comma here.

27. Deleted: “a low” ; inserted above: “the strong”

28. From this point until the end of [27] the handwriting becomes progressively more irregular.

29. Preceding ten words inserted on two lines above “phalanx” and “[del.] there is”

30. Deleted: “there is perfect silence”

death {21; 20 *blank*} —the³¹ doorkeepers guard all the doors—the speaker's address —he says. The 37th Congress is adjourned *sine die* —the impression is evidently good as he concludes—³²there is {23; 22 *blank*} hearty applause, and then things are untied—the doors fly open the many-drest public streams in—all below there³³ is now³⁴ a crawling jam of people, soldier boys, hoosiers, gents, &c &c—a dust arises, from the {25; 24 *blank*}³⁵ tread of so many footsteps and boots with the mud dried on them,³⁶—the last³⁷ breath of the 37th Congress full of the dim opaque particles³⁸ rises and fills the air of the most beautiful room in the world³⁹ but the light strikes down through it {27; 26 *blank*}—the crowd waves its hats

{29}⁴⁰—the President's Room, for instance, most gorgeous in color, classical goddesses & Liberties, with Cupids,⁴¹ revolutionary generals, Catholic saints, scroll-work, gilding enamel, fine mirrors curtains, &c &c &c—out of the windows a noble view of Washington toward the north {30}⁴²

31. Deleted: "of"

32. The *Tribune*, *Herald* and *Times* of NY all praised the conduct of the Congress.

33. Preceding two words inserted above "all" and "is"

34. Inserted above "a"

35. Deleted: "passing"

36. Preceding eight words inserted on two lines above "footsteps . . ."

37. Deleted: "dust" ; inserted above: "breath"

38. Preceding six words inserted on three short lines in the right margin after "of the" and above "ress" in "Congress" and "rises" below.

39. WW's patriotic fervor (or his love of strong statement) sometimes exceeded his information. Cf. his insistence that the light and air of Washington were superior to those of Rome and Athens ("Letter from Washington," *NY Times*, October 4, 1863, *UPP*, II, 35).

40. In a more regular hand.

41. Deleted: "hero"

42. In another hand: "Campbell Hospital—Frank Hinkle Surgeon Ward No 6" . WW praised Hinkle in "Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers" (*WD, CW*, VII, 96), *Brooklyn Eagle*, March 19, 1863.

Sights You See.

Manuscript in Huntington. Inscribed in black ink on white laid paper embossed "CONGRESS—CARSONS." Blue lines on recto $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. WW used paper of this sort in three MSS of 1863: "Hospital Note book," "(Jan 63) (in Armory Ward H)," and "(Jan. 63) Thos A. Morrison." Characteristics of the MS furnished by Mr. Herbert C. Schultz, Curator of Manuscripts, Huntington Library. It is obviously a draft for a newspaper article like "The Great Army of the Wounded," *CW*, VII, 81-90 and similar articles in *The Wound Dresser*, and is related to the "*Hours in Our Military Hospitals*" of early 1863.

Sights you see in hospital—¹ /

A ward will contain² perhaps have 60 inmates³ /

current⁴ Hospital⁵ facts for all.

The sights⁶ seen⁷ day after day⁸ in the Hospitals⁹ of Washington, by a Soldier's Missionary (an amateur,¹⁰ without pay, hailing from New York, but¹¹ not confining¹² his visits to¹³ the¹⁴ sick from that State, or any particular¹⁵ State,) afford¹⁶ a most significant illustration¹⁷ of the current¹⁸ times and events of our country. It¹⁹ will of course do good, to make the public more familiar with the

1. Short line from left.
2. Inserted above "ll" in "will" and "per" in "perhaps"
3. Long line from left.
4. Inserted before "Hospital"
5. Deleted: "sights" ; inserted above: "facts for all"
6. Deleted: "one"
7. Deleted: "who" "has" [*illeg. ins. and del.*] "goes"
8. Deleted: "to" ; inserted above: "in"
9. Deleted: "in" ; inserted above: "of"
10. Preceding two words inserted above "without"
11. Preceding five words inserted above "pay . . . confining" ; deleted: "and"
12. Deleted: "himself" ; inserted above: "his visits"
13. Deleted: "men" "that"
14. Deleted: "needy ones" ; inserted above "[*del.*] needy" : "sick"
15. Inserted above "any"
16. Deleted: "," "one of the" "to [*ins. above del.*] "one" and *del.*]"
17. Deleted: "of" "on" ; inserted above "on" : "of"
18. Deleted: "days" ; inserted above: "times"
19. Deleted: "cannot but" ; inserted: "will of course" above "t" in "[*del.*] but" and "do"

interiors of these establishments—and²⁰ perhaps come home to all²¹ as generally²² as any²³ thing that could be given.—²⁴to²⁵ put the²⁶ sights plainly²⁷ before them,—for it is the spirit of our democratic age to blink nothing.²⁸

20. Deleted: {*illeg.*}

21. Preceding four words inserted above “aps” in “perhaps” and “general” in “generally”

22. Deleted: “att{?}” “interesting”

23. Deleted: “subje”

24. Preceding fifteen words inserted on two lines above “of these establishments—to”

25. Deleted: “bring” ; inserted above: “put”

26. Deleted: “facts plain”

27. Inserted above “plainly”

28. Preceding twelve words inserted. Deleted with a slanting stroke: “Then there is a fascination {*preceding four words del.*} the strange discordant here—the {*preceding five words ins.*} {*del.*} a mixture of the attracting {*preceding two words del.*} repelling and powerfully”

Mem. Hospitals.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Title inscribed in black pencil, text in black ink, on scrap of white laid paper, blue lines $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart. The writing, which is firmer than that in the reminiscences of his old age, suggests that WW wrote this in the 1860s. First printed in Emory Holloway, "Notes from a Whitman Student's Scrapbook," *A Sch*, II (May, 1933), 271-272. Possibly this is part of the "*Hours in Our Military Hospitals*" project of 1863.

Mem.
Hospitals

The expression of American[?] personality[?]¹ through this² war,³ is not to be looked for in the⁴ great campaigns, & the battle-fights. It is to be looked for just as much, (& in some respects more,) in the hospitals, among the wounded. The looks, manners, & fortitude of the men, with their decorum, religious nature, affection, &c./

The incredible docility & obedience of the American soldier—(in battle & in hospitals)

1. Corner of paper torn. Deleted: "in" ; inserted above: "through"
2. Deleted: "great"
3. Deleted: "has not appeared"
4. Deleted: "thr"

My Visits and Distributions.

Manuscript in NYPL (Berg). Inscribed in black ink on four scraps of white laid paper. [1], approx. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ ", has embossed "O + H" in block letters; on verso in WW's hand is "Col Taylor—Commissary Genl". [2] approx. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ ", has blue rules $\frac{1}{3}$ " apart. [3] is two pasted scraps, approx. 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ " x 3 $\frac{15}{16}$ ", with perpendicular rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart on recto only of second scrap. [4], approx. 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ", blue rules $\frac{1}{3}$ " apart recto and verso; embossed shield and star; on verso in WW's hand is: "The bearer, Mr. Walt Whitman, of Brooklyn, NY. is recommended to me from the most distinguished sources. He desires employment as a clerk in the Departments—or in any way in which he can be serviceable to the government. I recommend him to the favorable consideration of any of the heads of departments who may need his services." (all deleted). Apparently the MS was never printed but was cannibalized. See "Summer of 1864," "Gifts—Money—Discrimination," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 73, 82; "'Tis But Ten Years Since" *ibid.*, 317, and "I buy it by the pound" to which it is closely related. WW has treated his material with his customary freedom in dating. Probably this was part of the "*Hours in Our Military Hospitals*" project of 1863.

My¹ Visits and distributions

For² seven or eight weeks past I have spent³ on an average, perhaps, a couple of hours⁴ every day or evening,⁵ as a self-appointed Soldier's Missionary,⁶ going about among these sick and dying men. I have not⁷ been to⁸ any thing like all,⁹ nor even half these establishments—that, to do effectually,¹⁰ would be¹¹ almost impossible for one visitor.¹² I have been to five or six—¹³a good deal to the Camp-

1. Inserted above "visits" and smudged out: "our"
2. Deleted: "some" ; inserted: "seven or eight" above "[del.] some" and "p" in "past"
3. Deleted: "much of my time (" ; inserted: "on an average, perhaps" above "nt" in "spent" and "t" in "[del.] time"
4. Inserted and deleted: "almost" above "rs" in "hours" and "ev" in "every"
5. Deleted: "y"
6. See "Walt Whitman Soldier's" which begins February 10, 1863. Deleted: "to" ; inserted: "going about among" above "[del.] to" and "these sick"
7. Inserted in the space above "have . . . been"
8. Deleted: "quite a number"
9. Deleted: "the Hospitals" ; inserted: "nor even [ins. above "nor"] half these establishments—" above "and [del.] Hospitals" . Redundant final dash not printed.
10. Preceding commas and three words inserted above "would"
11. Deleted: "hardly" ; inserted above: "almost im"
12. Inserted: "for one person [del. under "visitor"] visitor." after "impossible"
13. Preceding four words and dash inserted above "been a" and "g" in "good"

bell and Armory Square Hospitals, and¹⁴ occasionally to that¹⁵ at the Patent Office (now nearly broken up)¹⁶,—and once or twice to the 8th street and H. street hospitals, &c.¹⁷ Every where I¹⁸ have found most powerful and pathetic,¹⁹ though²⁰ generally mute, calls²¹ for some form of contribution, or some good office.²² Each case has its peculiarities,²³—needs some new adaptation. [2]²⁴ I have learnt to adapt myself—²⁵learnt a good deal of hospital wisdom²⁶ (one soon gets it).²⁷ Some of the poor young men away from home the first time in their lives²⁸ hunger and thirst for kindness, for affection above all things.²⁹ This³⁰ only will reach some of the cases: (many of the sick are mere boys.)

I have distributed quite a large sum of money, contributed³¹ for that purpose by noble persons in Brooklyn, New York, (chiefly through Moses Lane, Chief Engineer, Water Works there.)³²³³ I provide myself with a quantity of bright new³⁴ ten-cent and five-cent bills, and³⁵ give³⁶ small sums of,³⁷ 15 or³⁸ 20 cts or³⁹ 25, 30, and⁴⁰ occasionally 50 cts. —Ah,⁴¹ if the friends who have sent⁴² me this money could see⁴³ what pleasure they have diffused, and little comforts they

14. Deleted: "a little" ; inserted above: "occasionally"
15. Preceding two words inserted above "the"
16. Preceding parentheses and four words inserted above "e" in "office" and "once"
17. Deleted: "At" "All times" ; inserted: "Every where" above "[del.] all times"
18. Deleted: "of course find" ; inserted: "have found" above "[del.] course find"
19. Deleted after the comma: "requirem" ; inserted before the comma: "and pathetic"—above "rful" in "powerful" and "[del.] requ" in "requirem"
20. Deleted: "generally" ; inserted above: "generally"
21. Deleted: "upon ones sympathy" ; inserted and deleted: "my pocket" above "ones sympathy"
22. Deleted: "Every" "Every" ; inserted: "Each" above second "[del.] Every"
23. Deleted: "needing something" ; inserted above and into the right margin: "—needs some new adaptation"
24. Inserted and deleted at upper left: "And"
25. Deleted: "therefore"; inserted above "a" : "—learnt" . Redundant dash not shown.
26. Inserted and deleted: "and"
27. Deleted: "required" ; preceding four words and parentheses inserted above the deletion.
28. Preceding fourteen words inserted on two lines above "Some . . . thirst for"
29. Preceding three words inserted above "ction" in "affection" and "This"
30. Deleted: "of course goes a great ways" [*semicolon not deleted, not printed*]; inserted above: "only will reach some of the cases:"
31. Deleted: "to"
32. Inserted above "rks" in "works"
33. Lane and the staff of the water works did contribute loyally, but it is curious that WW does not mention the contributions he received from Boston. See "a m Dr. L B Russell."
34. A sensitive psychological insight.
35. Deleted: "whe" ; inserted: "give"
36. Deleted: "with"
37. Deleted: "these"
38. Inserted above "15"
39. Inserted above "20, . . . '25"
40. Deleted: "som" ; inserted above: "occasionally"
41. Inserted "—Ah!" above "cts if" ; inserted and deleted: "!"
42. Deleted: "these" ; inserted above: "me this money"
43. Deleted: "the"

have bought,⁴⁴ better than any gift {3}⁴⁵ they confer on on others, would themselves⁴⁶ be repaid,⁴⁷ many, many fold. Then I distribute a⁴⁸ variety of articles, literally too numerous to mention. I regularly carry a haversack with me on my visits,—and my coat has the biggest kind of pockets.⁴⁹ Among⁵⁰ things⁵¹ generally marking my progress through a Ward, I may mention that I⁵² distribute paper,⁵³ envelopes, stamps—oranges and⁵⁴ apples, preserves and jellies—pickles—candies, (especially horehound)—tobacco, in small plugs—blackberry syrup, brandy,⁵⁵ large quantities of reading matter—over and over again—⁵⁶a few pocket diaries and Almanacks for 1863—a stock of old magazines and of⁵⁷ the morning or evening papers of the day—and always of course⁵⁸ my own personal talk, soothing, cheering up, and friendly comforting,⁵⁹ to each case according to its kind.

{4} I buy tobacco by the pound, and cut it up in small plugs.⁶⁰ Then I bought⁶¹ the other day⁶² a box of oranges. Every thing at retail is very dear here in Washington, (and wholesale too for that matter.)

*Cases,*⁶³—*one from Connecticut.*⁶⁴

Would you, not like to⁶⁵ see for yourself, dear reader, some special ones⁶⁶ of the cases, among the hundreds I have met⁶⁷?⁶⁸ Enter with me this long Ward,⁶⁹—

44. Preceding six words inserted on a line above “diffused . . . than”
 45. Deleted: “they” ; inserted in two lines above “[del.] they” and word space: “they confer on on others”
 46. Inserted above “would be”
 47. Deleted: “a thousand” ; inserted and deleted above “a” : “and” ; inserted above “thousand” : “many, many”
 48. Deleted: “number” ; inserted above: “variety”
 49. Preceding dash, nine words and period inserted.
 50. Deleted: “the”
 51. Deleted: “most” . Inserted above “most” and deleted: “might mention” ; preceding inserted “I” not deleted, not shown.
 52. Scrap of similar paper approx. 3½" x 2" pasted on as a sort of tail.
 53. Deleted: “and”
 54. Inserted above wordspace.
 55. Deleted: “a” ; preceding dash and three words inserted above “s” in “plugs—[del.] a large”
 56. Preceding dashes and four words inserted above “—a few pock”
 57. Dashes and preceding seven words inserted above “the morning or evening” . Redundant initial dash not shown.
 58. Preceding three words inserted above “and” and down right margin.
 59. Deleted: “generally” ; inserted: “to”
 60. Cf. “I buy it by the pound.”
 61. Inserted.
 62. Deleted: “bought”
 63. Deleted: “for example” ; inserted above and deleted: “—as you walk through.” ; inserted above: “—one from Connecticut.”
 64. Cf. “I buy it by the pound.”
 65. Deleted: “know, you” ; inserted: “see for yourself”
 66. Preceding two words inserted above “e” of “the”
 67. Deleted: “with”
 68. Deleted: “Look down” ; inserted above “[del.] k down” and “this” : “Enter with me”
 69. Deleted: “with” ; inserted above “[del.] with” and “its” : “—look down”

look down its rows of cots, with their occupants,⁷⁰ stretching⁷¹ away each side,⁷² with the wide open⁷³ aisle⁷⁴ through the middle. Every one of these⁷⁵ cots has its history—⁷⁶every case is a tragic poem, an epic, a romance, a pensive and absorbing book, if it were only written.

70. Deleted: "on"

71. Deleted: "down" ; inserted above: "away"

72. Deleted: "and" ; inserted above: "with"

73. Inserted above wordspace.

74. Deleted: "in" ; inserted above "[del.] in" and "the" : "through"

75. Deleted: "cases" ; inserted: "cots"

76. Deleted: "every one" ; inserted: "—every case" . Redundant uncanceled initial dash not shown.

And Out; and One.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on white laid scrap. Blue lines $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Embossed "Congress" with star and shield at upper left. The bottom of the leaf was cut off possibly by WW. See "They are frequently" for a continuation. This passage was used for "Our Wounded and Sick Soldiers," *NY Times*, December 11, 1864, then in *MDW* (1875), 26–27, then in "Hospitals Ensemble" *SD, Prose* 92, I, 65n–66, 305. In *MDW* and *SD* the date is, by context, August, 1863. A date for this MS cannot be established, although the paper suggests that it was originally part of the "*Hours in Our Military Hospitals*" project of February, 1863 or, better, the result of the impulse that moved him to journalism then.

and out; and¹ one² a person like me, a³ wanderer⁴ about Washington, pausing⁵ on some⁶ high position⁷ which commands a view of the city, and its environs,⁸ sees these white clusters of⁹ soldiers' barracks in almost every direction Some¹⁰ clusters have five hundred inmates¹¹—some have over a thousand. At times, they are very full indeed. Counting the whole, with what are called the convalescent camps in this quarter, and down the Potomac,¹² they sometimes¹³ number up to fifty thousand sick and dying men.¹⁴

1. Deleted: "as"
2. Deleted: "one" ; inserted above: "a person"
3. Preceding two words inserted above "wan" in "wanderer"
4. "er" written over "ing"
5. "pauses" altered to "pausing"
6. Preceding eleven words inserted above "and one . . . high" . Deleted: "stands [*two words not del.*] on any Com-"
7. Deleted: "that" ; inserted above: "which"
8. Deleted: "he"
9. Deleted: "hospitals" ; inserted: "soldiers' barracks" above "[*del.*] hospitals"
10. Inserted and deleted: "of these" above "some" ; inserted: "clusters" above "have"
11. Comma deleted.
12. Deleted: "at Aquia Creek there are" ; inserted and deleted: "and below" above "at Aquia" ; inserted: "they" above "[*del.*] are"
13. Deleted: "from thirty to" ; inserted: "number up to" above "fifty-thou" in "fifty-thousand"
14. Deleted: "in this bar" . Leaf cut off. Examination of "They are frequently changed" shows that the deleted passage is: "barracks and tents."

They Are Frequently Changed.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on scrap of white laid paper, 2½" x 7⅞". Clipped words visible at bottom. Comparison of MS shows that this was cut, possibly by WW, from the bottom of "and out; and one." The matter of this MS, however, was not used in print until "'Tis But Ten Years Since," #4, *NYWG*, February 21, 1874, then into *MDW* (1875), 28, whence, into "Hospital Perplexity," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 68ⁿ-69, 316ⁿ-317. In *MDW* a date of late 1863 or early 1864 is suggested by the context, rather than early 1863 when the MS was written.

¹They are frequently changed; every day almost,² removals and transferrings, (often without reason); sometimes the men are again taken back to the first place again—injured by being carried to and fro thus.³

¶ It is almost impossible for a stranger to find any⁴ friend or relative sick⁵ in⁶ these countless barracks,⁷ unless he has⁸ the patients direction⁹

1. Deleted: "of[?] barracks and tents."

2. Deleted: "There are"

3. Preceding dash, seven words and period inserted above "again . . . impossible" . Redundant original period not deleted, not shown. New paragraph indicated by "¶" before "It"

4. Deleted: "one"

5. Inserted in inserted line above "relative in"

6. Deleted in inserted line above: "hospital here"

7. Preceding eight words and comma inserted above "find . . . patient's"

8. Deleted: "his" ; inserted: "the patients"

9. Paper cut off; top of illegible words visible.

I Go Around.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in black ink on two scraps white laid paper. Scrap {1} has watermark of Capitol building surrounded by flourishes and date "1858" in open numerals. Scrap {2} is unwatermarked. Clipped at top through illeg. inscription. Very close to "The Army Hospitals" of which it is probably an early draft, since it is the more heavily revised. Used in the first paragraph of "The Great Army of the Sick," *NY Times*, February 26, 1863 (*WD, CW, VII, 81-90*). Probably part of the "*Hours in Our Military Hospitals*" project.

I go around¹ among these sights, among the crowded hospitals doing what I can, yet it is a mere drop in the bucket²—I find³ many things are attended to, (after a fashion)—⁴ still the⁵ path I follow, I suppose I may say, is my own.⁶ The soldiers are mostly Americans, and mostly young men,⁷—it is strange how affectionate and yet how brave they are—⁸ I never cease admiring & wondering at them—many of them of course endure much agony—⁹ It is most pitiful—so¹⁰ manly so friendless, so handsome lying there in their cots,¹¹ I have¹² comfort in ministering to them,¹³ especially to their thirst for¹⁴ real friendship {2}¹⁵! And truly¹⁶ who is not interested? What family, what man, what woman, in any city or¹⁷ State¹⁸ has not some relative or friend or at¹⁹ least some one whom he or

1. Deleted: "among these men these "; inserted above deletion: "among these sights [*ins.*], among the"

2. Preceding thirteen words inserted above "hospitals . . . attended"

3. Preceding dash and two words inserted in space before "many" ; dash before "many" not deleted, not shown here.

4. Deleted: "but" ; inserted above: "still"

5. Deleted: "work I try to do and have at last found myself completely [*ins.*] drawn into, is not thought"

6. Deleted: "I go [*illeg.*]"

7. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

8. Deleted: "they love to have some one to they endure" ; inserted above: "—I never cease to admire & wondering at them—"

9. Inserted above "y" in "agony" , dash, and "s" in "so" and deleted: "lying there [*comma not del.*]" ; inserted above "[*del.*] good so" : "—it is most pitiful"

10. Deleted: "good, so handsome, so" ; inserted above "handsome": "manly"

11. Preceding seven words inserted above: "ndless, I have [*del.*] the greatest"

12. Deleted: "the greatest"

13. Deleted: [*illeg.*] ; inserted above "[*illeg.*] to" : "especially"

14. Deleted: "gentle" ; inserted above: "real"

15. Deleted: "repelling" "attracting,"

16. Inserted above "who"

17. Preceding two words inserted above "any"

18. Deleted: ", or"

19. Deleted: "any rate" ; inserted above: "least"

she²⁰ has formerly seen and talked with in health, now wounded or sick amid²¹ these²² suffering soldiers?

As we go around day and night to some one or an²³ other of²⁴ the huge²⁵ Military Hospitals in Washington and its neighborhood, (they are to be counted not in ones and twos, but by²⁶ dozens)—As we pass down these long wards²⁷ with hat²⁸ for the first time, taken involuntarily and reverently off,²⁹ with an³⁰ effect upon us of humility that all the Presidents, Princes³¹ Congresses,³² Generals³³ of the world would never begin to³⁴ produce—we find each and³⁵ every³⁶ of the Middle, Eastern, and Western States plentifully³⁷ represented. New York and Pennsylvania have their offspring here—Ohio and Illinois and Indiana and Michigan—Massachusetts and Maine and all New England, have hundreds of³⁸ their children here.

Barracks and tents.

Most of the Hospitals³⁹ in Washington and the neighborhood are now in⁴⁰ barracks built for the purpose—eight,⁴¹ ten,⁴² twelve more,⁴³ such barracks, with the⁴⁴ accompanying sheds, tents, offices,⁴⁵ &c. clustered together and⁴⁶ forming⁴⁷

20. Deleted: "knows [*comma not deleted*]"; inserted above "she . . . [*del.*] wounded" : "has formerly seen and talked with in health, now wounded or sick"

21. Deleted: "the sick or wounded [*query not deleted*]"

22. Deleted: "stricken" ; inserted above: "suffering"

23. Inserted in wordspace.

24. Preceding six words inserted above "ht to the huge"

25. Deleted: "these" ; preceding twelve words inserted in two sequences (see *nn* 23–24) above "around [*del.*] these military"

26. Deleted: "the"

27. Preceding four words inserted above "we pass" and into right margin.

28. Inserted above "with hat off" : "taken almost [*preceding two words del.*] for the first time, [*ins.*] taken involuntarily and reverently"

29. Deleted: "down these long wards such as"

30. Deleted: "humility" above "military—that all the" : "effect upon us of humility"

31. Inserted above wordspace and "Con"

32. Deleted: "and"

33. Deleted: "Princes the Princes" ; preceding "or" not deleted, not shown.

34. Preceding two words inserted above "ver pr" of "never produce"

35. Preceding two words inserted above "ind every"

36. Deleted: "one"

37. Inserted above "tes re" of "states represented"

38. Preceding two words inserted above "ave their"

39. Inserted: "[*del.*] here in Washington and the neighborhood" above wordspace and "are now in [*del.*] clusters"

40. Deleted: "clusters of"

41. Word and comma inserted above dash.

42. Deleted: "or twel" ; inserted above: "twelve"

43. Inserted above [*del.*] them" and deleted: "these" ; deleted: "of them [*commas not deleted, not shown*]"; inserted above deletion: "such barracks"

44. Deleted: "surrounding"

45. Deleted: "etc"

46. Preceding three words inserted above "[*del.*] tcc forming [*del.*] a"

47. Deleted: "a hospital"

one institution. The barracks are long⁴⁸ single-story wooden⁴⁹ edifices—one of them would be perhaps a hundred and fifty⁵⁰ feet long and twenty⁵¹ five or thirty feet wide—containing sixty to seventy cots for patients.⁵² The buildings are white-washed inside

48. Deleted: "one"

49. Deleted above "den" of "wooden . . . a" : "sheds" ; inserted: "edifices—one of them would be"

50. Preceding two words inserted above "ndred" and wordspace.

51. Two waved lines in succession above these two words.

52. Preceding two words inserted above "ts" of "cots" and "[*del.*] they are" ; preceding period not deleted, not printed; deleted: "They are" ; inserted above "[*del.*] they are white" : "The buildings are"

The Army Hospitals.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on two white laid scraps. At top of [1] is small pasted scrap on verso of which is "*Hours in Our Military Hospitals.*" Total approx. 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". [2] is approx. 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{15}{16}$ ". Blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. All embossed with shield, star and scroll "CONGRESS—CARSONS." Since this MS is only lightly emended it is probably a later, partial, draft of the "I go around" MS.

The Army Hospitals

Feb. 21, 1863.¹ The current² sights seen day after day in the Hospitals of Washington and its neighborhood, by a Soldier's Missionary, (an amateur, without pay, hailing from New York, but not confining his visits to the sick from that State, or any particular state,) afford in some respects the most significant illustration that can be presented, of the current times and events.³ And truly who is not directly[?]⁴ interested in these same hospitals?⁵ What family, what man, what woman, in any city or State, has not some relative or friend, or at least some one whom he or she has formerly seen and talked with in health, now wounded or sick, amid these suffering soldiers? Nor is the sight a repelling one only. There is enough to repel, but [*illeg.*] one soon becomes powerfully attracted also.

2⁶ As we go around, day and night, to some one or other of these huge Military Hospitals, (they are not to be counted by ones and twos, but by dozens,) —as we pass down these long wards, with hat for the first time taken involuntarily and reverently off,⁷ from an effect upon us of humility that all the Presidents, princes, Congresses and Generals of the world would never begin to produce, we find each and every one of the middle, eastern and western States plentifully represented. New York and Pennsylvania have their offspring here by hundreds, by thousands. Ohio and Illinois and Indiana and Michigan, are here. Massachusetts and Maine and all the New England States are here.

*Barracks and tents.*⁸

1. End of pasted-on scrap ("Who is not interested").
2. Inserted above wordspace and "sights" . Word written partly on scrap.
3. Deleted: "of our country. It will surely do good to make the public more familiar with the interiors of these establishments." ; inserted: period.
4. Paper torn. Inserted above "not"
5. Preceding four words and query inserted above "interested . . . what" . Redundant original question mark not deleted, not shown.
6. WW's numbering in center.
7. Deleted: "with" ; inserted above: "from"
8. See "I go around."

I Buy It by The Pound.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on one sheet of white laid paper 10¼" x 8". Blue rules ⅜" apart. Embossed "CONGRESS" with star and shield at upper left. Numbered "8" in upper right. WW met Boardman, Mafield (or Marfield) and Mitchell perhaps as early as January, 1863. Closely related to "My Visits and Distributions." This is probably part of the "*Hours in Our Military Hospitals*" project of early 1863.

I buy it¹ by the pound, and do it up² in little bits of³ parcels, —of course cakes, &c.⁴ I always find a market for—also plenty of⁵ note-paper, envelopes, pencils — through any new ward⁶ a heap⁷ of loose reading matter, novels, old magazines &c—many want⁸ apples—one young man wanted⁹ a rice-pudding which I carried him next day—¹⁰ two or three some liquorish—¹¹ one poor fellow in the Patent Office Hospital, with his leg amputated, pale, and¹² weak and faint, I made relish a small jar of very nice spiced and pickled cherries, the juice on his bread, the only thing he had relished for three days—some of the young fellows are quite crochetty—one lad in bed 23, I think, Ward 6. Camp Hosp.¹³ had set his heart on¹⁴ a pair of suspenders, and he¹⁵ was the first case I have had that asked me himself for money—I gave him 30cts and the next time I came, I took him a pair of suspenders. Of course there are plenty of little commissions—to go to Adams's Express office, and see about a box—to find out a brother or¹⁶ some special com-

1. Probably tobacco. See "My Visits and Distributions."

2. Deleted: "very"

3. Preceding two words inserted above "ttle" in "little" and "p" in "parcels"

4. Deleted: "are welcomed"

5. Preceding ten words inserted on a line above "[del.] are welcomed" and "env" in "envelopes"

6. Preceding four words inserted on a line above "eap" in "heap" and "loose"

7. Caret with no insertion.

8. Preceding dash and two words inserted above "apples" . Redundant dash not shown.

9. Inserted above "man . . . a"

10. Preceding six words and dash inserted above "pudding" and "s" in "some" . Redundant dash not shown.

11. Inserted and deleted: "—small glasses of" above "[del.] pickled" ; deleted: "pickled fruit—some jelly."

12. Deleted: "very" ; inserted and deleted above: "sick" ; inserted: "pale" above "and"

13. Preceding nine words inserted above and below the line; sequence not certain.

14. Deleted: "wanted" ; inserted: "had set his heart on" above "[del.] wanted" and "a pair"

15. Inserted above "was"

16. Preceding four words inserted on a line above "nd" in "find" and "spec" in "special"

rade, somewhere in Washington, but they know not where, &c. &c. Here and there the men have¹⁷ some money from home.

Henry D. Boardman,¹⁸ co. B. 27th Conn. Vol. lies sick in bed 25, Ward 6, Campbell Hospital. He is from Northford, Conn. about 7 miles from New Haven—a noble behaving¹⁹ young fellow—I get quite attached to him—proud spirited²⁰—would not accept any money—stomach extremely weak, vomiting everything he took down—bad diarrhea also—told me²¹ he hankered for a home made²² rice pudding—thought he could live a week on one²³—I brought him one next day—he wanted to pay me 50cts for it—and it was some time before I could make him²⁴ accept it as a present²⁵

Janus Mafield,²⁶ (bed 59, Ward 6. Camp. Hosp.)²⁷ about 18 years old, 7th Virginia Vol. Has three brothers also²⁸ in the Union Army. Illiterate, but cute—can neither read nor write.²⁹ Has been very sick and low, but now recovering.³⁰ have visited him regularly for two weeks, given him³¹ money, fruit, candy, &c.

Then this forenoon I was an hour or more in Ward G, Armory Hospital, near the Smithsonian Institute. In bed 8,³² I in that ward

Henry L. Mitchell,³³ 5th Conn. Vol. age 19—wounded in leg last April gave him some note paper & envelopes, and some amusing reading, and cheered him up

17. Deleted: "a little"

18. See "Hospital Note book" and "A Connecticut Case," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 42.

19. Deleted: "high-spirited, square, manly" ; inserted: "noble behaving" above "[del.] square, manly"

20. Preceding dash and eight words inserted above "young . . . would not" . Redundant dash not shown.

21. Deleted: "wish" "I" "said" ; inserted: "told me" above "[del.] I said"

22. Preceding two words inserted above "rice pu" in "pudding"

23. Preceding dash and eight words inserted above "—I . . . ne" in "next" . Redundant terminal dash not shown.

24. Deleted: "willing to"

25. Deleted: "Have grown attached to this [not del.] man."

26. Or Marfield. See "return my book."

27. Parentheses and information inserted. Deleted: "aged"

28. Inserted in space above "brothers . . . in"

29. Deleted: "I"

30. Preceding five words inserted above "very sick. . . . Have"

31. Inserted and deleted: "little sums of" above "money"

32. Deleted: "found" ; inserted in two lines above "d" of "bed," and the deletion: "I in that ward"

33. See "return my book."

These Hospitals.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on white laid paper 8½" x 7". Blue rules 5/16" apart. Numbered "6" in right margin by an unknown hand. WW repeated the anecdote about Horatio Stone's statement in a letter of March 19, 1863 (*Corr.*, I, 82) and in "Democracy," *Galaxy*, 4 (1867), 992 (*DV, Prose* 92, II, 378). Probably part of the "Hours in Our Military Hospitals" project of 1863.

These hospitals—so different from all others—¹ these thousands and tens and twenties of thousands² of American young men badly wounded, operated on,³ pallid, with diarrhea,⁴ languishing,⁵ dying, with fever,⁶ pneumonia &c open a new world somehow to me, giving closer insights, new things, exploring deeper mines than any yet, showing our humanity, (I often put myself, in fancy, in the cot or try to place myself (with typhoid,⁷ or under the knife,) tried by terrible, fearfulest tests, probed deepest, the living soul's, the body's tragedies, bursting the petty bonds of art. To these, what are your dramas and poems, even the oldest and tearfulest? Not the old Greek mighty ones, where man contends with fate⁸ nor⁹ Dante shown by Virgil¹⁰ on and on among the agonized and damned, approach these¹¹ here I see and¹² take a part in. Nor soar so high¹³ with me. For here,¹⁴ and not at intervals, but almost always I¹⁵ see for myself how certain man, our

1. Preceding five words and dash inserted on two lines above "hospitals"
2. Preceding six words inserted on two lines above "thousands of" and into right margin.
3. Preceding two words and comma inserted above "unded," in "wounded" and "p" in "pallid"
4. Preceding two words and comma inserted above "langu" in "languishing"
5. Inserted and deleted: "fevered" on the line following "with diarrhea"
6. Preceding two words inserted; inserted and deleted: "diarrhea" ; inserted under: "pneumonia &." above "open . . . world"
7. Preceding parenthesis, seven words and comma inserted (first five words in pencil) above "in fancy . . . or"
8. Preceding five words inserted above "Greek . . . ones,"
9. Deleted: "Virgil showing"
10. Preceding three words inserted above "nte" in "Dante" and "on" . For other notes on Dante see "Spring of '59."
11. Deleted: "things" ; inserted above: "here"
12. Deleted: "touch" ; redundant period not deleted, not shown; inserted above: "take"
13. Deleted: "as these" ; inserted: "[del.] to with me." above "so high" at the end of the line before the deleted "as these"
14. Deleted: "not now and then, but with incredible"
15. Deleted: "find how" ; inserted above: "see for myself how certain"

American man,¹⁶ holds himself cool and unquestionable master above those pains and bloody mutilations. It is immense, the best thing out of all, nourishes me of all men, this then¹⁷ what frightened us all so long!¹⁸ Why it is put to flight with ignominy!¹⁹ a stuffed scarecrow of the fields.²⁰ One feels to²¹ ask,²² with new and now literal application, O death where is thy sting? O grave where is thy victory?²³ In the Patent Office, just off from the bedside of a dying soldier, one night in a large²⁴ Ward having the worst cases from 2d Bull Run, Antietam, and Fredericksburgh the surgeon in charge, Dr. Stone, (Horatio Stone, the sculptor,)²⁵ told me that of all who had died there for six months past, he had²⁶ still to hear of the first man or boy who had met the approach of death with a single tremor or unmanly fear!

16. Deleted: "firm mastery over" ; inserted: "holds himself cool [*ins.*] and unquestionable master [*del.*] keep above [*ins.*] those" on a line above "ican" in "American" and "[*del.*] mastery over"

17. Inserted in wordspace.

18. Preceding eight words inserted between lines without caret above "me of all men" . Initial inserted and deleted: "What" "Is"

19. Deleted: "as"

20. Preceding two sentences inserted. Deleted: "Literally, [*ins. and del. illeg.*]" . Capital "O" written over "one"

21. Preceding two words inserted above "One"

22. Terminal "s" deleted.

23. Deleted: "Dr."

24. Preceding fourteen words inserted on a line above "Patent" and "W" in "Ward"

25. 1808-1875.

26. Deleted: "not known or heard of one" ; inserted above: "still to hear of the first [*del.*] one man or boy"

And Bending Over.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on scrap of white laid paper approx. $3\frac{1}{2}$ " x $7\frac{13}{16}$ ". Blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Numbered "3" in upper left in unknown hand. Probably part of the "*Hours in Our Military Hospitals*" project of early 1863.

and¹ bending over the hospital cots, in those vast collections of decent born American soldiers, mostly young men² fagged out with fevers or wounds, is [?] not³ afraid to⁴ to cheer copiously the homesick youth, & vivify the feeble, with the⁵ firm-pressing kisses of his lips, often perhaps⁶ more real benefit to them than drugs or surgery.

1. Inserted.
2. [*Illeg.*]; inserted at top of leaf on arrow: "[*del.*] down [*two words ins.*] fagged out" above "[*del.*] painful with [*del.*] painful [*two words ins.*] fevers or wounds,"
3. Written over [*illeg.*]
4. Deleted: "vivify"; inserted: "cheer copiously"
5. Deleted: "life-giving"
6. Inserted over "en" in "often" and "more"

'63 May 14.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on two pasted scraps of white laid paper watermarked "OLD BERKSHIRE MILLS EXTRA FINISHED MILTON MASS" Approx. 8¾" x 7¾". Numbered "5" in an unknown hand at upper right. The heading is on a pasted-on scrap on the verso of which is in blue crayon in WW's hand: "[chaos preceding the war" In "The Wounded from Chancellorsville" (*SD, Prose 92, I, 44-45*) and his correspondence WW speaks of the heavy influx of wounded. Probably part of the "*Hours in Our Military Hospitals*" project of 1863.

'63¹ May 14,²

We have³ arriving here at present at the rate of⁴ from five hundred to a thousand⁵ of⁶ wounded men regularly⁷ every day—the boats⁸ often get⁹ in late at night & lie¹⁰ at the wharf waiting¹¹ till¹² day lights next morning—I am there a good deal,¹³—the scenes¹⁴ there during the night exceed all that words or pictures can even[?] think of¹⁵ representing the¹⁶ helpless men, lying huddled¹⁷ clothes torn & bloody,—there are few¹⁸ attendants, only the boat employees, &c.

1. Upper left. Deleted: "*Washington*"
2. Deleted after "May 14,": "1863." End of first scrap. Traces of writing show at top of second scrap.
3. Deleted: "probably" after "We have"
4. Preceding eight words inserted on a line above "we have . . . from"
5. Deleted: "a day"
6. Deleted: "fearfully"
7. Deleted: "steadily arriving" ; inserted: "[*del.*] regularly every day—" above "[*del.*] arriving . . . the" . Redundant dash not shown.
8. Deleted: "generally" ; inserted and deleted above: "frequently" ; inserted: "often" above "get"
9. Deleted: "here" ; inserted above: "in" ; deleted: "in the" ; inserted above: "late"
10. Inserted and deleted: "over" above "at"
11. Inserted above "rf" in "wharf" and wordspace before "till"
12. Deleted: "the ensuing" ; inserted above: "day light"
13. Preceding six words and comma inserted on two lines above "next morning" . Inserted and deleted "there" above "good" . Initial dash not deleted, not shown.
14. Deleted: "there" "then and" "there" ; inserted above: "there during the night"
15. Preceding two words inserted above "ery" in "every" and "re" in "representing"
16. Deleted: "so much suffering, such"
17. Preceding two words above "helpless" ; inserted and deleted: "lying there in" above "men" ; deleted: "many" ; inserted above "clothes"
18. Deleted: "or no" ; inserted and deleted above: "or rather[?]"

Death & suffering¹⁹ have grown so common, most persons connected with the army, or the transportation & hospital departments, pay little attention²⁰ except in the cold performance of their²¹ duties. So²² drearily on the boats I speak of²³ the night passes away.²⁴ In the morning, of course,—²⁵ ambulances, cars, stretchers, &c. soon remove the men, & distribute them about to the various hospitals.

I have²⁶ spent²⁷ four or five hours every day or night this week at (among others)²⁸ Armory Sq. Hospital, which consists of²⁹ eleven large barracks, each³⁰ one holding from 60 to 70 cots—these are³¹ now many of them filled³² with men from the Chancellorville, & 2d Fredericksburgh³³ fights—³⁴ I found yesterday

19. Deleted: "are" ; inserted: "have grown" and "[del.] are" and "so com" in "common" on the next line.

20. Deleted: "to"

21. Deleted: "reg"

22. Inserted; uppercase "D" of "Drearily" not reduced, not shown.

23. Deleted: "thus"

24. Sentence inserted above "nce" in "performance" and "In the"

25. Deleted: "a large force of"

26. Inserted above "sp" in "spent"

27. Deleted: "most of yesterday" ; inserted: "four or five hours every day or night this week" on a line above "spent . . . Ar" in "Armory"

28. Parentheses and two words inserted above "at" and "Ar" in "Armory"

29. Deleted: "ten" ; inserted above: "eleven"

30. Deleted: "with" ; inserted above: "one holding"

31. Deleted: "largely" ; inserted above: "now many of them"

32. Deleted: "up"

33. Preceding three words inserted above "ville" in "Chancellorville" and "fight"

34. Deleted: "there are"

Adieu For The Present.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on a scrap of white laid notepaper, ca. 4 $\frac{1}{3}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Blue rules, ca. $\frac{1}{3}$ " apart. On the verso is a draft of a letter in WW's hand recommending him for a position, possibly the letter he sent Emerson on December 29, 1862 (*Corr.*, I, 61, 64-65). Embossed at upper left is a blank shield surmounted by a star and surrounded by flourishes, ca. $\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The present editor has seen a similar stamp on private letters of 1862, and a similar stamp appears on "*Hours in Our Military Hospitals*," which is dated February 21, 1863, and "Armory, now Ward E." The date is probably 1863.

Adieu for the present,

I must close for the present, although I see my hurried pen has¹ hardly begun² upon the³ cases and suggestions I have to give from my daily observation⁴ in the hospitals. To the sad but rich mine there opened I shall soon⁵ return,⁶ and give you, reader, another letter.

1. Deleted: "not" ; inserted above: "hardly"
2. Deleted: "to open" ; inserted: "upon" above "the"
3. Deleted: "cas"
4. Preceding four words inserted on a line above "in the hospitals"
5. Inserted above the wordspace between "shall" and "return"
6. Deleted: "in the"

Take (Marg. D Valois).

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black pencil sideways on a scrap of wove white notepaper, ca. 4¼" x 3½". Vertical blue lines, ca. ⅓" apart. Leaf torn on the fold, which is now at the top. At upper right an embossed fan-shaped stamp with "CONGRESS" in the center. On verso "Ward H. Bed 37." Judging from the names of the soldiers, who appear in other, dated, manuscripts, the date of inscription is early 1863, probably before March 10. Printed in Glucksberg, 149, 153, 155, 171-172.

take (Marg. D Valois)¹ for Justus F. Boyd,² bed 22, Ward I, paper & envelopes³/

Levi Haas⁴ (something) bed 38, I some money /

Chas Miller⁵ bed 19, Ward I some apples also tobacco—(also one to each of the boys each side) /

John Reichard⁶ (bed 32, Ward G) an orange /

N. Y. Relief association, Penn. av. cor 7th call for bottle of brandy for Mrs. Reynolds, ward F, (Massachusetts, same building)

1. This historical romance by Alexander Dumas, père, was published in New York as *Margaret de Valois* in 1852 and as *Marguerite de Valois* in 1857.

2. For further reference to Boyd, see "Walt Whitman Soldier's."

3. All entries in hanging indentation. All rules, except the last, go across the leaf.

4. Haas is also mentioned in "Walt Whitman Soldier's."

5. See "(Elan E. Kelsey)."

6. Reichard is mentioned in "return my book."

Ward H. Bed 37.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black pencil on a scrap of white laid paper. On recto is "take (Marg. D Valois)." The date is probably, therefore, early March, 1863. Printed in Glicksberg, 172, 152.

Ward H. bed 37 a pipe & smoking tobacco bed 7—ward I John Berry Co E. 25 N. J.—gave him 20 cts (29th June) an apple &c. rheumatism—consumptive no parents—can read but not write

Walt Whitman Soldier's.

Manuscript in LC (# 99, sheet #s 1098–1133). The notebook is bound in red leather and measures 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{16}$ ". On the front cover is stamped in gold, "CHRISTIAN COMMISSION." The entries are inscribed in black pencil (a few at random in black ink) on leaves of wove paper with blue lines $\frac{1}{4}$ " apart. Pages [1]–[12] (1100R–1105V) contain printed Christian Commission instructions and are not printed here. Many blank leaves are preserved separately. The numbering used here follows the LC sheet numbers. Many entries are in an irregular and irreproducible hanging indentation.

WW was appointed a representative of the Christian Commission on January 20, 1863 and must have begun keeping the notebook shortly thereafter, even though he was keeping at least two notebooks already: "a m Dr. L B Russell" and "return my book." The first dated entry is February 4, 1863 and the last, in that month, is February 14 ([1118R]). There is then no datable entry until the description of the column of rebel prisoners, which he must have seen May 2 ([1122V]ff; see "a m Dr. L B Russell." The early appearance of the address of George Whitman's unit ([1099R]) must have been written after March 19, when the 9th Army Corps joined the Army of the Ohio, but it will be noted that, since it is inscribed on a flyleaf as though WW wanted it for handy reference, it cannot be used to date a context. There is a dated entry for May 3 ([1124R]), then nothing datable until a series of entries relating to contributions in July and August, the latest of which in date is August 7 ([1125V] ff.). The same period is covered by two notebooks mentioned above as well as by notes on separate scraps. For [1106R–1115R] see illustrations.

Many entries are printed in Glicksberg as notes. Some entries printed by Glicksberg had earlier been printed by Jean Catel, "Walt Whitman pendant la Guerre de Sécession," *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, 3 (1925–1926), 410–417, although Catel thought that Whitman had fought with the 51st New York Volunteers in August, 1862.

[1098R, *inside front cover*] Walt Whitman Soldier's Missionary to Hospital, Camp, & Battle Ground (Young Men's Christian Commission 343 Pennsylvania av. Washington D. C.)¹ /

office at Major Hapgood² Paymaster U S Army cor. 15th & F[?] Washington[?]/
lodgings 394 L st near 14th Washington³ /

(Residence, Brooklyn N. Y. Portland av. near Myrtle)⁴ /

1. In black ink. WW was appointed an unremunerated delegate of the Christian Commission January 20, 1863, Feinberg *Cat*, 8.

2. In black pencil. Major Lyman S. Hapgood was paymaster of the Army volunteers, for whom WW worked during the early months of 1863. See *Corr.*, I, passim, and "a m Dr. L B Russell."

3. This is the address of the W. D. O'Connors, whom WW had met in Boston in 1860. WW lodged there until June, 1864. See *Corr.*, I, passim; Traubel, passim; "a m Dr. L B Russell."

4. WW's Brooklyn address. Rule across leaf.

[1099R; *V blank*]⁵ John White (was left out in acknowledgment.)⁶ / 51st N.Y vol
 2d brigade, 2d division 9th Army Corps, Dep't of Ohio⁷ /
 J. E. Jennings,⁸ Merchants Exchange Bank New York /⁹
 M D Landon 3d Auditor's Treasury Dept
 [1106R; *V blank*; 1100R—1105V (numbered pp. [1]-[12] of printed *Christian
 Commission instructions*) omitted.] J. W. Rumsey sutler¹⁰ 423, 5th st. bet E. & F. /
 Miss Elida B. Rumsey, (same place.) largely interested in Hospitals¹¹ /
 Royal, Lew. Richardson[:] & other New York boys cor. 17th & N. New York
 House /
 Jack McCafferty, tent 21, Mt Pleasant Hospital, on beyond Camp. Hospital, 7th
 st.¹² /
 John Weir, car 18 Georgetown & Washington R R. will come Thursday, bet 10
 & 11 /
 Carver Hospital, 14th st. go out by cars /
 Harewood Hospital, (about 1000 patients) out same direction as Campbell Hos-
 pital—stretch off to the right /
 [1107R; *V blank*]¹³ bed 38 Ward I. Armory Levi Haas, co B. 6th Penn. been in
 18 mos. gun-shot wound in thigh parents dead¹⁴ /
 William Haas Selins Grove Snyder co. Penn
 [1108R; *V blank*] John G. Myers,¹⁵ of 1st Penn. Rifles scene in War I. Armory
 sqr. hospital—Myers, a German, who had signed his¹⁶ muster roll in the hospital,
 and was hardly convalescent, was ordered off by Dr. Mitchell—¹⁷scene of his
 arrest and conveyance to the guard house—described to me as a good soldier, who
 had fought well for 18 mo's /
 gave 20 cts to Julius Paul [*gave*] 20 [*cts*] to another man on crutches, same ward¹⁸
 [1109R; *V blank*] Ward I Camp Hosp¹⁹ /

5. At the top of this page, the name "C. P. Riegel" is written in another hand. Riegel was a soldier friend of WW's. See "a m Dr. L B Russell."

6. WW is probably referring here to the acknowledgement of contributions to his hospital fund. Oddly enough, White is included in the acknowledgements later in this notebook, but WW probably means he forgot to write him.

7. In black ink. This was George Whitman's division. The entry was written after March 19, 1863, since that was the date on which the 9th Army Corps was transferred to the Department of the Ohio.

8. A J. E. Jennings is mentioned in "September & October."

9. Rule across leaf.

10. Inserted.

11. In black ink. This and all rules on this page go across the leaf.

12. "Jack. . .7th st." printed in Glicksberg, 154. "Camp." is probably Campbell Hospital.

13. This page printed in Glicksberg, 154.

14. Irregular line across leaf.

15. See "take (Marg. D. Valois)."

16. Deleted: "descriptive"

17. In "The Great Army of the Wounded," N.Y. *Times*, February 26, 1863 (*CW*, IV, 90), WW commented on the cruelty of some of the ward doctors, and noted that men were often sent to the guard-house for the most trifling offense. He might have had Dr. Mitchell specifically in mind, for he mentions in "Baily D Damon" that Dr. Mitchell put a soldier in the guard-house for lighting another man's pipe.

18. This entry printed in Glicksberg, 154. Bracketed words replace WW's ditto marks.

19. All rules on this page go across the leaf.

send up a lot of reading a lot of old magazines and loose books²⁰ /
 Corp. Justus F. Boyd²¹ bed 22 co D. 6th Mich cavalry been in five months, four
 sick affection of the kidneys and pleurisy—wants some paper & envelopes, and
 something to read gave him 12 sheets paper, & 12 envelopes & three of them
 franked by Mr. Sumner²²
 [IIII R; V blank; IIIOR and V²³] bed 5 Ward H. some tobacco Elihu Showaten
 co C. 155th Penn /
 Ward H. bed 47 Thomas H. B. Geiger,²⁴ co B. 53d Penn lost right forearm
 (cakes) /
 Feb 4th bed 49—some smoking tobacco
 [IIIIR; V blank]²⁵ Caleb. E. Hicks, bed 29 Ward G. Armory hosp gave an
 orange²⁶ & 20 cts down with diarrhea long standing /
 Ward H. Armory Hosp. Wm. Van Vliet, co E. 89th New York bed 37—shell
 wound in the wrist, & bayonet wound in the arm gave 20 cts wants some smoking
 tobacco & pipe / —arm amp—turned out bad—died, poor boy /
 bed 35—Ward H pipe & tobacco²⁷
 [IIIIR; V blank] bed 19 Ward I Armory Hospital²⁸ Chas Miller,²⁹ (only 16) co
 D. 53 Penn. left leg amputated—father living—mother dead—no relatives or
 friends been to see him—gave him 20 cts—
 (bed 20 15cts)—wants some *apples*—uses *tobacco*— /

20. The Christian Commission sometimes established small libraries in the hospitals.

21. See "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz" and "take (Marg. D Valois)." Boyd was out of the hospital and writing to WW by at least the second week in March. He wrote on March 10, on April 27 and on June 1, 1864 (*Corr.*, I, 372–373, 375). He and WW had dinner at the O'Connors on February 14 ("Hospitals/Culpepper/Capitol").

22. Probably Charles Sumner (1811–1874), United States Senator from Massachusetts, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and fervent champion of Negro emancipation and suffrage. WW talked with Sumner several times early in 1863, in the hope that Sumner could help him secure a governmental position (entry for February 20, "Hospitals/Culpepper"). The job did not materialize, and WW was disappointed at Sumner's lack of interest (*Corr.*, I, 61, 73–74, 83). See also *Corr.*, II, 286, 289; Traubel, I, 258; II, passim; and III, 199. "Corp. Justus F. Boyd . . . Mr. Sumner" printed in Glicksberg, 154–155. The name "W H Barry" is written in another hand at the top of this page and crossed out.

23. The sheet number [IIIO] was apparently skipped. Leaves [IIIO9], [IIII], [IIII2] are in the same mounting. At the top of [IIII R] is "W H Barry" in another hand. On [IIII V] it appears as "William Henry Barry." WW wrote "Barry" above the original, which is badly blotted. All rules on this leaf go across the leaf.

24. Geiger's arm had been amputated January 5, 1863. See [IIII8] following, and "Jan 63 in Armory." The entries on Showalter and Geiger are printed in Glicksberg, 155.

25. At the top of this page, an address is written in another hand: "Helen B. Worthing New Bedford, Mass." She was a nurse in Ward G, Armory Hospital. See "return my book." Signature in same hand.

26. Fresh fruit was a delicacy in the army hospitals, especially in February, and WW made a habit of supplying oranges, peaches, and apples whenever possible.

27. "Caleb E. Hicks . . . pipe & tobacco" printed in Glicksberg, 155. All rules on this leaf go across the leaf.

28. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

29. In a note for January 21, 1863, WW gives almost the same information concerning Miller ("Back to Washington," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 36). This entry is printed in Glicksberg, 149. See "(Elan E. Kelsey)."

Ward E. bed 30 John Makay³⁰ co A 101st N. Y wound through bladder at 2d Bull Run 29th August 62— /

ask the name of the seven sisters is it Misses McKean

[1114R; *V blank*] Bill James, 1st Michigan Cavalry—how he was taken prisoner—what a cute plausible, sleek, taking devil he was—how he fooled the rebels, while he was a prisoner three miles from Richmond—went into the city in gray clothes—sang three nights in a concert saloon,³¹ there, (he was a sweet singer)—the third night vehemently encored, he sang three verses of the Star Spangled Banner—had to run for his life—got to the Chickahominy—was then taken—returned to Richmond—handcuffed—got in—knew every plan & post in Richmond—forged his [*illeg.*]

[1115R; *V blank*]³² Miss Harris head nurse H. street Hospital /

find Luther D. Livingston³³ co F. 16th Maine was admitted 18th Jan. Windmill Point /

Chas W. Slack Custom House Boston Feb. 10 \$1³⁴ /

C. A. Hamilton med. cadet³⁵ Ward I. Armory Hosp. Wayne co N. Y. /

Miss Anna Green ward I

[1116R; ³⁶ *V blank*] 37—some tobacco Feb. 13 /

Jay C. Adams—bed 43 Ward H Oneida N. Y. Cavalry (independent company) been in Armory Sq. Hospital since 20th Dec. very home sick /

bed 3—ward E. Hiram Scholis³⁷ 26th N York wants some pickles—a bottle of pickles³⁸

[1117R; *V blank*] Ward E. bed 30 John Mackay,³⁹ co A 101st N. Y. Vol scene at his side, Saturday aft. 14th Feb—excruciating agony for about half an hour—the water ran out of his eyes—the muscles of his face distorted, but he bore it all⁴⁰ groanless, and—hot cloths were applied, and relieved him in a little while—poor

30. John Makay (or Mahay) died from his wounds some time in the spring of 1864. WW mentions him later in this notebook ([1117R]) and describes his case more fully in "Hospital Scenes and Persons," "A Case from Second Bull Run," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 39, 82–83. See also *Corr.*, I, 91, 120, 134. The entire note is printed in Glicksberg, 149. See entry for February 14, "Hospitals/Culpepper."

31. Glicksberg, 142–143, prints the entry to this point.

32. All rules on this leaf go across the leaf.

33. Livingston is mentioned again in "Hospital Note book." This entry is printed in Glicksberg, 155. "find" seems to be a memo to himself; the remainder a report. It was often difficult to locate a wounded soldier in the chaos of the Washington hospitals.

34. Probably money for WW's hospital fund. Slack is mentioned again in "Baily D Damon."

35. Medical students sometimes served as "cadets" in the hospitals, dressing wounds and making themselves generally useful.

36. [1116R] has "Allen Clapp & Co Penn Ave betw 10th & 11th Washington D. C." in another hand.

37. WW mentioned Scholis' (or Sholes') case in two letters to Thomas P. Sawyer (*Corr.*, I, 91, 93), and he exchanged letters with Scholis in the spring of 1867 (*Corr.*, I, 331–332, 378). In *SD* WW mentions that Scholis craved pickles, and that he gave him horse-radish ("Some Specimen Cases," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 51).

38. "Jay C. Adams . . . of pickles" printed in Glicksberg, 155.

39. See [1113R] above.

40. Preceding four words inserted above "t" in "but" and "groanless"

fellow—so young—a mere boy, yet so old in suffering—he never knew the comfort of parents—was put in one of the city institutions in N Y at nine years old—was bound out to a tyrannical master in Sullivan county—(the marks are on J. Ms his back where the villain beat him with a club,⁴¹ named Gurkin—
 {1118R; V blank}⁴² bed 37 Ward H. Maximilian d’Fisheur co H. 17th Conn has been at Windmill Point three weeks⁴³ /
 bed 47. Ward H. Thos. H. B. Geiger⁴⁴ co B. 53d Penn wounded at Fredericksburg—lost his right forearm—young bright handsome Penn. boy—tells me that for some time after his hand was off—he could yet feel it—could feel the fingers open and shut—lies to-day (Feb. 14th) on his bed silent and⁴⁵ rather weak—a farmer’s son, Geiger’s Mill, Berks co—was born on the farm, where the father now⁴⁶ lives—and so was the father before him—will get well
 {1119R; V blank} Ward E Clinton J. Minzey,⁴⁷ co M. 5th U. S. Cavalry mother, Mrs. Wealthy Minzey, Geneva, Ontario co. N.Y. /
 Geo. W. Yeaton Armory Sqr. Hospital Ward C Washington D. C.
 {1120V; R blank} Lewis K. Brown,⁴⁸ (Maryland) but of co. K. 1st N. Y. artillery Ward K Armory / Punishments of soldiers / besides putting a man in the guard house (sometimes for very trivial offences⁴⁹ one of the punishments is to be “bucked and gagged”—it is very common in the army (Lewis K. Brown, of co H.⁵⁰ of Purnell’s Maryland legion)—put a stick in his mouth (like a horse’s bit) tie it with a knot⁵¹ behind the head—then they tie his hands behind him—L.K.B. tells me he has known men to be gagged that way for six hours, as a punishment for running the guard and getting tight—one man (Maryland battery[?])⁵² was bucked and gagged for a most trivial offence, a female follower of the camp reported him for refusing to go after water for her)—*Another* punishment is to stand a man up on a barrel with a knapsack full of brick on his shoulders—another is {1121R; V blank} to take a barrel with one head out, cut a nine inch⁵³ hole through the

41. Deleted: “named” inserted above: “named”

42. All rules on this leaf go across the leaf.

43. The entry on d’Fisheur printed in Glicksberg, 148. See also “Hospital Scenes and Persons,” *SD, Prose* 92, I, 38.

44. See {1110R} above.

45. Deleted: “not very” ; inserted: “rather”

46. Inserted.

47. See “a m Dr. L B Russell.” Entry about Minzey printed in Glicksberg, 156.

48. See “a m Dr. L B Russell” and {1133R} below. This is probably their first meeting.

49. “artillery Ward K Armory” is written in a column in the right margin and set off by an irregular line. “Punishment . . . offenses)” is crammed in above the remainder of the text, perhaps over an erasure.

50. Preceding three words inserted above “Brown”

51. Preceding three words inserted above “it . . . below”

52. Parenthetical phrase inserted above “was”

53. Preceding two words inserted above “a . . . hole”

other, and drop it over the man's shoulders, and let him stand in— many of the young snips with commissions are of course very airish and full of petty tyranny, and needless harshness, punishing men for such things as forgetfulness⁵⁴ not saluting them, & the like—drunkenness is a very common thing,—some⁵⁵ times too the men are very provoking to an officer—the fault is not always on the side of the latter—but this is to be said that company or regimental opinion will always justify an officer who punishes with justice—in the case of the soldier in the Maryland battery (fill out)

[1122V; R blank] Washington characteristic⁵⁶ scenes as a panorama 1863⁵⁷ / — the wide and⁵⁸ roomy streets, the stately river in the distance the⁵⁹ dome-crown'd Capitol⁶⁰ standing there milk-white & well-window'd—the Army wagons—without end, the ambulances—the groups of officers & perpetual squads of soldiers[?]
—the sick crawling around, many with crutches, the pallid face & slow weak step—the processions of rebel secesh⁶¹ prisoners, all ragged & dirty, a⁶² huge raff, yet through [1123R; V blank] the dirt & rags the American face & form, strong & clean appears—the under⁶³ heavy guard they move along disarmed, some with old quilts, a few with blankets, proud as if in —here & there an officer, entirely cool —no remarks from the crowd,—I have seen them often, yet never heard one sign of jeer or offensive exultation—the wounded, the shoeless some without hats, rags bound around their heads instead—several were boys of 15 or 16.—the southern conscription⁶⁴ shows itself⁶⁵

[1124R; V blank] Sunday May 3d ?63 Evening /

—Armory Sq. Hosp. /

Ward D. to 5⁶⁶ wounded or sick with fever &c distributed a small pot of nice apple jelly,⁶⁷ two were very weak—I fed them with a spoon—⁶⁸

54. Preceding four words inserted above "ing" in "punishing" and "men for"

55. Deleted: "often" ; inserted above: "some"

56. Inserted above "ton" in "Washington" and "scenes"

57. In a letter to the *NY Times*, October 4, 1863, WW described wartime Washington (*UPP*, II, 29–36).

58. Deleted: "stately"

59. Inserted and deleted: "white" in wordspace above "the dome"

60. Deleted: "white"

61. Written above "rebels" . See "a m Dr. L B Russell" for another description written May 2, 1863, obviously of the same column of prisoners. This description of Washington and of the prisoners is printed in Glicksberg, 163.

62. Deleted: "poor"

63. Deleted: "a strong" ; inserted above: "heavy"

64. Deleted: "may"

65. The Confederacy passed a conscription law (April 16, 1862), almost one year before the Union (March 3, 1863), and WW was somewhat upset by the Confederate policy of conscripting eighteen-year-old boys ("Southern Escapees," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 90). His feelings toward Union conscription were apparently confused, as a letter to his mother on July 15, 1863, indicates (*Corr.*, I, 117–118), but he did finally condemn the NY anti-draft riots of July, 1863 (*Corr.*, I, 136). See also *Corr.*, I, 76.

66. Deleted: "sick"

67. Deleted: "one"

68. Deleted: "to"

To Clinton Minzey, Ward E gave a⁶⁹ parcel of nice cakes & crackers⁷⁰

To the nurse of Ward F. (who imprest me as being a very good and competent girl.)⁷¹ a bottle of cherry brandy for John low with chronic diarrhea (one of the most distressing cases I ever saw.)⁷²

To John Bechtle, (ward H,)—co G. 154th N. Y. gave my picture, a book and paper &c⁷³

[1125R] I write this by the side of this German boy, who is evidently a most conscientious & affectionate fellow, was born in Germany, father died about three years ago, worked on a farm in Cattaraugus co. talks⁷⁴ near enough like a Yankee to be taken for one—has pleuritis— / bring book

[1125V]⁷⁵ \$5 J P Kirkwood \$5

\$5 Moses Lane 5 [:] sent Aug 7th /

\$1 John D Martin \$1

\$1 Henry Corlow 1 [:] Aug 4th /

\$5 J P Kirkwood

1 J D Martin

1 Chas Bottsford

3 T J. Whitman [:] July 7th

\$5 S R Probasco⁷⁶ 5 [:] about 1st July /

\$4 S R Probasco⁷⁷ Aug 10

[1126V; R blank] \$10 Hill & Newman

5 Mr. Rae⁷⁸

1 Henry Corlow

5 E. R. Durkee

3 Mrs. E. R. Durkee

5 G. H. Coleman

1 L. M. Smith

1 G. H. Burgess /

69. Deleted: "nice"

70. "To Clinton . . . crackers" printed in Glicksberg, 156. Entry in hanging indentation.

71. Deleted: "for the"

72. Entry in hanging indentation.

73. "A bottle . . . and paper" printed, with changes, in Glicksberg, 156.

74. Deleted: "almost" ; inserted above: "near"

75. The figures listed on [1125V] and [1126V] of this notebook refer to donations to WW's hospital fund. They are in column. James P. Kirkwood, a NY engineer (*Corr.*, I, 105, 213-215, 216, 327, and "a m Dr. L B Russell." Moses Lane, the chief engineer in the Brooklyn water works ("a m Dr. L B Russell" and *Corr.*, I, passim). Martin was a Brooklyn engineer. For Corlow (or Carlow) see [1126V] of this notebook and "a m Dr. L B Russell." T. J. Whitman is WW's brother Jeff.

76. A Brooklyn man. See "a m Dr. L B Russell."

77. Deleted: "July" ; inserted above: "Aug"

78. See *Corr.*, I, 78-79. There was an Edmund H. Rae, copyist, listed in the NY and Brooklyn directories for 1862-1865.

Theo. Drake⁷⁹ 2 /
 \$2 (cash) through J. D. Martin
 5 Wm. C. Kingsley
 5 Thomas Cotrel
 50 cts John J. Rider
 5 Charles Crary
 2 J. C. Cheesebrough
 1 Henry Carlon /
 5 Mrs. Lane
 5 Mr. Lane
 5 T. J. Whitman
 1 Louisa Whitman
 3 C. E. Bottsford
 3 John Martin
 2 John White
 2 John McNamee
 20 Dr. W. F. Channing
 Saml. Probasco

[1127R; V blank] Mrs. Elizabeth H. Wood, of Washington City. /

Lt. Col. H. Ford Douglas, (not full blooded African, but part Indian) is down about New Orleans.

Dr. Alexander T. Augusta,⁸⁰ passed his examination before the strict Army Medical⁸¹ Board, on the last of March⁸² and has received his commission as full surgeon,⁸³ in the U. S. A. with the rank of major. (the straps whereof I have seen Dr. A. wear)

[1128R; V blank] a good word cirque (for circle area)

[1129V; R blank] bed 10—ward B. Arm Saml H. Puckett co. F 3d Indiana wounded last March at Dumfries some apples (died)⁸⁴ /

Saml Elliott father John Elliott from Cumberland Valley p. o. Bedford co Penn Cavalry, cleaning his pistol shot himself, good family—May 5th they operated on, took chloroform, took off his leg he died under the operation—they held⁸⁵ a strong smelling bottle three hours⁸⁶

79. Beginning with "Theo Drake" the entries are in a small hand and in ink. According to the Brooklyn directories for 1863–1864, Eugene R. Durkee was a machinist, and then a merchant. Lodrick M. Smith is listed as a bookkeeper and a clerk in the Brooklyn directories for 1862–1864. Theodore A. Drake is listed as a water works inspector in the Brooklyn directories for 1862–1864. There is a Thomas Cotrel, clerk, listed in the Brooklyn directories for 1862–1864. Louisa Van Velsor Whitman, WW's mother. For Dr. William F. Channing see "a m Dr. L B Russell." From Drake to Channing in black ink. Probasco in pencil.

80. See "a m Dr. L B Russell."

81. Preceding two words inserted above blank space.

82. Inserted above blank space.

83. Deleted: "with"

84. This entry printed in Glicksberg, 156. The parenthetical "died" after "Dumfries" is a later entry. Rule across leaf.

85. This entry printed, with some changes, in Glicksberg, 149. WW mentioned Elliot's case in two letters to his mother in May, 1863 (*Corr.*, I, 100, 104).

[1130R; *V blank*, bottom of leaf torn off; 1131R; *V blank*] Among the other things in hospital / the gnawing, the putrid gangrene⁸⁷ through this war and after the armies in the rear stalk fever, diarrhea, eating gangrene breaks out in some hospitals and takes an endemic character /

[1132R; *V blank*]—Soule⁸⁸ 34th Mass /

—Wilder,⁸⁹ member of Congress from Kansas here in Washington

[1133R; *V blank*] (Dr. Hall)⁹⁰ Dr. Marsh Surgeon in charge, Judiciary Hospital / Henry D. Howell⁹¹ 25 Sanford st. Brooklyn N.Y. /

Lewis K Brown⁹² care of Jane McCarley Elkton Cecil co. Md.

86. Part of bottom fourth of leaf torn off. "Ellen Marshy Annie M. Hill, Mass." in another hand.

87. WW uses an almost identical expression in "The Wound-Dresser" (1865), (*LG CRE*, 311, l. 54).

88. Probably not the Soule mentioned in "English Runic"

89. Abel Carter Wilder (1828–1875) resided in Leavenworth, Kansas, and was elected as a Republican to the Thirty-eighth Congress (March 4, 1863–March 3, 1865). Brother of D. W. Wilder. See "D. W. Wilder."

90. This is possibly the same Dr. Hall whom WW mentioned in his article for the *Brooklyn Eagle* of March 19, 1863. WW described him as a "shallow old person" who had been "eighteen years in the service" (*CW*, VII, 98). See also "Hospital book 12."

91. Black ink. A Brooklyn man missing in action. See "a m Dr. L B Russell" and "Henry D. Howell."

92. See [1120V] above.

September & October 1863.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #711). Inscribed in pencil and black ink in a homemade notebook, 4" x 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ "; white wove paper, white cardboard cover tied together with pink tape. Pages [7, 11, 15, 19, 37, 43, and 45] are embossed.

The most interesting part of the notebook is the trial lines for the poem "Vigil Strange I Kept on the Field One Night," first published in *Drum-Taps* (1865). Glicksberg, 142, suggests that the idea developed in the poem might have originated from an incident recorded by Whitman in "return my book":

William Giggee, Sept 18th '62. I heard of poor Bill's death—he was shot on Pope's retreat—Arthur took him in his arms, and he died in about an hour and a half—Arthur buried him himself—he dug his grave.

Curiously, the note was written four months before WW left NY. He probably heard similar anecdotes through his contacts with soldiers in Washington and, consciously or not, found them a useful framework to express his own feelings.

The notebook contains two separate drafts of the poem, each with a deleted false start. Although all changes are recorded in the footnotes, a few of the significant ones are detailed here to show the process of writing that went on in WW's mind and the layout of the MS page.

The first version, on [20], is written between the deleted lines of its false start. The deleted false start and the inserted revision are as follows:

[Deleted false start]

Carefully wrapt in my blanket there I buried my soldier
Buried my loving comrade boy of responding kisses, there on the field, never again
responding
After [*del.*] the my vigil
comrade[?]
All in his blanket [*del.*] enveloped [*ins.*] wrapt there I buried him
In his blanket wrapping my comrade, there I buried him

[Inserted revision]

Ending with that [*illeg.*] vigil a vigil of battle field dim, vigil of night, vigil for boy
of responding kisses, (never again on earth responding
Vigil of loving comrade slain, vigil solemn & wondrous ending at sunrise.
Wrapt in his blanket I buried my son & soldier

Both versions refer to the soldier in the third person. The deleted false start begins and ends with the burial of the soldier, whereas the inserted revision begins with "a vigil of battle field dim" and ends with the burial. Thus WW has expanded the idea to be developed in the poem to include the persona's "vigil" over the dead soldier. Despite his aversion to traditional poetic practices, in the inserted revision WW also used the poetic inversion "vigil solemn & wondrous" to emphasize the serious tone of the poem, much like the inversion "vigil strange" that he eventually used in the poem's title and first line.

The second draft of the poem is written on pages [30-35, 37 and 40]. In this version WW expanded the idea developed on [20] from three to twenty-six lines. It also begins with a false start:

[30] *Deleted false start*

I wrapt him in his blanket
A soldier's death when death arrives
When my darling & comrade fell,
Not a tear I shed

This false start, like the false start on [20], is basically concerned with the soldier's burial. WW also refers to the soldier in the third person, just as he did on [20].

The second draft of the poem begins with the only undeleted line on [30]: "*Vigil of love I keep* [ins. above "keep": "t"] *on the field to-night one night* [preceding two words ins.]" WW made the tense of the poem less immediate by inserting "t" above the word "keep" and by inserting "one night" above "to-night." On [31] he deleted what appears to be the beginning of a dedication, the words "These O comrade." Two lines later he inserted "you" before "my darling," increasing the intimacy of the poem by addressing the comrade in the second person. Many of his emendations of the following lines also seem to have been made to personalize the poem. For example, he deleted several words such as "his" [31] and "comrade" [34] that made the tone less personal and he inserted the words "you," "your" and "my" a total of eight times. However, he also deleted several terms that would have made the poem more sentimental, such as "my sweetest" [32] and "dearest" [34]. As a result of these insertions and deletions, the poem's tone is developed in this rough draft so that it becomes more serious and more intimate. WW made the tense less immediate by switching from present to past tense, and also broadened the action in the poem from a burial scene to include also the soldier's death and the resulting "vigil" of the speaker.

The version beginning on [30], written in 1863, differs in several ways from the first publication of the poem in *Drum-Taps* (1865). The poem is entitled "Vigil Strange I Kept on the Field One Night," which is very similar to the emended line on [30] of the notebook: "*Vigil of love I keep* [ins. above "keep": "t"] *on the field to-night one night* [preceding two words ins.]" In the title, WW has retained the past tense and the indefinite time reference from the emendations of the rough draft. He also has used a poetic inversion, "Vigil Strange," just as he did on [33] of the notebook, a technique he used only for special emphasis. The two versions are about the same length; the 1863 draft consists of twenty-five lines while the published poem has twenty-six lines. WW combined and deleted several lines from the 1863 version and added five new lines at the end to form the

published version. His emendations usually were made to add to the poem's imagery or clarity. For example, he wrote "One touch of the hand" in the 1863 draft, then added to the visual imagery of the poem by emending it to "One touch of your hand to mine, O boy, reach'd up as you lay on the ground" in the published poem. One interesting change he made in the published poem was his deletion in three separate lines of the word "darling." He also deleted "my love" once from the draft. These deletions have the same effect on the tone of the poem that his deletions of the words "my sweetest" had on the tone of the rough draft; they make the poem less emotional and sentimental. Several of the emendations seem to have been made to add an element of mystery or of the unknown to the poem. For example, he inserted "curious the scene" and "vigil strange" and emended "wondrous hours" to "mystic hours." He added no new ideas to the poem. Instead, he inserted five new lines at the end of the poem that restate the ideas developed in the poem, beginning with the speaker's "vigil" and ending with the burial:

Ending my vigil strange with that—vigil of night and battle-field dim;
 Vigil for boy of responding kisses, (never again on earth responding);
 Vigil for comrade swiftly slain—vigil I never forget, how as day brighten'd
 I rose from the chill ground, and folded my soldier well in his blanket,
 And buried him where he fell.

The date is September and October, 1863. I am much indebted to Ms. Shannon Drews Rayl, who edited the MS for her senior honors essay in English at the University of Kansas.

[*Outside front cover*]¹ September & October 1863² M Jessup [*illeg.*] 2d N Y Vol
 Fort Benson

[*Inside front cover*]³ Debevoise 38 Hampden St⁴ Army & Navy Journal 192
 Broadway NY. city⁵ /

R D Douglass Bangor Theo Seminary Maine brother Rev Ebenezer Douglass
 Bridgewater Mass⁶

Caleb H Babbitt⁷ Mason general Hospital Boston Mass co E 34th Mass

[1]⁸ Bethuel Smith⁹ co F 2d U S Cavalry U S General Hospital Carlisle Penn
 Sept 16 /

1. White cardboard, tied at fold with pink (originally red?) tape.
2. Preceding words in black ink; following in black pencil.
3. Pasted-down to inside front cover, conjugate with {53}.
4. Entry in black pencil; remainder of leaf in black ink.
5. Rule across leaf.
6. Entry almost surrounded by line at top, left, bottom.
7. See "Hospital Note book"
8. Leaf in black ink. All rules across leaf.
9. See "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz."

Sergt Thos P Sawyer¹⁰ Co C 11th Mass Vol 1st brigaid 2d div 3d Arm Corps
 sent letter 15th Sept /
 N Y boy in ward F typhoid was in Gen Martindales office¹¹ /
 Levi W Tarkett co E 143d N Y adm July 11 ?father¹² D C Tarkett West Brook-
 ville N Y /
 Adelbert Dolliver co B 111th Penn
 [2] Finley 107 25th st next to engine house¹³
 [3]¹⁴ ward F bed 57 Sept 16 Jos C Kent co M Scotts 900 rem fever—friend John
 Gen Heintzelman's head quarters
 [4] must have appeared in Union of Sept 23, 4, or 5¹⁵
 Mrs E J Denison¹⁶ Johnstown Ada post office Hardin county Ohio¹⁷
 [7; 5-6 *stub*]¹⁸ reliable was presently to have rec'd a commission—¹⁹ /
 George Dent Co A 52d N Y. bed 11 ward E Armory (some money diarrhea &
 fever)²⁰ /

[8]²¹ Stonewall Jackson /

incident Elijah Fox²² (3d Wisconsin) told me—he was taken prisoner at Cedar
 Mountain battle (Aug, 62, bet Banks & Jackson)—Stonewall had the prisoners
 march up in front of him—asked Lije, how many men? had Pope come up? &c
 &c (then asked two others—same unsatisfactory answers) —as punishment marched
 them 25 miles afoot without * [16]²³ food to Gordonsville[?] to take the cars for
 Richmond, under guard of two cavalrymen— this is your *hero* Stonewall Jack-
 son / the above was on 12th August '62, when Lije march'd)

[11;²⁴ 9-10 *stub*] in a few moments more stout arms slowly & steadily bear[?]
 the cot bearing its burden to the dead house. He was a noble soldier, has been²⁵

10. See "Baily D Damon."

11. Deleted: "boy in ward H or I, close hair'd take him someting to eat" Rule across leaf.

12. Written over "friend"

13. Black pencil.

14. Black pencil.

15. Probably the *Washington Evening Union*.

16. Redundant "n" deleted.

17. Black ink, written sideways, bottom to top, on leaf.

18. Embossed at lower right with cartouche of two symmetrical ovals one inside the other.

19. Black pencil. Possibly a continuation of [11]. All rules across leaf.

20. Black ink. Parentheses indicate a circle around entry.

21. Black pencil.

22. See "Baily D Damon." WW's comment on the incident is in Traubel, II, 138: "And think of it, too! Jackson such a praying man—going off into the woods, flopping on his knees everywhere and anywhere to pray!"

23. Placed here to continue narrative.

24. Black pencil. Embossed like [7] on lower right.

25. Deleted: "out" ; inserted above: "one [?]"

one[?] three years (having²⁶ enlisted before the war, a regular) — was brave &²⁷
 [12]²⁸ Austin Newton Groton Tompkins co New York²⁹ /
 ward C bed 20 John Newton co B 6th Mich Calvy Chronic diarrhea came in Oct
 12
 [15;³⁰ 13-14 stub³¹] ward C bed 25 Marcus M Small³² co K 7th Maine Cynthia
 C Small East Livermore³³ Androscoggin co Maine Sept 17)³⁴ father Dr Wm B
 Small took sick about 4 weeks in reg hos—has diarrhea
 [19;³⁵ 16,³⁶ 17-18 stub] ward co bed 21 Manvill Wintersteen³⁷ co K 6th Ohio
 cav gsw lft shoulder came in from cav fight last Sunday (write he can have a
 furlough³⁸ father Caleb Wintersteen Montvill Geauga co Ohio
 [20]³⁹ Ending with that [*illeg.*]⁴⁰ vigil⁴¹ a vigil of battle field dim,⁴² vigil of night,
 vigil for boy of responding kisses, (never again on earth⁴³ responding⁴⁴
 Vigil of loving comrade slain, vigil solemn & wondrous⁴⁵ ending⁴⁶ at sunrise.⁴⁷
 Wrapt⁴⁸ in his blanket I buried my son &⁴⁹ soldier⁵⁰

26. Deleted: "been" ; inserted: "enlisted before"
27. See [7] for possible continuation.
28. Leaf in black ink. Entry written sideways bottom to top on leaf.
29. Rule across leaf.
30. Leaf written in black pencil.
31. Pencil marks on stub.
32. See "Some Specimen Cases," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 51.
33. Deleted: "Kennebec" ; inserted above: "Androscoggin "
34. Date circled. Deleted: "been sick abo"
35. Black pencil. Embossed with oval at lower right.
36. Placed in chronological order after [10].
37. See "in Armory ward C"
38. Preceding six words at right edge in loop, presented here by single parenthesis.
39. Written sideways from original bottom to original top. Since WW obviously did not draft the poem one leaf at a time, the poetical leaves are grouped together. The poem as transcribed was written between the lines of an earlier version as explained in the headnote. Here, the emendations in the new line are given before the deleted line.
40. Preceding three words inserted.
41. Deleted: [*illeg.*]; comma after [*illeg.*] not deleted, not printed; inserted: "a"
42. Inserted.
43. Preceding two words inserted.
44. Line previously deleted: "Carefully wrapt in my blanket there I buried my soldier"
45. Deleted: "ending at sunrise,"
46. Deleted: "with that"
47. Line previously deleted: "Buried my loving comrade boy of responding kisses, there on the field, never again responding"
48. Inserted. Capital "I" in "In" not reduced, not printed.
49. Deleted: "comrade"
50. Three or four lines previously deleted:

"After [*del.*] the my vigil
 comrade [?]"

All in his blanket [*del.*] envelope [*ins.*] wrapt there I buried him
 wrapping my comrade, there I buried him"

[30; 29 blank]⁵¹ *Vigil of love I kept*⁵² *on the field to-night one night*⁵³

[31]⁵⁴ *Vigil*⁵⁵ *I kept for*⁵⁶ *love on the field*⁵⁷ *one night;*

When you⁵⁸ my darling fell in the battle mortally wounded⁵⁹ dropt at my side
that day⁶⁰

One⁶¹ look I but⁶² gave &⁶³ your dear eyes returned,⁶⁴ with a (look I shall never
forget)

One touch of the hand,

Then onward I sped in the battle,

Till⁶⁵ late in the night relieved,⁶⁶ to the⁶⁷ place at last I made my way

[32]⁶⁸ Found you in death so cold⁶⁹ my darling & comrade⁷⁰ found your⁷¹ body,
son of⁷² responded kisses,⁷³ (O never again on earth responding)

Bared your face in the starlight⁷⁴ cool & sweet⁷⁵ came the⁷⁶ wafted wind

Long⁷⁷ I stood⁷⁸ then came⁷⁹ in

51. Four lines deleted:

"I wrapt him in his blanket
A soldier's death when death arrives
When my darling & comrade fell,
Not a tear I shed"

Page written sideways from original bottom to original top.

52. "t" inserted above "p" in "keep" to indicate tense change.

53. Preceding two words inserted above "to-night"

54. Page written sideways from original bottom to original top. Deleted: "These O comrade"

55. Inserted and deleted: "sweet" above "il" in "vigil" and "e"

56. Deleted: "a"

57. Preceding five words inserted on a line above.

58. Inserted above "my"

59. Inserted and deleted: "fell" below "wounded"

60. Deleted: "with a slight cry fell hit with a mortal wound mortally hit wounded" . Preceding eight words inserted down right margin of leaf separated from what follows by curving line.

61. Written over "I"

62. Inserted above "gave"

63. Deleted: "his" ; inserted above: "your"

64. Deleted: "it" ; inserted: "with a (look I shall never forget)" above "eyes returned"

65. Original opening "Then" deleted.

66. Preceding word and comma inserted above "night . . . to"

67. Deleted: "spot returning alone" ; inserted: "place [two words ins.] at last I [ins. and finally del.] made my way" on a line above.

68. Page written sideways from original bottom to original top.

69. Preceding five words inserted above "my" and "co" in "comrade"

70. Inserted and deleted: "dead" following "comrade"

71. Deleted: "beautiful"

72. Deleted: "my sweetest" ; inserted above: "responded"

73. Deleted: "(responding no more forever)" ; inserted: "O never again on earth responding" on a line above.

74. End of line hyphenation not printed. Deleted "baring[?]" ; comma not deleted, not printed.

75. Deleted: "played" ; inserted and deleted: [illeg.]; inserted: "came"

76. Deleted: "night"

77. Deleted: "long"

78. Deleted: "the field around me,"

79. Deleted: "the sight"

{33}⁸⁰ in⁸¹ vigil⁸² wondrous⁸³ around me⁸⁴ the battle field⁸⁵ spreading,
 Vigil for you my⁸⁶ son & darling dead, boy of my⁸⁷ love & kisses dead,
 Vigil wondrous & vigil sweet⁸⁸ there in the⁸⁹ fragrant silent night
 {34}⁹⁰ But⁹¹ not a tear fell,⁹² not a long drawn breath, O⁹³ son⁹⁴ —long, long I
 gazed
 Then⁹⁵ on the ground reclining⁹⁶ I sat by your⁹⁷ side, my love—I leaning my
 chin in my hands,
 Passing⁹⁸ sweet hours, immortal & wondrous hours with you,⁹⁹ dear comrade not
 a tear, not a word.
 {35}¹ Vigil of love, vigil of death,² & love,³ my son & my⁴ soldier,
 As⁵ onward the stars⁶ aloft steadily⁷ silently westward⁸ moved, as eastward new
 ones upward⁹ stole,
 Vigil strange,¹⁰ O boy—(I could not save you—swift was your death —

80. Page written sideways from original bottom to original top.

81. Inserted above "V" in "Vigil"

82. Capital "V" in "Vigil" not reduced, not printed. Deleted: "I kept"; inserted and deleted: "Is"; inserted: "wondrous" all above "[del.] kept"

83. Deleted: "in the under the starlight,"; inserted and deleted: "stars,"; deleted: "vigil there on"

84. Two preceding words inserted after "vigil"; inserted and deleted: "above you" above "around me"

85. Deleted: "lying"

86. Preceding two words inserted above "son"

87. Inserted in wordspace between "of . . . love"

88. Preceding two words and ampersand inserted on a line above "ndrous" in "wondrous" and "there"

89. Deleted: "dim"

90. Written sideways from original bottom to original top.

91. Inserted. Capital "N" in "Not" not reduced, not printed.

92. Preceding word and comma inserted above "N" in "Not"

93. Inserted. Deleted: "deares"

94. Deleted: "& comrade"; inserted above: "—long, long I gazed"

95. Inserted before "[del.] down" Deleted: "Down" ; inserted and deleted: "But" above "D" in "[del.] Down."

96. Inserted above "und" in "ground" and "e"

97. Deleted: "side & leaned"; inserted and deleted above "[del.] side": "body" ; inserted: "side, my love —I leaning" on a line above.

98. Inserted. Capital "S" in "Sweet" not deleted, not printed.

99. Inserted and deleted: "my lover," above "you" ; inserted: "dear comrade" following "[del.] lover" and above "not a"

1. Written sideways from original bottom to original top.

2. Deleted: "& my" ; inserted: "&" above "[del.] my"

3. Inserted and deleted: [illeg.]

4. Inserted above "soldier"

5. Inserted. Capital "O" in "Onward" not reduced, not printed.

6. Deleted: "above" ; inserted above: "aloft" ; inserted and deleted: "us" on the line following "aloft"

7. Deleted: "&"

8. Deleted: "moving" ; inserted above: "moved, as"

9. Deleted: "steadily" ; inserted: "stole," above and following "steadily"

10. Deleted: "I kept"

I faithfully¹¹ loved you while living¹² I think we shall surely meet again)¹³
 [37; 36]¹⁴ Till¹⁵ at the¹⁶ latest lingering of¹⁷ night,¹⁸ indeed just as the dawn¹⁹
 appeared

My son & my soldier²⁰ duly I wrapped²¹ in his blanket,
 Enveloped well²² from²³ folded the blanket well tucking it very²⁴ carefully over
 head & over feet.

[40]²⁵ Mr Kirkwood²⁶ 44 Union square, (south side) /²⁷

Then²⁸ under the rising sun in²⁹ his grave, in his³⁰ rude-dug grave³¹ my son I
 deposited,

Accepting a³² soldiers grave for him with pride &³³ a soldiers³⁴ burial, wrapt in
 his blanket.³⁵

[25; 21-24 *stub*] Capt J F. S Gray³⁶ headquarters Gen. Stannard, Department of
 the East New York City

[26] ward A bed 41 Oct 22 Pleasant Borley³⁷ co A 1st US Cav—gsw left leg
 Indiana boy adm Aug 2 '63 /

11. Inserted.

12. Preceding two words inserted above "you . . . e" with mark below which may be an asterisk but is more like a caret.

13. This line originally part of preceding line; printed as separate line in accordance with paragraph mark inserted before "I [*ins.*] faithfully"

14. Embossed. Page written sideways from original bottom to original top.

15. Deleted: "in" ; inserted above: "at"

16. Deleted: "last waiting[?]" ; inserted above: "latest lingering"

17. Deleted: "the"

18. Deleted: "ere the" ; inserted above deletion: "indeed, just as the"

19. Deleted: "well"

20. Inserted and deleted: "gently" above "I" ; inserted: "duly" following and above "wrap" in "wrapped"

21. Deleted: "well"

22. Written over [*illeg.*]. Deleted: "his"

23. Deleted: "from head to foot, wrapt it all very carefully he" ; inserted above: "folded the blanket well tucking"

24. Deleted: "well" ; inserted above: "carefully"

25. Written sideways from bottom to top.

26. Probably James P. Kirkwood (see [28] below).

27. Deleted: "And when the sun" .Rule across leaf.

28. Deleted: original "And" ; inserted and deleted above: "Presently" ; inserted: "Then" before "[*del.*] Presently"

29. Deleted: "a" ; inserted above: "his"

30. Deleted: "well" ; inserted above: "rude"

31. Preceding four words inserted above "grave . . . son"

32. Deleted: original opening: "A" ; inserted above and deleted: "And" ; inserted above "soldiers" : "Accepting a"

33. Preceding four words and ampersand inserted above "a soldiers"

34. Deleted: "immortal fit"

35. Deleted: "There in blanket wrap"

36. See "Addresses."

37. See *Corr.*, I, 177, 181, 184.

principal disease consumption /
wounded in leg gangrened reduced very low dying scene[?] night of Oct 22 [27]—
speaks of the doctor the lady nurse so kind, so tender “the doctor thinks he cant
do any thing for you—“I can die³⁸ —a pause— “I dont think the doctor cares
much any how”—³⁹ Mother Pauline Borley Epton Davis co Ind⁴⁰ /
[28]⁴¹ James P. Kirkwood.⁴² 44 Union place (4th Avenue)⁴³
[38]⁴⁴ Erastus Haskell⁴⁵ /
Co K 141st N Y. came to Armory July 11th /
for the week previous was in reg'l hospital above at Baltimore Four Corners.—
about 4 miles above White House /
previous was the band as a [36] fifer, (he used to leave his fife lying by him on a
little stand by his cot. once told me that when he got well he would play me a
tune)
[39]⁴⁶ J E Jennings 325 Adelphi /
J E Jennings[?] Merchant Ex Bank New York⁴⁷ /
Penn R Roa[?] 487 11th st⁴⁸
[43; ⁴⁹ 41-42 stub] old trunk coming up from 1st Fred[?]⁵⁰ — was fracture in
thigh — his 46th battle — in Europe when he heard of [illeg.] [illeg.] going to
battle he vol
[44]⁵¹ Mrs Carman Catherine⁵² Remsen South Norwalk Conn (sister⁵³ /
+ ⁵⁴ Mrs Robert Margaret Ann⁵⁵ Lockwood Glenwood⁵⁶ Roslyn PO⁵⁷ Queen's

38. Dash and three words inserted.

39. Preceding entry on lower half of leaf; printed first to preserve continuity. Two random straight marks follow.

40. On upper half of leaf.

41. [30-37] inserted above, following [20].

42. See [40], above, and “Baily D Damon.”

43. Rule across leaf.

44. Notebook turned upside down before entries on [38] and [36] were written.

45. See “Absalom Swanger”

46. Embossed. Notebook turned rightside up.

47. See “Walt Whitman, Soldier's. Not the Jennings mentioned in *Corr.*, I, 177.

48. Faint horizontal blue rules, $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Entry written upside down.

49. The Battle of Fredericksburg had taken place in December, 1862.

50. This entry seems quite detached. Possibly it was begun on one of the missing pages. The person spoken of has not been identified. It is not George Whitman.

51. Unruled. In black ink.

52. Written above “Carman” in black pencil.

53. At left of entry.

54. At left of following entry. Probably indicates that he has written a letter.

55. Two names written in pencil above “Robert”

56. In pencil.

57. In pencil.

co New York + Mrs Thomas Mary⁵⁸ Velsor⁵⁹ Cold Spring harbor Long Island
New York
[45]⁶⁰ ward C bed 31 Jas S Stilwell⁶¹ co M 2d NY Cavalry gsw l l'g mother
Margaret E Stilwell Comac Suffolk co N.Y. John Stilwell Comac⁶²
[46] crutches /
James Glenn 3d battery N Y State Artillery /
fractured ankle & leg (ward I bed 26) /
5 ft 6 in high man{?}
[47] ward E bed 10 Sept. 19 Amer Moore (dead⁶³ co G 2d U S Art (Lieu't
Bulter Comd'g 2d brigade 2d division cavalry corps Army of Potomac⁶⁴ gsw in
head Uncle Ellis Williams Mother Sarah A Moore Milltown po Delaware /
Co Penn
[48] ward A Fulton Miner⁶⁵ /
(ward H bed 2) Thos B Neat⁶⁶ co M 2d N Y Cav /
Sherman C Perry co B — 16th NY Davis Island NY.
[49]⁶⁷ ward E bed 43 Sept 20 Thomas Lindley⁶⁸ co L 1st Penn Cav gsw left
foot /
raised some of life in New Orleans—but was born north—lived on steamboat (a
roving life⁶⁹ /
Archibald McNutt⁷⁰ 2221 Hamilton st Philadelphia
[50] (⁷¹Herbert Christy co K 112th N Y v/⁷² + mother Mrs Adeline Christy
Silver Creek Chatauqua co NY ward B bed 18 + Lucius Christy wounded in
right shoulder co I 9th N Y Cav⁷³

58. In pencil above "Thomas"

59. Probably a relative on his mother's side.

60. Faint blue rules, $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Embossed. In black ink.

61. See "a m Dr. L B Russell." The entry there is dated October 20.

62. Preceding three words in heavier writing with darker ink.

63. See "Some Specimen Cases," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 51. "dead" was inserted later after the name. The single parenthesis represents an open loop.

64. Preceding nine words inserted above "gsw in head"

65. See inside back cover.

66. Deleted: "West" ; inserted: "Neat" See "Baily D Damon."

67. Leaf in black ink.

68. See "Some Specimen Cases," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 51.

69. Rule across leaf.

70. See outside back cover.

71. Single parenthesis to left of entire entry.

72. A curved line extends across [50] and [51] separating information about Christy's next of kin which extends over both leaves, from entries at top of leaves.

73. Preceding plus sign and eleven words on [51] below "Sept 23, 1863." Curved line at left of entire entry.

[51] Sept 23 1863 Wm Van Pelt 1st New Jersey cavalry met at capitol grounds went up to my room—very down hearted—cried about home—(used to work in Mundell's Myrtle av. Lewy Posts brother) /

[52] S Culbertson bed 15 ward G /
badly wounded in left shoulder /
a shirt⁷⁴ /

Miss P.J Fox sister/⁷⁵

Richland city Richland Wis Elijah D. Fox⁷⁶ co F. 3d wisconsin bed⁷⁷ 11 ward G
Mrs Mary S Fox Portage Kalamazoo co Mich⁷⁸ Sept 26, '63

[53] Sept 2 [*illeg.*] 1863 talk with Ben in Ward A about the tyrannizing & unnecessary exposure of the soldiers—how many officers there are who dare not go into engagements⁷⁹ nor even out on picket with their men for fear of their lives from their own men — the 8th N.Y Cav Col Davis, (killed afterward) who (after Aldie) made the poor sick men, (sick with diarrhea) dismount⁸⁰ & mount⁸¹ 13 times to make them do⁸² military style — I have never met a single officer that seemed to *know* American men

[54] Miss P J Fox Richland city Richland county Wisconsin⁸³

[*Inside back cover*] Ward A bed 10 Sept 24 Fulton Miner[?]⁸⁴ co B US Eng
mother Mrs CA Farrand Greenville Mt Calm co Mich

Mrs Emily T Green 148 Fulton st Pittsburgh Pa⁸⁵

[*Outside back cover*] Helen S Cunningham Delaware Delaware co Ohio⁸⁶ /

Arkison B Freshwater co I 82d Ohio Vol via Washington PO⁸⁷

Archibald McNutt Sarah 2221 Hamilton st Philadelphia⁸⁸

74. Line across leaf.

75. See [54].

76. See [8].

77. Deleted: "with their [*illeg.*]"

78. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

79. Deleted: "some jelly"

80. Inserted at beginning of word: "dis"

81. Deleted at beginning of word: "dis"

82. Deleted: "it"

83. See [52]. Written in black ink sideways on leaf, bottom to top.

84. See [48] above.

85. Written sideways, bottom to top, over preceding in black ink.

86. Sister of Oscar Cunningham. See "June 20 — '63."

87. Two preceding entries written in black ink sideways, bottom to top.

88. In black ink at what was the top of the notebook when it was turned upside down. See [49] above.

Washington Sight.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black ink on sheet of folded white wove paper, 7¾" x 5", with blue rules ⅜" apart on recto only. Since paper is folded vertically rules appear only on [1] and [4]. Apparently an unpublished piece of journalism. Printed Glicksberg, 162-163.

Washington Sight (For Instance

You see for instance¹ such a sight as the following as you walk out for ten minutes before breakfast. Over the muddy crossing, (half past 8, morning of April 1st, '63)² at 14th and L street,³ a stout young wench wheeling a wheelbarrow—the⁴ wench⁵ perhaps 15 years old, black and jolly and⁶ strong as a horse;—in the wheelbarrow, cuddled up, a child-wench of six or seven years, equally black, shiny black⁷ and jolly with an old quilt around her, sitting plump back, riding backwards,⁸ partially holding on, a little fearful,⁹ and trying to hold in her arms a full grown¹⁰ young lap-dog, curly, beautiful¹¹ white as silver, with sparkling peering,¹² round black¹³ eyes—the child-wench bareheaded;—and, all,¹⁴ the dog,¹⁵ the stout-armed¹⁶ negress, firmly holding the handles, and pushing on through the mud—the heads of [2] the¹⁷ pretty silver dog, and the pictorial¹⁸ black¹⁹ round and young & with alert eyes, as she turned half way around, twisting her neck

1. Preceding two words inserted above "such a"
2. Parenthetical phrase inserted above "muddy . . . at 14th"
3. Deleted: "came"
4. Deleted "you"
5. Deleted: "was about" ; inserted: "perhaps" above "[del.] about"
6. Deleted: "with"
7. Preceding two words inserted above "ck" in "black" and "and"
8. Preceding five words inserted on a line above "her . . . on a"
9. Deleted: "of being tumbled out,"
10. Preceding two words inserted above "a . . . young"
11. Inserted about "by" in "curly" and "white"
12. Preceding two words inserted above "round"
13. Deleted: "bright"
14. Inserted: "all", above wordspace after "and," deleted: "with"
15. Deleted: "and"
16. Inserted: "-armed" above "ne" in "negress,"
17. Deleted: "beautiful" ; inserted above: "pretty"
18. Inserted above "the"
19. Deleted: "child the [illeg.]"

anxious²⁰ to see what prospect, (having probably been overturned in the mud²¹ on some previous occasion)—the gait of the big girl,²² so sturdy and so graceful with her short petticoats her legs stepping, plashing steadily along through²³ obstructions²⁴—the shiny-curl'd dog, standing up in the hold of the little one,—she huddled²⁵ in the barrow, riding backwards²⁶ with the patch-work quilt around her, sitting down, her feet visible poking straight out in front [?]²⁷—made a passing group which as I stopt to look at it, you may if you choose stop and imagine.

20. Preceding four words inserted on a line above "around . . . what"

21. Preceding three words inserted above "on some"

22. Inserted and deleted: "strong" above "girl" ; inserted on two lines above "with" : "so sturdy and so graceful"

23. Deleted: "the"

24. Preceding eight words inserted above "rt " in "short" and around "shiny" in the right margin.

25. Preceding dash and two words inserted above "one, . . . in"

26. Preceding two words inserted above "with the"

27. Inserted above and before "I"

April 7th.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black pencil with a black ink insertion on a scrap of white paper with a curious basket-weave pattern in the texture, approx. 4¼" x 3½". Vertical blue lines, approx. ⅓" apart, with original top margin at the left. On the verso is "Noah Laing." On the verso of "Armory, now ward E," is inscribed: "bring him some jelly—(has sisters and [*del.*] brothers yes, brother at home) tells me [*four words del.*] both of us crying [*del.*] sobbing he can't help thinking of the time his mother died both of *us are crying.*" The date is April, 1863. Published by Glicksberg, 143, 153.

April 7th

(they are granting furloughs liberally¹ I saw a seven or eight of the 14th Brooklyn going home on furlough—

A pretty² bad case will get 60, 50, or 40 days—others 30, and so on)³

April 7t 1863⁴

Joseph Armstrong, quiet Pennsylvania boy very low with dysentery—I write this sitting by his bed—⁵ tells me⁶ he can't help thinking of the time when his mother died (dysentery) *both of us are crying* * (*and very much ashamed & mad about it afterward)⁷

Ward I. Armory, bed 43

Joseph Armstrong, co H. 57th Penn,— (has sisters &⁸ young brother at home)⁹ bring him some jelly —¹⁰ age 20¹¹—a very bad case of dysentery, has been growing worse several days,—poor young fellow, as I see him lying there panting the

1. Preceding parenthesis and five words at upper right.
2. Inserted above.
3. Glicksberg, 143.
4. Glicksberg, 153. This and balance of text separated from preceding by a heavy black line drawn up from two-thirds down the left side of the leaf and across to right.
5. Deleted: "both of us are crying"
6. Deleted: "sobbing"
7. In black ink; brought down according to asterisks from immediately to right of first paragraph.
8. Deleted: "brother"
9. Parenthetical words inserted above line.
10. Four words inserted above previous insert.
11. Preceding two words inserted

sweat in drops on his face, it¹² goes to my heart—he is a stout lymphatic young man, gentle and uncomplaining, was raised in North Rome, Bradford co. Pa—was all through the Peninsular Campaign—has been more or less ill in hospital, convalescent camp, &c. for six months. His father and brother are both in the army.

12. Deleted: “seems hard enough”; inserted above: “goes to my heart”

N.Y. Tribune.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #330). First entry in black pencil, second in black ink on scrap of white laid paper with blue lines, recto only, $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Adjutant General Lorenzo F. Thomas (1804–1875) was sent west in March, 1863, to organize black regiments in the southwestern states. General James B. MacPherson (1828–1864) was sent to Louisiana. After considerable objection, black regiments were being formed by August, 1862. They were federalized January, 1863. See "Blacks," the following eight MS, and "a m Dr. L B Russell." The date of this MS is April, 1863.

*N.Y. Tribune April 22d, letter from near Columbus, Ky, April 17th*¹

At Helena, the new negro regiments are progressing favorably In 3 days after Gen Thomas left for Vicksburgh 800 blacks had enlisted in the 1st Arkansas Infantry of African descent"—(now 1000 are in probably)—it is said to be well officered Col. Wood, is an experienced officer, has been a Military officer in West Indies—the line officers are mostly privates selected from western regiments for merit & bravery—they² paraded lately at Helena

Wash Chron April 24

—three regiments³ were already formed, at Lake Providence, lower Mississippi under Gen. McPherson's authority, Eighth, Ninth, & Tenth, "Louisiana Volunteer Infantry of African descent." the officers names are given in the reports—the Captains & lieutenants are selected from privates of experience, courage and competence,⁴ hitherto in the war, in western & other regiments Lake Providence is at present the rendezvous of these regiments and of others, rapidly forming.

1. At left, above beginning of text, three x's, possibly to indicate a deletion from original.
2. Deleted: "drilled"
3. Deleted: "are" ; inserted above: "were"
4. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

Tell the American.

Manuscript in Pennsylvania. Inscribed in black pencil on verso of fragmentary letter of an unidentifiable Samuel S. Powell asking for support as candidate for office of mayor. The writing suggests a date after 1860.

Tell the American people their faults—the departments of their character where they are most liable to break down—speak to them with unsparing tongue—carefully systematize beforehand *their faults*.—

Henry D. Howell.

Manuscript in Pennsylvania. Inscribed in black ink on a sheet of white laid paper, approx. 11" x 8". Blue rules on verso only, approx. 1/3" apart. This must have been written after April, 1863.

Henry D. Howell,¹ 25 Sanford st. Brooklyn.

Benj. G. Howell, co. D. 87th N. Y. Vol. only 18 yrs of² left Brooklyn in latter part of '61, was in the Peninsular Campaign, (in Kearney's division,)³—was in several battles, Williamsburgh, Fair Oaks, &c.; was taken sick, sent to White House, and there removed to Yorktown, where, (as now appears) he died June 12th 1862. But his family, his father Henry D. Howell, for a long time after had misgiving about it. Mr. & Mrs. H. all through the summer & fall, heard nothing from the boy, knew not his death, anticipated every week hearing something. About the 1st of November, a young man came with the story of Benjamin's death. As some important facts

(The 87th is broken up & (it was the reg't Col Abel Smith was raising when he was killed)⁴

—Thus things went on, & on Tuesday 21st April⁵ inst. Mr. Howell came on, with the idea of getting to Yorktown

Mr. Howell, however is now perfectly satisfied that his boy died there⁶ in Hospital, (Nelson Hospital Yorktown,)

Capt. McIntyre, (formerly a shoe-dealer in Fulton st.) came out in a command in the 87th Vol.—is now in the 16th Virginia—and a good many Brooklyn boys are also in the⁷

1. An employee at the Navy yard. Howell's visit in search of his son is mentioned in "am Dr. L B Russell," "Walt Whitman Soldier's," *Corr.*, I, 95.

2. WW had originally written "only 19 years old" . Both phrases are inserted above "left"

3. Deleted: "fell"

4. The parenthetical sentence is inserted in pencil in the gap WW had left for "important facts."

5. Inserted in pencil.

6. Deleted: "at" ; inserted above: "in"

7. Sentence in hanging indentation.

Noah Laing.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in pencil on a scrap of white wove paper with curious basket weave in texture. Vertical blue lines $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. At top, one of WW's characteristic pointing hands and "see other side." MS is the verso of "April 7." The names of the mother and friend are written lengthwise on the left edge. Laing is also mentioned in "from Hooker's command." He had been wounded at Chancellorsville. The date is May, 1863. Published in Glicksberg, 154.

Noah Laing Ward I. bed 36[?] Armory 6th New York Ind. Battery / is from Rahway, N.J. been out since June '61, / has three brothers in the Army in the 30th N.J. Vol. / worked for A.K. Shotwell bakery Rahway N.J. / there are¹ five brothers &² four of them are in the war /³ was at Ball's Bluff Williamsburgh Fair Oaks, Malvern Hill, & Chancellorsville Nearest friend A.K. Shotwell, Rahway, mother Margaret C Laing care of R. A. Drake Plainfield N.J.⁴

1. Deleted: "four" ; inserted above: "five"
2. Deleted: "three"
3. Rule across leaf.
4. Text from "Nearest friend" to end is written vertically along left margin.

From Hooker's Command.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in black pencil with entries in black ink as noted on homemade, self-bound notebook 5" x 4", on white laid paper. Blue lines $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart on [1-4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13-19, 22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 31]. Embossed stamp of U.S. shield with a star and a ribbon inscribed "CONGRESS" above a ribbon inscribed "CARSONS" below at upper right of [5, 7, 29]. Cf. "sights you see in hospital" and "(Jan 63) (in Armory, ward H)." Tied with pink (faded red?) tape between [16] and [17]. Lower half of [23-24] and upper half of [27-28] have been torn off. [34] is tipped in on stub of original [34]. WW was simultaneously keeping "a m Dr. L B Russell" and wrote this between May 6-11, 1863.

from¹ Hooker's² command Ward E, bed 47 Hiram Johnson Co K. 157th N.Y. vols wound in left hip / this is the bed of death / he is failing fast the muffled groan, the laboring panting chest & throat, the convulsion? without intermission, the attitude of the hands, the restlessness—the contraction & dilation of the nostrils—fortunately³ he is out of his head, poor fellow

[5; 2-4 *blank*] Lieut⁴ Wm Hubbard, co B 27th Indiana regt. Bed 34—ward H. / father Wm Hubbard, Cloverdale, Putnam co Md. /⁵ wrote Wm. Letter to his father above. / wound bad in foot, instep, rec'd at Chancellorsville, Va. Sunday forenoon—bones out, pretty badly smashed, will get over it, but foot useless probably. / June 23—is recovering⁶

[7; 6 *blank*] Henry Benton, co E. 7th Ohio Vol. Ward K, bed 44 / wants a *little jelly, & an orange* / wounded last Sunday at Chancellorsville⁷ in leg—I saw the bullet & a piece of the bone—stout hearty Ohio boy,—parents live in Huron, Erie co. Ohio—mothers address Mrs W. R. Benton, as above—

1. Entry upside-down on leaf.

2. General Joseph E. ("Fighting Joe") Hooker (1814-1879) was defeated at the Battle of Chancellorsville, May 2-4, 1863.

3. Inserted above "he is"

4. Inserted above "H" in "Hubbard"

5. In black ink: "wound . . . probably"

6. A later entry in pencil.

7. Inserted: "last . . . Chancellorsville" on a line above "nded" in "wounded," and "I saw the"

[9; 8 *blank*] Henry Eberle, bed 8 Ward K—co⁸ H. 28th Penn Vol. / wants a German⁹ prayer book / wounded in left shoulder pretty bad—reads German & English—born in Penn.

[10] bring bed No 4 Ward H. a pipe¹⁰ /

[11] Hiram F. Willis ward I, bed 21 co I.¹¹ 84th Penn. / wounded at Chancellorsville Sunday. wounded in hands &c. & in thigh / father Hiram Willis Eldred, Wayne co Penn /

Dont forget ward D.¹² Austin. Lawton (also Chas Moody, bed 44)¹³ ward D. North side near the door right arm badly wounded—left hand slightly wounded—Ohio boy—(born in England), has a friend in one of the Departments.

[13; 12 *blank*] Robert Hatch bed 34 ward H, co B. 141st Penn. / wounded in left leg below knee,¹⁴ fractured. / wounded at Chanc. Sunday

Martin H. Coddling Pike township Bedford co. Penn

[15; 14 *blank*] Sunday May 10th—'63¹⁵

Sunday May 10th spent¹⁶ the day in Armory Sq. Hospital in wards E. F. G. H. I & K. many badly wounded men from Chancellorsville &c. all forms of wounds, some a larg proportion¹⁷ in head—some cases of men badly burnt by explosion of caissons &c—wrote a number of letters for Ohio & Indiana men /

[16] Wm Williams.¹⁸ bed 41 Ward G. bring some pickles / badly wounded in arm has suffered much / some peaches dont forget

[17] Monday night May 11 '63

Spent four hours this evening in Armory—recollect the poor young fellow in Ward E. with¹⁹ left leg amputated²⁰ below the knee & a wound in arm—co D²¹

8. Written over "ward"

9. Uppercase over lowercase "g"

10. Rule across leaf.

11. Deleted: "bed" or "bad"

12. Preceding two words inserted above "Austin"

13. Parenthetical statement inserted on a line above "word" . . . "North Side"

14. WW wrote "knew"

15. Date in black ink.

16. Deleted: "a good part of"

17. Inserted in black ink: "a larg proportion" above "some in"

18. See [20] below.

19. Deleted: "one" ; inserted: "left" above and to right of "[*del.*] one"

20. Deleted: "well up to thigh" ; inserted in black ink: "below the knee" above "[*del.*] well up"

21. Inserted above the dash and space before "77th"

77th New York wounded Sunday May 4th at Chancellorsville²² tells me he wants his mother to come & see him, but has not money enough to send her for that purpose

Erskine Branch [²³after a long seige, sometimes at death's door, much pain, two or three partial recoveries, & then relapsing, he got quite well, got up & went out at last a well-drest handsome fellow²⁴

[19; 18 blank] Bed 41 Ward G. Armory May 12 William Williams²⁵ co F. 27th Indiana / wounded seriously in shoulder—he lay naked to the waist on acc't of the heat—I never saw a more superb developement of chest, & limbs, neck &c. a perfect model of manly strength—seemd awful to take such God's masterpiece & / nearest friend Mr. J. C. Williams Lafayette Tippecanoe co. Indiana

[21; 20 blank] Noah Laing²⁶ bed 36 Ward I some peaches

[23; 22 blank] Mrs. Edwin Burt. Ridgefield Fairfield co. Conn.²⁷

[25; 24 blank] ward K bed 19 (Arm David Coon, co. K. 37th N.Y. / Mrs.²⁸ Eveline Ballou Sullivan Ashland co. Ohio / wounded in the left leg, below knee, flesh wound, at Chancellorsville Sunday 4th— —feeling pretty comfortable, has good care

[27; ²⁹ 26 blank] Allen Chandler bed 13. ward F. some peaches /

[29; 28 blank] James Moore Co B. 147th Penn / ward I, bed 31 / brother W. H. Moore, co B. 126th Penn. / flesh wound in thigh will get along well

{31; 30 blank} ward E³⁰

Erskine B. Branch³¹ Kinery[?]³² 6th Army Corps co D. 77th New York,³³ 19 yrs

22. Inserted: "wounded . . . Chancellorsville" on a line above "tells . . . mother"

23. WW's bracket.

24. Written up right edge of leaf: "& went . . . fellow". This entire leaf must refer to Branch, for the facts given are also in Branch's pamphlet, *Brief Sketch of the Experience of a Union Soldier in the Late War* (Washington, 1870). Branch remained in Armory Square Hospital until May 5, 1864, when he was transferred to Philadelphia for a second amputation. Three weeks after that operation he went to a "pic-nic." WW must have based that part of the entry after his name on private information or unknown letters. Branch does not mention him in his pamphlet. WW noted Branch's address in 1869 or 1870 ("D. W. Wilder" and "Addresses"). See also [31] below.

25. See [17] above.

26. See "Noah Laing."

27. Entry in black ink. Bottom half of leaf torn out.

28. Inserted before and above "E" in "Eveline". See "a m Dr. L B Russell."

29. Upper half of leaf torn out.

30. Black ink.

31. See [20] above.

32. In upper right corner.

33. Deleted: "19th"

old 10th May '63 / wounded at 2d Fredericksburg³⁴ Sunday 4th May. / lost³⁵ his left leg below the knee (amputated there)—doing pretty well / also slight wound on upper left arm / doing pretty well, May 15th, 1863 / wants mother to come down here if possible Mrs. Sarah A Hudson Rock City Falls, Saratoga co New York³⁶

[34;³⁷ 32,33 *blank*] in Carver hospital—lost his left arm—a Brooklyn boy / John Lowery Amos H. Vliet

34. I.e. Chancellorsville. Chancellorsville is west of Fredericksburg. "First Fredericksburg" was fought December 13, 1862, a terrible defeat for the Union forces which Lee did not follow up until May.

35. Deleted: "young" or "your" ; inserted above deletion and space: "his left"

36. Black ink. See "a m Dr. L B Russell."

37. Pasted on a stub, written lengthwise. Lowery and Vliet were Brooklyn boys from the 51st NYV who had been wounded at Fredericksburg in December, 1862. See "return my book."

Incidents for Soldier.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on white laid scrap watermarked "NAL MILLS [device]." This watermark has not been noted elsewhere. Blue rules, approx. $\frac{5}{8}$ " apart. Written as three sentences with hanging indentation. The date is after July 4, 1863. Published by Oscar Lovell Triggs as a basis for a poem in *CW*, III, 289.

Incidents for Soldier in the Ranks)

describe a group of men coming off the field, after a heavy battle, the grime, the sweat, some half naked¹ the torn & dusty clothes, their own mothers would not recognize them—

The moon rises silently² over the battle field but red as blood, coming above the smoke. you look over the field, you see little lights moving around stopping & moving³ around again, they are searching for the wounded,⁴ they are bringing off the dead

At Gettysburgh, the second day of the battle, our troops drove the secession army from a position they had occupied, & where the preceding night, they had gathered their dead—the dead lay in certain⁵ spots piled three or four deep where the had placed them to be⁶ ready for burial the next morning.

1. Preceding three words inserted above "sweet . . . turn"
2. Inserted above "rises" and "o" in "over"
3. Inserted between lines: following fourteen words.
4. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
5. Deleted: "parts of the field" ; inserted: "spots" above "[*del.*] parts"
6. Deleted: "buried" ; inserted: following six words.

Blacks.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #320). Inscribed in black ink on orange-brown textured scrap. Various assaults were made on Charleston from April to August, 1863. Printed in Glicksberg, 187, *n* 21. See list of seventeen clippings on black troops, *ibid.*, 187–190.

Blacks /

Mrs. Hannah Mores anecdote / the fact that several of the best pilots in the U S ships in the attack on Charleston are were blacks

Gen Blunt.

Manuscript in LC (#205, sheet #1774). Inscribed in black ink on half-sheet of white laid paper, 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 5". On verso irrelevant pencilled sums; above inscription is pasted a clipping on 1st Regiment; below, a clipping on the formation of Wild's African Brigade in North Carolina, April, 1863. Brigadier General James Gillpatrick Blunt (1826–1881) moved to Kansas in 1856, was associated with John Brown, entered the Union Army as a lieutenant colonel in 1861. He commanded the Army of the Frontier from November, 1862, and defeated Price's invasion of Missouri. The 1st Kansas Colored Volunteers were at Baxter Springs, Kansas, May and June of 1863.

Gen Blunt has ordered the 1st Kansas Colored, (Col. Williams) to Baxter's Springs, extreme south-eastern¹ portion of Kansas there is probably going to be work there in Arkansas—the prize is important there in the rich demesnes, the Indian territory, &c. &c

1. Deleted: "corne"

The 1st Kansas.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #322). Inscribed in black pencil on white laid scrap with blue lines $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. The 1st Kansas Colored Volunteers grew out of the use of blacks in integrated cavalry irregulars.

the 1st Kansas Col. Vol. is a fine reg't,—two or three co's are of Indian breed,—they fight like demons,¹ use the knife, scalp² the dead, &c. They are real warriors, in every respect, nothing to take them back

1. Deleted: "no"

2. Deleted: "their"

Ice Cream.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink. On verso is "(Private) when a great general dies." Blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Cancelled by vertical slash. This probably was written in the summer of 1863, since by that time the northern states had formed black units.

/ Ice cream is good, but there is no good lager /
—Black Soldiers—getting plenty —see squads of them /
Washington is wondrous in fine moonlight nights—then the Capitol—then go to
Presdts /
Trees good—dust —mud

Tribune Aug 28.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #318). Inscribed in pencil on white laid scrap with blue lines approx. $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. This was written in 1863.

Tribune Aug 28

Adj Gen Thomas is at Vicksburgh region. He will organize 50 colored regiments—has the skeletons of¹ them already formed—in &² around Vicksburgh—recruiting thereof is brisk—

1. Written over [*illeg.*].

2. Inserted; preceded by [*illeg.*] trimmed off at left edge above "around"

Major Gen.

Manuscript in LC (#205, sheet #1775). Inscribed in black ink on half-sheet of white laid notepaper, approx. 8½" x 5", with blue lines ⁵/₁₆" apart. Strong (1832–1863) died on July 30, 1863. The clipping pasted to the MS is from the New York *Methodist* of August 29 and describes the bravery of the 54th Massachusetts, the famous black regiment, in a frontal attack on Fort or Battery Wagner in the harbor of Charleston, S. C., July 18. The date must be August or September, 1863.

Major Gen George C. Strong, who was¹ wounded in that night attack on Wagner bears dying-bed testimony to the black troops' courage. A lady who was with him in Hospital, after the attack, writing about Gen. S's remarks on several topics, continues:

1. Deleted: "mortally"

First Reg't Louisiana.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #316). Inscribed in black ink on small slip of white wove paper. Major General Nathaniel P. Banks (1816-1894), Department of the Gulf, organized four regiments of black engineers by September, 1863.

First reg't Louisiana engineers. Gen Banks has ordered a black engineer regt sappers, miners, pontoniers, &c to serve for 3 years.

A Full Reg't.

Manuscript in Huntington. Inscribed in black ink on scrap of white laid paper with vertical blue rules approx. $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart.

A full reg't of colored cavalry will soon be organized at Vicksburgh

Oct 26 '63

Balt Sun

Albion F Hubbard.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black ink with additions in black pencil on a scrap of laid white notepaper approx. 7¾" x 7¾". The upper right corner has been trimmed, probably by a dealer. In upper left corner is an embossed stag head .04" high. See "Memoranda of a Year," 1, and "Absalom Swanger." Date is early June, 1863. Published by Glicksberg, 154.

Albion F Hubbard

Ward C bed 7

Co F 1st Mass Cavalry / been in the service one year—has had¹ two carbun-
cles one on arm, one on ankle, healing at present yet² great holes left, stuffed with
rags—worked on a farm 8 years before enlisting—wrote letter—for him to the
man he lived with /

died June 20th '63³

1. Inserted above wordspace between "has . . . two"
2. Preceding four words inserted in pencil on a caret above "uncle . . . holes"
3. Preceding twelve words in pencil.

Wm E Vandermark.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black pencil on white wove paper approx. 3½" x 4¾". Lost letters were exchanged between Vandermark (or Vandemark) between August, 1863, and December, 1864 (*Corr.*, I, 366, 367, 373, 374, 375). There is a note from Vandemark to WW dated April 7, 1864, in "Mrs. H. J. Wright." He is mentioned in "Hospital Note book," in "D. W. Wilder," and "Addresses." Since this MS is the sort of memorandum WW made on the spot, it is probable that its date is June, 1863, as in "Hospital Note book." Published by Glicksberg, 156.

Wm E Vandermark
co I 120th N Y.
bed 39—Ward B— /
Sarah E Vandermark
Accord, Ulster co, N.Y. /

June 20—'63.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil on torn scrap of white laid paper with chainlines 1¼" apart. Blue lines ⅜" apart.

June 20 — '63 / Oscar H Cunningham¹ bed 20 Wark K, Ohio boy, large, (told me he had usually weighed[?] 200 lb) fracture of leg,² above knee, rather bad — (a fine magnificent specimen of western manliness) was with Milroy[?]³ speaks well of him — (Miss Helen S Cunningham Delaware Delaware co Ohio)

/Andrew

bed 22 Ward H,

1. WW was much attached to Cunningham, who was wounded at Chancellorsville on May 3, 1863, and died June 5, 1864. See *Corr.*, I, 176, 181, 184, 218, 219, 221, 227, 229, 231; "Last of the War Cases," *Prose* 92, II, 620; "Ward K Armory sq. Hosp," "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz"; "Baily D Damon"; "Hospital Note book."

2. Deleted: "below" ; inserted above: "above"

3. Probably Major General Robert Huston Milroy, who was defeated at the Second Battle of Winchester (Virginia), June 14-15, 1863, as the Confederates headed north.

June 21, '63.

Manuscript in Huntington (HM 94). Inscribed in black ink (to the semicolon) and pencil on two pasted, white laid scraps. The substitution of "E. T." for the father's name suggests that WW was preparing a news item. The soldier is probably Wm. C. Thomas, mentioned in "Hospital Note book." Characteristics of the MS furnished by Mr. Herbert C. Schultz, Curator of Manuscripts, Huntington.

June 21, '63—Wm. C. T., Co. F. 55th Ohio (Ward A, bed 3, Armory,) only 17 yrs. old;¹ wounded first day at Chancellorsville—thigh badly fractured—obstinate, slow to heal—has now several bed-sores—lies patient & uncomplaining—a very brave boy—(his father went home about two days ago)—a fine bright boy—asked him what I should bring him—he said nothing—. father's address. E. T.² Marseilles, Wyandot co Ohio.

1. End of first scrap. In black ink. Second scrap in black pencil.

2. Deleted in black ink: "Enoch Thomas" ; above "arseilles" in "Marseilles" and "Wyan" in "Wyandot"; inserted in black ink: "E.T." following "address"

Ward A Bed 47.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in pencil on scrap of white paper with conspicuous lines in texture. The date is June, 1863.

Ward A bed 47—Armory June 21 /
Livingston J. Brooks¹ co B 17th Penn Cav. /
Int² fever—brought in June 20—very sick—patient obedient—poor fellow—(³ born
in Missouri.)

mother

Margaret Brooks

Susquehannah depot

Susquehannah co Penn

1. WW reported his discovery of Brooks in a neglected condition to his mother June 30, 1863 (*Corr.*, I, 111). For other references to Brooks see "Baily D Damon," "Hospital Note book," "a m Dr. L B Russell."

2. Possibly intermittent fever. In his letter of June 30, WW says it was typhoid.

3. Deleted: "raised" ; inserted above: "born"

John Grundke.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black pencil on scrap of white laid paper approx. $3\frac{1}{8}$ " x $5\frac{3}{4}$ " with horizontal chainlines. Since WW mentions Grundke elsewhere only in "Hospital Note book" [5], the date of this manuscript must be June, 1863. Published by Glicksberg, 154.

/ John Grundke co B—26th Wis / bed 23—ward F. / German—(wants something to read in English)

Bed 29—Ward D.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black pencil on a scrap of white laid paper approx. 3½" x 5". The date is June, 1863. Printed by Glicksberg, 155-156.

bed 29—Ward D Armory June 22 /
Amster Moore¹ Co F 73d Ohio very low — very sick indeed with typhoid fever
(condition doubtful) /
wife Nancy Moore Veto, Washington co Ohio July 26—much better² /

1. See also "Hospital Note book."

2. Rule across leaf.

William Grover.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black pencil on two scraps of white paper: [1] white laid paper, approx. 7½" x 4¼". Blue lines recto and verso ⅓" apart; [2] two scraps backed by a third which has writing in black ink on concealed side. Overall size approx. 7" x 4¾". Written in June, 1863. Cf. "Hospital Note book." Published by Glicksberg, 127.

William Grover¹ shot for desertion

—the horrid contrast & the sarcasm of this life² —to know who they really are that³ sit on judges benches, &⁴ who they⁵ perched in the criminal's box—to know /

While all this gaud & tinsel shines in people's eyes, amid the countless officer straps,⁶ amid all the show of generals stars, & the bars of the captains & lieutenants—amid all the wind & puffing & infidelity—amid the⁷ swarms of⁸ contractors & their endless contracts, & the paper money—amid

out from all this /

—stalks like a phantom that boy, not yet nineteen years of age, boy⁹ who had fought without flinching in twelve battles, (no veteran of old wars better or steadier)—stalks forth I say¹⁰ that single simple¹¹ boy, out¹² of¹³ all this huge composite pageant, silently with a bandage¹⁴ over his eyes &¹⁵—the volley—the smoke—the limpsing, falling body the blood streaming in¹⁶ stains¹⁷ & splashes down the breast¹⁸

1. See "Hospital Note book."

2. Space for four words left vacant, very deep indentation before next word.

3. Preceding four words inserted on two lines at right above "who . . . sit"

4. Deleted: "the"

5. Deleted: "that"

6. Preceding five words inserted on a line above "eyes . . . show"

7. Deleted: "rich"

8. Sheet 2.

9. Inserted above "who"

10. Preceding two words inserted in right margin above and following "forth"

11. Deleted: [*illeg.*].

12. Deleted: "but I say"

13. Inserted above wordspace between "out . . . all"

14. Deleted: "on" ; inserted above: "over"

15. Deleted: "has sl" ; inserted: "—the volley—the smoke,—the limpsey, falling, body" on a line above "[*del.*] has sl" and "streaming"

16. Deleted: "red"

17. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

18. Deleted: "his" ; inserted above: "the"

Scene in the Woods.

Manuscript originally in LC (#101). There now exist only four photostated pages, sheet #'s [3396–3399]. LC *Cat.* describes the original as being without cover and on paper embossed “PLATNER AND PORTER CONGRESS.” The size was 7¼" x 4". Hanging indentations. The action described is probably the battle of White Oak Swamp (it has several other names), June 30, 1862. Since Milton Roberts appears in “Hospital Note book,” this MS must date from June–July, 1863. Glicksberg points out that the narrative is the basis of “A March in the Ranks Hard-Prest, and the Road Unknown.” Printed by Glicksberg, 123–124.

[3396R] Scene in the woods on the Peninsula¹—told me by Milton Roberts² ward G (Maine)

After the battle of White Oaks Church, on the retreat, the march at night—the scene between 12 & 2 o'clock that night. at the church in the woods, the hospital show at night, the wounded brought in—previous, the silent stealthy march through the woods, at times stumbling over the bodies of dead men in the road, (there had been terrible fighting there [3397R; 3396V *blank*]³ that day, only closing at dark)—we retreating the artillery⁴ horses feet muffled, orders that men should tread light & only speak in whispers—

Then between⁵ midnight & 1 o'clock we halted to rest a couple of hours at an opening in the woods—in this opening was a pretty good sized old church used⁶ impromptu for a hospital for the wounded of the [3398R; 3397V *blank*] battles of the day thereabout—with these it was filled, all varieties horrible beyond description—the darkness dimly⁷ lit with candles, lamps torches, moving about,⁸ but plenty of darkness & half darkness,—the crowds of wounded, bloody & pale, the surgeons operating—the yards outside also filled—they lay on the ground, some on blankets,⁹ some on stray planks,¹⁰ [3399R; 3398V *blank*]¹¹—the¹¹ despair-

1. Upper left corner missing. Preceding five words inserted from Glicksberg.

2. See “Hospital Note book.”

3. Deleted: “the” ; inserted above: “that”

4. Inserted above “e” in “the” and above “horse”

5. Deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted above: “midnight”

6. Deleted: “improm”

7. Three words and dash inserted above “lit with candles”

8. Deleted: “but dark”

9. Three words inserted above: “the ground, some”

10. Deleted: “or”

11. Deleted: “desp”

ing screams & curses of some out of their senses, the murky darkness, the gleaming of the torches, the smoke from them too,¹² the doctors operating, the scent of chloroform, the glisten of the steel instruments¹³ as the flash of lamps fell upon them.

12. Inserted in two lines probably in black ink above "out of their senses" : "the murky darkness, [*del.*] the [*illeg.*] gleaming of the torches, the smoke from them too"

13. Deleted: "as" ; inserted above: "as"

Ward D Bed 50.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black pencil (date in blue pencil) on a scrap of white laid paper approx. $4\frac{1}{3}$ " x 5". Published by Glicksberg, 149.

ward D bed 50 Armory / Geo W. Monk,¹ co A 78th N. Y V / Brooklyn boy
father Wm D Monk Brooklyn E. D. / gun shot wound in head—feet benumbed—
fine manly quiet boy / July '63

1. See *Corr.*, I, 112 and "Hospital Note book."

Absalom Swanger.

Manuscript in LC (#100, sheets # 1134-1140). Inscribed with black pencil on home-made notebook 4½" x 2½". The leaves have been separated and mounted. According to a typed note on the mounting label, they were originally held together with a pin. One blank preserved. Paper is white laid with chainlines ¾" apart. On [1139] and [1140] is embossed a stag's head, rampant as it were, in an oval frame approx. ⅜" high. See "Albion F Hubbard" and MEMORANDA OF A YEAR (1863) for a similar paper. The date is July, 1863. [1137R—1140R] were printed in part by Glicksberg, 149.

[1134R] Absalom Swanger bed 22—ward D shot right arm very sick some preserve¹ //
Oscar Wilbur²

[1135R; 1134V blank] ward E bed 5 Erastus Haskell³ co K 141st NY rank musician typhoid fever / father Samuel Haskell Breesport Chemung co N.Y.
[1136R; 1135V blank] I visited him from the time he was brought in the hospital—he told me he had been sick off & on for several months—had a fife lying on the bed

[1137R; 1136V blank] July 22d, 63⁴
ward K bed 47 / Oscar F Wilber⁵ co G 154th N.Y. talk with him July 22d '63 afternoon asked me to read a chapter in the New Testament—I complied, asking him what, "make your own choice" said he. I opened at the close of one the⁶

1. Two short lines, not quite parallel, from left.

2. Marked by one of WW's closed fists with a pointing index finger. Below is a square paper label with "Hospital Note Book Walt Whitman" in another hand.

3. Haskell died in August, 1863. See *Corr.*, I, 119, 127-128, 173; "Three Young Men's Death's," *SD Prose* 92, I, 155-156; "Hospital Note book," and "September & October." This passage was published in Glicksberg, 148-149.

4. The date is in black ink.

5. The account of Wilber was used by WW in "Our Wounded and Sick Soldiers" *N.Y. Times*, December 11, 1864 and in "A New York Soldier," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 56-57. Printed in part by Glicksberg, 149.

6. Deleted: "part" at the end of the line; inserted: "book of the" above "evange" in "evangelists," at the beginning of the next line.

books of the evangelists, in the first part testament [1138R; 1137V blank] describing the latter hours & crucifixion of Christ—he asked me to read the following chapter, how he rose again. It pleased him very much, the tears were in his eyes—asked me if I⁷ “enjoyed religion”—I⁸ said, probably not my dear, in the way [1139R; 1138V blank] you mean”—he said that it was his main reliance, he smiled sweetly, said he did not fear death—I said Why Oscar don’t you think you will get well” He said I may but it is not probable—he then told me [1140R; 1139V blank] his condition—his wound was very bad, it discharges much—he had also, for quite a long time diarrhea, altogether prostrating him—he behaved very manly calm & sweet, spoke slow & low, had large, fine eyes, very eloquent / mother Mrs. Sally D Wilber Alleghany P O Cattaraugus co NY

7. Deleted: “was” ; inserted above: “‘enjoyed’

8. Deleted: “told him no” ; inserted: “said” above “[del.] told”

Washington.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil and black ink on two scraps of white laid paper, approx. 3½" x 4¾". Blue rules ⅜" apart. Numbered "553" in an unknown hand in the upper right; "63" in WW's hand in the upper left. The only similar picture of Lincoln in the canon is "Abraham Lincoln" in *SD, Prose* 92, I, 59-61, which is based on a "Notebook" entry of August 12, 1863. This well may be the present MS. The date is probably August, 1863.

Washington, with its green trees & its white & columned public edifices, beautiful¹ in moonlight—Washington² with³ stately gilded halls, & the⁴ dark seamed face of the President, as he rapidly drives along to sleep,⁵ guarded by galloping cavalry, with naked sabres over their shoulders⁶

1. Deleted: "as"
2. Deleted: "with"
3. Written in center of line with deleted "with" preceding. End of first scrap.
4. Deleted: "pale" ; inserted in black ink above: "dark"
5. Preceding comma and two words inserted in black ink above "gua" in "guarded"
6. Preceding six words inserted in black ink above "galloping cavalry"

In Armory Ward C.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black ink with black pencil corrections on much crumpled white laid paper, approx. 2" x 6¾". Blue rules ⅓" apart. Printed by Glicksberg, 150. The date is probably September, 1863.

in Armory ward C¹

A noble sized young fellow M.W.² co K 6th Ohio, gun shot wound lft shoulder,—I cut up some peaches, powder them with sugar, for his supper—he relishes them much—³ he has suffered, but lies easy now—What a splendid⁴ neck, frame, & clean complexion.

1. Heading in pencil.

2. The full name, "Manvill Winterstein" and "of" have been crossed out and the initials inserted above "Manville" in pencil as if for a news story. Winterstein is mentioned in "September & October," *Corr.*, I, 177, II, 364, 372; "Typical Soldiers," *SD Prose* 92, I, 111; "D. W. Wilder," and as late as 1877 WW noted his address ("Daybook" [74] Aug. 4, 1877, *DN*, I, 59.

3. Deleted: "for him too I write" ; inserted: "he has suffered, but lies easy now—" on a line above "[del.] him . . . a"

4. Deleted: "frame"

A Lad of 18.

Manuscript in Huntington. Inscribed in black ink on white laid scrap, blue rules, approx. $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart.

George C. Meade (1815–1871) took command of Union forces in Virginia after Fredericksburg, December 25, 1863. Stilwell was wounded in September or October of 1863, and since the opening phrase of the MS resembles that used in a letter of October 4, 1863 (*Corr.*, I, 154), the manuscript must date from about that time. Characteristics of the MS furnished by Mr. Herbert C. Schultz, Curator of Manuscripts, Huntington.

A lad of 18,¹ 2d N Y Cavalry (we have lots of cavalry men lately, as Meade does most of his work² now with³ horse, & there is great competition & daring among the⁴ leading cavalry brigadiers.)

1. Deleted: "Jas Stilwell" . See *Corr.*, I, 154, 169–170, 176, 181, 184, 375; Traubel, I, 434, 439, and "September & October."

2. Inserted above "s" space "n"

3. Deleted: "cavalry advances" ; inserted above "cavalry" : "horse,"

4. Deleted: "generals" ; inserted: "leading"

Memoranda of a Year.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in pencil on three fragments of white laid paper, blue rules approx. $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Embossed stag's head in oval at upper left. Cf. "Albion F Hubbard" and "Absalom Swanger." Accompanied by a draft of a letter of James Redpath (*Corr.*, I, 171-172) and a tan envelope with printed Christian Commission return address endorsed by WW: "letter to Redpath about Memoranda of a Year (publisher's announcement) sent October 21, '63." Aside from the projected "Hours in Our Army Hospitals" and his newspaper letters, this was WW's first attempt to express himself on the war. Here he wishes to go "considerably beyond mere hospital sketches" (*Corr.*, I, 171). The attack on the antidemocratic spirit of the officers, while it is mentioned in notebooks, in the letter to Redpath, and in his newspaper letters ("Life among Fifty Thousand Soldiers," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 19, 1863 [*CW*, VII, 92, 98]), does not appear in the announcement, in *MDW* or *SD*. He apparently reserved it for the more analytical *DV* (*Prose* 92, II, 389-390). It has not been noted that the draft letter ends with the deleted words: "Accouch! accouchez!" (Cf. "A Song of the Rolling Earth (1856), ll. 27-30.) Redpath replied that publication of so ambitious a book was beyond his means. First printed in Traubel, IV, 415; facsimile in Roy P. Basler, ed., *Walt Whitman's Memoranda During the War & Death of Abraham Lincoln* (Bloomington, Ind., 1962), 13-15.

MEMORANDA OF A YEAR

(1863)

By WALT WHITMAN¹

{2} Publishers announcement²

Walt Whitmans
A New Book
Memoranda of a year³

1. Printed by hand as a title page. First word in shaded capitals. Two irregular lines at bottom of the page, probably to suggest the publisher's imprint.

2. Written at top of leaf. Deleted: "outline of newspaper advertisement"

3. The preceding eight words set off as two lines in a somewhat larger hand. "New Book" and the title are in a very bold hand. The original reading was: "A New Book by Walt Whitman" on two lines.

Probably no greater year has ever sped to its close, in the world's history, than the one now about terminating.⁴ At all events the year 1863⁵ is by far⁶ the most important in the hitherto⁷ history of America. And this book, with its frame work⁸ jotted down on the battle-field,⁹ in the shelter-tent, by the way-side amid the rumble¹⁰ of passing artillery trains or the marching[?] of cavalry, in the streets of Washington,¹¹ the¹² gorgeous halls of gold where the¹³ national representatives meet, and above all¹⁴ in the great military hospitals,¹⁵ amid the children of every one of the United States & the representatives[?] of every battle, amid¹⁶ the ashy face, the bloody bandage, with death & suffering on every side¹⁷ [3]¹⁸ an ardent book arresting¹⁹ many of the most significant²⁰ things, the²¹ flashes, stormy²² & quick, that characterise the time,—a book of²³ the spirit & fact of the²⁴ events we are passing through—a book indeed full of

*these vehement, these
tremendous days,*²⁵

—full of incidents, full of the blood & vitality of the²⁶ American people,—

—a²⁷ book, ante-dating from a²⁸ mentality gestated amid the ocean life & cosmopolitanism of New York, with all the proclivities of²⁹

4. Deleted: "nearly finished" ; inserted above: "about terminating"

5. Deleted: "it" . Inserted: "the year 1863" above "events" and "[del.] is"

6. Inserted above "is . . . the"

7. Inserted above "the" and "his" in "history"

8. Inserted: "with its frame work" above "book . . . down"

9. "former battlefield" would have been more accurate.

10. Inserted: "the rumble of" above "amid . . . passing"

11. Inserted: "in the streets of Washington," above "valry" in "cavalry" and "[del.] gilded"

12. Deleted: "gilded"

13. Deleted: "natiol"

14. Inserted: "and above all" above "meet, . . . in"

15. Inserted: "amid . . . battle," above "hospitals"

16. Deleted: "the wound [illeg.] the blood"

17. Words cut off at bottom.

18. Words cut off at top. On verso: "Publishers Announcement"

19. Deleted: "the"

20. Preceding two words inserted above "the"

21. Inserted above the wordspace between "things, . . . flashes"

22. Deleted. [illeg.]

23. Preceding three words inserted on two lines above "&" and space before "the"

24. Deleted: "grand" ; inserted: "spirit of & fact of the above "[del.] grand" and "events"

25. The preceding five words set off as two lines divided after "these" in a somewhat larger hand.

26. Deleted: "be"

27. Deleted: "amid" ; inserted above: "a book"

28. Deleted: "life" ; inserted above "mentality"

29. Deleted: "nationality"

*Nationality,³⁰ Freedom, &
real³¹ Democracy.³²*

—such is the new volume [*illeg.*] the publisher³³ offers to the public, confident³⁴ it will prove all that the foregoing description claims for it.³⁵

30. Deleted: “&”

31. Deleted: “&”

32. The preceding five words set off as two lines divided after “&” in a somewhat larger hand.

33. Deleted: “presents to the”

34. Deleted: “that”

35. A faint and illegible scrawl follows.

Confession to Make.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in pencil on two leaves of white, glossy, laid paper, 5" x 8". On verso of [2] is a sketch of a title page: "Walt Whitman's [*name del.*] Memoranda of a Year (1863 [*del.*] 1863)." See "MEMORANDA OF A YEAR" (1863).

confession to make that¹ I have not found one who² realized the truth, the

I have not found such officers in any branch of the regular³ service, nor in the volunteers, nor in the hospitals⁴

Maxim—Our Military & naval service must be democratized—men must rise from the ranks, by judicious promotions,—⁵ must be educated by a⁶ new mixture of theoretical & practical [2] instruction—the⁷ at present impassable gulf between the body⁸ of men & the officers must be removed⁹ entirely, (if it is necessary then I say our¹⁰ whole American theory is a big¹¹ wind-bag, & stands no test worth mentioning)

1. Deleted: "not,"; "whe" written over "t"
2. Deleted: "fully"
3. Inserted above "the" and "se" in "service"
4. Space of four or five lines between entries. Short line above "Maxim"
5. Deleted: "may" ; inserted above: "must"
6. Deleted: "more"
7. Deleted: "gap{?}"
8. Deleted: "& th"
9. Comma deleted.
10. Deleted: "whole" ; inserted above: "whole"
11. Inserted in the wordspace between "a . . . wind-bag"

Friday Dec 11 '63.

Manuscript not found. Text from facsimile in Thomas Donaldson, *Walt Whitman the Man* (NY, 1896), 156. WW had known since June 30, 1862, that Chase disapproved of LG ("return my book"). For Trowbridge see "am Dr. L B Russell" and "J. T. Trowbridge has called." See also Traubel, II, 397, and J. T. Trowbridge, *My Own Story* (Boston, 1903), 380-390. Through the courtesy of Mr. James Lawton the following entries from Trowbridge's diary in the Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts, Boston Public Library, are included. Ellipses inserted. "[Vol. 2] Sunday, [Dec.] 6th [1863] . . . Evening to see the O'Connors Walt Whitman with them. Wednesday . . . To see Walt Whitman in his attic. Read to me from [?] "drum-taps".— . . . Evening to O'Connor's, met Walt Whitman. 11th. To Walt's attic. Wrote to Nellie about it. P.M., to the hospital with him to see his boys. . . . Sunday, Dec 13th Morning to Walt Whitman's; found O'Connor. Afternoon, to Hospital, to meet Walt Monday 14th . . . —To see Walt.— [Vol. 6] Monday [Dec] 23d [1867] Call on WW & O'Connor 26th . . . Evening with O'Connor & Walt W. 28th . . . Evening—Walt Whitman came in at 7½, & stayed till eleven. Evidently prepared for the call, both in person & spirit,—boots carefully blacked, linen fresh[?], & his whole appearance finer & more gentlemanly than I ever saw him before." Trowbridge draws on these notes and tells the story of his interview with Chase, whose houseguest he was, in his published reminiscences.

Friday Dec 11 '63

This forenoon Mr Trowbridge has been with me—he had a talk yesterday with the Sec of the Treasury¹ S P Chase about me, presented Emerson's letter to Mr C—he said some commonplaces about wishing to oblige R W E, & Mr Trowbridge—then said he considered *Leaves of Grass* a very bad book, & he did not know how he could possibly bring its author into the government service, especially² if he put³ him in contact with gentlemen employed in the⁴ beaureaus—did not think he would be warranted in doing so—he considered the author of *Leaves of Grass* in the light of a decidedly⁵ disreputable person—Mr. T mentioned to him my employment for a year past [*illeg.*] the wounded & sick soldiers—it did not seem to make any difference—

1. Preceding four words inserted above "P" and "about" . Since there is no caret in the MS, WW may have intended the insertion to follow the name.

2. Deleted: "as he w"

3. Inserted and deleted above wordspace: [*illeg.*]

4. Deleted: "beauroes [?]" above "auroes" and in two lines above "considered" ; inserted: "beaureaus—did not think he would be warranted in doing so"

5. Inserted above "a" and "dis"

An Imposition.

Manuscript in Texas. Inscribed in ink on white wove paper, 5" x 8", perpendicular blue rules $\frac{5}{16}$ " apart. At upper left in pencil, possibly in WW's hand, "*Herald*". Publication not located. The date is between 1863 and 1865.

AN IMPOSITION—STOP IT!—There is one of the smallest & meanest of impositions practiced of late in the Washington Military¹ Hospitals, and² in other places too, for what we know. By hook or crook, they get up "presentations," to the surgeons, or to some soft and notoriety-loving woman—a service of plate, a sword sash &c. These things are got up by³ ostensible voluntary subscriptions,⁴ but really extracted from the poor sick soldiers, especially just after the paymaster has been around. No proper⁵ hospital surgeon, nor⁶ proper woman, would accept such things. We call on the authorities⁷ at Washington to put a stop to this impudent gouge on⁸ our sick and dying soldiers.

1. Inserted above "gton" in "Washington"

2. Deleted: "some"

3. Deleted: "the" ; inserted: "ostensible voluntary" above "subscrip" in "subscriptions"

4. Inserted: "but really" above "ns" in "subscriptions" and "ex" in "extracted"

5. Deleted: "sur"

6. Deleted: "proper"

7. Inserted: "at Washington" above "ties" in "authorities" and "to"

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

Feb. 18—James Fluker.

Manuscript not found. Text from Glicksberg, 160. Location not given. Date between 1863 and 1865.

Feb. 18—James Fluker on guard, (V. R. C.) at Mt. Pleasant Hospital—Lt. French—(on guard 19th—21st).

Baily D Damon.

Manuscript in LC (#103, sheets # 1154-1201). Inscribed in black pencil and ink on white laid paper, 4" x 2½". Chain lines 11/16" apart. There seem to be two kinds of paper: a few leaves, [1154R-1157R, 1183R-1187R, 1198RV], have blue lines 5/16" apart on one side only; the majority have lines on both sides. It is possible that WW made the notebook of folded note paper, which occasionally had blue lines on three leaves only. Since the notebook has been disassembled and mounted by LC, collation of the paper and cut edges was not possible. Blanks preserved separately. On the cover is a small label in another hand: "Hospital Notebook. Walt Whitman." With a few exceptions, WW used the notebook from January 1863 to September 1864. As was his custom, WW made entries almost at random. Those for the summer of 1863 [1157R, 1159R] were apparently made shortly after the Battle of Gettysburg. Those for September, 1864 [1179V, 1180R] were made while he was convalescing in Brooklyn, where, after two months of recuperation, he began visiting hospitals. See "latter part of Aug." and *Corr.*, I, 240. In 1864 he was simultaneously keeping "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz," which he had kept intermittently in 1860 and 1862.

[1154R] Baily D Damon¹ co G, 18 Mass ward C bed 29 / wound in left leg, calf torn away by solid shot /
 James P Kirkwood,² 44 Pierrepont St Brooklyn
 [1154V]³ Victor Smith[?]⁴ 448 13th st /
 Chas W Slack⁵ US Custom House Boston Mass
 [1155R] bed 34 ward B Albina H Carter co E 6th Maine g s w lft knee piles bad he gave me the marble book / father Robert Carter 2d Blue Hill Maine /
 Dan'l J O'Neil co A 7th Mass Fall River Bristol co Mass g s w lft hip

1. See "a m Dr. L B Russell" and *Corr.*, I, passim.

2. In Brooklyn directory, 1863, listed as Chief Engineer, Water Works, residence at this address. See [115V] below; "a m Dr. L B Russell," "Walt Whitman Soldier's," "September & October," and *Corr.*, I, 105, 213-215, 216, 327.

3. Rules across leaf.

4. Possibly the person who told WW of Secretary Chase's disgust at *LG*. See "return my book." J. T. Trowbridge reported the same information in 1863 "Friday Dec. 11 '63"

5. Deleted: "assistant collector cashier" . See "Walt Whitman Soldier's."

[1155V] J P Kirkwood,⁶ 44 Union Square New York City Thos B Neat⁷ head-quarters Gen Kilpatrick's 3d division Cavalry Corps via Washington D C
 [1156R] ward a bed 4 Chas H Clouden 119th Penn wife Eliza Clouden 472 North 2d st Philadelphia bring some jelly /⁸ Dr. Haviland (the old doctor) Giesboro point gov't boat foot of 7th st died May or June '64⁹ /
 bed 11 A George Dent¹⁰ co A 52d N Y gave him some money I think had diarrhea & fever has he gone home?
 [1157R; 1156V blank] John & Philip Lininer¹¹ co B, 149th Penn father / Henry Lininger Rockland p o Clearfield co Philip was killed at Gettysburgh¹² [1159R]^{13*} Philips aged 20 expression My God, My God, here I go I am gone too—in Dutch killed in the charge /¹⁴ killed at noon¹⁵ Gettysburgh 1st of July '63 John (aged 18)¹⁶ wounded first at the same time / he supposed Philip was killed too
 [1157V] E D Fox¹⁷ Wyoming Stark co Ill /
 Bethuel Smith¹⁸ co F 2d U S Cavalry / Abby Price¹⁹ 149 West 33d st /
 [1158R] Jan 2 ward H, bed 22 / William Widner co I 2d N Y cav heart disease friend Rolla Widner Frankfort Clinton co Ind apples or oranges or crabapple jelly /²⁰
 Livingston J Brooks²¹ co B 17th Penn cavalry

6. In NYC directory, 1864–1865, listed as engineer office on Chambers St. See n2 above.

7. WW mentioned Neat to his mother, October 27, 1863 (*Corr.*, I, 173); Neat wrote him February 2, 1864 (*ibid.*, I, 375). See also "September & October".

8. Rules across leaf.

9. The note of his death is later.

10. See "September & October."

11. Deleted: "g" before "er"

12. The Battle of Gettysburg took place between July 1 and 4, 1863.

13. WW placed an asterisk at the bottom of [1157R], and another at the top of [1159R], obviously intending that the two pages be read successively.

14. Rule across leaf.

15. Inserted above "at" and "Gett" in "Gettysburgh"

16. Inserted above "n" in "John" and "wo" in "wounded"

17. Elijah Douglas Fox of the Third Wisconsin, entered Armory Square Hospital in September, 1863 ("September & October"). WW mentioned him in several letters in November, and wrote to him from Brooklyn on November 21 (*Corr.*, I, 176, 177, 181, 186). See also "a m Dr. L B Russell," and Traubel, II, 137, 138, 371, 380.

18. See "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz."

19. Mrs. Price, a seamstress, and her family were friends of the Whitmans and among the few of his domestic circle with whom WW felt at ease as a poet. See "a m Dr. L B Russell," "Addresses," "[illeg.] Dick Hunt," and *Corr.*, I, 42, 49, 135, 141, 151, 161, 173, 184, 240, 248, 253, 282, 285, 291–292, 300, 301, 306, 318–319, 321, 328, 335 340; II, 20, 25, 26, 43, 44, 48–49, 64, 66, 80–81, 83, 85; 103, 120, 200, 202, 242, 264, 266, 281, 315; III, 62, 221; IV, 65n; [1158V] below.

20. Irregular rule across leaf. WW mentioned Brooks' case in a letter to his mother, June 30, 1863 (*Corr.*, I, 111). See also "Ward A, bed 47," "Hospital Note book," and "a m Dr. L B Russell."

21. WW mentioned Brooks's case in a letter to his mother, June 30, 1863 (*Corr.*, I, 111). See also "Ward A, bed 47," "Hospital Note book," and "a m Dr. L B Russell."

[1158V] Sergt Thos P Sawyer²² co C 11th Mass vol 1st brig 2d div 3d corps /
 J T Trowbridge²³ Somerville Mass /
 Abby H Price²⁴ 149 West 33d st. New York city
 [1160R; ²⁵ 1159V blank] / After a severe battle perhaps next Day, (or 2d day)—
 the field, and for a great distance around here & there the dead & wounded—
 blood, corpses, fragments, the dying, in some spots very thick [1161R; 1160V
 blank]—the cloud comes over the sun—it rains sometimes for hours—heaven[?]
 looking[?] [1161V]—they lie in all attitudes—some shot through the heart—
 [1162R]²⁶ the dead lie mostly on their backs—they swell & bloat—they turn[?]
 very black & discolored—some fall holding the gun in their hand just as firing[?]
 [1162V] Capt J F S Gray²⁷ headquarters Maj Gen Canby New Orleans La
 [1163R] at com of a battle there are skirmishers thrown out—both sides do it—
 they crawl only—you will see the wheat wiggling—some of the men are [1164R;
 1163V blank] natural scout or skirmishers—²⁸they enjoy it hugely and are in their
 element—
 [1165R; 1164V blank]—the sight the men (the whole army) presented (as on their
 way to Gettysburg²⁹) after a days march—(you wouldn't know your nearest oldest

22. This entry probably records WW's first meeting with Sawyer, who lived in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts. His occupation was soapmaker. He enlisted as a corporal, June 23, 1861, and was mustered out as a sergeant, June 12, 1864, when he was 22. The Adjutant General of Massachusetts has no information about birth or next of kin. He was wounded at 2d Bull Run, August 29, 1862. See Allen, 297–298; *Corr.*, I, 90–94, 106–107, 139, 185–186, 331, 366, 373, 375. See also [1188V] below, “a m Dr. L B Russell,” “September & October”.

23. John Townsend Trowbridge (1827–1916), novelist, poet, and author of juvenile stories. He met WW in 1860 in Boston, and again in Washington in 1863, where he tried to help him secure a position in a government office. He described their meetings in *My Own Story* (1903), 360–401. See “a m Dr. L B Russell,” “Friday Dec 11 '63,” “J. T. Trowbridge has called”; “D. W. Wilder,” “Rossetti”; *Corr.*, I, 184n, 191, 195–196, 224, 254, 255; II, 113–114, 126n, 329n, 214n, 364, 372; III, 441, 442; V, 50n, 69.

24. See [1157V] above.

25. In accordance with WW's asterisks [1159R] follows [1157R] above. Glicksberg (164) suggests that the descriptions may have formed a basis for the poem “The Artilleryman's Vision.”

26. An asterisk and inverted pointing hand at upper left possibly referring to [1161V].

27. John Frederick Schiller Gray, after whom WW named the Fred Gray Association. See “Addresses.”

28. Deleted: “there”

29. WW uses both spellings.

comrade—every face covered thick with dust [1166R; 1165V *blank*]—beard & skin all dirt, well set in—eyes red from the days heat—this part of war the sight was very curious—feet sore covered with blisters— days on the rapid march [1166V] Sutler 51st (George's trunk) S Kipp cor F & 9th st Model house³⁰ / [1167R] Jan 4 '64 Bed 52—ward H James Taylor 33d N.Y. bat scurvey father Danl D Taylor Lawrenceville Tioga co Penn pep candy [1168R; 1167V *blank*] Jan 5th 64 to-day, after dinner, Lewy Brown³¹ had his left leg amputated five inches below the knee—(the surgeon in charge had examined it the day before³² decided to [*illeg.*]—I was present at the operation, most of the time in the door, [*illeg.*] The surgeon in charge amputated but did not finish the operation being[?] called away as[?] [*illeg.*] was stitching it up[?] Lewy came out of the influence of the ether. It bled [*illeg.*] & they thought an artery had opened. They were [*illeg.*] to cut the stitches [1169R] again & make a search but after some time concluded it was only surface bleeding. They then stitched it up again & Lew felt every one of these stitches, though³³ yet partially under the influence of ether. They did not think it safe to give him any more as he had already taken it excessively. I could hear his cries³⁴ sometimes [1170R; 1169V *blank*] quite loud, & half-coherent talk & caught glimpses of him through the open door. At length they finished, & they brought the boy in on his cot,³⁵ &³⁶ took it to its place. I sat down by him. The effect of the ether & exhaustion &c.³⁷ had their effect upon for some time. He talked, quite a good deal. His face³⁸ was very pale,³⁹ his eyes dull. [1171R] He asked often about me. He remained very sick, opprest for breath, with deathly feeling,⁴⁰ in the stomach head, &c. & great pain in the leg. As usual in such cases he could feel the lost foot & leg very plainly. The toes would get twisted, & not possible to disentangle them. About 7 oclock in the evening, he dozed into a sleep, [1172R; 1171V *blank*] quite good for a couple of hours. The rest of the night was very bad. I remained all night, slept on the adjoining cot. (The same the next night.) He had a very good night watch, who remained

30. An identical entry appears in "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz" as well as in Glicksberg, 181. Written in ink lengthwise on the page. The "Model house" has not been identified.

31. See "a m Dr. L B Russell" for more references to Brown. See also Glicksberg, 92–98.

32. Preceding five words inserted on a line above "had decided [*illeg.*]"

33. Deleted: "not"

34. Deleted: "&"

35. Preceding three words inserted above "in"

36. Deleted: "placed"

37. Deleted: "made him"

38. Preceding two words inserted above "was"

39. Deleted: "&"

40. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

[1168V] ⁴¹ Alonzo S Bush ⁴² care Capt Shara ⁴³ Co A 1st Indiana Cav Glymont Md /

John Strain Co A 1st Indiana Cav /

Capt King cor 17th & F /

[1170V] ask Judge J. N. Granger ⁴⁴ at Washington house to call on Walter Sibbett, bed 7 ward H

[1173R; 1172V *blank*] Dr Mitchell of Ward K Armory Sq Hosp in, sum of '63 / he put ⁴⁵ Burton in the guard house, for lighting a ⁴⁶ pipe ⁴⁷ for a one-legged soldier—that was his whole & [1174R; 1173V *blank*] entire offence—a comrade asked him to light his pipe & he did it—the doctor ⁴⁸ (Mitchell) saw it, & ordered him ⁴⁹ in the guard house ⁵⁰

[1175R; 1174V *blank*] bed 49 Ward E Jan 31st Charles Davis co H, 1st Mich Cavalry pretty low with Diarrhea sister Miss Eliza Davis Sand Beach Huron Co Mich

[1175V] —& the profuse beauty of the young men's hair, damp with the spotted blood, ⁵¹ their shining hair, red with the sticky blood,—⁵² clotted with spots of blood— /

— the shining beauty of the young men's hair dampened with clots of blood—⁵³

[1176R] ⁵⁴ Oscar H Cunningham ⁵⁵ Delaware Ohio sister Helen S Cunningham gun shot w'd right thigh Chancellorsville/ ⁵⁶ as I write this (April 12 '64.) ⁵⁷ his

41. Written lengthwise on leaf. Displaced to keep the continuity of the story of Lewy Brown.

42. See "a m Dr. L B Russell" and [1187V] below.

43. Preceding three words inserted in black ink above "Co A"

44. In Washington directory for 1864 listed as Recorder of the Land Office at this address. Sibbett is mentioned on [1185V] below.

45. Deleted: "a one-legged soldier Wm McGee in the" ; inserted: "Burton" "a one-"

46. Deleted: "comrade's"

47. Inserted: "for . . . soldier" on a line above "pipe . . . — that was"

48. Deleted: "sa"

49. Inserted above "in"

50. WW mentions Dr. Mitchell's unusually harsh treatment again in "Walt Whitman, Soldier's."

51. Inserted: "damp [originally "wet"] . . . blood" "men's . . . shining"

52. Deleted: "with"

53. Glicksberg (123, n13) suggests that [1175V] is an early version of "The Artilleryman's Vision." If so, the lines were dropped before publication. What may be a later version appears in "return my book." The whole passage is written lengthwise on the page. Since it is on a verso, it may not be exactly contemporaneous with the memoranda of soldiers.

54. Black ink.

55. See "June 20—'63."

56. The Battle of Chancellorsville took place May 2-4, 1863.

57. Note the lapse of time intervening since the preceding dated entry of January 31 [1175R]. WW was at Culpepper, Va. in February. Note also that Cunningham had been in the hospital for eleven months.

leg is in a horrible condition, all livid & swollen out of shape—the chances are against him poor fellow /

{1177R; ⁵⁸ 1176V blank} Ward H, bed 48 April 12 '64 Edwin P⁵⁹ Nickerson (age 21)⁶⁰ co K 4th Maine vol (drafted⁶¹ June '63) very bad case chronic⁶² diarrhea—as I sit by him he looks like a skeleton, no flesh on his face or body,—very low & weak / (sister Mrs Emeline D Brown Belfast Maine) / came here March 20 from reg hosp (gone home⁶³

{1178V; 1177V, 1178R blank} ward H. April '64 John Graham 150th Pen vol Presidents guard /

{1179V; 1179R blank}⁶⁴ John Brower

(Sunday night Sept 4 '64)⁶⁵ has been 14 mo's with Brooklyn 14th—discharged for illness—quite a talker—poetical tendencies—24 yrs old /

{1180R} John D Andrews (young man in hospital & on Fort Greene, born in Maine (Portland) mother died when 8 yrs old—father is also dead—has always been to sea—has heart disease—also⁶⁶—his statements about hospital doings—the danger of being an “interesting case”—(the soldier's episode of what happened at the hospital at City Point)

{1181V; ⁶⁷ 1180V, 1181R blank} Alfred Crary care Moses Lane⁶⁸ box 192, p.o. Brooklyn New York /⁶⁹

Reuben Farwell⁷⁰ company H 1st Mich cavalry

{1182V; 1182R blank} George E Baldwin⁷¹ bat H, 1st Ohio (*illeg.*) corp) Gallipolis Ohio /

58. Black ink.

59. Deleted: “Nickers”

60. Two words inserted at left of “co K” enclosed in curved lines.

61. Deleted: “last”

62. Deleted: “rheumatism” ; inserted above: “diarrhea”

63. Inserted in pencil on a line at bottom of the leaf.

64. {1179V, 1180R, 1181V} written lengthwise on page.

65. Parenthesized words are actually circled in MS. WW was in Brooklyn from the end of June, 1864 to January 1865.

66. A short word has been crossed out at this point. It looks like “syph” [syphilis?]. WW was discreet, in his notebooks, in his reference to sexual matters.

67. Entries lengthwise on leaf.

68. Lane, who was chief engineer of the Brooklyn water works, possibly as successor to James Kirkwood (#2 above), was a contributor to and fund raiser for WW's hospital work. Crary had probably contributed money through him. He is not in the Brooklyn directories from 1862–1863 to 1864–1865.

69. Rule across leaf.

70. See “Mr. & Mrs. Fitz.” Entry in black ink.

71. The name is not in WW's hand.

[1183V; ⁷² 1183R blank] Edwin H Miller⁷³ Erie City Pa (co H 9th N.Y. Cav)
 [1184R] (ward F April '64)⁷⁴ /
 [1184V] ward K Thos Thompson co H, 4th New Jersey Vol. diarrhea /
 John Thompson Centreville Salem Co N J
 [1185V; 1185R blank] ward H —bed 7 Feb 1 '64 Walter A Sibbitt⁷⁵ co H. 126th
 N Y vol admitted 19th Aug diarrhea pretty bad⁷⁶ father Jonathan Sibbitt Port
 Gibson Ontario co N Y
 [1186R] John Gray care Lieut Loring W Muzzey Commissary 2d brigade. 2d div
 1st Army Corps Culpepper Va
 [1187V; 1186V, ⁷⁷ 1187R]⁷⁸ Alfred Larr friend of Alonzo Bush⁷⁹ nicknamed Ray
 [1188R] Bethuel Smith⁸⁰ co F 2d U S Cavalry /
 Serg't Thos P Sawyer⁸¹ co C 11th Mass vol 1st brig 2d div 3d ac /
 Adelbert Dolliver⁸² co B 111th Penn /
 Caleb H Babbitt⁸³ co E 34th Mass Mason Gen Hosp Boston Mass
 [1189R]⁸⁴ bed 42 ward A Seneca Falls Seneca co N Y Ephraim Alexander

72. [1183V, 1184R, 1184V, 1185V, 1186R, 1186V, 1187R] are written lengthwise on the page.

73. WW mentioned Miller's case in a letter to Lewis K. Brown, November 8–9, 1863 (*Corr.*, I, 177, 181).

74. In another hand: "James W. Chaffee Co. A 86 Regt. NY. vol. Morrisville Madison Co. N.Y." Only the ward and date are in WW's hand. Note evidence of WW's casual method of entry. The two preceding September entries from Brooklyn are in a recto and verso.

75. See [1170V] above.

76. Preceding three words inserted in two lines above "nathan S"

77. In another hand: "Saml M Dyer Co. G 5th Wis. vol Argyle LaFayette Co. Wisconsin"

78. In another hand lengthwise: "Lieut A. J. Liebenan [or Liebenau] 70th Regt. N Y volunteers or 1st Excelsior Brigade 2 Brigade 2 Division of Corps Residence 91 West 41st street New York City, N.Y." See "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz" [964V].

79. See [1168V] above.

80. See [1157V] above.

81. See [1158V] above.

82. See "September & October."

83. See "a m Dr. L B Russell."

84. In an illiterate hand: "Ephraim Alexander 15 New York Cavlery" on a line above "bed 42 Ward A". [1189R, 1190R, 1190V, 1192R, 1194V, 1195R, 1195V, 1196R, 1196V, 1197V, 1198R, 1198V, 1201V] are written lengthwise on the page.

[1192R; 1190R;⁸⁵ 1189V blank; 1190V;⁸⁶ 1191R blank; 1191V⁸⁷] Reuben Farwell⁸⁸ co H 1st Michigan Cav. /
 Plymouth Wayne co Mich father⁸⁹ Leroy Farwell
 [1194V; 1192V blank; 1193R blank; 1193V;⁹⁰ 1194R blank]⁹¹ (Penobscot co) father in law Herbert Crummatly[?] [1195R]⁹² Argyle Lafayette co Wis
 [1195V] ward F. April '64 Charles Hermans pale young man⁹³ age 19—rheumatism—Nassau N Y corp. co H 22 reg't Vet US[?] Martindale bar—22d st
 [1196R]⁹⁴ Phelps Ontario co NY; /
 [1196V⁹⁵; 1197V; 1197R blank] Eugene Pratt co F 5th N Y Cavalry / Pike Wyoming co N Y
 [1198R] bed 35 Ward H Calvin B Wood co L 1st Maine Cavalry /
 Mrs Lucretia Wood Harrison Oxford co Maine discharge—gone home⁹⁶
 [1198V] Theodore Pease co H, 19th Indiana York Gen hospital Penn
 [1199R]—the Figure on the Capitol every bright day at evening the helmet shines like a star glistening against the sky / with her heavy cape her shield leaning against her & her sword—& what is it she stands on? Is it the whole globe?
 [1199V] Cooley Culbertson is back /
 Stetson has gone home on furlough /
 Meade is now wardmaster

85. In another hand: "William H. McFarland Co B 5th Regt Wis Vol."

86. In another hand: "Mr. Albert Curtis "drummer" Co D 39th Mass Vols Residence E. Abington Mass"

87. In another hand: "Charles N Curtis N.Y. Cavalry Co H Essex County, New York." The notebook had been turned upside down.

88. See [1181V] above.

89. Inserted above "Le" in "Leroy"

90. In another hand: "Norman B Coe Co D 6th cavalry Maine, Broome co N.Y."

91. In another hand: "*William A. Jellison. Company "H" 6th Me Reg home address West Enfield Maine.*"

92. In another hand: "William A. Leech Co I 5th Wisc Vol."

93. Three words enclosed in curved line

94. In another hand: "Chas H Spoor 8th New York Cavalry Co D." Address enclosed in curved line.

95. In another hand: "John W Gray Care of Lieut Loring W Muzzey A. C. L. Head quarters First Army Corps." See [1186R]. above.

96. The preceding three words inserted in pencil following "Maine" presumably later than the first entry.

[1200R] Serg't Hall is to be discharged /
men occupy their time in bead work /
chapel

[1201R; ⁹⁷ 1200V *blank*] Call on Frank McDonald⁹⁸ of 1st Mass vol bed 21 Ward
E Arm Sq Hosp

[1201V] Mr Pitcher 519 10th cor B

97. Inside back cover. In another hand: "Will M Tuffts, Mass State Agent cor 7th & Ken
ave"

98. Mentioned in a letter to Trowbridge, December 27, 1863 (*Corr.*, I, 191).

(Result of Year.

Manuscript in Boston University. White rag paper, approx. 6½" x 6½" cut from a larger sheet. Blue lines approx. ½" apart. Inscribed in black pencil. A much stronger statement on aristocratic attitudes among army officers is in *DV* (*Prose* 92, II, 389-390). The heading suggests a date in 1864.

(result of year in army hospitals¹

I have had one feeling² aroused & brought forward. That of compassion, (veined with a good deal of³ indignant bitter) That this huge & ⁴noble myriad of the ranks of America has been⁵ yet through its regiments, brigades, divisions, corps & armies,⁶ quite entirely without commissioned officers⁷ in any of the grades, (except perhaps⁸ a very few of the highest⁹) who appreciate¹⁰ any of the people & entertain in their souls the true Democracy out of which only an¹¹ army worthy of America¹² can be wielded. I have found plenty enough¹³ of good hearted officers,¹⁴ middling plenty of officers¹⁵ that the men generally like & respect, but I have the terrible

1. Title in smaller hand.
2. Deleted: "steadily"
3. Preceding four words inserted above "indigna" in "indignant"
4. Deleted: "most"
5. Deleted: "has is" ; inserted: "of America, has been &" above "[del.] has is" and "is"
6. Preceding nine words inserted on a line above "quite . . . commissioned"
7. Deleted: "of any rank whatever" ; inserted above: "in any of the grades"
8. Inserted above "to" in "except" and "a"
9. Deleted: "rank"
10. Deleted: "them" ; inserted and deleted: "the" ; inserted before the deletion: "any of the people" on two lines above "[del.] "them" and "a"
11. "a" emended to "an" ; deleted: "great"
12. Deleted: "& of the [ins.] modern"
13. Inserted above "of"
14. Deleted: "so" ; inserted above: "middling"
15. Preceding two words inserted above "that"

Christmas Night.

Manuscript in Duke (26, #34). Inscribed in pencil in hanging indentations on a leaf of white wove paper, approx. 6" x 6". All cancelled in ink. On verso, as a draft of a letter of December, 1864, concerning prisoner exchange (*Corr.*, I, 244). First paragraph printed by Glicksberg, 143; second and third summarized, 179 n7, and printed *FC&I*, 30-31. Glicksberg, 143 n7, connects the first paragraph with WW's visit to Culpepper on February, 1864, and remarks on the inconsistency between this MS and WW's other statements about prisoner of war camps. It is probable that the entries were made at different times. Glicksberg's date of February, 1864, is tenable.

Christmas night—the men had a theatrical performance *Rob. Roy*—2d floor “front seats reserved for the cripples”——Where they were all in one building, the men had the run of the whole building—300 present at the performance of *Rob. Roy*,¹
Ideas of prison life—the idea of a sad, degraded, or altogether unhappy life is all wrong—the men were generally in good spirits—nobody shirked his duties—all behaved manly and as to union sentiment it was stronger than ever—the life was quite happy, and all the men returned *healthy and fat*.—*Wounded and dying* —²there would be some sick, and of course deaths would occur every day
Hospital — Lewis Francis,³ Co. G. 14th (taken at⁴ Bull Run Manassas had 14 bayonet wounds in him) fought savage—(released 4 weeks since and is now in hospital in Washington—*will get well*) perhaps 200 in the 3 hospitals—*union Virginia*⁵ *prisoners*—these are the most unhappy spirited of all—one man actually died from lice

1. First entry deleted by two slashes and a horizontal line across the page below and through the last words. The other entries are deleted by a single vertical line.

2. Deleted: “occas” ; inserted: “there”

3. Inserted above “ncis” in “Francis”: “Co G”

4. Inserted above “Manassas” : “Bull Run”

5. Inserted above “pris” in “prisoners”

February 1864.

Manuscript in Duke (56, #33). Inscribed in black ink on white wove scrap approx. 2" x 4¼". Torn irregularly at the top and right. It is accompanied by a letter to Dr. Le Baron Russell (see "a m Dr. L B Russell"), one of his Boston benefactors, which refers to a visit to Culpepper and Brandy Station in February, 1864 (*Corr.*, II, 199-200). See "Hospitals/Culpepper."

February 1864¹

Down in the Army at Culpepper & Brandy Station describe² any field hospitals, &c.

1. Short line from left actually above "Down"

2. Inserted above "any" and "fi" in "field"

Mrs H. J. Wright.

Manuscript LC (#104, sheets # 1202A-1210). Homemade notebook, 4¼" x 2½", inscribed in pencil on white unlined laid paper. An embossed shield with a ribbon arranged around the top and sides appears at upper right of the front cover. The notebook has been disassembled and mounted by LC. It was originally held together by a pin. LC *Cat.* mentions eighteen leaves, of which only nine are now present. Blanks preserved separately. The entries cover a period from April 7, 1864, to August 22, 1864, or later. On June 22 WW had returned to Brooklyn because of illness.

{1203R; 1202R&V (front cover) blank} Mrs H. J. Wright¹ ward C Mansion House hospital Alexandria Va {1203V} Dudley² preserved peaches 168—172 Front st N Y {1203-1204R} Howells 737 Broadway Room No 3 1st floor / Little Compton {1203-1204V}³ Capt Horace G H Tarr 20th Conn—3d division 20th Corps {1206V; 1206R blank; 1205R blank; 1206V⁴} 35 Nevins cor Schermerhorn {?} {1209V; 1209R blank; 1207R blank; 1207V⁵; 1208R blank; 1209V⁶} Aug 22 '64 Stephen F Congdon 26th Conn (met & talked with on Ft Greene) been with Banks in 19th Army Corps—was on the Shreveport expedition⁷ small⁸ tyranny & impositions of officers Lieut, (or Capt) Francis—(lost three fingers of hand) was a great scoundrel in his treatment of men—punishments &c {1210V⁹; 1210R blank}

1. Mrs. Wright was much admired as a nurse by WW. See "Hospital Scenes and Persons," *SD, PW* 92, I, 39, 51; *Corr.*, I, 332. The entry is written lengthwise on the page.

2. The New York directory for 1863-1864 lists Uriah H. Dudley, fruitseller, at this address. The entry is written lengthwise on the page. WW had originally begun to write "fresh" but changed to "preserved."

3. Entry written lengthwise on the page. The foliation is that of LC.

4. In another hand: "Capt A. J. Liebenau {?} 159 West 40th Street Between 7th and 8th Avenues." Although Liebenau (or Liebenan) belonged to a New York regiment, he was from Brooklyn and no one of that name is listed at the above address in the New York city directory for 1864-1865. See *Corr.*, I, 375; "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz"

5. In another hand: "Natl Bloom Irving Place / Knower & Platt Reade St Betw. Church & W Broadway." This is undoubtedly WW's old Pfaffian friend. See *Corr.*, I, 80, 123, 125, 126, 135, 141-143, 159, 343; "May 10 '79" "D. W. Wilder." Knower and Platt are listed as merchants in the New York directory for 1864-1865. Bloom later became a dry-goods merchant. Not likely the person described in "Bloom," Knower may be Benjamin Knower, a member of the same group (*Corr.*, I, 84n; "a m Dr. L B Russell").

6. In another hand: "64th Regt N. J. V Col. Wm De Larg Care of G. Townsend Esq 28 Dey Street." WW has noted: "2d army corps."

7. The disastrous Red River expedition under General Nathaniel P. Banks and Admiral David Porter in March-May, 1864.

8. Inserted above "tyranny"

9. In another hand: "April 7 / 64 brother I have bin here to se yo and yo was not at home i leave my best wishes hoping yo are well i am very well yo must come and see me good by W E Vandermark to his brother Walt Whitman." See "Wm F Vandermark"

Jonathan Haertter.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black ink on scrap of white wove paper. Vertical blue lines $\frac{1}{4}$ " apart. Since the battle of Spottsylvania took place in May, 1864, this MS was written later that year.

Jonathan Haertter Co A. 50th Penn. /
entered service 19th of August, 1861. /
wounded at Spottsylvania /
mother Mrs. Mary Haertter Tremont Schuylkill co. Pa.

Ward K Armory Sq.

Manuscript in LC (#223, no sheet number). Inscribed in black pencil on white laid paper, 10¼" x 8⅞", with blue lines ⅜" apart and chain lines ¼" apart. WW sent a message to Oscar Cunningham (see "June 20—'63") in a letter from Brooklyn, Nov. 8-9, 1863 (*Corr.*, I, 176), whose leg was amputated May 2, 1864 (*ibid.*, I, 218). This manuscript must have been written near the latter date. A portion was printed in *Corr.*, I, 218 n66.

Ward K Armory Sq Hosp

I am writing this in the large Hospital ward, sitting by the side of a young seargent of the 6th Maine named George Dwyer who is pretty low (but feeling better than usual today)¹ has his leg amputated at the thigh he was wounded at Rappahannock last November²—it is³ somewhat gloomy to-day & I am cheering him up,⁴ by just sitting by him not much talking⁵—he watches me as I write this letter. There are no visitors⁶ lately—it is⁷ pretty dull. About half⁸ of the 60⁹ beds of the ward are¹⁰ occupied, the rest of the men¹¹ are up & crawling around. Right opposite¹² is a young Ohio boy, Oscar Cunningham badly wounded in right leg—his history is a sad one—¹³ he has been here¹⁴ nearly a year—¹⁵ He & I have been quite intimate¹⁶ all that time. When he was brought here¹⁷ I thought he ought to have been¹⁸ taken by a sculptor to model for an emblamatical figure of

1. Parentheses and words inserted.
2. Preceding seven words inserted above "pretty low" and "today" in the right margin following "low"
3. Deleted: "pret" ; inserted below: "somewhat"
4. Deleted: "mostly"
5. Preceding three words inserted above "him . . . he"
6. Deleted: "here" ; inserted above: "lately"
7. Deleted: "quite silent" ; inserted above: "pretty dull"
8. Inserted: "of" above "lf" in "half"
9. Inserted above "b" in "beds"
10. Preceding three words inserted above "pied" in "occupied" and "the" . Redundant "are" not printed.
11. Preceding three words inserted above "are up"
12. Deleted: "[*illeg.*] the"
13. Preceding dashes and six words inserted above "in right leg—he has"
14. Deleted: "many months" ; inserted above: "nearly a year"
15. Deleted: "We" ; inserted above: "He & I"
16. Deleted: "for all" ; inserted above "[*del.*] all" : "all"
17. Deleted: "he might" ; inserted: "I thought he ought to" above "[*del.*] he might" and "have"
18. Deleted: "sculptured" ; inserted: "taken by a sculptor to model" above the deletion and "em" in "emblamatical"

the west, he was such a handsome young giant, over 6 feet high, a¹⁹ great head of brown yellowy shining²⁰ hair thick & longish & a manly noble manner & talk²¹— he has suffered very much, since the doctors²² have been trying to save his leg {2} but it will probably have to be taken off yet. He wants it done, but I think²³ is too weak at present.

Up & down the ward are all sorts of wounds & sickness. Some were brought here last week. I have²⁴ been giving some little crispy²⁵ sugar cakes to the new men.²⁶ an American youngster has a sweet tooth.

I am very familiar with this²⁷ hospital have known it a year—²⁸ have spent many days & nights in it—have slept in it²⁹ often—have seen³⁰ many die here.³¹ have seen the wounded brought here after battles, &c. This is ward K in Armory Square hospital, on Seventh street.

19. Deleted: "thick" ; inserted above: "great"

20. Inserted above "owy" in "yellowy"

21. Preceding two words inserted above "nner" "manner"

22. Deleted: "are" ; inserted: "have been" above "[del.] are" and "try" in "trying"

23. Preceding two words inserted above "is"

24. Deleted: "just"

25. Inserted above "su" in "sugar"

26. Deleted: "The"

27. Deleted: "ward." ; inserted above: "hospital"; inserted and deleted: "Have been [*il-leg.*]" above "hospital"

28. Preceding five words inserted on a line above "have spent many"

29. Deleted: "several nights" ; inserted: "often" above "eral" in "[del.] several"

30. Deleted: "several" ; inserted above: "many" (see note above).

31. Deleted: "Of course it"

General Description.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black ink on a scrap of white wove paper. Arranged on page with hanging indentation of first entry. Third entry is marked by a pointing hand. Glicksberg 171*n*1 suggests that it is a note for "Hospital Visits," N.Y. *Times*, December 11, 1864 (*WD, CW*, VII, 108–109, 115, 117, 120, 125). Spottsylvania and the Wilderness were fought May, 1864. The ice cream treat is also in "Hospital Scenes and Incidents," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 76. The battles and the reference to ice cream suggest a date of summer. Printed by Glicksberg, 171.

General description of my going around first lightly
to all, & then selecting out the cases that are
most proper for special attention or sympathy /

the ice cream treat at Carver /

bring in description of hospitals toward last /

also sum of visits &c, towards very last /

towards latter portion four to eight sticksfull
about battles of Wilderness, Spottsylvania,—
The first wounded, came in a
curious manner, on foot, hobbling, stragglers &c

51st New York Volunteers

In the Beinecke Library at Yale is a collection of manuscript notes on the 14th, 51st and 139th New York Volunteer Regiments. The manuscripts, which are each printed and described in the following pages, are accompanied by a number of clippings from New York, Brooklyn and unidentified papers, some annotated by WW, and a manuscript signed by James S. Bateman, "A few facts about the 51 New York Veteran," which contains a roster of officers and men and some statistics. Bateman had been a sergeant in Co. A of the 51st. According to a note in WW's hand, he knew of Bateman as a source of information. An E. Cokelet, also noted in WW's hand as a source, is otherwise unknown.

Although the 51st was a NYC regiment, WW's interest was attracted to it because his brother George was a member. The 51st was organized in NYC, October 11, 1861, by the consolidation of a number of other volunteer militia units with the Shephard Rifles under the command of Colonel Edward Ferrero. The name, "Shephard" or "Shephard's Rifles," originated in the custom common among militia regiments of adopting a nickname or the name of a patron or commander. Shephard was a NY business man, who possibly had commanded the unit originally. The 51st fought in the North Carolina coastal campaign of February and March 1862. In August it was transferred to Virginia and Maryland where it fought in Second Bull Run, Chantilly, Antietam, and Fredericksburgh, after which WW arrived in search of George. In June 1863 it was at the siege of Vicksburg and remained in the West until May, 1864, when it returned to Virginia for the Wilderness battles. It was before Petersburg at the time of the Mine Explosion in June, was severely punished at Poplar Springs Church in September–October, where three hundred men, including George, were captured, fought through the Appomattox campaign in March and April of 1865 and was at the fall of Petersburg. It was mustered out July 25, 1865, at Alexandria, Va. (Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion, 1861 to 1865*, 2d ed. [Albany, 1890], 412–413).

WW was in personal contact with the regiment in two periods. It was at Falmouth, Va., in December, 1862, when he arrived in search of George and began recording its previous history. (See "return my book.") But by February 1863 it was in Newport News, Va., which was relatively inaccessible from Washington, and in late March moved to Kentucky. In March and April of 1864 veterans were furloughed and the regiment moved to Annapolis, where it rejoined the 18th Corps and campaigned in Virginia. It is unlikely that WW had any personal

contact with the regiment until it was placed on duty in Washington and Alexandria between April and July, 1865. It is not impossible that he had met an occasional furloughed or wounded member, but the later notes date from this period. It is possible that WW had a history of the regiment in mind, but except for "Fifty-First New York City Veterans" (*NY Times*, October 29, 1864 [*UPP*, II, 37-41]), he made no use of his notes. The MS were written as late as 1865.

—A Brother.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil on a small scrap of paper showing part of the Sanitary Commission letterhead. On recto is "mention with honor." If the Brown referred to is the one wounded in May, 1864, probably at Cold Harbor, the manuscript is of that year. WW was in Brooklyn ("home here") from June 24, 1864, to January 23, 1865.

—a brother younger was also wounded—he is home here— /
Rigby, Serg't Brown,¹

1. Possibly the Sergeant Brown mentioned in a letter of May 13, 1864. See *Corr.*, I, 222. A Sergeant James C. Brown is listed as a patient in Finley Hospital in "Hospital Note book #12." A James C. Brown is mentioned as a lieutenant in "51st NY May 15—1865" and possibly in "Hospital book 12."

(Aged About 35).

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on white laid scrap, 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5", torn along left edge. Possibly part of a bound pocket notebook. The date is obviously after June, 1864, when the long siege of Petersburg began, but George was captured in September, and WW did not see him again until the summer of 1865. WW, however, was in Brooklyn from late June, 1864, to January 23, 1865.

(aged about 35)¹ Frank Butler² was from Massachusetts—³ a rebel officer told George in Petersburg that⁴ he had seen among the dead, on the field the next morning the body of a Lieutenant of the 51st,⁵ with a long brown beard. George thought it was a certain other officer, but as he subsequently saw that officer alive, he now has no doubt it was Frank Butler.

1. Black pencil at upper right.
2. See "return my book."
3. Deleted: "then an[?]" . Preceding ditto marks or quotation marks not printed here.
4. Deleted: "that there was the dead" ; inserted: "he had . . . morning the" on a line above the deletion and "body" . "the" before "body" inserted above "[del.] dead"
5. Deleted: "on the field"

Chas Bunker's Mother.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on small scrap of white wove paper showing part of the Sanitary Commission letterhead. Short lines from left as indicated. Lieutenant Bunker of the 51st was killed in action, but the date is unavailable. Possibly it was written while WW was recuperating in Brooklyn. See "51st Sims Pooley," "(mention appropriately)" and "Hugo Oscar Fritsch."

Chas Bunker's mother Williamsburgh /
in South 6th st, near 4th (80 something) /
as you go up from cars, on left hand side—wooden house, high stoop. /

Sept '64.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink and black pencil in column on a small scrap of white laid paper. Inscribed on the verso is: "Col Le Gendre." Short lines from left between entries.

Sept '64 reg'ts in 1st brigade 2d div 9th Corps¹ 58th Mass (21st Consolidated²
36th Mass 7th Rhode Island 51st New York /
? (is 45th Penn) 45th Penn³ 35th Mass /
? 23d New Jersey just joined brigade

1. Preceding two units in column at right.
2. In pencil. Parenthesis also includes following items.
3. This and succeeding units in pencil.

In Acc't of 51st.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on a scrap of blue wove paper, approx. 4¼" x 4¾". Torn edge on left. Each entry in hanging indentation. The Battle of Antietam was in September, 1862. The date is probably the summer or early fall of 1864, for WW mentions the 21st Massachusetts in "Fifty-First New York City Veterans" (*UPP*, II, 37-41).

In acc't of 51st—dont neglect to mention regt's that travel'd & fought¹ with them /

Which were they? ?21st Mass ?45th Penn² /
at Antietam 51st Penn. must not be forgotten /

1. Preceding two words inserted above wordspace between "travel'd . . . with"
2. Both regiments were in the 9th Corps with the 51st.

Oct. 8 '64.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink and black pencil on a small scrap of white wove paper. The first entry is in ink, the remainder in pencil.

Oct. 8 '64 /
Action of Friday Sept 30th, '64¹—extreme left of the Army /
N. Y. Tribune Oct 8 has list of names, 2d & 3d divisions 9th Corps killed &
wounded in battle Sept 30 /
the fight seems to have been nearing “Poplar Spring Church (an old 3d class
church)²—about four miles from line of Southside RR—this church was used as
a hospital at the fight

1. The reference is to the battle in which George was captured.
2. Parenthesis and five words inserted above “Spring Church”

(Private).

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on recto of a scrap of white laid paper with blue lines $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart. On recto is "Ice cream is good." Possibly a draft for WW's "Fifty-First New York City Veterans," *New York Times*, October 29, 1864, or possibly a letter of transmittal to an editor. See *UPP*, II, 37-41.

(*Private*) when a great general dies, you¹ print his obituary, &² his³ record, by its inspiration⁴ sometimes does as much good as his deeds.—I think the 51st New York Veterans,⁵ lately captured almost entire, while bravely fighting,⁶ deserves some such mention.⁷ The statements⁸ in the abstract I send⁹ are all¹⁰ facts. You will see I have avoided any thing like puffing, but given an abstract only.

1. Deleted: "write"
2. Deleted: "then"
3. Deleted: "name"
4. Preceding three words inserted above "me" in "[*del.*] name" and "record,"
5. Preceding three words inserted above "lately captured"
6. Preceding three words inserted above "deserves" and "so" in "some"
7. Deleted: "in"
8. Deleted: "facts"
9. Deleted: "I"
10. Deleted: "clear"

Wrote to Thuey Smith.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil and black ink on white wove paper, approx. 3" x 2". Torn along left edge. The date is October, 1864.

Wrote to Thuey Smith Oct 26¹ /
Eldridge & Nelly here —Oct 25 '64² /
some memoranda 51st N Y V³ /
H H Loyd [*illeg.*] was [*illeg.*]⁴ /
Magyar Mag'yars ghard⁵

1. In pencil at top. Probably Bethuel Smith, one of WW's soldiers with whom he corresponded during and after the war. Smith had been mustered out and had written WW October 22. WW's letter has not been found and is not listed in *Corr.*, I. See "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz."

2. WW was in Brooklyn from late June, 1864, to January 23, 1865. Eldridge is Charles W. Eldridge, the publisher of *LG* (1860), who had been in Washington but on October 8 was in Boston. Nelly is Ellen O'Connor, wife of W. D. O'Connor, who had been with her family in Rhode Island in September. This meeting is unrecorded elsewhere, but it is probable that both were en route to Washington. See *Corr.*, I, 240, 243.

3. In black ink.

4. In black pencil sideways on left edge. Loyd or Lloyd is not otherwise mentioned.

5. Written sideways, in black pencil below "some memoranda."

John Lefferts.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil on a small scrap of white wove paper. On the recto appears part of a Sanitary Commission letterhead. The tearing at right shows that "51st Abm McKee" was torn from it.

John Lefferts 11, 23d st stout, Long Island born Oct '64/
Thos Sutherland Oct '64 31 4th av /
Jim brother died in Troy Madison av Oct '64 /
Oct 19 '64 Frank Henry Waters, 3 23d st —from Pittsburgh, Philadelphia Pa{?}

51st Abm McKee.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil on a small scrap of white wove paper. Tearing at edges indicates that it is conjugate with "Deaths 51st N Y V" and "John Lefferts."

51st Abm McKee¹ 94 Dean st muster'd out about² /
Wm E Babcock³ Slaterville Tompkins co NY /
James Bates, 171 Canal (Rogers' gallery)⁴ /
Edward Keen 87 Jackson st N. Y. /

1. See "Adj McKee."
2. Deleted: "middle."
3. See "Nov 17 '64."
4. See "Some interesting items."

Deaths 51st N Y V.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in pencil on a small scrap of white wove paper which shows part of a Sanitary Commission letterhead. Originally conjugate with "51st Abm McKee." On verso: "John Lefferts."

Deaths 51st N Y V Nov '64

Andrew J Orser died at Sing Sing Westchester on Nov 1

Anthony Lopez co K died in hospital at Washington about Nov 1 E R O Liborius
co G,¹ [*illeg.*] July 30 (mine explosion) Nov 8

Raymond Rogers co. A, hosp N Y cit Nov 3

1. See "(mention appropriately.)"

Deserter Arrested.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil on small scrap of white wove paper. On recto is "Nov 17-'64." Short line from left between entries. The date is probably 1864.

deserter arrested election day in New York (Nov 8) Charles Brennan, 51st N Y /
Thos Farmer is at Annapolis, leg amp) (dead)

PRODUCE GREAT PERSONS. Trent Collection, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, Cat. P. 27, #38. Notes of 1855-1856. On verso is "Byron, born at Dover" (q. v.) and "undeniable might" (q~v.). See P- 310 -

[Page [unnumbered]]

81 CLERMAN. Library of Congress, LC 91, p. 935R. Possibly a sketch or caricature of WW. See p. 438n 17.

[Page [unnumbered]]

81 CLERMAN. Library of Congress, LC 91, p. 945R. Almost certainly a sketch of WW.
See p. 440on34.

[Page [unnumbered]]

81 CLERMAN. Library of Congress, LC 91, p. 947R. Almost certainly a caricature of WW in animated discussion. See p. 440on37.

[Page [unnumbered]]

81 CLERMAN. Library of Congress. LC 91, p. 948R. Possibly a sketch of WW. See p. 440 n 38.

[Page [unnumbered]]
Ltd.,

RETURN MY BOOK. Library of Congress, LC 94, pp. 3387 Left. See pp. 496–497.

Adj McKee.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on a small scrap of white wove paper. On verso inscribed "St. Nicholas sitting room Oct 1st '64" in WW's hand. Following this in another hand is: "H J[?] Brown 1st Lieut Troop D 1st Mtd.[?] Rifles N Y S V 115 East 39th Str." First Lieutenant Abram W. McKee was Adjutant of the 51st. See "he was from Owego," "51st Abm McKee," "Nov 17 - '64," and "return my book."

Adj¹ McKee speaks very highly of the original Chaplain of 21st Mass, he went any wounded revived them with sustenance & liquor &c

1. Inserted above and before "McKee"

It Is an Army.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on a faded scrap of wove paper approx. 5½" x 4¾". Blue lines approx. ½" apart. On verso in pencil: "51st"

It [?] is an army regulation that a regiment losing its colors[?] in battle shall not fly others¹ without special permission from head quarters by general orders of Maj. Gen Meade, Nov 7, the 51st, whose colors were taken at the time of their capture, were permitted to carry other colors. (The same permission is granted to the 45th Penn., 58th Mass. & 9th² New Hampshire).³

Nov 22, '64

First Lieut Thos Oliver, 51st N Y V officially⁴ notified to be dismissed from service for disobedience & absence without leave, unless returning within 45 days

1. Deleted: "[*illeg.*] till further orders" ; inserted: "without . . . headquarters." on a line above "by . . . Maj"

2. Deleted: "Rhode"

3. Horizontal rule. Line in center of leaf.

4. Inserted above "notified"

Nov 17-'64.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil on small scrap of white wove paper which bears part of a Sanitary Commission letterhead. On the verso is "deserter arrested."

Nov 17-'64—most of day with W E Babcock¹ /
 Gen Curtin, (general by brevet) is now in command of brigade /
 Capt Marsh who has not been with the regiment in a single battle, is now return'd,
 & is in command— /
 The 51st has now 106 officers & men /
 Lt Col Mitchell, Capts Walton & Wright,² have finished their three years, & are
 muster'd out—also Lt³ Ab'm McKee⁴

1. An officer in the 51st, who had not been captured. See *Corr.*, I, 243*m*, 249*m*, and "51st Abm McKee." Carte de visite photograph dated this day in *SD* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1971), 49.

2. See "Martin Weaver" and "Some interesting items."

3. Inserted: "—also . . . McKee" on a line at bottom of the leaf.

4. See "Adj McKee."

Martin Weaver.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink and pencil on a small scrap of white wove paper. The date is 1864.

Martin Weaver co D 51st N Y died Oct '64 at Hampton¹ Hospital /
Dec 12—R B Potter, made Maj Gen by brevet,² to date from Aug 1st 64³ /
Edward Ferrero, also Maj General.⁴ /
Dec 12—interview with Capt Stewart⁵ Dec 29—with Capt Wright⁶ /

1. Deleted: "Roads"

2. Deleted: [illeg.]

3. Potter succeeded Ferrero as commanding officer of the 51st. See "Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers" (1863), *The Wound Dresser*, CW, VII, 96, *Corr.*, I, 104, "Jan 21 1865," "return my book."

4. See "Sketches of Edward F. Ferrero."

5. See "Some interesting items," "Nov 17—'64."

6. *Ibid.* Entry in pencil.

Some Interesting Items.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil and black ink in a homemade, self-covered notebook 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " with 32 pages folded and cut from eight leaves of paper. Paper is laid, without watermark, with embossed stamp, $\frac{3}{4}$ ", showing the capitol in right perspective in an oval frame. "Congress" appears above the building, inside the frame. No cover, tied with pink tape (originally red?). The date is November and December, 1864, when WW was in New York and Brooklyn. [15-17] printed by Walter Lowenfels, *Walt Whitman's Civil War* (N. Y., 1960), 10.

Some interesting items of 51st George Capt Sims, / battles &c¹ [4; 2-3 blank] John W Avery,² 309 Water / house 77 Madison [5] Kipps former sutler [illeg.] Model house cor 9th & F Washington³ / Col Halpine 34 Hammond⁴ / James Bates⁵ 171 Canal / Capt Wright⁶ tells me he is a good brave fellow—has quite a history—

[7; 6 blank] Saml Pooley⁷ is from Buffalo, married has two fine little children / November 19, '64⁸ A Lieutenant of 51st mention'd Capt Whitman in the office⁹ presence of Elliott F Shephard¹⁰ 16 Wall st¹¹ who said, That is a man as modest as he is brave, & in both I don't think he is surpass'd by any¹² soldier in the army. George Whitman is a man to love, & I love him." The lieutenant¹³ [8] said "I think¹⁴ the same as you do Colonel, & we all do in the regiment."

1. Under this inscription, which is in ink, is written, in pencil: "[illeg.] 34 Hammond st James [illeg.] 17 Canal Rogers gallery."

2. In black ink.

3. See "Baily D Damon" for an almost identical entry in connection with George Whitman's trunk. This entry and the following are in pencil. Rule across leaf.

4. See "Col Halpine" for an identical entry.

5. See "51st Abm McKee."

6. Captain D. F. Wright. See "Martin Weaver."

7. See "Sam'l F Pooley."

8. Deleted: "An officer" ; inserted: "A Lieutenant" above "mention'd" . George was then a prisoner.

9. Preceding two words inserted above "presence"

10. See "Jan 21, 1865."

11. Preceding three words inserted above "Shephard"

12. Deleted: "man"

13. Not printed: "cover"

14. Deleted: "fully"

[11; 9-10 blank] Dec 12 '64 Capt Stewart of 51st / cor Smith st & 2d Place Brooklyn / was with 51st up to 1st Aug 1864 /

[15; 12-14 blank] the way to bring in the severest *wipe* to the bevy of American "poets" is to draw a strong picture of the splendor, variety, amplitude, &c of America, with her noble heroic masses of¹⁵ young & other men, — also fill up the picture with her great destinies the unparalleled romance & heroism of *this war*, with all its peculiar & unprecedented *points*[?](—(locale)—& then [*illeg.*] [17; 16 blank] then scornfully add, (or make precede)—as if the stuff the silly little tinkling & tepid sentimental warm water, that is called the ? works of the American poets, has any reference here or any foothold in our future

[19; 18 blank] Of S H Sims¹⁶ / Dec 29—'64 Capt / D F Wright¹⁷ says he was a man of perfect honor—in my¹⁸ knowledge of him, under all circumstances for three years, I never knew or heard of his saying doing an unworthy or mean action, or being guilty of improper words—he was an exemplary Christian in action

[20] Lt Col Mitchell¹⁹ at Mr Potter's 16 Gramercy Park²⁰ / box 602 NYPO [23; 22; ²¹ 21 blank] The battle of Wilderness, May 6, pretty severe fight,—perhaps as tight a fight as the reg't has been in / —Spottsylvania C H also²² very severe [24]—at Spottsylvania threw up a good line of breastworks with tin cups, plates, spoons, &c—officers with their swords, men with their cups &c—scratching very hard, every one at work—this was in the morning, after marching all night [25] latter part of afternoon had to skidaddle by crawling off, flat on their bellies, dog fashion—all this part of the campaign was very severe & exciting on the 51st—(Le Gendre²³ was an incompetent officer in every respect)

15. Preceding two words inserted above "roic" in "heroic" and "yo" in "young"

16. See also *SD, Prose* 92, 111; *Corr.*, I, 104, 166, 212, 222; "Sims, Pooley"; "Sketches of Edward F. Ferrero"; "return my book"; "(mention appropriately." Short line from left.

17. See #6, above.

18. Deleted: "int"

19. See "Nov 17—'64."

20. In another hand: "Daniel F. Wright 254 Bdwy Agency [*illeg.*] St Louis" . Possibly the Captain Wright referred to above.

21. On [22] and the top of [23] is the following in another hand: "Wilderness killed Capt* Dan'l Jenkins Actg. Lt.* Jeff Tilden [*Actg. Lt.*]—Matthews [*Actg. Lt.*]—Sturges wounded Col. [*illeg.*] Lt.—McReady Actg.—Rigby [*Actg.*] C. W. Waldsea Co R [23] Lost Co R—Wilderness Killed 6 Wounded 17!" The Battle of the Wilderness was in May, 1864. The persons named all seem to have been members of the 51st. For Jenkins, see also "mention with honor," "51st N Y V," "Sims, Pooley," "(mention appropriately," "Hugo Oscar Fritsch." For Sturges, see *Corr.*, I, 222 and "Hospital Note book #12." For McReady, see "Typical Soldiers," *SD, Prose* 92, 111; "a m Dr. L B Russell."

22. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

23. Charles W. LeGendre was one of the commanders of the 51st. See "Hospital Note book #12."

[28; 26, 27 *blank*] Memorandum of silver quarter given me by Capt D F Wright 29th Dec 1864 the quarter was part of the "loot" taken from Edward Ruffin's house, near Cold Harbor, on the march of Grants army in May 64—the piece was [29] taken from a pot of money, gold & silver, found in the smoke house—was taken by one of the 51st, & given to Capt. Wright—

[31; 30, 32, *back cover blank*] Roanoke island battle / the 51st N Y & 21st Mass, charged the works, under Capt J G²⁴ Wright, & captured them, by charging on the right & left flanks. Hawkins[?] Zouaves, (9th N Y) came in afterward—not first as stated in Abbott's history)²⁵

24. Initials inserted. For J. G. Wright see "Sketches of Edward F. Ferrero."

25. Probably John Stevens Cabot Abbott, *The History of the Civil War in America* (various editions, New York and Springfield, 1863–1866).

Sketches of Edward F. Ferrero.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on blue wove half-sheet approx. 9¼" x 5½" torn at left edge from larger sheet. On verso is the lower half of a printed oath form for employment in the Indian Bureau, Department of Justice. For Ferrero, see "return my book." Since WW was assigned to the Indian Bureau, January 24, 1865, the manuscript is later than that date, but is placed here with related material.

Sketches of *Edward F. Ferrero*.¹ Of French stock, military tastes, a² as a soldier well versed in theory & practice, as an officer cool cautious & saving of his men, but always venturesome³ when the occasion demands it Lt. Col. J. G.⁴ Wright.⁵ Capt. Saml. H. Sims.⁶ / Maj Gen Reno,⁷— ? when kill'd

1. General Ferrero (1831-1899) had the distinction also of having been the dancing master of Henry James, who described him and his academy in one of the most charming passages of *A Small Boy and Others* (Henry James, *Autobiography*, ed. Frederick W. Dupee (New York 1956), 132, 135-137, 139). See also *Corr.*, I, 59, 88, 104, 212; "Martin Weaver," "return my book," "51st New York Volunteers."

2. Deleted: "good officer"

3. Deleted: "daring enou" ; inserted above [*del.*]

4. Initials inserted above [*del.*] above "col."

5. See also "Martin Weaver," "Some interesting items," "Washington May 9. "

6. See "Some interesting items"; "Sims Pooley."

7. General Jesse Reno was killed September 14, 1862 at South Mountain. On the back of one leaf of "A Few Facts about the 51st NY Vet Vols" in Yale a note in WW's hand says he died at Chantilly. The two names refer to the same battle. "A Few Facts . . ." is not in WW's hand.

51st Sims Pooley.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil on a half sheet of notepaper, approx. 7" x 4¾". Torn from full sheet on left, trimmed irregularly on right. Blue lines ½" apart on verso. At upper left an oval embossed stamp approx. ¾" on long axis which is vertical. The first three names are in a column at the left; the fourth and fifth in a column at the right. Other entries with hanging indentation. The date is possibly after Whitbeck died in January, 1865.

51st Sims¹ Pooley² / Caldwell.³ Atcherson. Danl. E. Jenkins⁴ Bunker⁵
 In battles of Wilderness, the fighting was very hot, with many fluctuations & much shifting of position—(who fell here?)
 Witbeck?⁶—he was used in hospital in the most scoundrelly manner
 Pooley,⁷ age about 27—is from Buffalo—was by trade a shipcarpenter—has a family

1. See "Some interesting items" [19].

2. See "Sam'l M. Pooley." Short line from left.

3. Captain William Caldwell of the 51st. See *Corr.*, I, 249, 262 and "Review."

4. See "Some interesting items."

5. See "Hugo Oscar Fritsch."

6. On an annotated copy in Yale of his *NY Times* article of October 29, 1864, "Fifty-first New York City Veterans," WW wrote the following: "acting Lieut Martin Whitbeck from Central New York had diarrhea of long standing—was a brave soldier—doctor told him not to go into the battle of Sept but he did[illeg.] hosp had nothing necessary died about 8th of January '65."

7. See "Sam'l M. Pooley."

Jan 21, 1865.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on soft, white wove paper approx. 9" x 6".

Jan 21, 1865, New York.

Had an interview to-day with¹ E F Shepard² of Wall Street, New York.³ He told me that Capt McKibbern⁴ had been commissioned Colonel of 51st,⁵ by special application of General Potter. Taking further⁶ advantage of the captivity⁷ the regular officers, an appointment⁸ had also been made of⁹ Lieut Colonel of the 51st; but¹⁰ the gentleman assigned to the latter post, promptly declined, as he considered it¹¹ unfair to be foisted¹² over the heads of the regular officers, in this manner. The Governor, (Seymour,) then made still¹³ another appointment of an outsider to the Lieutenant Colonelcy, of the 51st,¹⁴ but he also declined, for some reasons.¹⁵

A remark was made, by a person present at the interview I speak of,¹⁶ that this trick,¹⁷ taking advantage of the¹⁸ misfortune & absence by accident of war,¹⁹

1. Deleted: "Col"

2. Shepard's office was at 18 Wall St. For Shepard see *Corr.*, I, 262; III, 110; "51st N.Y. May 15—1865"; "Some interesting items"; Traubel II, 201.

3. Preceding five words inserted on a line above "ard" in "Shephard" and "told me"

4. Gilbert McKibben was colonel of the 51st December 9, 1864—May 13, 1865.

5. Deleted: "(during absence of the regular officers of the reg't)"

6. Inserted above "adv" in "advantage"

7. Deleted: "their absence" ; inserted: "the captivity" above "of" and "[del.] their" ; inserted: "the regular officers" on the next line above "[del.] absence" and "an"

8. Deleted: "of" ; inserted and deleted: "of another officer" above "ment" in "appointment" and "al" in "also"

9. Deleted: "as" ; inserted above: "of"

10. Deleted: "he" ; inserted: "the [illeg. del.] gentleman assigned to the latter post," above "but . . . declined"

11. Deleted: "dishonorable" ; inserted above: "unfair"

12. Deleted: "in" ; inserted: "over other of [del.] the heads of the regular officers," on a line above "ted" in "foisted" and "The" at the end of the line before "Governor" on the next line.

13. Inserted above "an" in "another"

14. Preceding three words and punctuation inserted above "nelcy" in "colonelcy" and "but"

15. WW's "¶" not printed and following sentence indented accordingly.

16. Preceding ten words and punctuation inserted on a line above "remark . . . trick"

17. Deleted: "of"

18. Deleted: "honorable"

19. Preceding four words inserted above "sence" in "absence" and "of the"

of the veteran²⁰ officers of the²¹ 51st, to foist²² outsiders, over their heads, & prevent²³ the well²⁴ / earn'd promotion²⁵ of those in regular line, was a trick worthy of the New York ward politicians & one which no honorable²⁶ General officer would ever²⁷ initiate, nor would any²⁸ honorable soldier however ambitious, ever²⁹ accept promotion³⁰ through its means.

20. Deleted: "old fighting" ; inserted and deleted: "regular" above "fighting" ; inserted: "veteran" above "officers"

21. Deleted: "regiment" ; inserted and deleted above: "veterans" ; inserted: "51st," before "{del.} veterans"

22. Deleted: "in"

23. Deleted: "over & interfere with" ; inserted above: "over their heads, & prevent"

24. Deleted: "hard" ; inserted above: "well"

25. Deleted: "of the veterans was one" ; inserted on lines above deletion and "which" : "of those . . . & one"

26. Deleted: "superior"

27. Inserted above "d" in "would"

28. Preceding two words inserted above "nor" and "h" in "honorable"

29. Preceding "however ambitious" inserted above "dier" in "soldier" and "accept" ; inserted: "even" in word-space following "accept"

30. Deleted: "under in [illeg. ins. and del.] such [illeg. ins. and del.] unfair manner."

(51st N Y V).

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil on small scrap of white wove paper. The date is possibly the summer of 1864 (although WW was in Brooklyn between June, 1864, and January, 1865), but probably the spring of 1865 when the 51st was stationed near Washington. The regiment had been at New Bern, NC, March 11-13, 1862.

(51st N Y V) Rev E A Benton¹ Chaplain of 51st killed at Newbern, in front,
caring for wounded & looking after kill'd—first rate man*² /
Capt Daniel E Jenkins³—brave soldier—kill'd 6th May '64

1. See "he was from Owego."

2. The asterisk relates to that in "he was from Owego."

3. See "some interesting items" and "Mention with honor."

He Was from Owego.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil on small scrap of white wove paper. On verso is "Col Halpine."

he was from Owego N. Y. /
Adj't McKee said to him Benton¹ Chaplain, what makes you go in the fight? He
said he thought it encouraged the men to do their duty to see him there—(Chap-
lain of 21st Mass also good)²

1. "Benton" inserted above "him" . See "51st N Y V"

2. "Mass also good" was written below "Chaplain of 21st" ; both lines inside the brace. See "Adj McKee."

Roanoke Newbern.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on a small vertical strip of white wove paper torn smoothly from a larger piece. Entries in column; space after "Petersburgh." The date is after June, 1864, and possibly after April, 1865, since Petersburgh was evacuated by the South on April 2.

Roanoke ¹	Newbern	Chantilly	2nd	Fauquier, London & other counties in
Bull Run	South Mountain	Antietam		Virginia & Washington Frederick &
Fredericksburgh	Vicksburgh	Jackson		others in northwestern Maryland, which
Wilderness (5 fights)	Spottsylvania	Coal		formed the [<i>illeg.</i>] field of the eventful
harbor ²	Petersburgh (3 fights)	Staff-		contest of that period
ford	Culpepper	PrinceWilliam	Fairfax	

1. The battles and campaigns are those of the 51st.

2. Probably Cold Harbor, which was fought June 3, 1864, with a loss of 12,000 killed and wounded by the Union army.

May 15 1865.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on a scrap of blue wove paper, which on verso reads in an unidentifiable hand: "[t]hese presents, That we, George C."

May 15 1865/

Lieut Loghran¹ told me to-day that of the 300² rank & file captured Sept. 30, '64³ at Poplar Grove, not more than 25 have yet⁴ returned, &⁵ the officers do not count on more than 25 further, leaving 250 who will never return. (Most of them died the death of starvation & cruelty at Salisbury, N. C.

1. First Lieutenant John Loghran is listed in a MS list of officers of the 51st (not in WW's hand) in Yale. A "P" standing after his name seems to identify him as one of those captured with George. The list is part of a manuscript entitled "A few facts about the 51 NY vet vols." See "51st NY May 15."

2. Deleted: "men" ; inserted above: "rank & file"

3. Year inserted above "a" in "at"

4. "Yet" inserted above "re" in "returned"

5. Deleted: "not nor" ; inserted above: "the officers"

51st N.Y. May 15.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on blue wove paper approx. 7¾" x 9½".
For "Capt. Whitman" see "Dec 23—'64."

51st N. Y.

May 15—1865.—¹ Paid a visit to-day, to the 51st, at Alexandria, Va. where they are doing Provost Duty.² Saw Lt. Col. Wright, Lt's Jas. C. Brown,³ Groenenmeyer⁴ Loghran,⁵— All these are veteran⁶ officers of the reg't, & came out with it in '61.

The regiment is divided into two or three squads, in quarters in town. It numbers about men.⁷ Capt. Whitman, with one or two companies,⁸ and their officers,⁹ is commanding a large military prison on Prince street. At the regimental head-quarters,¹⁰ Capt. Pooley showed me the elegant new flags of the regiment, presented by friends, & by the New York city government. Also a rich, heavily embroidered old flag, but in perfect preservation. The¹¹ old battle flag, (what remains of it, is at present¹² in possession of Elliot F. Shephard.

1. Deleted: "I" ; "P" written over "p"
2. Deleted: "Saw a splendid set of colors."
3. Deleted: "Capt. F. B. McReady" ; final comma not deleted. Deleted: "Lt's"
4. Inserted above "Loghran"
5. Deleted: "Aaron Groen"
6. Deleted: "51st men" ; final comma not deleted; inserted above: "officers of the reg't"
7. Deleted: "One squ" ; inserted: "Capt. Whitman, with" on next line above "One or two" and "c" in "companies" "One" not reduced to lowercase.
8. Deleted: "with" ; inserted above: "and"
9. Inserted and deleted: "Capt. Whitman commanding," "and their officers" ; deleted: "[illeg.] in charge of" ; inserted above: "is commanding" on following line.
10. Deleted: "I saw"
11. Deleted: "remains"
12. Preceding two words inserted above "is"

May 27, '65.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on white laid paper approx. 3½" x 6". Torn smoothly on three sides from a larger piece. Blue lines approx. ½" apart.

May 27, '65—The 51st is now doing provost duty at Augur Gen'l Hospital, (the old Convalescent Camp¹ some three miles from Alexandria.)

1. Deleted: "a couple"

Sam'l M. Pooley.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on white laid paper approx. 1½" x 7¾"; a yellow envelope 3" x 5¼" inscribed by WW "With respects W Whitman / Miss Richardson"; inscription cancelled and "Sam'l M. Pooley" written over.

*Sam'l M. Pooley*¹

born in Cornwall, Eng. 1836²—struck out & came to America when 14³—has lived mostly in Buffalo⁴ learnt⁵ ship-joiner—left Buffalo, in the military service U. S.⁶ June, 1861—came out as private—was made 2d Lieut at South Mountain, made Captain Aug. 1864.—got a family in Buffalo—

1. Captain Samuel F. Pooley was a close friend of George. WW mentions him almost as often as the latter. See *SD, Prose* 92, 111, *Corr.*, I, 60, 252, 255; "51st NY," "51st Sims Pooley," "Some interesting items," *Washington* May 9, '65," "Thursday July 27, 1865."

2. Deleted: "came to" ; inserted: "struck out &" above the deletion and into the right margin.

3. Deleted: "went"

4. Deleted: "worked"

5. Deleted: "ship carpen"

6. Preceding six words inserted above "Buffalo . . ." and dash before "came"

Mention with Honor.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on small scrap of white wove paper. On verso is "a brother younger than himself" and part of a Sanitary Commission letterhead. The date is possibly summer of 1865.

Mention¹ with honor Capt Daniel E Jenkins.² he died, May 6, in the battle of the Wilderness while bravely fighting—the reg't at right broke & were falling back in disorder officers as well as men & J struck the Col with his sword & told him if he didnt turn & fight he wd kill him—it was about the same time he received a mortal wound—he was taken back a little from front—lived one hour

1. Short line from left above "Mention."

2. Captain Jenkins was an officer of the 51st. The Battle of the Wilderness was in May, 1864. See "Some interesting items."

About 2100 Enlisted.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on white laid paper with horizontal chain lines approx. 9" x 8½". Blue lines approx. ½" apart. A top margin shows at upper left with embossed fan-shaped frame around the word "Congress." The date is after July, 1865. This appears to be WW's last MS about the 51st.

about 2100¹ enlisted men altogether/
started with 950 from N. Y. 1861/
July 18 '65—400 men/
Captured
at Poplar Grove 1 officer² Killed (Butler)/
³—325 men 8 officers⁴/
of the above 125 died in prison according to official information
—90 returned from prison
many unable for duty⁵—a number
dying after their their return⁶/
110 not accounted for undoubtedly died in prison

1. Deleted: "2400" ; inserted above and deleted: "2300" ; inserted: "2100" above "[del.] 2300"

2. Preceding two words inserted above "killed[?]" and "B" in "Butler"

3. Deleted: irregular mark, perhaps a fist.

4. It was at Poplar Grove, Va. (also known as Poplar Grove Church and Peebles' Farm) that George and elements of the 51st were captured during the fighting between September 30 and October 2, 1864.

5. Deleted: "some" ; inserted above; "a number"

6. Deleted: "about"

Latter Part of Aug.

Manuscript in LC (#102, sheets # 1141-1153). Inscribed in black pencil on scraps of laid white paper, approx. 3¾" x 2¼". Sheet {1153R} shows a fragment of a Christian Commission letterhead. There are blue rules 5/16" apart. LC removed blank leaves when the manuscript was mounted. LC *Cat.* (19) describes it as "Pages apparently torn from one of Whitman's homemade notebooks," but because of the letterhead and the numerous pinholes in every leaf, it is more than likely that WW tore up larger sheets of paper and pinned them together. On its incompleteness see *n* 16 below. Entries on {1153R} published by Jean Catel, "Walt Whitman pendant la Guerre de Sècession," *Revue Anglo-Américain*, III (1925-1926), 417. {1144R-1150R} published by Glicksberg, 159-160, who calls attention to WW's references to these visits in a letter to the *New York Times* of December 11, 1864, *CW*, VII, 122. LC 234, "August & September / Brooklyn City Hospital," is clearly an early version of the *Times* letter and is not published in this edition. The date is September between 3 and 17, 1864. See *Corr.*, I, 240.

{1141R; *V blank*} latter part of Aug. & during Sept. 1864 (up to 13th, when I write this) Visited the soldiers in Brooklyn Hospital in Raymond st—at one time I found about one hundred there—they were all without money, except remittances from home—tobacco was most needed—I supplied them, several times—{1142R; *V blank*} also paper & envelopes¹ postage stamps—& to three or four cases, a little money² Peaches, apples, sugar cakes, &c to appropriate cases.³ Two or three times spent the evening here, reading to the men, & chatting with them.⁴ It is the dullest, most {1143R; *V blank*} low-spirited hospital I⁵ have been in. The⁶ nursing, ventilation, diet are bad,⁷ & means to amuse the men⁸ entirely deficient; no visitors, no sympathetic connection with the outside world

{1144R; *V blank*} Br City hosp ward 27—Sept 3d. 64 John C Logan co K, 2d Penn Vol[?](shell wound inside r't leg between the knee & thigh, flesh torn away—no bones fract'd—hit 30th July at the Petersburg mine explosion—came here about 6th Sept—was better {1145R; *V blank*} then than now—is but 17 years

1. Deleted: [*illeg.*] ; inserted: "postage stamps" above—" . . . or"

2. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

3. Deleted: "I spent"

4. Deleted: "Something"

5. Deleted: "was"

6. Deleted: "nursing"

7. Preceding three words inserted above "tion" in "ventilation" and "means"

8. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

old—is from⁹ Pittsburgh—Sept 5—is doing pretty well—is on a water bed—(is the boy I gave the pipe & tobacco to)

[1145V] Orlando Humphrey V R C 113 Broome st¹⁰

[1146R; V blank] Willard¹¹ Beeman (aged 21) 83d Penn in Brooklyn Hospital Sept 12—has a younger brother in same reg't, same company,—is uneasy about him, has not heard from him since last battle,—though he was in the habit of writing twice a week—they were [1147R; V blank] most affectionate brothers, always together always loving, always true. “If¹² it were to do over again” said Willard, “I think I should rather enlist alone—the feeling about my brother when going in a battle and anxiety about him at other times, is more than I can stand.”

[1148R; V¹³]—There were six brothers of these Beemans, wagon-makers; in ? Pennsylvania,—& five of them have been or are in the army. One of the five is dead. The parents are not living

[1149R; ¹⁴ V blank] Edwin Southard Hempstead¹⁵—wounded in left hand—lost three fingers. Sept 19—Brooklyn City Hosp been in service two years—in 20th Corps in Sherman's army

[1150R; ¹⁶ V blank] William E. S. Reid co E 129th Ill¹⁷ Vol lost right arm at Atlanta on 20th July at battle of Peach Tree Creek mother lives cor Atlantic & Adelphi.

[1151R; ¹⁸ V blank] Sept 17 '64 Jeff¹⁹—Dover Plains Dutchess co N Y care of W J Sears

[1153²⁰; 1152RV blank] fall of '64/

Brooklyn City Hospital/

the five Beeman Brothers

9. Preceding two words inserted above “Pitts” in “Pittsburgh”

10. This address is written lengthwise on the page. Humphrey is not the recipient of the pipe and tobacco.

11. Deleted: {*illeg.*}

12. Deleted: {*illeg.*}

13. In another hand is inscribed: “Gaylord H. Hatch 6th {*illeg.*} Co. N.Y. S.S.S. (N Y St Shp Shooters in WW's hand G.H.H. Caledonia Livingston Co. N.Y.”

14. Written lengthwise on the page.

15. In another hand is inscribed: “Edwin Southard Company H 119th {*illeg.*.”

16. Written lengthwise on the page.

17. In another hand is inscribed on the outside of the leaf: “William E. S. Reid Co E. 129th Ill. Vol.”

18. Written lengthwise on the page.

19. Possibly WW's brother.

20. A verso which cannot be placed in the text. The sheet number refers to a sheet bearing photostats of this leaf and [1141R] and a signed attestation by Professor William R. Finkel that the photostats were made for him sometime prior to 1942. The notebook is not listed as missing in LC *Cat* or *Ten Notebooks*.

(Mention Appropriately.)

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil on three leaves of white wove paper, approx. 7" x 3¾", unlined, apparently from a notebook, since the left edges show sewing marks. The date is late 1864.

(mention appropriately, when it comes in¹

John Faron, of Brooklyn² he was chief engineer of the *Tecumseh*,³ down sick in the hospital. though very⁴ feeble, when he heard of the impending fight, he rose from his sick bed, & join'd⁵ his vessel, —he said it would hurt him more to have her go in a fight, & he lying away⁶ idle than any thing could that happen'd aboard—he did his duty—was⁷ aboard doing it when⁸ the *Tecumseh* went down, & was lost with the rest, & and his body doubtless lies in that iron wreck at the bottom of the Gulf,—but the memory of his [3; 2 *blank*] brave spirit must remain⁹ among his townsmen. Commodore Rogers¹⁰ says¹¹ "John Faron's¹² aided nobly in /¹³

when the *Weehawken*, in as gallant & rapid a sea-fight as ever was fought¹⁴? took the Secession¹⁵ war ram *Atlanta*, when the 15 inch shot crushed through her armored sides like paper¹⁶ on that occasion, & during the previous story & perilous voyage of the ¹⁷*Weehawken*, vital & indispensable¹⁸ service was rendered by John

1. At top of leaf. Parenthesis extends under entry.

2. Set off in two lines as a heading. Leaf written with hanging indentation although last lines drift to left.

3. The *Tecumseh* was sunk by a torpedo at the battle of Mobile Bay, August 5, 1864.

4. Inserted above wordspace between "though . . . feeble"

5. Deleted: "the"

6. Inserted above "ing" in "lying"

7. Deleted and inserted above: "aboard"

8. Deleted: "She went"

9. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

10. Rogers was apparently commander of the ironclad *Weehawken*, which captured the *Atlanta* off Charleston, S.C., June 17, 1862. The silver service was given him August 4, 1864, but his letter was not written until November.

11. Deleted: "without"

12. Deleted: "aid and courage"

13. Short line from left.

14. Deleted: "sent" ; inserted above: "? took"

15. Deleted: "ship of war" ; inserted above: "war ram"

16. Preceding twelve words inserted on two lines above "Atlanta . . . occasion"

17. Deleted: "Atlantic"

18. Deleted: "and"

Faron. Commodore Rogers speaks fervently of him to this day. Some time since, on a [4] festive occasion, he sadly put aside all compliments to himself, &¹⁹ mentioned John Faron saying “without the aid & courage of²⁰ that man I should not now have been here to receive your praise.”

(*It was on the reception of silver plate presented to Commodore Rogers by citizens of New York on his assuming command of Dictator—see N Y Times Nov 25, 1864²¹

Dr Higginbottom also mention'd John Faron to me,—he told me he rose from sick bed in hospital to join Tecumseh²² /

See Com Rodgers letter in answer to committee, (in Times above)—a perfect specimen of an answer

[5] names of Brooklyn dead²³ George Davy²⁴ Lt Joseph H Grumman²⁵ George Mallory²⁶ Capt Saml H Sims²⁷ Lt Charles Bunker²⁸ Capt Daniel E Jenkins²⁹—? Charles Bates, (private in 51st killed at first Fredericksburgh) / Capt Duncan Richmond 139th N Y.³⁰—private Liborious³¹—Engineer³² John Faron

19. Deleted: “says to”

20. Preceding five words inserted above “out” in “without” and “man”

21. Paragraph boxed with lines above, below, and at the left.

22. Short line from left.

23. A heading. Names in column.

24. See “Brooklyn 14th.”

25. See “Brooklyn 14th.”

26. See “Brooklyn 14th.”

27. See “Some interesting items.”

28. See “Chas Bunker’s mother.”

29. See “Some interesting items.”

30. See “Captain Duncan Richmond.”

31. See “Deaths 51st.”

32. Inserted beneath dash.

It Is Generally Believed.

Manuscript in Duke (26, #24). Inscribed in black ink on a white wove scrap, on the verso of "day and night monotonous." It was probably intended to be part of a newspaper article denouncing the War Department's refusal to exchange prisoners, since the italicized passage is laid out like a subhead. Printed in *FC&I*, 29. With it is a cancelled draft of a letter, dated December 26[?], 1864, to an unknown newspaper editor requesting insertion of a communication on a general exchange. Printed in *Corr.*, I, 244. See also similar letter, *ibid.*, 245, "Christmas night" and "Night of February 17." LC (Feinberg) has a letter written by WW for the signature of John Swinton, his friend at the *NY Times*, with a note by Swinton, both dated February, 1865. Printed Traubel, II, 267. The date of this MS is probably December, 1864.

It is generally believed in Washington that the President¹ is in favor of a general exchange,² but has for the past year³ been overruled by the head of the War Department & others, The consequences are well known⁴ to⁵ all who mix much with the people & the soldiers. The⁶ administration has already established a name for bad faith which will tell for years to come⁷ and the army is far more⁸ deeply incensed than appears on the surface.⁹

*Their blood is on our¹⁰
own heads*

Another side to the exchange

1. Deleted: "& his family"

2. Deleted: "& has been"

3. Preceding four words inserted above "been . . . overruled"

4. Inserted and deleted: "in [*illeg.*] to those [*illeg. ins.*]" above "well known to"

5. Deleted: "&" ; inserted: "all who [*above line*] mix much ... & the soldiers [*above preceding line on an arrow*]"

6. Deleted: "government is establ" ; inserted above "government" : "administration"

7. Preceding seven words inserted on a line "bad . . . deeply"

8. Preceding two words inserted above "deeply"

9. A horizontal line one-third across the leaf from left. Deleted by vertical stroke: "I know nothing in history more dastardly than the course of the War department toward"

10. In larger script.

About 12 Last Night.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on white laid paper with oval embossed in upper right corner. Blue lines $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Sherman captured Savannah on December 21, 1864. At this period WW, who was in Brooklyn, was worried about his brother, from whom he had not heard since his capture in October, and about prisoners of war in general.

About 12 last night I saw the governmental [?] dispatch announcing Gen Sherman's capture of Savannah, & have been reading the particulars to-day. It is a¹ fit termination to² his masterly movement³ from Atlanta, down through the centre of Georgia,⁴ & I rejoice in it.⁵ For all that, I feel rather depressed with the day.

1. Deleted: "good" ; inserted above: "fit"
2. Deleted: "us from a military" ; inserted: "his masterly" above "[del.] us from a"
3. Deleted: "as"
4. Preceding six words and comma inserted above "from . . . rejoice"
5. Deleted: "Then I"

camps, especially those of the wagon trains; from⁸ all sides the slow stream of smoke, made by the camp fires, the men cooking supper. From⁹ many quarters in the still evening, the sound of the axe, the men chopping wood. It is a¹⁰ sweet, calm, sunset here, every thing so broad, with an open view from where I stand—
The new moon hangs up there, just over all

[76]¹¹ Culpepper looks like a place of some 3000 inhabitants—situation of marked beauty, must be one of the pleasantest towns in Virginia—even now dilapidated, fences¹² much broken down, windows out—it¹³ has the remains of much beauty. I stand on an eminence overlooking the town, though within its limits. To the west the long range, Blue Mountains, are very plain look quite near though from thirty to fifty miles distant, the snow in grey splotches upon them

The show is fascinating¹⁴/

I see a great eagle sailing with poised wings¹⁵ quite low.

[74] squads of¹⁶ red legs¹⁷ are drilling. I suppose some of the new men of the Brooklyn 14th—they march off, with muskets over their shoulders/

the bellowing unmusical¹⁸ scrach of the mule,/

off just below me are some¹⁹ soldiers squaring off logs to build a small log house—they chop away & the noise of the axe sounds good./

the thin blue smoke rising from camp fires

[72; 73 *blank*] —just below me is a collection of²⁰ hospital tents with the yellow-flag elevated on a stick, and moving in the breeze. Two discharged men are just leaving one so weak he can hardly crawl, the other is stronger & carries his musket. They move slowly along & down the muddy road toward the depot.

The scenery is full of breadth, spread on the²¹ most generous scale. What capacity here for products, improvements, human life & expansion. (Every where in Virginia this thought fills one)²²

[70; 71 *blank*] Around through the landscape for miles, in pleasant situations are huge clusters of wagon camps with the white covered wagons standing in long

8. Lowercase over uppercase. Preceding punctuation has the appearance of being added, with both emendations in darker pencil.

9. Deleted: "all sides"

10. Deleted: "broad" ; inserted above: "sweet"

11. Since the following six pages seem to follow the preceding material, they are placed here in presumed order of inscription. WW turned the notebook upside down and began to write from the back. Entries on rectos [75,77] appear to have been written with notebook right-side up. WW wrote up the notes years later in "Some War Memoranda," *NB, Prose* 92, II, 586.

12. Deleted: "torn all"

13. Deleted: "looks"

14. The preceding four words added in a smaller hand between entries above "great . . . with" . The second word is overwritten.

15. Deleted: "through the air" ; inserted: "quite" above "air"

16. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

17. The uniform of the Brooklyn 14th.

18. Inserted above "lowing" in "bellowing" and "scrach"

19. Deleted: "men" ; inserted: "soldiers"

20. Preceding two words inserted above "a hosp"

21. Deleted: "to"

22. For the preceding paragraph, see "Virginia," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 71-72.

rows. Then little villages of tents, log & mud huts, &c. There are²³ scores— I see them in all directions. Some of the camps are quite large. I amuse myself by examining one of them a mile or so off through a strong glass. Some of the men are cooking, others washing cleaning their clothes²⁴ —others playing ball,²⁵ smoking lazily, lounging about.²⁶ I watch the varied performance long. It is better than any play. Near by are squads drilling.

[68]²⁷ —heard the men return the other night, heard the shout, & went out to hear what was the matter/ scene at paying off—men going home men chopping wood, the sound of the axe/²⁸ negroes, crows, mud, some fine houses/ droves & pens of cattle/ Gen Meade²⁹ absent, Sedgwick³⁰ in command [66; 67 *blank*]—commissary wagons with their³¹ six-mule teams, driven with the single rein/ the different calls—“boots & saddles”³² inquire of cavalry men what are the calls in cavalry/

[69] ah³³ if³⁴ it might prove an omen & prophecy for this/³⁵ and the³⁶ fine little outshows,³⁷ the signs of the most excellent good manliness of the world [80; ³⁸ 81 *blank*] Thomas B Low³⁹ 6th Invalid corps boy that died of brain fever in Ward K 19 years March 7th '64/ brother George⁴⁰ L Low Lyme Ridge Penn [26; 24⁴¹–25 *blank*]⁴² April 7th '64 Walking over[?] Penn. av.⁴³ warmish forenoon after the storm of past few days— Sights

23. Deleted: “dozens” ; inserted above: “scores” ; deleted: “of these little improve” . The deletion is by a long line across the page and WW may have intended to delete “are” and the insertion as well.

24. Preceding three words inserted above “washing”

25. Deleted: “or”; inserted: “smoking lazily” above “ll” of “ball,” and “loung” of “lounging”

26. Deleted: “[*illeg.*] The”

27. WW elaborates on these notes in “Down at the Front,” and “Paying the Bounties,” *SD, Prose 92, I, 69–71.*

28. Rule across leaf.

29. Gen. George G. Meade (1815–1872), commander of the Army of the Potomac. Mentioned in “A lad of 18,” “Review,” *SD, NB, and Corr., I, passim.*

30. Gen. John Sedgwick (1813–1864), a popular commander, was killed on May 9 at Spotsylvania. See “A Night Battle, Over a Week Since,” *SD, Prose 92, I, 45.*

31. Preceding four words inserted above “— . . . driven”

32. Pointing fist before “inquire”

33. Page in black ink. The following eleven words are in “Virginia,” *SD, Prose 92, I, 72, ll. 20–21,* referring to a beautiful moon of February 8.

34. Deleted: “that” ; inserted above: “if”

35. A short double line under “this”

36. The following fourteen words are repeated in “Down at the Front,” *SD, Prose 92, I, 70, ll. 15–16.*

37. Deleted: “signs”

38. Written upside down, the notebook having been turned. Placed here because of date.

39. See *Corr., I, 202–203.* The letter, dated March 15, mentions the visit of Low’s brother, a postmaster.

40. Deleted: “W” ; inserted: “L”

41. No printed rules on paper.

42. For the following five pages, WW turned the notebook sideways, writing downwards from the left of each leaf. The following notes on Washington were written up in “Some War Memoranda,” *NB, Prose 92, II, 584–585.*

43. In Washington.

a squad of a couple of⁴⁴ hundred conscripts,⁴⁵ surrounded with strong guard, armed, & others interspersed between the ranks—the govt. has learnt wisdom from its experiences: (there are hundreds of bounty jumpers at large, & eighty thousand deserters.⁴⁶)

then a cavalry company, evidently service-hardened men. Mark their {29;⁴⁷ 27–28 *stub*} upright⁴⁸ posture in their saddles, their bronzed & bearded young faces, their easy swaying to the motion of their horses, their carbines, in their by their right knees⁴⁹—Handsome, reckless American young men, some eighty of them⁵⁰ gaily riding up the avenue {31;⁵¹ 30 *blank*⁵²} then the tinkling bells of the cars,—the⁵³ shops of the avenue,⁵⁴ some of them very fine, (show swords,⁵⁵ straps for the different ranks, gilt hat-cords with acorns, & other military vendings abound in the windows;) the great hotels, the Jew shops, the patrol passing along in their sky blue clothes. {33;⁵⁶ 32 *blank*}—the⁵⁷ soldiers, all sorts, cripples.— the darkeys— the soldiers⁵⁸ singly, or by twos & threes, with⁵⁹ their worn faces pleased, going home, some⁶⁰ with black⁶¹ glazed-leather bags in their hands,⁶² long train of govern wagons⁶³ passing along. Officers horses tied in front of the drinking saloons, or held {35⁶⁴} by little darkies, the⁶⁵ soldiers returning from furlough. / {82}⁶⁶ James P Crosier bed 5 ward K May 2 '64/
James Crosier Halifax centre Windham co Vermont/
{34}⁶⁷ saw Corp Sanders⁶⁸ /

44. Preceding two words inserted above “a . . . hundred”

45. Deleted: “and”

46. A “bounty jumper” was a person who would enlist locally, collect the cash bounty, then desert and reenlist elsewhere for another bounty, with no intention of ever serving in the army. The total number of desertions approached 200,000 (J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 430, 432n).

47. Written sideways.

48. Deleted: “seats”

49. Deleted: “the yellow” . Probably the yellow stripes on their breeches.

50. Deleted: “[*illeg.*] gail”

51. Written sideways.

52. No rules.

53. Deleted: “great”

54. Preceding three words inserted above “shops . . . some”

55. Deleted: “&”

56. Written sideways.

57. Deleted: “different”

58. Deleted: “by”

59. Inserted and deleted: “pleased” above “threes,” ; inserted at upper right of leaf, brought down by line: “their worn faces pleased,”

60. “some” inserted above “with”

61. Deleted: “leath”

62. Deleted: “the great b”

63. Deleted: “in the st”

64. Continuation of sentence on succeeding recto. Written sideways.

65. Deleted: “returning”

66. In ink. On the last page of the notebook, written sideways, from the right downwards, placed here according to date. Closed by rule across leaf. A later entry from this page is printed below.

67. Written sideways, from left downward.

68. Corp. Fred Sanders of George’s company. See *Corr.*, I, 222.

(battle of Friday 6th⁶⁹ Lt Sturges,⁷⁰ co K killed/

2 men co⁷¹ K killed. 4 wounded/

Le Gendre⁷² wounded right through the bridge of nose (20 of reg't killed 40 wounded⁷³/

Fred McReady⁷⁴ is wounded in hip,⁷⁵ rather bad,⁷⁶ yet not serious to alarm ord of Co F killed Lake, G of [?]⁷⁷ [35]⁷⁸ saw Lt Brown⁷⁹ of co F shot in shoulder *bed* 51—ward T—Finley⁸⁰

[38;⁸¹ 36⁸²—37 *blank*]⁸³ I find this in my notes—I suppose from “chinning” with some soldier in hospital⁸⁴/

incident/

When Kilpatrick⁸⁵ with his forces⁸⁶ were cut off at Brandy Station (last of Sept. '63, or thereabout)⁸⁷ & the bands struck up *Yankee Doodle* there were not cannon enough in the southern Confederacy to keep him in [39]⁸⁸—this was last of Sept. '63 (or thereabout)—when Meade fell back—Kilpatrick held his cavalry divisions (perhaps 5000 men, 9 brigades), the rebels in much superior force, had them surrounded—things looked exceedingly desperate—Kilpatrick had two bands⁸⁹ ordered his [41;⁹⁰ 40 *blank*]—they joined, & played *Yankee Doodle*, it went

69. Preceding four words enclosed by line at upper righthand corner. The date would be in May, 1864. On May 4, the army at Culpepper crossed the Rapidan river for the major campaign that was to end at Appomattox. From May 5 to May 6, in the Battle of the Wilderness, over 2000 federal troops were killed and over 12,000 wounded. In conjunction with WW's dates, see E. B. Long, *The Civil War Day By Day* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1971). Company K of the 51st NYV was WW's brother George's company. For this page see *Corr.*, I, 222–223.

70. Mentioned in *Corr.*, I, 222, as “Sturgis.” This would not be Gen. Samuel Sturgis, who was George's commander.

71. Inserted over “mer”

72. Lt. Col. Charles W. LeGendre, a commander of the 51st regiment. Although in “Some interesting items” WW calls him “an incompetent officer in every respect,” in a letter of May 13, he expresses sympathy for his being wounded. See *Corr.*, I, 88, 104, 212, 222.

73. Preceding six words enclosed by curved line at right of page to the right and under “nose”

74. Orderly sergeant of the 51st NYV. See “a m Dr. L B Russell.”

75. Deleted: “bad”

76. Deleted: “but”

77. Preceding eight words enclosed by curved line at lower left corner of leaf.

78. At top of leaf, the continuation of [33] printed above.

79. Possibly *Sgt.* James C. Brown, who is mentioned in the same context in *Corr.*, I, 222. WW visits him in Finley hospital and records his name on [47]. See “a brother younger.”

80. The name of a hospital. See [47].

81. Written sideways, from left downwards.

82. No rules.

83. Published in “Some War Memoranda,” *NB, Prose* 92, II, 584.

84. Preceding fifteen words written in a small hand across top of leaf. The following passage is in a large, loose hand. *DA* defines “chinning” as “talk,” “chatter,” with the earliest listing being 1876.

85. Gen. Hugh Judson Kilpatrick (1836–1881), a colorful cavalry commander. See “ask any of Kilpatrick's.” Brandy Station, Va., near Culpepper, was the site of a great cavalry battle on June 9, but the incident referred to was an engagement on October 11. See *Corr.*, I, 166.

86. Preceding three words inserted above “patrick” “Kilpatrick” and “were”

87. Parenthetical phrase inserted on a line above “Station . . . bands”

88. Written sideways from left downwards.

89. Deleted: “had his” ; preceding three words inserted above “[*del.*] ordered”

90. Written sideways from left downwards.

through the men like lightning, every man seemed a giant, they charged & cut
 their way out with the loss of 20 men—about 2 in the afternoon
 [42]⁹¹ Ira Hall co I 93 NY Vol bed 13—ward K⁹²/
 sister⁹³ Mrs. Harrison Bemis Grandville, Washington Co NY./
 wounded in right arm nothing serious/ hit on Thursday—⁹⁴ send \$10
 [44; 43 *blank*] (ga-mute eu ga-mute-lisch)⁹⁵ —full of⁹⁶ soul heart manliness af-
 fection
 [45]⁹⁷ Wm H Millis⁹⁸ co E 8th Penn Cav. Gen Gregg's old reg. Bridgeville
 Sussex co Del bed 33 Ward B May 8th '64⁹⁹/
 g s w in Chest—w in left arm father living in Bridgeville Del
 [47¹; 46 *blank*] Lincoln² H F Brigham 21st Mass
 Lincoln³ Valentine Fisher F 51st NY
 armory⁴ Dan'l Johnson B. 51st Penn
 Mt Pleasant) John Hall, F. 51st N.Y./
 Finley Corp Frederick Sanders K 51st NY/⁵
 [Finley]⁶ Eugene Dilley H
 [Finley]⁷ Jas Cremer A
 [Finley]⁸ Serg Jas C Brown⁹ A
 [Finley]¹⁰ Serg't John E Gibbs H
 [Finley]¹¹ John Gafney G
 [Finley]¹² Ephraim S Warden D
 Campbell¹³ [Campbell]¹⁴ Jas O'Neil G
 [Campbell]¹⁵ John Huber B/

91. Written sideways from left downwards.

92. Preceding four words at upper right corner of leaf.

93. Inserted above "Mrs."

94. Following entry to right of slanting vertical line.

95. In another hand in a column to the left: "Gemuth Gemüthlich" . The German word is now spelled *gemütlich*. Written sideways, top of notebook at right.

96. Following words in column at right.

97. Written sideways. Top of notebook to left.

98. Millis became a correspondent of WW's. See "Mr. and Mrs. Fitz."

99. Preceding seven words in a smaller hand at upper right corner.

1. In black ink. Written from top of page.

2. Inserted in upper left corner. Lincoln, Armory, Mt. Pleasant, Finley, Campbell, Judiciary, Harewood were hospitals in Washington.

3. Inserted at left of leaf slightly above line.

4. Written at left slightly above line.

5. The short lines bracket "Finley," possibly meant to set off the name.

6. Ditto in MS.

7. Ditto in MS.

8. Ditto in MS.

9. See [35].

10. Ditto in MS.

11. Ditto in MS.

12. Ditto in MS.

13. Written at left above line.

14. Ditto in MS under "Campbell"

15. Ditto in MS.

Judiciary¹⁶ Mark Dearing C 51st Penn/
 Harewood¹⁷ Wm Cohen B 21st Mass P J Dixon B 21st Mass
 [60¹⁸; 48–59 *blank*] bed 59 May 12 '64)¹⁹ George L Farnum²⁰ co C 11th Mass
 (ward 6 Finley Hosp²¹/
 (George J Farnum Rumford centre Oxford co Maine Shot in left hand, bet 3d &
 4th fingers hit Friday
 [82]²² ward C bed 30—May 13 Cavalier Poland²³ co A 18th Penn Cav ? rt left
 arm hit at elbow)²⁴ brother Hamilton Poland Belton P O Marshall co West Va
 mother not[?] living
 [79]²⁵ 552 G st Col N Y agent
 [78]²⁶ Harden C Harris Brattleboro' Vermont /
 (Charley H Harris²⁷ co F. 4th Vermont bed 35—ward A May 13 '64
 Memoranda of game of 20 questions²⁸
 x vegetable with a mineral in it not
 good to eat
 is in this room
 part of the furniture
 both useful & orn
 not wood
 x not with illumination
 [77]²⁹ W A Croffut Rochester Daily³⁰ Democrat Rochester NY
 [75]³¹ Ward a May 14
 Jesse Mullery³² age 20 co K 15th New Jersey/
 shot through shoulder ball in lung (ball still in probably near lung)/

16. Written at left, above line.

17. Written at left, above line.

18. Written sideways. Top of notebook to left. On facing verso, [61], an entry dated May 24.

19. Preceding five words enclosed by curved line at the upper left corner of leaf.

20. Mentioned in "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz."

21. Preceding four words enclosed by curved line at top of leaf to the right of the enclosed words at the top left.

22. WW turned the notebook upside down and began writing from back. Earlier dated entry printed above.

23. Mentioned in "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz."

24. Preceding six words and question mark enclosed by curved line at left of entry.

25. Written sideways. Top of notebook to left.

26. Written sideways. Top of notebook to right.

27. Mentioned as having gone home in "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz."

28. Preceding six words in red ink, probably written some time after the game was played. Notes for the game are in pencil and in a column. A red ink line runs to left and below entire entry. Meaning of crosses unknown. Entire entry upside-down rather than sideways on page. The entry on Harris is later since it is partly written over it. For other games of twenty questions played in New York see "[illeg.] Dick Hunt."

29. Written sideways in a large hand. Top of notebook at left. On facing recto is "Culpepper looks like a place."

30. Deleted: "Demo"

31. Written sideways. Top of notebook at left. On facing recto is "squads of red legs are drilling."

32. See "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz."

Brooklyn 14th.

Manuscript in Yale. Homemade, self-covered notebook. Inscribed in black pencil on soft, white wove paper approx. $4\frac{7}{8}$ " x $4\frac{5}{16}$ ", except for last entry on [15], which is in black ink. All entries are in hanging indentation. The 14th was a Brooklyn volunteer regiment which tendered its services May 18, 1861, and was mustered in at Washington May 26. It was at first assigned to the defence of Washington and participated in the First Battle of Bull Run. Most of its action was in Virginia, and it fought at Second Bull Run, Chantilly, Antietam, Fredericksburgh, and Gettysburg. It seems never to have been brigaded with the 51st. It left the front May 22, 1864, and arrived home May 24. Veterans and recruits were transferred, as WW says. It was mustered out June 14. (Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, III [NY, 1909], 1438.) See "Hospital book 12" [18]. WW was evidently writing after the 14th had returned to state control, after June 14, 1864. I am indebted to Mr. Donald Gallup, Curator of American Literature, Beinecke Library, Yale University and Professor Jerome Loving of Texas A & M University for information and assistance.

[1]¹ Brooklyn 14th [3; 2 *blank*] Brooklyn 14th² William Foskett Co D—30 years old, born in London, parents dead married 8 years—member of 9 engine Carlton av³/
 Capt Wm M Baldwin⁴ lost his left arm at Wilderness⁵/
 Capt George Mallory⁶ kill'd at 2d Bull Run—body never recovered—was a very good man much liked/
 Capt. George Davy,⁷ kill'd at 2d Bull Run,—body never recovered—also good man/
 Lieut⁸ Joseph H Grumm⁹ wounded also at 2d Bull Run died in hospital Washington¹⁰/

1. Cover.
2. At upper right. Curved line in front and below.
3. Preceding seventeen words crammed under "William"
4. Entered army age twenty-nine, became a captain, October 1, 1862, lost his arm at Laurel Hill May 10, 1864, mustered out June 6 (*Corr.*, I, 230n).
5. Entry written at right under last letters of "Foskett" crossing the line drawn under preceding entry.
6. See "(mention appropriately.)"
7. See "(mention appropriately.)"
8. Inserted in small hand before "Joseph"
9. Although the writing seems clear, the final letters are a series of squiggles. Possibly the Lt. Joseph H. Grummon mentioned in "(mention appropriately.)"
10. Preceding four words inserted later in right margin after "Bull Run" . The last seven words are crammed in and "there" is below the line.

Serg't Chas Conklin, color bearer, kill'd at Gettysburgh—age about 28 Brooklyn boy—kill'd instantly never moved/{5; 4 blank} after he fell—fell with the colors—buried on the field & left there¹¹/

Serg't Wm Rankin, about 25 years¹² kill'd at Laurel Hill near Spottsylvania¹³ just after Wilderness fight¹⁴ in May '64.—kill'd on a charge—

Lieut Rae¹⁵ (co B) also kill'd at same fight,—on the charge,—(his father keeps a place porter house¹⁶ out in Myrtle Av. near, Kent)/¹⁷

Lt Col Wm De Bevoise¹⁸ was well liked—had command of 14th at South Mountain, Antietam, & first Fredericksburgh

{7; 6 blank} Major Head—went out with the reg't as sergeant major—was promoted to Lieut at 1st Bull Run for bravery—¹⁹ made adjutant of reg't²⁰ — at Gettysburgh was made Major— /

Lt Col Robt B?²¹ Jordan went out as Capt Co. A²² (the one I saw at Culpepper) had been then²³ dismiss'd for some misconduct while in charge of picket line²⁴—was afterward reinstated—had been²⁵ wounded at 1st Bull Run in shoulder—was not with the reg't afterward²⁶ till Gettysburgh, also at Wilderness—was a brave man—fond of whiskey came home with regt as Lt Col²⁷ /

Lt Jas Jordan, now Capt in 14th²⁸ Co. F, brother to above not much with regt {9; 8 blank} Col James Jourdan (the other Col Jourdan)²⁹—went out as 1st³⁰ Major of 14th—was at 1st Bull Run—left 14th in beginning of 1862—& went to be Lt Col 56th NY Vol (Van Wyck legion Congressman Van Wyck)³¹—then left there to be Col of 1st reg't of Spinola brigade /

Serg't Nathaniel Carleton, co E. hit in arm, arm amputated, died at Gettysburgh, in hospital³² young man, body sent on to Brooklyn—(good fellow)

11. Preceding three words inserted.

12. Preceding three words inserted above “kin” in “Rankin” and “kill'd”

13. Preceding two words inserted above “el” in “Laurel” and “just”

14. Inserted above “ness” in “Wilderness”

15. Deleted: “Ray” ; inserted above: “Rae”

16. Preceding two words inserted above “ce” in “place” and “out in”

17. Deleted: “Col Fowler,—”

18. Mentioned as being in Brooklyn and in ill-health in “Life Among Fifty Thousand Soldiers,” *Brooklyn Eagle*, March 3, 1863, *CW*, VII, 97.

19. Deleted: “then” ; inserted above : “made”

20. Preceding four words inserted above “—at Get” in “Gettysburgh”

21. Question mark above “B” . Deleted: “Jourdan” ; inserted above: “Jordan”

22. Preceding six words crammed in after “Jordan” at right.

23. Inserted above wordspace between “been . . . dismiss'd”

24. Preceding six words inserted above “—was afterwards re-”

25. Preceding two words inserted above “wou” in “wounded”

26. Deleted: “afterward” following “afterward”

27. Preceding seven words crammed in at right; the last word interferes with the following entry.

28. Preceding four words inserted above “Jordan . . . bro” in “brother”

29. Parenthetical statement inserted above “es” in “James” and “w” in “went”

30. Inserted in wordspace between “as . . . Major”

31. Preceding three words written above “Wyck legion,”

32. Preceding two words inserted above “young”

[11; 10 *blank*] 14th has been under³³ Gen's³⁴ McDowall, McClellan, Pope, Burnside, Hooker,³⁵ Meade, & Grant— /

reg't³⁶ went out Saturday³⁷ 18th May, 1861, return'd 25th May 1864 /

—³⁸ took out 900 had 900 more recruits while absent in service³⁹—returned with about 120 /

(the remainder of the 14th is now in Duryea's Zouaves, 5th N. Y. — 5th Corps)⁴⁰

[13; 12 *blank*] —the 14th still keeps up as a Militia regiment here in Brooklyn⁴¹ —14th National Guard of the⁴² State of N Y— /⁴³

the 14th was, in 1st brigade, 1st Div. 1st Corps—(winter of 63-4—1st Corps was consolidated with the 5th under Gen Warren.)⁴⁴ 14th was the 1st Corps at Culpepper when I was there—

[15; 14 *blank*] — 14th (in 1st corps) was under the brave Gen Reynolds at Gettysburgh, — (Gen R. kill'd there) — /⁴⁵

*case of*⁴⁶ *strong endurance & recovery* Case of Lewy ? I saw in summer of 62 in his house in Hamilton st near Flushing avenue⁴⁷ [16 *blank*]

33. Preceding four words inserted above at right.

34. Deleted: "Porter"

35. Inserted above "ide" in "Burnside" and "Mea" in "Meade"

36. Inserted above "went . . . 18th"

37. Inserted above "out . . . 18th"

38. Deleted: "about"

39. Preceding four words inserted above "recruits—"

40. Deleted: "now"

41. Preceding three words inserted above "regiment"

42. Preceding two words inserted in word space above "Guard . . . State"

43. Line across page, short line from below it.

44. Deleted: "it"

45. Line halfway across leaf from left, short line below. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

46. Deleted: "marked" ; inserted above: "strong"

47. Entire entry in black ink in a more regular hand.

(At Front, Culpepper.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil on scrap of white laid paper. Blue lines $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. WW visited Culpepper in the second week of February, 1864, just before Grant assumed command in the East. Captain Cranford is mentioned in a letter to WW's mother (*Corr.*, I, 197-198). The visit is also mentioned in "Hospital book 12."

(at front, Culpepper, Feb. 1864)

the incident told me Capt. Cranford of the color-bearer Head¹ of the 14th at² 1st Bull Run who was³ killed. Capt. C told me that he left him sitting on the ground, —he gave him a drink of water—that was the last he saw of him—he was very brave—tall fine looking fellow

1. Inserted above "bearer"
2. Deleted: "2d" ; inserted above: "1st"
3. Deleted: "shot"

139th New York Volunteers

WW's association with the 139th, a Brooklyn regiment, was less close than with the 51st, and his notes seem to date from 1864. The regiment was organized in Brooklyn and mustered into federal service September 9, 1862. It fought in Virginia and took part in action at Cold Harbor, Petersburg, and Richmond. It was never brigaded with the 51st. It was mustered out June 19, 1865. A clipping in Yale, endorsed by WW as being from the Brooklyn *Daily Union*, December 1, 1864, "Our Brooklyn Soldiers," briefly narrates the history of the regiment, but with less emphasis on persons. Since WW published "From Washington. Military Anxieties . . ." on September 22, 1863 (*UPP*, II, 26-29), and "Return of a Brooklyn Veteran," on March 16, 1865 (Glicksberg, 86-89), in the *Daily Union*, this might also be his. Otherwise he seems to have made no use of his notes.

Brooklyn Regiments.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on a strip of dark yellow wove paper 5" x 2¾". The regimental numbers are in a column under "Brooklyn"; "list . . ." opposite them.

Brooklyn Regiments 14th 139th lists of different reg'ts containing Brooklyn men

Thos H Groves.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in hanging indentation in black ink on white wove booklet made by folding one sheet, approx. 11½" x 5", horizontally. Vertical blue lines ⅓" apart. Writing on {1} and {3}. An unidentified clipping contains a letter of condolence from Colonel S. H. Roberts to the parents of Lieutenant Alexander. The Brooklyn directory for 1861-1862 lists an S. H. Alexander as a bookkeeper and an Anthony Conk as a builder.

*Thos H Groves co C 139th since March 1864 1st brigade 1st div 18th corps*¹
Went out Sept 11th 1862 under Col Conk²—went to Newport's News,—then to Fortress Monroe—last of April 63³ went to Williamsburgh, Va. on the peninsula—left there February '64 & went to place called Coinjock, North Carolina, (on the Albermarle & Cheasapeake canal)—staid there till last of April, '64—thence went to Yorktown,—remained independent until here brigaded & put in 18th Corps,—⁴ & from thence by transports to Bermuda Hundred—assumed offensive, under Butler⁵ moved on Petersburg & Richmond railroad—moved on to Petersburg, & attacked it—retired—then tried Richmond, south side—then by transports &c. to White House, on the Pamunky, whence marched to Cold Harbor, (1st of June) & joined Grant, & went into fight—18th Corps has been (fall & winter of '64) in Army of James, north of Potomac, (Chapin's bluff,)—& fighting.

{3; 2 *blank*}⁶ Col Conk lost east Baltimore Cross Roads, fight (2d or 4th of July 63) for bad behavior—was requested to resign did so resignation accepted⁷—Col West commanding brigade, sent [*illeg.*] the acceptance—sent four cavalrymen & an order giving Conk 15 minutes to leave the camp/

Lt Col Roberts was commissioned *Col*—(is absent from regiment a good deal for one thing—& fidgetty &c—his courage is doubted.)

1. "139th" in center, name at upper left, units at upper right. Paragraph with hanging indentation.

2. Preceding three words inserted above "1862 . . . went"

3. Inserted above "w" in "went"

4. Preceding ten words inserted on two lines above "to Yorktown"

5. Preceding two words inserted above "moved"

6. First four entries on leaf with hanging indentation.

7. Preceding two words inserted above "did so . . . West"

Major Perry (killed at Cold Harbor) had been much in command, up to time killed

Lt Col Thos Mulcahy (formerly old 12th ward), is now in command/

139th⁸ Capt Jack Smith (severely wounded in arm at Cold Harbor)/⁹

Lt Alexander, (killed, solid shot took top of his head off)¹⁰ had good record went out in 1st Long Island as a private —though a corporal commanded his co. at Antietam—(other officers killed

8. Inserted before "Capt."

9. Rule across leaf.

10. Succeeding material in column at left of page under "Alexander" with vertical line down at ends of lines.

Was a Thorough.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on half-sheet of white wove paper, approx. 7" x 5", with vertical blue lines, approx. 1/3" apart. The 1863-1864 Brooklyn directory lists a James Pearson, carpenter, on Bedford Avenue.

was a thorough good soldier—was a good man in every respect—/¹

John W Pearson, private² company C 139th N Y V—(about 19 yrs old (his folks live now in Bedford av)/

J W P³ (was serious, religious, good young man) was very brave, never flinched, well liked/

at cold harbor June 2d, morning⁴ while our⁵ men lay behind some works captured by the rebels, they were suffering very much from thirst—there were plenty of canteens, the other side of the works—but to get them exposed a man to great danger—⁶ it was dangerous indeed⁷ for a man to show his head he jumped over, got several canteens, many of the rebels, sharpshooters included, fired at him—but he escaped—it was one of those actions, not⁸ of moment, but showing the greatest bravery—but he threw over the canteens—/

The next morning in a charge upon the rebel works, he was shot twice, once in the head & again in the arm—they were amputating[?] but he died under the knife[?].

1. Rule across leaf.

2. Inserted on two lines at top of the leaf.

3. Succeeding parenthetical words began at center of leaf following "NYV"

4. Deleted: "the" ; preceding three words inserted above "while [*del.*] the"

5. Inserted "our" above "men"

6. Inserted and deleted: "though" above "—he" ; inserted: "it . . . head" above "He jumped . . . several" ("head" below "a man")

7. Inserted above "us" in "dangerous" and "for"

8. Deleted: "of"

139th—Incident.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in pencil in booklet, approx. 7½" x 6", made by folding a longer sheet as for "139th Lt Middleton" and "*Thos H Groves.*" Vertical blue lines, approx. ⅓" apart. The persons mentioned are unidentifiable. The Battle of Cold Harbor was fought between May 5 and 12, 1864.

139th—*Incident at Cold Harbor*

told me by Thos Groves¹
of a Frenchman, named Lewy (who had been with Garribaldi—At the battle of²
Cold Harbor the rebels were firing explosive bullets—some of these fell in the
leaves, in front of our breastworks³ (it was at night) & made quite a bright fire by
which the rebel sharpshooters could see where to aim. The officers called for
volunteers to go & put out the fire— A Frenchman in the regiment,⁴ seemed to
be about the only one who felt a call to undertake this skittish piece of work. He
leaped over the breastworks, went where the fire was burning in several places, was
the mark of many secession bullets, put out the fire by stamping around & upon
it, did the work completely, & returned to his place in his company,⁵ with the
remark as he looked quietly over to the secession lines, where the sharpshooters
still up kept firing⁶ "There, now⁷ blaze away & be damned."/

{3; 2 *blank*} Coinjock NC⁸/ Winslow went out from Brooklyn⁹ as 2d ser-
jeant of Co C—the circumstances of killing were as follows—he took his rifle &
went out on the front picket line, in one of the rifle-pits, this brought on an
exchange of picket-firing, & in it he was killed

1. Above text as title and subtitle. See "*Thos H Groves.*"
2. Preceding three words inserted above "At . . . Cold"
3. Preceding five words inserted above "in . . . it"
4. Single parenthesis deleted.
5. Deleted: "after"
6. Preceding seven words inserted on two lines above "secession lines"
7. Deleted: "fire" ; inserted above: "blaze"
8. Written upper right corner.
9. Preceding two words inserted above "out . . . 2d"

139th Lt Middleton.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in hanging indentation in black ink in improvised booklet like that used in "*Thos H Groves*." WW was at Brooklyn at the time he wrote this and returned to Washington in January, 1865.

139th
Lt Middleton, (killed at Chapin's
Bluff—Nov '64)
had been twice wound before
was a brave fellow—had more friends
& was better liked than any other
officer in the regiment—was sent
home & buried here

Capt Duncan Richmond.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in pencil on scrap of white wove paper. Pinholes. WW had some prior knowledge of Richmond, for on September 8, 1862, he walked home late at night from Fulton Ferry with his brother. See "return my book" and "(mention appropriately.)"

Capt Duncan Richmond 139th N Y V. (I believe killed at front), funeral about¹ middle of November '64 at Plymouth Church Brooklyn

1. Inserted above "m" in "middle"

Dec 23-'64.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed with hanging indentation in black ink on top half of single sheet of white laid notepaper, $3\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5", with blue rules $\frac{1}{3}$ " apart. Pinholes. Folded twice, top to bottom. On the verso is an embossed oval surrounded by flourishes $\frac{1}{2}$ " wide framing the word, "PARIS." No other use of this paper has been noted. On verso is inscribed in black ink six heavily emended lines of verse beginning: "While those I loved, while the child/I so deeply loved (dear child remember you who slept often by you?," which appears to be a trial draft of "The Wound-Dresser," sec. 2. Verso numbered in pencil in WW's hand "54" over erased "3." With this and the following Yale manuscripts pertaining to George Whitman are the following: 1) Note on a scrap of paper (in George's hand): "George W. Whitman Capt. 51st Regt. N.Y. Vols. Prisoner of war at Danville Va in tip top health and spirits. Mothers address. Mrs Louisa Whitman, Portland near Myrtle Ave, Brooklyn N.Y." 2) A letter of February 19, 1865, from a Capt. William Cook, from Annapolis, to Mrs. W., enclosing the note from George. 3) A letter to WW, February 16, 1865, City Point from J. W. Mason, notifying him that a box for George would go forward by the first flag of truce. See "Hugo Oscar Fritsch."

George Whitman (1829-1901) had volunteered in the 51st NY Volunteers (see "51st New York Volunteers") shortly after the April 19, 1861, attack on federal troops by the Baltimore mob. He rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and was captured at Poplar Springs Church, Virginia, September 30, 1864. For a time he was held in Petersburg at Libby Prison, then in Salisbury, N.C., then in Danville, Va. He was released from Danville February 19, 1865, and wrote from the officers' hospital at Annapolis, Md., on February 24 that he had arrived the day before from "the Hotel De Libby." On May 8 he rejoined the 51st New York Volunteers at Alexandria, Va. His army career can be followed in a series of his letters between June 28, 1861, to July 14, 1865, in Jerome M. Loving, ed., *Civil War Letters of George Washington Whitman* (Durham, NC), 1975, and is summarized by WW in "Return of a Brooklyn Veteran," Glicksberg, 86-89.

The elaborated form of this "Diary" suggests that WW had publication in mind.

Dec 23-'64¹

Mrs Lester 124 Johnson st call'd—about her son Frank Lester (he was a new recruit of the 14th—when the reg't came home, was put in the 5th New York, (Duryea's Zouaves)—was taken prisoner last August, '64 at Spottsylvania—says she has heard he² was with Capt Whitman, in confinement—

1. WW had been in Brooklyn since mid-June, after eighteen months of hospital service, because of "spells of fainting & very bad feeling in the head, fullness & pain—& besides sore throat" which he attributed to "the hospital poison" (*Corr.*, I, 233).

2. Deleted: "is" ; inserted above: "was"

Monday Night, December 26.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on a double sheet of white laid notepaper, 9¾" x 7¾", with blue rules ½" apart. Embossed stamp .68" wide showing the Capitol in right perspective. An illegible word is probably "Congress." Folded once, top to bottom. Paper thus embossed, or slightly variant, is common among WW's manuscripts of the period. His comments on George's diary are a striking version of one of his central poetic ideas. Printed in part in Walter Lowenfels, *Walt Whitman's Civil War* (N.Y., 1960), 9, 210-211.

MONDAY NIGHT, DECEMBER 26, 1864. —I am writing this in the front basement in Portland avenue, Brooklyn, at home.¹ It is after 9 o'clock at night. We have had a² wet day with fog, mud, slush, & the yet unmelted hard-polished³ ice⁴ liberally left in the streets. All sluggish & damp, with a prevailing⁵ leaden vapor. Yesterday, Christmas, about the same.⁶ George's trunk came by express to-day, early in forenoon,⁷ from City Point, Virginia. Lt Babcock, of the 51st, was kind enough to search it out there⁸ & send it home. It stood some hours before we felt inclined to open it. Towards evening mother & Eddy looked over the things. One could not help feeling depressed⁹. There were his uniform coat, pants, sash, &c. There were many things reminded us of him.¹⁰ Papers, memoranda, books, nicknacks, a revolver, a small diary, roll of his company, a case of photographs of his¹¹ comrades, (several of them I knew¹² as killed in battle,) with other stuff such as a soldier accumulates. Mother looked every thing over, laid out the shirts to be washed, the coats & pants to hang up, & all the rest were¹³ carefully put¹⁴ back.

1. A single pencilled closing parenthesis in the MS is probably not by WW.

2. Deleted: "heavy, sticky"

3. Inserted above "elted" in "melted" and "ice"

4. Deleted: "partially" ; inserted above: "liberally"

5. Preceding two words inserted above "with"

6. A single pencilled opening parenthesis in the MS is probably not by WW.

7. Preceding three words and comma inserted above "day" and "from" . George would not have had his trunk with him at the front. See "Baily D Damon."

8. Inserted above "out &"

9. Preceding six words inserted above "the things . . . his" ; inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*] above "uniform"

10. Deleted: "It"

11. Deleted: "friends" ; inserted above: "comrades"

12. Deleted: "to"

13. Inserted above "t" in "rest" and "c" in "carefully"

14. Deleted: "awa"

It made us feel¹⁵ pretty solemn. We have not heard from him since October 3d; whether living or dead we know not. I¹⁶ am aware of the condition of the union prisoners south, through seeing them when brough up¹⁷, & from¹⁸ lately talking with a friend just returned from taking part in the exchange at Savannah & Charleston by which we have received¹⁹ 12,000 of our sick. Their situation, as of all our men in prison, is indescribably horrible. Hard, ghastly starvation is the rule. Rags, filth, despair, in large²⁰ open stockades, no²¹ shelter, no cooking, no clothes,—such the con[3;2 *blank*]dition of masses of men,²² in some places two or three thousand, & in²³ the largest prison as high as thirty thousand²⁴ confined. The²⁵ guards are insufficient in numbers, & they make it up by treble severity, shooting the prisoners literally just²⁶ to keep them²⁷ under terrorism. I cannot get any reliable trace of the 51st officers at all. I supposed they were at Columbia, South Carolina, but my friend has brought a list purporting to be complete record of²⁸ all in confinement there, & I cannot find any of the 51st among them.

To night I have been looking over Georges diary.²⁹ It comes down to about the 1st of September 1863. It is merely a skeleton of dates, voyages,³⁰ places camped in or³¹ marched through, battles fought, &c. But I can realize clearly that³² by calling upon³³ even a tithe of the myriads of living & actual facts, which go along with, & fill up³⁴ this dry list of times & places, it would outvie all the romances in the world, & most of the famous histories & biographies to boot. It does not need calling in play the imagination to see that in such a record as this,³⁵

15. Deleted: "serious"

16. Deleted: "know much" ; inserted above: "am aware" . WW began a vigorous campaign by personal application and letters to the press to reinstitute a general policy on the exchange of prisoners, which had broken down in December, 1862. Although there is no evidence that his personal campaign had any effect, in January, 1865, since the war was obviously near an end, an even exchange was commenced. See "It is generally believed."

17. Preceding three words inserted above "gh" in "through" and "seeing" ; inserted and deleted above : "after return" "up" and "them"

18. Inserted above "late"

19. Preceding nine words inserted above "exchange" and "sick" ; deleted: "of" before "12,000"

20. Inserted above "in" and "op" in "open"

21. Deleted: "clothes, no"

22. Deleted: "some"

23. Deleted: "others" ; inserted: "the largest prison" above "[del.] others" and "as high"

24. Deleted: "men"

25. "y" cancelled in "They"

26. Inserted above "to"

27. Deleted: "in"

28. Deleted: "those" ; inserted above: "all"

29. See Jerome M. Loving, ed., *Civil War Letters of George Washington Whitman* (Durham, 1975), 137-160.

30. Inserted above "dates"

31. Preceding three words inserted above "marched"

32. Deleted: "without" ; inserted: "by" above "ut" in "without"

33. Deleted: "one" "more than a tithe, of," ; inserted and deleted before "even a tithe of" : "even half" ; inserted: "even a tithe of" above "[del.] of" and "myr" in "myriad"

34. Preceding three words inserted above "with" and "th" in "this"

35. Deleted: "as" ; inserted: "lies folded" above "[del.] as" and "a"

lies folded a perfect poem of the war,³⁶ comprehending all its³⁷ phases,³⁸ its passions, the fierce tug of the secessionists the interminable fibre of the national union,³⁹ all the special hues & characteristic forms & pictures of⁴⁰ the actual battles, with colors flying, rifles snapping cannon thundering, grape whirling,⁴¹ armies struggling ships at sea or bombarding shore batteries, skirmishes in woods, great⁴² pitched battles,⁴³ & all the profound scenes of individual death, courage, endurance & superb⁴⁴ hardihood, & splendid muscular wrestle of⁴⁵ a newer larger race of human giants, with all furious passions aroused on one side, & the sternness of the unalterable determination on the other{?}

36. Deleted: "going through" ; inserted above: "comprehending"

37. Inserted above wordspace between "all" and "phases"

38. Deleted: "all" ; inserted following: "its"

39. Preceding thirteen words and comma inserted.

40. Deleted: "this tremendous war" ; inserted: "the actual battles" above "tremendous"

41. Preceding two words and comma inserted above "ndering" in "thundering" and "a" in "armies"

42. Deleted: "battles"

43. Preceding thirteen words and comma inserted.

44. Deleted: "human"

45. Deleted: "human {?]" ; inserted on two lines: "a newer larger race of human" above deletion and "with all"

Brooklyn, Jan 19 & 20.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on white, faded, soft wove paper approx. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". It has been torn off a larger sheet on the left edge. Folded once, top to bottom.

Brooklyn, Jan 19 & 20, 1865

We have just heard from George¹ after a blank of four months. He is in the Confederate Military Prison at Danville, Va., (or rather was on Nov 27, for his letter has been nearly two months² getting here.) When captured, he & the other officers were taken to Libby Prison in Richmond, from there to Salisbury,³ N. C. & from there to Danville, where they are⁴ kept (on corn meal, a little bacon, &c.) in a tobacco warehouse. There are 350 officers in confinement. Every thing is very miserable,⁵ starvation, rags, &c.

We first received one of those significant slips of paper⁶ (of which I have seen so many bushels, one time & another,⁷ brought up by exchanged prisoners, dingy, soiled, half-legible,⁸ records of death, home addresses, of prisoners⁹ &c.) written by his own hand, with mother's name on, & dated at Danville, Va. November 23d 1864 and¹⁰ the words, "well & hearty." This slip¹¹ came through¹² after long delay by an exchanged chaplain.¹³

But¹⁴ the next day, (Jan 20, '65,) we¹⁵ received through the mail¹⁶ quite a

1. Preceding two words inserted above "rd" in "heard" and "[del.] for" ; deleted: "for the first"

2. Deleted: "in"

3. Deleted: "North C"

4. Deleted: "confined" ; inserted: "kept" above "[del.] confined" and "(on corn meal, a little bacon &c.)" above "in a tobacco warehouse"

5. Deleted: "po"

6. Possibly not the note with MS in Yale. See "Dec 23-'64" and "Feb. 25, 26, 27, & 28."

7. Preceding four words and comma inserted above "bushels" and "brought"

8. Preceding three words and commas inserted above "prisoners" and "records" ; inserted and deleted: "scraps," above "of" and "d" in "death"

9. Preceding two words inserted above "addresses"

10. Deleted: "simply"

11. Inserted: "this . . . came" above "words . . . hearty."

12. Deleted: "at last" ; inserted above: "after long delay" in the inserted line, in *n*11.

13. Preceding sentence inserted. The letter of transmittal with the MS is dated February 19; George's note was given to Captain Cook on February 14.

14. No paragraph in MS, but paragraph mark at beginning of line.

15. Deleted: "got"

16. Preceding four words inserted above "quite a"

letter, dated November 27,¹⁷ written in good spirits,¹⁸ putting the best face on his imprisonment, & claiming to be in good health. He mentioned the other officers of the regiment, Major Wright, Lieut Pooley, &c.¹⁹ The prison is in charge of Lieut Col. Robert C. Smith, Confederate Army.

17. Deleted: "speaking of"

18. Deleted: "?"

19. Deleted: "The officer" ; inserted and deleted: "Confederate" above the deletion.

Night of February 17.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on a half-sheet of white wove paper, 8" x 7½". Horizontal blue lines ½" apart. Folded twice, top to bottom.

NIGHT OF FEBRUARY 17, 1865.—I write this in my room at Washington.¹ A heavy sulky night, &² beating snow storm. I³ have just opened the window & looked out. It is⁴ bleak & silent & dim. Off in a distant camp the drums beat ?⁵ tattoo, & in a neighboring hospital⁶ the long drawn bugle-notes give the same signal. I heard to-day from Head-quarters of the Armies, at City Point,⁷ by official⁸ letter from Lt-Gen'l. Grant's Military secretary. He writes that the Lt. Gen'l. has directed⁹ a special exchange for George & also for Lt. Pooley. This is an addition to the order already given by Maj-Gen. Hitchcock,¹⁰ the U. S. Commissioner of Exchange, &¹¹ promised to be acted upon by Col. Mulford personally.¹² The thing on my mind now is, what may have happened since November 27, last, as that is the latest date we have any thing from my brother, then in the C. S. military prison, Danville, Va. I think of¹³ many things that may have happened. No word now for almost three months.¹⁴ We have sent, both from Brooklyn & City Point¹⁵ boxes of provisions & clothes, but it is probable they have not reached him.¹⁶ I

1. WW had returned to Washington the last week in January and had received a clerkship in the Department of the Interior. Sentence inserted above "1865 . . . sulky"

2. Deleted: "another" ; inserted above: "beating"

3. Deleted: "of"

4. Deleted: "cheerless &"

5. Above the line in pencil.

6. Deleted: "waiting" ; inserted above: "long drawn"

7. Word and comma inserted above "City" . Comma after "City" not deleted, not printed.

8. Inserted above "letter"

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

10. As explained above ("It is generally believed"), WW had also asked John Swinton, editor of the *NY Times*, to intervene with Grant on behalf of George and Pooley (*Corr.*, I, 252-253). For Hitchcock see also "Hugo Oscar Fritsch."

11. Deleted: "engaged" ; inserted above: "promised"

12. Word and period inserted above "lford" in "Mulford"

13. Deleted: "all sorts of" ; inserted: "many" above "of"

14. Sentence inserted above "may . . . [del.] since" . Deleted: "since" . Period not deleted, not printed.

15. Preceding six words inserted above "sent . . . provisions"

16. The latter box was still at City Point.

have written & sent from time to time¹⁷ at least twenty letters, hoping that a stray one might go through.

An¹⁸ application to Maj. Gen'l Hitchcock, for special exchange, was made at Washington¹⁹ Feb. 4th, & immediately granted.²⁰ Col. Mulford, executive Officer of Exchange, who came up a few days after,²¹ took down the order on the²² 11th on his return.²³ A request forwarded to Lt. Gen. Grant from another source in New York,²⁴ was also immediately answered favorably, & the direction given on the 13th, as I am informed by the letter just referred to. Both Generals seemed interested in the case. I have been spoken to by many, about it. George has many friends, & anxious ones, among those that never saw him. Just now it is all suspense. In a printed list of prisoners at Danville, Feb. 1st, George's name is not included. I see also that there was an immense fire at Danville about a week ago, with unparalled destruction.

17. Preceding six words inserted above "written . . . twenty"

18. Single square bracket before this word deleted.

19. Preceding two words inserted above "made"

20. Deleted: "The"

21. Preceding seven words and comma inserted above "Officer of Exchange"

22. Deleted: "10"

23. Preceding three words and period inserted above "[*del.*] 10" and "11". Period after "11th" not deleted, not printed.

24. Preceding three words inserted above "urce" in "source" and "was". The "source" was John Swinton. See #10 above.

Feb. 25, 26, 27, & 28.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on a half-sheet of white wove paper, 8" x 7½". Horizontal blue lines ½" apart. On the upper left verso is an embossed stamp: "B & M Congress." On the verso is inscribed in black ink in WW's hand: "Feb. 25, 26, 27, + 28. George's not coming up with the Danville officers—interview with General Hitchcock." See also "Hugo Oscar Fritsch."

Feb. 25,¹ 26, 27, & 28.— These² four days have put me through all the changes of hope & dismay about getting George exchanged. I³ had been thinking for a fortnight that he was, at last⁴ as good as within our lines. Then⁵ I heard about the 25th or 6th,⁶ that all the Danville prisoners had come up; heard so from Gen. H.⁷ the Commissioner of Exchange. But⁸ Sunday night I heard, to my⁹ consternation,¹⁰ that although all the Danville prisoners had indeed come up, (the secession authorities said they had sent up all from that place)¹¹ neither George nor any other 51st officers had come.¹² I had just¹³ heard by one of the returned men (he brought me a slip, I knew it well, my brother's own writing)¹⁴ that George was certainly at Danville on the 14th. Why then had he not come up with the 250 others,¹⁵ on the 18th or 19th? It seemed as though¹⁶ the secession authorities, were not going to exchange him & the other 51st officers,¹⁷ but were

1. Number and comma inserted above wordspace between "Feb." and "26"

2. Deleted: "three" ; inserted above: "four"

3. Deleted: "thought at first" ; inserted: "had been thinking for [*two words del.*] several days [*two words ins. above the deleted words in the insert*] a fortnight"

4. Preceding two words inserted above "s" of "was" and "as"

5. Inserted above and before "I"

6. Preceding five words and comma inserted above "heard" and "that all"

7. Hitchcock.

8. Deleted: "at" ; inserted above: "Sunday"

9. Deleted: "utter" in the insert in n10 between "to my" and "consternation"

10. Preceding three words and comma inserted.

11. Parenthetical statement inserted above "up . . . 51st"

12. Deleted: "On the 25th" ; inserted and deleted above: "A few days"

13. Two words inserted above "heard"

14. Parenthetical statement inserted above "men . . . Danville" . This is possibly the note included in Yale.

15. Preceding four words and comma inserted above "up on the"

16. Deleted: "they" ; inserted above "[*del.*] they . . . going" : "the secession authorities [*enclosing parentheses del. by WW*]" . Superfluous comma not deleted, not printed.

17. Deleted: "for some reason" ; inserted above: "but were playing foul;" . Redundant semi-colon after "reason" not deleted, not printed.

playing foul;¹⁸ were either keeping them or had moved them further to the interior, &¹⁹ were going to hold on to them, perhaps for the war. There were many unavoidable²⁰ inferences about it that looked²¹ very bad, & for²² a couple of days &²³ nights I was deeply, deeply²⁴ deprest.²⁵ The cup had been dashd²⁶ to the²⁷ ground²⁸ as I was holding it in fancied security to my²⁹ lips.³⁰

To-day I have been to see Gen. H., & he has sent a memorandum about it³¹ to Col. M.³² the Executive³³ officer of Exchange at City Point, James river.³⁴ The Gen'l. not undertake to explain why³⁵ George & the other 51st officers, (for this time I included all in my request³⁶)³⁷ did not come up, but he does not think it is because³⁸ the secession authorities wish to hold on to them, nor because (as I also inquired on that point,)³⁹ they wish to punish them for trying to break out of the military prison, Dec. 10th last. Gen. H's talk has relieved me a good deal. (What exaltations & depressions this war consists of! full of hope one day & all despair & heart sick the next,—& so on for weeks

18. Deleted: "but"

19. Preceding eighteen words inserted above "[del.] but" and "were going to hold"

20. Inserted above "many inferences"

21. Deleted: "terribly gloomy enough" ; inserted: "very bad," above "gloomy enough" . Redundant comma after "enough" not deleted, not printed.

22. Deleted: "a day &"

23. Preceding two words inserted above "of"

24. Preceding two words inserted above "deprest"

25. Period inserted. Deleted: "enough" . Redundant period not deleted, not printed. Deleted: "This was" ; inserted and deleted above "This" : "I" ; inserted: "The cup had been" above "[del.] was" and "dashed to"

26. "d" inserted over original "ing" ; inserted between words: "to"

27. Deleted: "cup just" ; inserted and deleted above: "[del.] cup" "to the" ; inserted: "ground" above "[del.] just"

28. Deleted: "you had been" ; inserted and deleted: "were" "[del.] been" ; inserted: "I" above "[del.] you" and "was" above "holding"

29. Deleted: "your" ; inserted above: "my"

30. The two preceding sentences published in Glicksberg, 178.

31. Preceding two words inserted above "randum" in "memorandum"

32. Mulford.

33. Deleted: "agent" ; inserted above: "officer"

34. Deleted: "He does" ; inserted above: "The Gen'l."

35. Deleted: "they"

36. Preceding three words inserted above "included all"

37. Deleted: "have" ; inserted above: "did"

38. Deleted: "they" ; inserted: "the secession authorities" above "[del.] they" and "work to hold"

39. Parenthetical phrase inserted above "because . . . punish"

Day and Night.

Manuscript in Duke (24, #34V). Inscribed in black ink on scrap of white wove paper. Cancelled horizontally and diagonally in black ink. Since George Whitman was released from Danville February 19, 1865, it is probable that this account refers to him and was written by WW during or after their reunion from March 18 or 19 to April 16. On the verso is "It is generally believed." Printed in *FC&I*, p. 30.

day and night monotonous—same thing day after day, and night after night—¹

Visitors—some visits,— Sunday's crowd in front looking up at the windows/
Release heard of, releases 18th /

Left 19th Feb. at 5 in the morning—marched down to the tug² boat,—(4 secesh officers in charge — no guard) mean *Wm Alison*,³—380 privates and 20 officers⁴ started from 8—come down James river within 10 miles of Newport News.—at noon barrel of crackers opened—and meat—Sang away the night aboard the boat with patriot songs⁵/ arrived at Fort (men on deck &c sitting in like slave ships) transferred to the *Express*, and came down to Fort Monroe, arriving on the 20th at 10 a m

1. Deleted at top of leaf: "'America,' 'Star Spangled Banner,' 'Fight for the Union,' etc.—"
2. Inserted above the wordspace between "the" and "boat"
3. No Alison is carried on the MS "List of men who re-enlisted in the 51st" (MS in Yale).
4. Preceding five words inserted above "started from 8"
5. Preceding ten words crammed in right margin.

Washington May 9.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on a full sheet of white wove notepaper, 9¾" x 7¾". Folded once, top to bottom. Blue lines ½" apart. Illegible embossed stamp. On [4] is inscribed by WW: "May 9 '65 Interview with Col. Wright & Sam Pooley about George."

*Washington*¹ May 9, '65.—Col. Wright² (I met him in Pennsylvania avenue)³ told me to-day quite a good deal about George—spoke of the⁴ universal opinion of⁵ the⁶ regiment, officers & men,—⁷of his coolness,—self-possession, good-natured,⁸ very⁹ little of talker, never talking about himself,¹⁰ quiet, but dangerous when¹¹ roused, &c. Capt. Pooley¹² also spoke of him. We adjourned,¹³ to a place where we could sit down, & continued the conversation. They spoke of his sickness¹⁴ while a prisoner of war at Danville. He¹⁵ had got much weakened, & was evidently failing; but to all inquiries of his fellow officers, answered, "O, I feel well enough; there's nothing the matter with me, of any account." Col. Wright said that at length one day he found that George acted very strangely—he was seriously ill, & was delirious. He had thin & wretched clothing, although it was in the midst of winter. The doctor was called, & ordered him immediately to the hospital. Capt. Pooley, who was¹⁶ attached to him, (they had been together

1. Appears to have been inserted.

2. A lieutenant colonel in the 51st NYV. See "Sketches of Edward F. Ferrero." The 51st was doing provost duty across the Potomac in Virginia ("51st N. Y. May 15—1865").

3. Parenthetical statement inserted above "Wright . . . to-day"

4. Deleted: "general" ; inserted and deleted: "universal" ; inserted: "universal" , both above "[del.] general"

5. Inserted and deleted: [illeg.] above "[del.] of" and "of" . Second "of" not deleted, not printed here.

6. Inserted and deleted: "whole" above "reg" in "regiment"

7. Deleted: "about" ; inserted above: "of"

8. Deleted: "wit[?]"

9. Superfluous comma not printed.

10. Deleted: "terrible" ; inserted above: "quiet, but" . Comma after "terrible" not deleted, not printed.

11. Deleted: "once"

12. A close friend of George's. See "Sam'l M. Pooley."

13. Deleted: "whe"

14. Deleted: "in the southern officers" ; inserted and deleted above "[del.] officers" : "prison"

15. Deleted: "was"

16. Deleted: "much"

through¹⁷ good & evil fortune, [₃; 2 *blank*] campaigning¹⁸ through many a campaign, through many a battle,¹⁹ in all seasons, in all parts of the United States, & for over three years.) took the separation pretty hard. In the hospital at Danville, George got worse & worse. He was very sick for about six weeks.²⁰ During a week²¹ of that time, life just flickered. He was delirious, or partially delirious, a good deal of the time. (describe the night.)²²

Capt. Pooley asked me if I had seen the canteen struck²³ while on George's side,²⁴ in one of the Wilderness battles, & half of it wrenched off. He said that the greatest curiosity in the regiment though was George's coat.²⁵ After²⁶ the fight at Spottsylvania, one side of²⁷ the coat was found to be riddled & wrinkled & slit in the most curious manner ever seen. Pooley thinks it was grape. He said that George could not make up his mind what²⁸ caused it or exactly when it happened. Three of his company were killed close by him. "George was just the luckiest man in the American army, considering what tight skirmishes he has been in," said one of the old men of the regiment to me.

17. Deleted: "for [*illeg.*]" ; inserted above: "through"

18. Deleted: "from"

19. Deleted: "&"

20. Sentence inserted above "worse . . . week"

21. Deleted: "life of [*ins.*] was his life."

22. Space for about six lines follows, as if to be filled in with the description. A short horizontal line at left halfway down.

23. Deleted: "at"

24. Deleted: "at Spottsylvania" ; inserted "in one . . . wrenched off." above the deletion and "He said that the"

25. Deleted: "It had holes in" ; inserted and deleted: "The After the Spottsy" ; inserted but not deleted following: "coming off the"

26. Deleted: "one"

27. Preceding three words inserted above "ania" in "Spottsylvania" and "the"

28. Deleted: "or" ; inserted: "caused it or exactly" above "t" in "what", "[*del.*] or" and "when"

Thursday July 27.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on a half-sheet of white laid paper, 14¼" x 7¾", watermarked "JOYNSON." (See "The strange events.") Blue lines beginning 1¼" from left edge and ending 1¼" from right edge, ½" apart. Folded once, top to bottom. On verso is inscribed by WW: "51st N.Y./Camp Augur & Departure July 27 '65/"

Thursday
July 27, 1865.

This morning¹ the 51st² packed every thing up, obedient to orders received last night, & moved from Camp Augur, across the Long Bridge, through Washington, to the Baltimore depot, whence they departed about 7 p. m. for New York. (³I was down among them,⁴ saw George, Sam'l. Pooley,⁵ & all the officers & men.⁶ The day has been very hot. Fortunately the march was⁷ not over five miles. The men & officers look well. The long train, carrying other regiments also, as it bent round a curve, some twenty cars, the roofs also covered with men, clustering on like⁸ bees, was quite a sight.

Camp Augur July 1865.

I have been over twice to see George—took dinner.⁹ The 51st are doing guard duty here &¹⁰ at Arlington House. Camp Augur is¹¹ the old Convalescent Camp,¹² over in Virginia something over two miles from the Long Bridge. The men & officers are in good quarters here, expecting soon to go home.

1. Preceding two words inserted above following deletion. Deleted: "To-day"
2. Deleted: "brok"
3. Parentheses not closed. Deleted: "I" before "saw"
4. Inserted: "(I was down among them," above "New York" and "saw"
5. Deleted: "Surg"
6. Deleted: "moved around a little"
7. Deleted: "only"
8. Deleted: "beek{?}"
9. Deleted: {*illeg.*}
10. Deleted: "also" ; inserted above: "at"
11. Inserted and deleted: "once {*illeg.*}" above "is the"
12. Deleted: {*illeg.*}; inserted: "over in Virginia" above "Camp" and "something"

Geo. Born.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil (place and date of George's birth) and black ink on white wove paper, approx. $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{3}{16}''$. At lower right WW subtracts 1829 from 1864 with result of 35, probably the date of the MS and George's age in 1864.

Geo. born

Nov 28, 1829,

in Tillary street

near

Adams/

commissioned as 1st

Lieut Sept 22, '62/

[27] (Notes.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on a scrap of white wove paper trimmed at right (irregularly) and bottom. Blue lines ¼" apart.

[27]¹ (Notes²

Lt. Col. George W. Whitman, of 51st New York Reg't³ Veteran Volunteers. One of those, young men⁴ who, out of single-minded patriotism,⁵ volunteered in the⁶ National Army,⁷ in the ranks, on the breaking out of the war in 1861. He⁸ sustained hard, active service, all through. He was actively⁹ in the battles of

1. WW's brackets. Deleted: "Note" ; inserted and deleted above: [*illeg.*]. In another hand (?) in black pencil: "561"

2. In black pencil.

3. Inserted in wordspace between "York" and "[*del.*] W.Vet." ; deleted: "W Vet. W W"

4. Preceding two words inserted above "who"

5. Deleted: "and nationality" ; comma not deleted.

6. Deleted: "American"

7. Inserted and deleted: "as a private" above "in the"

8. Deleted: "had active" ; inserted: "sustained" above "[*del.*] active"

9. Inserted in black pencil above "was" and "in"

Much That Would Come In.

Manuscript in LC (#200). Inscribed in red pencil and black ink on white wove scrap. The layout suggests a label for a bundle of notes, and the use of a broad-nibbed pen and the writing suggest a late date. It is placed here as a matter of convenience.

Much[?] that[?]
would come[?] in[?]
*Hospital[?] articles*¹/

Abraham
*Lincoln*²

a miscellaneous
collection
items of all sorth/
Much of value/

1. In red pencil. A large stain makes the reading uncertain.

2. In black ink with a broad-nibbed pen, very large letters, almost print-like. The following entries are also in black ink, but with smaller script.

Hugo Oscar Fritsch.

The original manuscript has disappeared. The present text, which is conjectural, is synthesized from an LC photostat of two leaves (LC 105, sheet #3400), from Glicksberg, from photographs of notes made by Professor Esther Shephard and kindly supplied by her, and from *Ten Notebooks*, 20. Glicksberg's text has been used as the basis for the text, but although Shephard's notes were, as she says (letter), written as memoranda rather than scholarly transcripts, she made them, with exceptions noted, page by page, and her order has been followed. Glicksberg arranged his extracts topically. *LC Cat.* gives the original dimensions as 2" x 3⁵/₁₆". Shephard notes that the cover was inscribed "1865" in WW's hand.

As Catel and Glicksberg note, the April 5 passages remind one of "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd." They are also similar to the notebook "The strange events." Although the latter seems to be complete, even to the pin in the center fold, the first inscribed leaf is foliated "p6". It is tempting to conclude that "The strange events" and "Hugo Oscar Fritsch" are parts of the same manuscript, but there are a number of difficulties aside from the apparent completeness of "The strange events." The latter was in the Bucke collection; "Hugo Oscar Fritsch" was in the Harned collection. Therefore any separation must have taken place when the executors divided the MS. Further, although we know little about the form of "Hugo Oscar Fritsch," it does not seem possible that all the material assignable to it should have fitted into five small papers, even though WW apparently wrote on both rectos and versos.

LC photostats reproduced in *Ten Notebooks*, 21, portions first printed by Jean Catel, "Carnet de Notes de Walt Whitman," *L'Ane d'Or*, 5 (Fevrier-Mars, 1926), 55, and Glicksberg as noted.

Hugo Oscar Fritsch¹ care of the Austrian Consulate General Hanover square
New York City

Mrs. Abby H. Price² 149 West 33 street New York City³

[3400L]⁴ [illeg.] street 2d door west of 12th / arrived in Washington Jan 23d
1865 / saw Mr Otto, Jan 24th / appointed Jan 25th & com'd in Indian office⁵ /

1. Son of the Austrian Consul General and member of the "Fred Gray Association," with whom WW frequented Pfaff's restaurant. See "return my book."

2. A friend of the Whitman family. See *Corr.*, I, II, III, passim and "Baily D Damon."

3. The two entries preceding are from Professor Shephard's notes.

4. These entires are from LC photostats.

5. WW was appointed a regular clerk in the Department of the Interior at a salary of \$1200.

Charles Boughton young man, (boy) 17, who spoke to me on avenue / (Albert G Knapp)⁶ Feb. 5 '65 Charles Howard Art'y gs⁷ w'd in upper lft breast /⁸ William Smith Penn boy, wounded 2d april Stanton Hosp. (May 3, lft hand in white h'dk'f [3400R] Alexander Work Mount Morris Livingston county NY/⁹ Charles Bunker's¹⁰ mother in South 6th st. near 4th (80 something) —as you go up from cars, left hand, wooden house, high stoop

—Find out about family of Capt [illeg.] E Jenkins,¹¹ (killed May 6)—he has or had a younger brother home here, wounded policeman I met in Avenue bed 22 Armory[?] Augustus Sprague.

ion?¹² & McDougal stereotyper 82 & 84 Beekman stereotyped Willis's poems (might answer as a model volume)¹³ / "Golden Deeds" printed in Boston / ward 4 Judiciary, Mar 31, 1865 lost rt arm. / Uncle Silas¹⁴ "Christians Mistake" Harpers¹⁵ / "Culture of the observing Faculties by Wm Burton Harpers¹⁶ / Autobiography Lyman Beecher Harpers¹⁷

Feb. 4th.¹⁸ Maj. Gen. Hitchcock has promised to direct a special exchange in favor of George Sam Pooley.

Feb. 6th. Wrote to George—Danville Va.

Dixon Wecter, "Walt Whitman as Civil Servant," *PMLA*, 58 (December, 1943), 1095, says that the appointment is dated January 24 and was retroactive to January 1. For Otto see "Mem. Sept 29—1865."

6. Knapp wrote WW in 1876 and in 1883. In the later letter he ordered a copy of *LG*. He was probably a soldier. See *Corr.*, III, 441, 449.

7. Gunshot.

8. Preceding entry about wound crammed at left. A curving line across leaf separates entry on the ward from that on Penn.

9. Rule across leaf.

10. Probably Lieutenant Charles Bunker of the 51st NY Volunteers, who was killed in action. See "Chas Bunker's Mother," "(mention appropriately)," and "51st Sims Pooley." Neither Bunker nor his mother is listed in the NYC or Brooklyn directories. Although this page seems to follow the preceding one on the photostat, the dates are much later. WW was obviously making entries at random as he often did. Alexander Work is also mentioned in "Addresses."

11. Probably Captain Daniel E. Jenkins of the 51st NY Volunteers. See "Some interesting items."

12. The following material is from Shephard's photostat. She did not indicate location in notebook. I have followed the March 5 date.

13. The NYC directory for 1865–1866 lists a George McDougal, Electrotyper, 84 Beekman Street. Neither he nor his firm is listed in the Commercial Register of the directory. *Drum-Taps* was ultimately printed by Peter Echler (F. DeWolfe Miller, *Walt Whitman's Drum-Taps* (1865) and *Sequel to Drum-Taps* (1865–6), Gainesville, 1959, xxiv). The contract was signed April 1, 1865. If WW was looking for a printer for *Drum-Taps*, this passage predates the passages on Lincoln's death and is therefore placed here. The edition of Nathaniel Parker Willis' poems has not been identified.

14. An edition of Sheridan Le Fanu's *Uncle Silas* (1804) was published by Harpers in 1865.

15. By Dinah Craik Mullock, also published by Harpers in 1865.

16. Also published by Harpers in 1865.

17. Published by Harpers in 1864.

18. This and the following entries are from Glicksberg, 180–181.

Feb. 13 '65—Wrote to Capt. Mason,¹⁹ enclosing \$28, for box of provisions he purchased & sent to George from City Point.

Feb. 18—rec'd Capt. Mason's letter dated City Point 16th—says George's box went on the 10th inst from City Pt. Says he rec'd the \$28 I sent him.

Feb. 27 '65—²⁰wrote to Lt. Col. Mulford, asking if he can tell why the 51st officers did not come up from Danville about the 18th with the rest.

Feb. 28—Called on Gen'l Hitchcock at his office—He sent the memorandum to Lt. Col. Mulford—

Feb. 28—²¹ the brilliant silver moon, & close by it²² the evening star—of intoxicating softness, & largeness & beauty—a night of nights, the air so fresh & the crowds of the avenue, the lights beaming, the windows—approach the Capitol—the slits illuminated²³ in the dome—rising out of the dark shadow—& the stairs²⁴ lit up.

George²⁵ left Danville Feb. 19 & came to Richmond, (Libby)—was there till the 22d Feb. then came down the river to flag of truce boat, was exchanged, & passed by steamer to Annapolis, 23d Feb. '65 (got the two boxes of things in Richmond)—wrote to mother from Annapolis Feb. 24—drew two months pay that day.

George arrived home in Brooklyn Sunday noon[?] — March 5, 1865 — Washington April 29, '65²⁶

Lincoln's death—²⁷ thousands of flags at half mast & on numbers of them long black pennants—from the shipping densely crowding the docks, the same—numerous ferry boats constantly plying across the river, the same solemn signal—black—business public & private all suspended, & the shops closed—strange mixture of horror, fury, tenderness, & a stirring wonder brewing.

Lincoln's death—²⁸ black, black, black—as you look toward the sky—long²⁹ broad black³⁰ like great serpents slowly undulating in every direction—New York is distinguished for its countless gay flags—every house seems to have a flag staff—on all these the colors were at half mast—

19. Captain Mason's identity is not clear. See *Corr.*, I, 250-251 n19. Mason's letter is in Yale. See "Dec 23-'64." City Point is on the James River below Richmond.

20. See "Feb. 25, 26, 27, & 28" for a more detailed account. For Gen. Hitchcock and Col. Mulford see "NIGHT OF FEBRUARY 17."

21. This entry is taken from Glicksberg, 166. It is also in Shephard's notes.

22. Shephard records "& close by it" as an insertion.

23. Shephard records as an insertion.

24. From Shephard. Glicksberg prints "slain"

25. This and the following entry are taken from Glicksberg, 181.

26. Also in Shephard, who does not give the April 29th date, which is probably that of George's return to active duty.

27. Text from Glicksberg, 174. Not in Shephard. Catel varies in detail.

28. Text from Glicksberg, 175, also in Shephard.

29. Shephard copies as insert.

30. In Shephard, deleted: "look" ; inserted above: "like"

April 15th—³¹Broadway N.Y.³² In the forenoon, the news had not more than been rec'd. All Broadway is black with mourning—the facades of the houses are festooned with black—³³great flags with wide & heavy fringes of dead black, give a pensive effect³⁴—

—towards noon the sky darkened & it began to rain. Drip, drip, & heavy moist black weather—the stores are all closed—the rain sent the women from the street & black clothed men only remained

Lincoln's death 5³⁵

black clouds driving³⁶ overhead—the horror, fever, uncertainty, alarm in the public—³⁷Every hour brings a great history event on the wires—at 11 o'clock the new president is sworn—at 4 the murder is³⁸

April 1865

I heard

The blue birds singing
 I saw the yellowish green where it covered the willows
 I saw the eternal grass springing up
 The glistning light of the sun on the bay—the ships,³⁹ dressed with
 I saw in the distant city the gala flags flying
 I saw on the ships the profusion of colors
 I knew of the fete, the feasting,
 Then I turned aside & mused on the unknown dead
 I thought of the⁴⁰ unrecorded, the heroes so sweet & tender
 The young men
 The returned—but where the unreturned
 I thought of the unreturned, the sons of the mothers.⁴¹

31. Text from Glicksberg, 174–175. Also in Shephard and Catel.

32. In Shephard, deleted: “the”; “in” lowercase.

33. In Shephard, deleted: “a”

34. New block paragraph from Shephard, which also has a line halfway across the leaf from left.

35. New block paragraph and heading from Shephard. See headnote for discussion.

36. Shephard reads “drive”

37. Shephard reads “public soul—”

38. Shephard follows with “arres [*page mended to allow last line*]”

39. Deleted in Shephard, but not Glicksberg.

40. Deleted: “nameless”

41. Text from Glicksberg, 128. It is also in Shephard's notes and was first printed by Catel,

56. Glicksberg points out its resemblance to “The Return of the Heroes,” ll. 65–67. See also *LG CRE*, 358*n* and 670.

The Strange Events.

Manuscript in collection of Carl Haverlin, NYC. Inscribed in pencil and ink {15}; eight conjugate leaves (16 pp.) in a homemade notebook held by a straight pin in the center fold. White laid paper, 3.9" x 2.49", with vertical blue lines approx. ¼" apart on most leaves, which appears to be cut up notepaper. One leaf shows embossed shield upper left with stars (?) and stripes per papule and "York" from upper left to lower right across the shield, all surrounded by stars. Three watermarks or parts of watermarks: one is illegible, the others are "YORK" and the shield. This is one of the very few WW notebooks which remains intact. The writing is often a mere scrawl as if WW was writing in the street. The date must be April 15, 1865. For further notes toward "When Lilacs Last . . ." see "Hugo Oscar Fritsch," "in *Mem* of A. L.," "For Funeral piece," "Hermit Thrush," and "Sorrow (*illeg.*) grieve."

{1. *Front cover blank inside and out*} Page 6¹ The strange events, (bring{?} in)²—
as the people rose in the morning the news—

Between 4 and 5 in the afternoon, I cross'd the river from Brooklyn & took a walk {3; 2 *blank*} up Broadway—³ the scene was solemn & most eloquent—I had so often seen Broadway on great gala days, tumultuous overwhelming shows of pride & oceanic profusion {5; 4 *blank*} of ornamentation & deck'd with rich colors jubilant show crowds, & the music of a hundred bands with marches & opera airs—or at night with processions bearing countless torches⁴ & transparencies & gas lanterns {7; 6 *blank*} covering the houses/

The stores were shut, & no business transacted,⁵ no pleasure vehicles, & hardly a cart—only⁶ the rumbling base of the⁷ heavy Broadway stages incessantly rolling {9; 8 *blank*} words to describe the weather sulky, leaden, & dripping continually moist tears—

1. At the top of {1} is "page 6{?}". This is curious, for the notebook seems to be complete and with its original pin. Although the "6" is carelessly written, it is identical with the "6" on {13}.

2. Mr. Haverlin reads these two words as "begin"

3. Deleted: "the eloquence of the scene was"

4. Mr. Haverlin refers this to "When Lilacs . . .," l. 38.

5. Deleted: "hardly"

6. Deleted: "heavy perp"

7. Deleted: "incessat"

One large & fashionable[?] ⁸ picture store,⁹ all shuttered up close, except a broad square plate glass, in which hung a small grinning[?] picture frame, vacuous¹⁰ of a picture¹¹

[11; 10 *blank*]/in this death/

the tragedy of the last five years has risen to its climax—the blood of Abraham Lincoln was permitted[?] by the ?

[13; 12 *blank*] spiral windings of black & white around the columns—¹² the mighty crowd at 6 o'clock wending their way home

—the crowds around the bulletin boards.

[15; 14, 16 *blank*] When a great event happens, or the news¹³ some signal solemn thing spreads¹⁴ out among the people, it is curious to go forth and wander awhile in the public ways.¹⁵

8. Almost illegible.

9. Inserted above and deleted: "with"

10. Written over "vacant"

11. Preceding seven words are series of mere scrawls at the bottom of the page.

12. See "When Lilacs . . .," l. 35.

13. Preceding two words written above.

14. Deleted: "oer the land," ; inserted: "out among the people,"

15. This leaf is in ink and in a clear hand, suggesting that it was written later at a table or desk.

Hermit Thrush.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #605). Inscribed in black pencil on irregular soft, white wove paper scraps approx. 4" x 2³/₈". They were originally pinned together but are now loose. The order of pages is therefore impossible to settle, and mine varies from that of Feinberg in his typed transcription (LC) adopted by William White, "An Unpublished Whitman Notebook for 'Lilacs,'" *MLQ*, 24 (1963), 177-180. There is no physical relation to "The strange events," which is also small, for the papers are quite different. "The strange events" seems to precede "Hermit Thrush." The writing is very irregular, as if WW was holding the scraps in the palm of his hand. As White points out, WW got his information about the hermit thrush (and presumably about the nightingale) from John Burroughs, probably between May and September, 1865.

[1] Hermit Thrush/ Solitary Thrush/ moderate sized grayish brown bird/ sings oftener after sundown sometimes quite in the night/ is very secluded/ likes shaded, dark, places {3; 2 *blank*} in swamps—/ is very shy/ sings in May & June—/ not much after June/ is our best songster/ song clear & deliberate—has a solemn effect
[4] —his song is a hymn/ real, serious sweet—in earnest/ the¹ mocking bird is a wonderful intellectual music
[5] —it is rare —only those that frequent the deep remote dark woods hear it— (how different from the domestic English nightingale)
[6] —it is perhaps all the more precious, because it is only sung in secluded places —he never sings² near the farm houses—never [7] in the settlement/ is the bird of the³ solemn primal woods & of Nature pure & holy— [8, 9, 10 *blank*]

1. On a line by itself.
2. Deleted: "in"
3. Inserted above "s" in "solemn"

Sorrow (*illeg.*) Grieve.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #774). Inscribed in black pencil on two scraps of white wove paper approx. 6¾" x 3¾". Two columns divided by a vertical line on the first leaf, one column and a runover on the second. The words are for "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd." For a similar careful listing of vocabulary for a poem see "Viccissini Sav" and "The strange events." The date is April–September, 1865.

[1] Sorrow (*illeg.*) grieve sad mourn (I use) [*mourn*]¹ing [*mourn*]ful melancholy dismal heavy-hearted tears black sobs -ing sighing funeral rites wailing lamenting mute grief eloquent silence bewail bemoan deplore regret deeply loud lament pitiful loud weeping violent lamentation²

anguish wept sore depression pain of mind passionate regret afflicted with grief cast down downcast gloomy serious Sympathy moving compassion tenderness tender-hearted full of pity obscurity partial or total [:]³ darkness (as the gloom of a forest—gloom of midnight) cloudy cloudiness [*cloudiness*] of mind mind sunk in gloom soul [*sunk in gloom*]/ dejection dejected

[3; 2 *blank*] shades of night heavy dull—sombre sombre shades [*sombre*]ness affliction oppress—oppressive [*oppress*]ion prostration humble—humility suffering—silent suffering burdensome Distress—distressing calamity Extreme anguish, (either of mind or body) Misery torture harrassed weighed down trouble deep affliction plaintive⁴ Calamity disaster something that strikes down —⁵

1. WW's dittos.
2. End of column.
3. Small brace.
4. End of column.
5. Deleted: "as by Almighty"

In Mem of A. L.

Manuscript in LC (#57, sheet #258). Inscribed in pencil on heavy wove tan paper, approx. 8¼" x 4¾", torn from a binding on the left. The entire inscription cancelled with a vertical stroke, indicating use elsewhere. LC sheet #257, "For Funeral piece," is on similar paper. Perhaps both are flyleaves. The latter is a sketch for "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," stanza 11; this MS is a sort of sketch of the poem, which is particularly interesting because the grief is not made subjective. The date must be April or May, 1865.

in *Mem*
of A. L.

reflection at time after death¹

As² to the other Presidents, in life & death, they have had their due³ in formal & respectful treatment, in life & death. But this one alone has touch'd the popular heart to its deepest. For this one alone, through every City, every Country farm,⁴ the untouch'd meal,⁵ the⁶ heavy heart & moisten'd eye and⁷ the sob in private chambers

1. "in *Mem*" centered; "of A. L." below to left; "reflection at time after death" written diagonally below to right.

2. WW began with a false start: "[del.] O [del.] We [del.] He comes with his plain & manly qualities [*preceding four words deleted*]." New beginning: "All the other presidents have lived & died & had their [*illeg.*] reputation & *formal & respec*". All of this was cancelled and he began the present text.

3. Inserted and deleted: "in" before "due" ; inserted: "in" after "due"

4. Preceding six words inserted on two lines at left above "this one"

5. Preceding two words inserted above "alone the" and "[del.] genuine"

6. Deleted: "genuine heart"

7. Preceding six words inserted on a line above "the sob in private"

For Funeral Piece.

Manuscript in LC (#57, sheet #257). Inscribed in black pencil on scrap of white wove paper, approx. 8¼" x 4¾". Cancelled by wavy vertical line. Verso blank. Tattered left edge indicates it was torn from a binding (cf. "in *Mem* of A. L."). The first two entries with hanging indentation; the third is verse. The MS seems to lead to "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," sec. 11. The MS is probably later than "The strange events," but possibly earlier than the "paraphrase" in "in *Mem* of A. L." Date is April or May, 1865.

For Funeral piece A. L.

make a list of things, sights, scenes, landscapes, rivers, &c peculiar to the west,
 & bring it in /
 also¹ in dim perspective, the large & varied future /
 No mourning drape hang
 I about my song,
 But these I hang &
 plant about my
 song.

1. Deleted: "the large" ; inserted: "in" above "[del.] the"

Dec. '73, and Jan. '74.

Manuscript in LC (#194). Inscribed in black ink on white wove paper, 7¹³/₁₆" x 5". The writing is very firm, considering WW's stroke earlier in 1873. W. H. Herndon (1818-1891) had been Lincoln's law partner from 1844 on. After Lincoln's murder, he made invaluable first-hand researches into his early years, and his findings and interpretations scandalized the hero-worshippers. Ironically, Herndon was an admirer of *LG* in 1855 and showed it to Lincoln. A clipping which reprints a letter by Herndon, "Abraham Lincoln's Religion," of February 18, 1870, from the Toledo (Ohio) *Index*, April 2, 1870, accompanies the MS. See "?W. H—Becker-Stowe." Date is 1874. First printed in Glicksberg, 175.

Dec. '73, and Jan. '74.

In the public reading room, where there are on file papers from all parts of the country, I see now and then long articles, mostly communications about Mr. Lincoln's "religious opinions." One half of these communications¹ would make him out an atheist or infidel; the other half prove to their own satisfaction that he was an orthodox believer, at least in the broader tenets of Christianity. Then a long lecture was lately delivered in Springfield, Ill. (Nov. '73) by a Mr. Herndon, to rake up 60 or 70 years to² argue the point (in which he takes the negative)³ whether Mr. Lincoln's father & mother were formally, conventionally married!—⁴ Several papers print this "lecture" in full.

1. Preceding three words inserted above "would make"

2. Deleted: "st"

3. Inserted: "in [*ins.*] which he takes the negative" above "nt" in "point" and "whether Mr. Lincoln's"

4. Deleted: "Sep"

? W. H—Becker-Stowe.

Manuscript in LC (#194). Inscribed in pencil on white wove paper, 3¾" x 5". Blue rules ½" apart. The reference to Mrs. Stowe is probably to the chapter on Lincoln in her *Men of Our Times* (Hartford, 1868), 11-110, in which she treats Lincoln as a Christian Hero. Date 1874. See "Dec. '73, and Jan. '74."

? W. H—Becker¹-Stowe-Herndon

Col. ? H. W. Herndon del. lect. at Springfield, Ill. Sat ev. Dec 13 '73²—to "prove" first that Lincoln was illegitimate—2d that he was an infidel/
make this tally with Mrs. Stowe

1. WW must have meant "Beecher," but it is clearly "Becker." Cf. spelling "Shakspere" in "16th Century Queen Mary."

2. Inserted above space.

It Was Twelve Years.

Manuscript in Texas. Inscribed in black ink on scrap of white wove paper, approx. 1½" x 5¼". If the reference is to Lincoln's assassination in April, 1865, the date of the MS is April, 1877. It is probably a note for a Lincoln lecture.

It was¹ twelve years since, & just at this beautiful season of the year.

1. Deleted and inserted above: "It was"

? for Address.

Manuscript in LC (#227). Inscribed in black pencil on wove scrap, approx. 4¾" x 7½". Text not used in "Death of Abraham Lincoln" (*Prose* 92, II, 497–509) except insofar as WW touches lightly on the aesthetic significance of national tragedy (ll. 129–139, 272–320). Dated by LC as 1879.

? for Address¹ ? for Lincoln.²

—Why³ is it that all⁴ first-class⁵ literature seems rooted in war & death?⁶ As out of⁷ the mortal⁸ struggle⁹ of the Greeks with Xerxes¹⁰ rose¹¹ Hellenic art and¹² Song—rose Pindar & Eschylus—rose¹³ Personal Character Architecture Oratory, to all that¹⁴ breadth & those apices never yet surpassed—what is in store for us out of our Great War? our war And what would have follow'd? What would have become of¹⁵—not only to Art and Song, but to the gestation and womb out of which they are born—to¹⁶ Freedom, Progression, Civilization¹⁷ in the Old World—if the Greeks had gone under in that contest? I don't know, But I think I¹⁸ know what would have become of the New, if This Union, and the Idea at its heart, & the chance for the development of the Idea¹⁹ had gone under.

1. In upper left corner.

2. To right of preceding entry.

3. Inserted: [*illeg.*]

4. Deleted: "the"

5. Deleted: "grandeur [*illeg.*] is" ; inserted above: "literature seems"

6. Preceding sentence inserted above "[*del.*] Greek . . . Literature" . Original opening sentence deleted: "As all Greek Hellenic Art and Literature rose to the [*ins.*] incomparable [*illeg. del.*] greatness, out the deadly"

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

8. Preceding five words inserted above the last three words of deletion given in *n*6.

9. Deleted: "of the" "and mortal"

10. Deleted: "the"

11. Deleted: "the incomparable" "so of A"

12. Deleted: "Literature" ; inserted: "song—rose Pindar & Eschylus" above the deletion and "to all"

13. Deleted: "Tragedy" ; inserted down right margin: "personal character [*del.*] stature Architecture Oratory"

14. Deleted: "stature"

15. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

16. Preceding nineteen words inserted in two lines above "have become of Freedom"

17. Deleted: "of" ; inserted above: "in"

18. Preceding two words inserted above "know"

19. Preceding nine words inserted on a line above "Idea . . . under"

See also pp. 13, 14.

Manuscript in LC (#195). Inscribed in black ink on white wove scrap in very irregular paragraphing. Samuel Penniman Bates' *The Battle of Gettysburg* was published in Philadelphia in 1875. Pages 13 and 14 quote a letter from Lincoln to Hooker expressed in his pungent fashion; pp. 213-215 contain Lincoln's speech and the anecdote about Everett that WW quotes. It is a note for "Death of Abraham Lincoln." Date, after 1875.

see also pp. 13, 14 same vol¹

Lincoln

Don't fail to note pp. 213, '14, & '15 Bates's *Battle of Gettysburgh*. Mr. Lincoln at the Gettysburg Monument Dedication.

?Chance for a strong point here Everett his two hours² long, polished oration, full of classic lore and reminiscences of Greece.

—"Ah Mr. Lincoln I would gladly give all my 40 pp. for your 20 lines."

1. At left above, preceded by a pointing hand.
2. Preceding two words inserted above "his" and "long"

For Abraham Lincoln.

Manuscript in LC (#57, sheet #259). Inscribed in pencil on white wove leaf of a commercially made sidebound notebook, 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 4", with rounded corners at the upper right and lower right. Blue lines, approx. $\frac{1}{8}$ " apart. On verso in WW's hand, the following lines of verse:

Ottawa's tide, this trembling moon
 Shall see us float over thy surges soon
 Saint of this green isle, hear our prayers
 O grant us cool heavens & fanning airs.
 Blow, breezes, blow, the stream runs fast.
 The rapids are near & the daylight's past.

Although WW used notebooks of this general sort in his later years, none with this spacing of blue lines has been noted. The facts, however, that he had been planning a Lincoln lecture since 1878 and visited Canada in 1880 (it is not clear that he went to Ottawa) suggest a date shortly after 1880.

for Abraham Lincoln

The world is all too prone (even here in America) to this glamour about Kings and Lords & leaders greatly born—It Democracy¹ needed one—averaged certainly down low enough in² the average of his birth & growth to prove³ not only⁴ grandest heroism but grandest estheticism,⁵ eligible to us, our working-day occasions, days.

1. Inserted in black ink.

2. Deleted: "the" ; inserted: "the average of his" above the deletion and "needed"

3. Deleted: "that"

4. Deleted: "the"

5. Deleted: "can"

Abraham Lincoln.

Manuscript in LC (#195). Inscribed in black ink on verso of scrap of letter dated January 5, 1879. It seems to be a note for "Death of Abraham Lincoln," *Prose* 92, II, 498-499, although WW writes in the present tense. The lecture was given April 14, 1879.

Abraham Lincoln

In course of lecture draw a sketch of the present condition of things in politics, the parties &c —the dangers, the swarms of beats, who largely get elected to the National State & City legislatures

Sketch Over Rapidly.

Manuscript in LC (#195). Inscribed in black ink on verso of scrap of letter dated October 3, 1877. The sketch is probably "Death of Abraham Lincoln," *Prose* 92, II, 500–502. First published by Glicksberg, 176.

Sketch over rapidly the war part (make it about 15 or 20 minutes)—personal sights of Lincoln—avoid going into any political or military statistical¹ account of the war—but give, if possible *a fine, stirring, dramatic & elocutionary*² *picture of the war,*³ *group'd,—the hospitals,—&c—it will come in just right here*

1. Deleted: "statem"
2. Pointing fist at right edge.
3. Deleted: "the"

Review.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in black pencil (cover in black ink) in self-covered, homemade notebook, leaves varying in size from 6¼" x 5" to 5¹/₁₆" x 4¹/₁₆", tied with white string. [1-6, 23-26] white wove paper on rough texture; [7-22] white laid with blue lines one side only ⅜" apart and embossed "Philp and Solomon Washington DC" in a frame with rounded top. The writing is best described as a scrawl. Where the entries assume any regular form on the page [7, 19, 23], they are in hanging indentation. The date is May 23 and 24, 1865, and the entries were apparently made on the spot.

[Cover] Review—¹

[7; *inside front cover—blank*]² the thousand whistles of the fifes, (playing Lannigan's ball³) so⁴ with inexpressible roguishness—(50 drums)/ the Irish⁵ with their heads all⁶ copiously dressed with branches of green—impulsive shouting—/ President,⁷ Gen. Grant, Stanton⁸ Meade⁹ Hancock¹⁰ See¹¹ Wells,¹² McCulloch¹³

[8]—some of the very full artillery regts look'd splendidly —many[?] in masses—/ good, hearty young men/ scene near Presidents stand—rolling drums saluting of-ficers

1. The great Victory Review of May 23-24, 1865. WW wrote a vigorous description of it to his mother on May 25 in which he used many of the same details (*Corr.*, I, 260-263).

2. Deleted: "fifes like a tho"

3. A popular march.

4. Deleted: "ro"

5. Possibly the 69th NY ("The Fighting Irish").

6. Deleted: "d"

7. Andrew Johnson (1808-1875).

8. Edwin M. Stanton (1814-1869), Secretary of War.

9. Major General George Gordon Meade, 1815-1872.

10. Major General Winfield Scott Hancock (1824-1886). See "Write a poem" and "Maj Gen Hancock."

11. A verb.

12. Probably Gideon Welles (1802-1878), Secretary of the Navy.

13. Probably Hugh McCulloch (1805-1895), who had replaced Salmon P. Chase as Secretary of the Treasury.

[15; 9-14 stubs]¹⁴—the pontoons—the big panniers on mules backs fill'd with shovels—(panniers made of ox-hide)/ 9th Corps—¹⁵ splendid—with battle flags—men looked very neat & clean but worn with bouquets in caps—the ambulance with hanging lantern

[17; 16 blank] great drum corps/ old tatters, that had been battle flags pioneers with axes on shoulders/ the crowds/ the perfect day—the clear sky—the white, & edged clouds

[19; 18 blank] the¹⁶ long & glittering wide¹⁷ ranks¹⁸—will they never stop? For two whole days commencing early in the morning & continuing long into the night—¹⁹the beating drum—every musket bright, with sharp[?]-pointed slanting bayonet glistening in the bright sun—/ the drums, endless drums producing a strange delicious trembling shock in the belly

[20]Clarendon Hotel//²⁰ Capt. Wm Caldwell²¹—born in Scotland. age 27—came out from palace guards[?] as serg't been in the same fights as George/²²

Yellow badged Hospital-wagons Hospitals

{21}(Name of poem)/

—the flags—the flags—

the flags!/
5th—& 146th NY

The flags! the flags! the flags tatters & shreds—/
not the gaudy/
some of the men with bunches of²³ flowers

stuck in their hats²⁴

{22}The flags/²⁵

the blood—wet blood

the ardor, devotion/
as they pass—²⁶

14. There are traces of writing on the stub of [1].

15. George Whitman's regiment, the 51st NYV was in the 9th Corps.

16. Inserted above and before "long"

17. Inserted above "r" in "ranks"

18. Deleted: "they c"

19. Deleted: "the"

20. Double rule under name.

21. This is probably the Caldwell mentioned in "51st Sims Pooley" and *Corr.*, I, 249, 262. He had been captured with George.

22. WW wrote his name here and deleted it.

23. Preceding two words inserted on two lines in right margin beside "men with"

24. WW wrote his name here and deleted it.

25. Deleted: "wh"

26. Entry written lengthwise across the page.

{23}2d day May 24, 1865

15th & 17th Corps / First the broad capacious open waiting avenue—then singly²⁷ Gen. Sherman,²⁸ passing rapidly by,—the sudden shouts, quite tumultous[?],—but he pays no more attention to it, than if²⁹ it was the wind blowing— the large³⁰ magnificent bouquet—he turns, one of his generals³¹ from behind rides up & takes it from him—³² & still the shouting crowd, & still the perfect deafness & {25; 24 *blank*} immobility of the great soldier—with I think a shade of³³ scornfulness & haughty³⁴ passion on his nervous face. (Haughty here to this ephemeral popular hurrahing, but, as I know from many a soldier of his army,³⁵ {26 *blank*})

27. Preceding nine words inserted on two lines above “Gen. Sherman passing ra” in “rapidly”

28. Major General William Tecumseh Sherman (1820–1891).

29. Deleted: “he”

30. Inserted: “& [*del.*] magnificent” above “bouquet”

31. Inserted: “from behind” above “rides up”

32. Deleted: “a”

33. Inserted: “scornfulness &” above “de” in “shade” and “ha” in “haughty”

34. “haughtiness” altered to “haughty” ; deleted: “& scornful p”

35. Illegible fragment of a word deleted.

Army of Tennessee.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #337). Inscribed in pencil on white laid paper 10¼" x 8¼". Blue lines ⅜" apart. An almost identical note on a tattered scrap is in LC (#23, 6V) and is not printed here. WW has sketched what appear to be insignias for each corps, except the 4th, after the number. All "Army" entries are written sideways in left margin outside a brace. The date is June, 1865.

Army of Tennessee Logan¹[:] 15th Corps has no eastern regiments/ 17th [*Corps*]² has only one 35th N. J. Zouaves

Army of Georgia Slocum³[:] 14th acorn⁴ has but one, 17th N.Y. 20th mostly eastern two thirds eastern—was formed last part of 1863, or first of '64, out of the old 11th & 12th corps

Army of Ohio Schofield⁵[:] 23d Corps, nearly all western troops, now June 1st '65 at Raleigh, N.C. but scatter'd about N.C.—large corps was lately 45,000 strong—but very many of them, one year regts 10th Corps—two divisions black troops, two of white, (eastern) troops—now also in North Carolina

Army of the Cumberland Gen Thomas⁶[:] 4th Corps now in Tennessee, (rendezvousing at Nashville under Ge. Thomas—is a large corps—nearly altogether western troops (Army of Cumberland used to be the 4th & 14th Corps)

1. Written sideways in left margin outside a brace surrounding notes for 15th and 17th Corps. Major General John A. Logan (1826–1886), commanded Army of Tennessee, July, 1864, and May 19 to August 1, 1865.

2. Ditto.

3. Brace. Major General Henry W. Slocum (1827–1894), commanded Army of Georgia, July 11, 1864 to September, 1865.

4. In small writing next to drawing of acorn insignia.

5. Major General John M. Schofield (1831–1906), commanded Army of the Ohio, February 9, to November 19, 1865.

6. Brace. Blank after "4th corps" . Major General John H. Thomas (1816–1870), commanded Army of the Cumberland, October, 1863 to June, 1865.

5th Corps.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #331). Inscribed in pencil on white laid scrap. Blue lines $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. On verso: "Loose Hospital Ms. Notes" (in pencil), "Walt Whitman" (purple pencil).

5th Corps¹ now June 1st '65 near Washington/
fourteen inf: regts/
three batteries one battalion sharp shooters
[:]² from New York in this Corps

1. At left. Remainder in column at right.
2. Brace at right enclosing the three types of units.

Policeman Doyle.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on white wove paper apparently from two different batches: [1] 9" x 7¾", trimmed at left and bottom, blue lines ⅜" recto and verso, embossed capitol at upper left; [2] 3½" x 7¾", trimmed from larger sheet, blue rules ⅜" apart on right only. Policeman Doyle was Francis M. Doyle, Peter Doyle's brother. When he was shot December 29, 1871, WW attended his funeral. (See *Corr.*, II, 148-149.) Although the MS was obviously intended for publication, a printing has not been found. The date is between 1865, when WW met Pete Doyle, and 1871.

POLICEMAN DOYLE.—The savage and persistent comments of a morning contemporary on the late arrest of a little boy, for theft, by Policeman Doyle, acting under orders, amounts to persecution. With the severe reprimand given to the officer¹ yesterday by the Police Board, the matter has gone plenty far enough, on that side.

A word or two on the other, may not be amiss. Our² contemporary is very sentimental over the case as one appealing to³ "all the fathers and mothers in the District." We⁴ will not⁵ dwell on the feelings, but we are not so sure that the true interests or rights of the fathers and mothers of the District, or of⁶ the children either, or of the law, will be aided by this attempt to make martyrs and⁷ heroes of the⁸ steadily increasing swarms of juvenile thieves & vagabonds who infest the streets of Washington.

As to Doyle, he is an energetic officer, a little stern perhaps; for he has been kept on duty in "Hooker's Division;" but he bears an excellent reputation, and served the Union cause,⁹ as soldier or sailor, all through the war

[2] We protest against any further action against him for serving the warrant.¹⁰ No harm was done, and indeed from one point of view the youngster (who

1. Preceding three words inserted above "given yester" in "yesterday"

2. Deleted: [illeg.]

3. Deleted: "the f"

4. Deleted: "are" ; inserted above: "will"

5. WW's repeated "not" at the beginning of a line not printed here.

6. Inserted above wordspace between "or" and "the"

7. Deleted: [illeg.]

8. Deleted: "swarms of" ; inserted above the deletion and "juvenile" : "steadily increasing swarms of"

9. Deleted: "as" ; inserted and deleted above: "both" ; deleted: "either [?]"

10. Deleted: "given him."

is probably seven, not five nor four years of age,) not only¹¹ deserved all the moderate punishment he received,¹² but something, if not the arrest itself,¹³ might be considered due to the housekeepers of the District, and to law & justice.

11. Preceding two words inserted above "deserved"

12. Deleted: "but the arrest"

13. Deleted: "was" ; inserted above the deletion and "due to the" : "might be considered"

Then, as a Sample.

Manuscript in LC (#48, sheet #128). Inscribed in black ink on two wove sheets pasted together, 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ ", blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. LC *Cat.* describes it as a first draft of "An Indian Bureau Reminiscence," *Prose* 92, II, 577-580, which may be the case, but the approach of the two essays is rather different, this MS resembling one of WW's journalistic essays like "City Photographs." WW was interested in Indians for their picturesque. See "Real American Red Men." Commissioner Dole, to judge from his annual reports, was a proponent of concentrating the Indians on several large reservations as a solution to the Indian Problem. The most active attempt to solve the problem in 1865, however, was undertaken by the U. S. Army. Since WW was in the Indian Bureau from January 24 to June 30, 1865, it is probable that the MS was written between those dates. One hopes he would have published it anonymously.

Then,¹ as a sample at random of only one among scores of Bureaus involving great, aggregates of persons &² costly & complex interests, take³ the comparatively moderate one of Indian Affairs. This is a speciality, not only full of the facts relating to lands, purchases, guardianship, contracts, territorial⁴ safety &c. but with a large picturesque side. Glimpse into the Department of the Interior in the Patent Office, in⁵ the room of Commissioner Dole,⁶ who has perhaps⁷ an Indian delegation waiting on him. The aboriginal men in⁸ calm postures sit around on sofas or chairs. The interpreter⁹ is either speaking or with head slightly to one side is looking down on the carpet. Then the talking¹⁰ Indian of the tribe again has his say. The Commissioner listens patiently, like the man of noblest¹¹ kindness and good sense that he evidently is, and from time to time tells the interpreter what to¹² answer them. There is in the room¹³ a collection of a dozen or more head

1. Deleted: "for" ; inserted above "[del.] only . . . Bureaus" : "as a sample at random off"

2. Preceding five words inserted above "olving" in "involving"

3. Deleted: "that" ; inserted above "[del.] of me" : "the comparatively moderate one"

4. Deleted: "areas,"

5. Preceding ten words inserted above "impse" in "Glimpse . . . Commis-" in "Commissioner"

6. William P. Dole was Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1861 to 1865. Inserted and smudged out: "in the" above wordspace.

7. Inserted above "has an"

8. Deleted: "sober" ; inserted above: "calm"

9. Deleted: "is speaking" ; inserted: "is . . . carpet." above "the intepreter [del.] is speaking"

10. Deleted: "man" ; inserted above "[del.] has his say" : "Indian of the tribe again"

11. Inserted above: "of kind"

12. Deleted: "say to " ; inserted above deletion: "answer"

13. Preceding three words inserted above "is a collec"

Indians, mostly old, but¹⁴ some young,¹⁵ come perhaps a thousand miles, for this conference. Look at their¹⁶ physiognomy, the deep cut lines¹⁷ in the faces, the straight coarse hair, hanging over their foreheads.¹⁸

In this Bureau are transacted all matters relating to the five hundred?¹⁹ thousand of such²⁰ American aborigines, left by time & events²¹ upon our hands. The number of persons,²² though large, may not be considered so important, but the interests of land & territorial²³ safety involved,²⁴ more directly concern the country, both in the present and future.²⁵ Then there is the interesting²⁶ point of the fatherly & discreet guardianship of these people, nearly all of whom are²⁷ direct & indirect recipients of the bounty of the United States. Yet these things too, depend on Washington clerks.²⁸ In this office,²⁹ most of the business, (as an instance of how important one clerk sometimes is,) would probably have to come to a standstill, or at any rate would be seriously embarrassed,³⁰ without the presence of³¹ Charles E. Mix, the Chief Clerk, who has long been in the³² Bureau,³³ knows all its parts and antecedents, (has often been Acting Commissioner,) has the executive management of the Bureau and its³⁴ employees, & is beloved & respected by all³⁵ of them.

14. Inserted above "some"

15. Preceding five words inserted above: "d" in "head" and "Indians co" in "come"

16. End of first sheet. Deleted: "aboriginal"

17. Deleted: ", the"

18. Deleted: "They want a Congressional appropriation, or something of the sort." WW made no paragraph break, but inserted "¶"

19. Appears to have been inserted in wordspace.

20. Preceding two words inserted above "and" in "thousand" and wordspace.

21. Preceding four words inserted above "gines" of "aborigines" and "left"

22. Preceding two words and comma inserted above "mber" in "number" and wordspace. WW failed to delete a comma after "number"

23. Deleted: "safty"

24. Deleted: "are"

25. Preceding six words and period inserted above "the country . . . Then"

26. Deleted: "question" ; inserted above: "point"

27. Deleted: "the"

28. Sentence inserted above "United States . . . office"

29. Deleted: "the"

30. Preceding eight words and comma inserted above "without the presence of"

31. Deleted: "Mr. Mix," ; inserted: "Charles E. Mix," above the deletion and "the"

32. Deleted: "bu"

33. Deleted: "and"

34. Deleted: "clerks" ; inserted above: "employees," . WW did not delete the comma after "clerks"

35. Period deleted.

(Elan E. Kelsey).

Manuscript in Duke (41, #18). Inscribed in black ink on one leaf of a white, laid, two-leaf sheet, approx. 8½" x 6½", torn at left side. Blue lines ⅓" apart. Illegible embossed stamp (fan-shaped?) at upper right. WW evidently compiled this record from the small scraps on which he kept his medical notes from day to day. The date of the inscription no doubt was February 24 and March 5, 1865. Printed in *FC&I*, 50-51.

(Elan E. Kelsey¹) (Feb. 24—1865)²

Eugene Kelsey, co B. 64th N Y Vol. (started from Napoli, Cattaraugus co. N.Y father lives there now, March '65)³ (aged 17 when enlisted)⁴/ by spherical case slug, explosion or (cast iron ball).⁵ 13th Dec. First Fredericksburgh,—leg amputated, on the field—brought to Washington (Armory Square)⁶ saw him there during Feb, March, &c 1862⁷—(side of Charly Miller)⁸/ ages⁹/ 32 Peter P. 37th N Y¹⁰ dead, buried in soldiers' bury'g ground Fairfax Seminary/ 29 Martin V — now at Petersburg, in 179th N.Y. re-enlisted/ 27 William H in 13th N Y. heavy artillery, re-enlisted / 24 Heman L—37th¹¹ served his time out, & is now home married/ 22 Elan E / 20. Enos M—in 64th—re-enlisted—taken prisoner at Reams's station Nov. '64, & has not been heard from since 17. Orson—64th — discharged—served his time out three years—all pretty well—the above comprises the entire family of sons—went in the war at the commencement (The husband of¹² one of the daughters, also a soldier, (Sylvester Nichols, 13. N Y¹³

1. *FC&I*, 50n2 cites the Adjutant General's Office for authority that the correct spelling is Elon.

2. Parentheses represent squared purple crayon loop around three sides of entry.

3. Upper left, parenthesis represents irregular line around two sides.

4. At left, parentheses represent squared purple crayon loop around three sides.

5. "slug . . . ball)." inserted above: "13th Dec. First Frederick" in "Fredericksburgh"

6. Deleted: "F"

7. *FC&I* corrects date to 1863.

8. Mentioned in "take (Marg. D. Valois)," "Walt Whitman Soldier's," and "Back to Washington," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 36.

9. Above ages, names etc. in column to left.

10. Designation of regiment inserted.

11. Inserted.

12. Preceding three words inserted.

13. "N Y" inserted above "heavy"

heavy artillery) died at Norfolk, in the service.)¹⁴ (Post office address Elm Creek Cattaraugus co New York leaves Washington Feb. 25, '65)¹⁵

¹⁶is a very good specimen of that useful class,¹⁷ makes¹⁸ the impression on me¹⁹ of materialism,²⁰ is not²¹ given at all to sentiment or any²² thing in the way of strong feeling or affection[?]²³—a plain, real, practical young²³ man

14. At left. Parentheses represent three-sided loop.

15. At right. Parentheses represent a three-sided loop.

16. Deleted: "sensible" ; inserted and deleted above: "practical" ; deleted: "boy," ; deleted: "no evidently" ; inserted and deleted: "and" ; inserted on a line above the deletions: "is a very good specimen of" ; inserted and deleted: "is a plain good" ; deleted: "a" ; inserted: "that useful class"

17. Deleted: "no sentimentalism" . Preceding "with" not deleted; not printed.

18. Deleted: "a"

19. Deleted: "material a"

20. "ist" written over "ism" ; deleted: "and a very good specimen" ; inserted and deleted: "of" above wordspace between "[del.] specimen" and "not" ; inserted: "is" above "n" in "not"

21. Inserted and deleted: "very" above "given"

22. Deleted: "particular"

23. Deleted: "American"

Bonaparte Webber.

Text from Glicksberg, 160. Location not given. Date 1865.

Bonaparte Webber—Co A. 2d N. Y. Mtd. Rifles—ward 4 Judiciary—lost rt. arm at Dinwiddie Ct. House, March 31, 1865—mother—Mrs. Pamela Webber—West Pembroke, Genessee Co. N. Y.

Ward C, Bed F.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black pencil on a scrap of soft tan paper. Printed in Glicksberg, 151. There is no Gallva County in Ohio, but there is a Gallia County. There is now no town called Millensport in Gallia County.

ward C, bed f. May 31—'65

James H. Williams—age 21 co G. 3d Va Cav. Millensport—Gallva¹ co. ??² Ohio /
father John Williams /
laryngytis fever debility diarrhea³ May 30-31—is about as marked a case of a
strong man brought low as I have seen —has

1. The writing of this name is very tentative.
2. “??” above “Ohio”
3. Ailments arranged in column at left separated from dated comment by vertical wavy line.

Ask Any of Kilpatricks.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil on two scraps of white laid notepaper with blue lines $\frac{5}{16}$ " apart. Holloway, who published it in "Notes from a Whitman Student's Scrapbook," *Am Schol*, II (May, 1933), 271, suggests a date of 1865. Major General Judson Kilpatrick (1836-1881) commanded cavalry at Gettysburg and elsewhere. The story may have been told WW by Thoms B. Neat. See "Baily D Damon." For Kilpatrick see *Corr.*, I, 166, "Some War Memoranda," "Last of the War Cases," *NB, Prose* 92, II, 584, 616, and "Hospital book 12."

—¹ask any of Kilpatricks² old horse, the 2d New York, if they were³ ever afraid⁴ as long as he was with them,⁵—What would they not do — sometimes two weeks without unsaddling⁶ —what matter where or how they rode or lay, or fought or turned, or slept or rode again⁷ while he was with them.—⁸ Though unknown roads,⁹ or in most dangerous fix, even surrounded¹⁰ who cared or doubted¹¹ as long as [2] that¹² live head was with them? They love him too,¹³ for¹⁴ always while he rides among them, he rides¹⁵ and shows he¹⁶ knows¹⁷ himself a man, and shows he knows each one of them a man as well.¹⁸ This, this the soldier loves.¹⁹ An officer²⁰ brave and²¹ wary²² & never forgets, that the young man in

1. Deleted above text: "when Kilpatrick"
2. Deleted: "New cavalry regiment,"
3. Deleted: "ever" ; inserted: "ever"
4. Deleted: "while" ; inserted: "as long as"
5. Deleted: "[illeg.] leading led in any lead on led on down in Virginia ever so far"
6. Preceding ten words inserted in two lines above "what matter where"
7. Preceding five words inserted above "turned, while he was"
8. Deleted: "whether on"
9. WW wrote "Fowds"
10. Deleted: "to the winds with fear"
11. Preceding four words inserted above "[del.] fear, as long as"
12. Deleted: "bold" ; inserted above and deleted: "sound" ; inserted above: "live"
13. Deleted: "for he went rode rides [two preceding words ins. and del.] always with them"
14. Inserted above "[del.] them"
15. Deleted: "not"
16. Preceding two words inserted above wordspace and "knows"
17. Deleted: "not"
18. Preceding two words inserted above "a man"
19. Deleted: "For an" ; inserted above "an" and deleted: "The" ; inserted above "off" in "officer" : "An"
20. Deleted: "bravery [comma not del.]" "caution" "to be"
21. Inserted above wordspace.
22. Inserted and deleted above "[del.] & never forgets" : "that and never forgetting"

the ranks & who does not forget²³ soldier in the ranks²⁴ is proud &²⁵ full of friendship & every bit as good as²⁶ any officer²⁷.

Once in a hospital²⁸ on a wounded man of 2d New York cavalry²⁹ whom I tried in vain to—sick, dejected, quite given up

23. Deleted: "& never forgets, that the young man in the ranks"

24. Preceding nine words inserted above "the young man in the ranks"

25. Deleted: "loving[?]" ; inserted: "full of love [*del.*] friendship"

26. Deleted: "himself" ; inserted above: "any officer"

27. Deleted: "I have"

28. Deleted: "I found one of the" ; inserted above and deleted: "where I" "all else to fail" ; inserted above "2d New York cavalry" : "on a wounded man of"

29. Deleted: "languishing from a wound who needed a—lethargic" . Inserted above "[*del.*] needed a—lethargic" : "whom I tried in vain to [*ins. and del.*]" animate

July 30 '1865.

Manuscript in LC (#106, sheets # 1211-1212). Inscribed in black ink on two leaves of white wove paper, 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 4", described in *LC Cat.* as notebook pages. Three blank leaves preserved. Used in an expanded form in "Last of the War Cases," *NB, Prose* 92, II, 623-624. Printed by Glicksberg, 150, 151.

[1211R] July 30 '1865/ Arm Sq. Ward I. bed 45/Thos. J. Byrd, age 19—Nativity Alabama/Opelaka Russell co. Alabama Mother Mrs A.M. Byrd. / been out 37 6m./been home once in that time / [1212R] Arm Sq. *July* 30 '65—Ward I/ *reb*/ John W. Morgan age 18—Shellot Brunswick co. N.C./gun shot wd r't leg above knee/wound doing well/been out nine months Mrs. Sarah A Morgan (as above.)

Maj Gen Hancock.

Manuscript formerly in collection of Justin G. Turner, Los Angeles, California. Inscribed in black ink with emendations in ink and black pencil on three leaves of white laid paper, approx. 9¾" x 7¾". Blue lines. Embossed with view of Capitol and word "Congress." On verso Attorney General's letterhead, one of which is dated July 7, 1865. Major General Winfield Scott Hancock (1824-1886) distinguished himself by brilliant tactics and leadership at Gettysburg. Spottsylvania was fought May 10-12, 1864. Hancock's conduct is described in two clippings in Texas on a backing sheet endorsed "*Write a Poem.*" See also "Review" and Traubel, II, 103. Date is July, 1865, with later revisions.

Maj Gen Hancock & *the Scout*¹ (2d Corps) (Now, July '65 1st Corps Veterans²

Hancock³ was very cool in⁴ battle, &⁵ always of the temperament that⁶ is unable to realize fear.⁷ His rank & file all loved him. He was very human.⁸ He was very considerate to them almost brotherly. This incident happened once at a battle,—it was told me by one who saw it—told as a specimen of the General's spirit. There was an officer,⁹ a brigadier general,¹⁰ who had somehow¹¹ established a character both¹² for cowardice & for¹³ mis-handling men in crises.¹⁴ In¹⁵ a movement¹⁶ of the battle referred to, this brigadier after behaving badly,¹⁷ came

1. Preceding three words inserted in pencil.
2. Parenthetical remark at upper right with a single large parenthesis to the left.
3. Inserted in pencil over and above "He" not deleted, not shown here.
4. Inserted above "&" not deleted, not shown here.
5. Deleted in ink: "was"; inserted in pencil above: "always"
6. Deleted in ink: "C" "does not"; inserted in ink above: "is [*del.*] not [*ins.*] unable to"
7. Deleted in ink: "The soldiers"; inserted in ink above: "His rank & file all"
8. Inserted and deleted in ink: "To"; inserted in ink on a line above "human . . . officer" and "[*del.*] of": "He was very considerate to them [*"m" added*] men in the ranks. [*preceding four words del.*] almost brotherly. [*preceding two words and period ins.* above [*del.*] "men in the"]. This incident happened once at a battle,—it was told me by one who saw it—told as a specimen of the General's spirit"
9. Deleted in ink: "of rank, ("
10. Deleted in ink: ")"
11. Inserted in pencil above "estab" in "established"
12. Inserted in pencil above wordspace between "character . . . for"
13. Inserted in ink above ampersand.
14. Preceding two words and period inserted in ink above "men" and the letterspace before "ln"
15. Deleted in ink: "the" "some"; inserted: "a" above "me" in "some"
16. Deleted in ink: "at" "[*illeg.*]" "in"; inserted: "of" above "[*del.*] in"
17. Preceding three words and comma inserted above "brigadier . . . came"

up to Maj: Gen. the latter questioned him—his conduct had¹⁸ been disastrous and his answers were bad also.—To make the story short, Maj. Gen.¹⁹ was so full, that he could not contain himself and just gave²⁰ vent to his passion, poured out²¹ the wildest storm of invective & personal abuse, ever known,²² oaths, insults, epithets,—right to the²³ General's face—called him every thing—²⁴ While this continued, every body else, staff officers, &c. remained silent. The accused also remained [2] silent, part sulky, part frightened.²⁵

Mean time a scout, a green young countryman, rudely drest, brought up by some aid²⁶ was seen, close by Maj. Gen'l's horse's²⁷ head, waiting to give certain information. He had come according to orders—& was evidently alarmed at the row.²⁸ Suddenly, Maj: Gen'l. held up his²⁹ fearful pelting of the starr'd Brigadier, turned, spoke to this man. His voice to him³⁰ changed & was calm & pleasant,³¹ on the instant. But the scene had been a disturbing one, & the young country³² man was flustered & embarrassed³³ Maj: Gen'l spoke to him again, with kindness & patience³⁴ but the scout, unaccustomed to Maj: Gen'l's, could not, or did not, answer clearly. He too was³⁵ frightened at the just closed stormy scene.³⁶ Maj: Gen'l now leaned down on his horse, put his arm soothingly, brotherly,³⁷ on the young [3] countryman's shoulder, and in a voice of winning sweetness, & calmness³⁸ again³⁹ spoke to him—continued to speak to him in that way—⁴⁰ by degrees got

18. Deleted in ink: "been bad, &c" ; inserted: "been squandering life, &c. [*preceding three words del. in pencil*]" above "had . . . his" ; inserted in pencil: "disastrous" above "[*del.*] squandering" ; inserted: "and" above "his"

19. Deleted in ink: "was so" ; inserted in ink: "was so full, that he could not contain himself and [*preceding five words in pencil*]" above "[*del.*] was so" and "vent to"

20. Deleted in pencil: "full"

21. Deleted in ink: "a savage &"

22. Preceding two words inserted in ink above "se" in "abuse" and "oaths"

23. Deleted: "Brig" before "General's" in insert described in n 24

24. Preceding nine words and dash inserted in ink above "ults" in "insults" and "while this"

25. Deleted in ink: "At this instant" ; inserted in ink above "[*del.*] this instant" "a scout" :

"¶ Mean time come accord [*two preceding words del. in ink*]"

26. Preceding five words inserted in pencil above "was seen,"

27. Inserted and deleted in pencil: [*illeg.*] above "head"

28. Preceding dash and seven words inserted in pencil above "rding" in "according" and "Sud" in "Suddenly" . Period after "orders" not deleted, not shown.

29. Deleted in ink: "furious" ; inserted above in ink: "fearful"

30. Inserted in ink above "him . . . was" : "changed curiously [*del.*] &"

31. Deleted in ink: "even"

32. Inserted in pencil above "ng" in "young" and "an" in "man"

33. Preceding two words inserted in ink above "flustered"

34. Preceding four words inserted in ink above "again . . . but"

35. Deleted in ink: "a little"

36. Preceding six words and period inserted in ink above "frightened . . . Maj." . Period after "frightened" not deleted, not shown here.

37. Preceding word and comma inserted above "on"

38. Preceding two words inserted in pencil above "ness" in "sweetness" ; indecipherable mark in ink over "ca"

39. Inserted in ink following "[*ins.*] calmness"

40. Preceding eight words and dashes inserted in ink on a line above "by degrees . . . col" in "collected" . Dash after "him" not deleted, not shown here.

him collected, & in a⁴¹ state of mind & voice to⁴² give the required information & answer questions.

This anecdote was told me by a wounded soldier of 145th Penn. Vol.⁴³ left on the field at Spottsylvania, May, '65. I believe this soldier would have died for Maj: Gen'l.⁴⁴ He idolized him; others of his men⁴⁵ the same.

41. Deleted in ink: "condition" ; inserted in ink: "state of mind & voice" above "[del.] condition" and "to"

42. Deleted in ink: "answer"

43. Deleted in ink: "regt" ; inserted in ink above: "Penn. Vol." . Period after "regt" not deleted, not shown here. The soldier has not been identified.

44. Deleted in ink: "I would"

45. Preceding three words inserted in ink above "rs" in "others" and "the"

Interview.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #30). Inscribed in black ink on white wove paper, 12¼" x 7¾". Blue rules, 9/16" apart, do not extend to edges. Supporting letters of appointment and dismissal, with WW's comments, are in Traubel, III, 468-477. See also "Mem. Sept 29." Feinberg also contains a one-page MS, "APPOINTMENT OF HARLAN," in which WW claims that Lincoln appointed Harlan out of gratitude to the Methodists who had supported the government during the war. See Jerome M. Loving, "Whitman and Harlan New Evidence," *AL*, 48 (May, 1976), 219-222. First printed in Traubel, III, 472-474, and in facsimile after 486.

[1] *Interview between Mr. Ashton
& Secretary Harlan.*
July 1st. '65

(Made July¹ 5th & 8th, 1865²
in Washington)

[3; 2 *blank*] Interview between Mr. Ashton & Mr. Harlan, took place,³ July 1st. 1865, at the Room of the Secretary of the Interior, in the Patent Office.⁴ Mr. Ashton drove down there, from the Attorney General's,⁵ about 10 o'clock a. m. & remained⁶ over an hour. The interview⁷ consisted of a most animated conversation. Judge W. T. Otto was present, but took little or no part in the discussion. The Assistant Attorney General asked why W. W. was dismissed; asked if he had been found inattentive to his duties, or incompetent for them. Mr. Harlan said, No,⁸ there was no complaint on those points. As far as he⁹ heard or knew, W. was a both a¹⁰ competent & faithful¹¹ clerk. Mr. Ashton then¹² said, Then¹³ what

1. Deleted: "6,"; "5" inserted above.
2. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
3. Deleted: "Aug"
4. Deleted: "Mr. As"
5. Inserted and deleted above "General's" : "in"
6. Deleted: "till"
7. Deleted: "was are"
8. Deleted: "as"
9. Deleted: "knew" ; inserted: "heard or knew"
10. Inserted above "[*del.*] knew" and "W."
11. "-ful" written over [*illeg.*]
12. Deleted: "asked" ; inserted above: "said"
13. Inserted above "what"

is the reason? The Secretary said,¹⁴ W. was the author of *Leaves of Grass*. Ashton, said, Well, is that the reason? The Secretary said, yes. He then went into a sort of narrative to the following purport. He was examining round the building, after office hours, & either [5; 4 *blank*] in or on a desk, he saw the Book. He took it up, & found it so odd, that he¹⁵ carried it to his room & examined it. He found certain passages marked; and there were marks¹⁶ by & upon passages all through the book. He found¹⁷ in the book¹⁸ in¹⁹ some of these marked passages,²⁰ matter so outrageous, that he had determined to discharge the author, &c. &c. &c.

Mr. Ashton then went into a statement of the theory of the book—that a construction of that kind put upon the passages was not consistent with either the intention of W. W.²¹ or the rest of the drift of the Book—That he knew what the²² spirit & intention of the author, &²³ they were noble, whatever merit,²⁴ or deficiency of merit, there might be in the book. Mr. Harlan said: Well, he couldn't help that. He thought the author²⁵ was wrong, was a free lover, deserved punishment, &c.

[7; 6 *blank*] The Assistant Attorney General said;²⁶ Mr. Harlan, I know something of W. W's life, & if you will listen to me I can tell you what it has been. He then described W's life as manly, pure, & patriotic. Since the commencement of the war he had devoted himself to the care of the wounded & sick of our armies; had been²⁷ to the front, had been on hand after all the great battles, labored actively for nearly three years, in that field, & had actually ministered to in direct contact with them, more than a hundred thousand²⁸ cases of wounded²⁹ & sick men,³⁰ had, indeed, sought his appointment so that he might be able to spend his leisure hours in the service of the maimed & sick, in camps & hospitals around Washington, & was now continuing quietly and faithfully at that work.

Mr. Harlan said³¹ after this: You have changed my opinion of his personal character, but I shall adhere to my decision dismissing him.

[9; 8 *blank*] On the Assistant Attorney General³² commencing some remarks³³

14. Deleted: "it [*illeg.*]"

15. Deleted: "took"

16. Deleted: "—erasu" ; inserted and deleted above: "over" ; inserted above: "by"

17. Deleted: "and"

18. Deleted: "such"

19. Deleted: "su"

20. Deleted: "such lines & opinion{?}"

21. Deleted: "the au"

22. Deleted: "author"

23. Deleted: "thot"

24. Deleted: "there"

25. Deleted: "would have a bad effect was an improper"

26. Deleted: "Now I know"

27. Deleted: "with the" ; inserted above "been [*del.*] on" : "to the front, had been"

28. Deleted: "men"

29. Deleted: comma; inserted above: "&"

30. Deleted: "[*illeg.*] and was"

31. Deleted: comma.

32. Deleted: "press"

33. Deleted: "toward a" "to controvert"

involving a change of that decision, Mr. Harlan said, "It's no use Mr. Ashton.—I will not have the author of that book in this Department—No, if the President of the United States should order his reinstatement, I would resign sooner than I would put him back."

He then went into a long and angry abuse of the book,³⁴ its offensive passages, & of W. W. to which the Attorney General made no reply, but bowed & took his leave.

It is perhaps a main part³⁵ of this transaction, and of the getting of a full understanding of it, to know that the³⁶ marked copy of "Leaves of Grass" which Mr. Harlan³⁷ discovered after office hours, he discovered by³⁸ personal prying into the drawers of W. W. s desk,³⁹ Such a copy,⁴⁰ marked all through, (for corrections & ellisions for future edition) W. W. had in one of his drawers, It contained special marks & peculiarities [*II; IO blank*] with pencil, to which Mr. Harlan directly & indirectly alluded, in his account in⁴¹ in this long & animated⁴² discussion; making it unquestionable that this was the copy Mr. Harlan found,⁴³ took away, examined, & then returned. It lay in a drawer, with a lot of private letters, & other articles such as a man puts in his private desk. It is due to Mr. Harlan to say that nothing else (at least as far as known,)⁴⁴ appears to have been abstracted from this private drawer.

This memorandum is made within a⁴⁵ week of⁴⁶ the interview above described; and, in order to have it right, a second & more minute account of the interviews⁴⁷ was obtained, before these⁴⁸ items were jotted down.

Mr. Harlan said to the Assistant Attorney General,⁴⁹ There is no need of any one's knowing either what W. W. was dismissed for, nor the particulars of this conversation. It would be best for⁵⁰ you & me to confine the matter to ourselves.

The Assistant Attorney General said⁵¹ he was not willing to make any promise, on his part, to that effect; said he should certainly tell W. W. as he thought he had a right to know what he was dismissed for.

34. Deleted: "its"

35. Deleted: [*illeg.*] letter in margin.

36. Deleted: quotation marks.

37. Deleted: "found"

38. Deleted: "exam" ; inserted above "by" and "[*del.*] exam" : "personaly"

39. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

40. Deleted: "& such a copy only"

41. Preceding four words inserted above wordspace between "alluded, in"

42. Deleted: "conversa"

43. Deleted: "&"

44. Deleted: "was" ; inserted above "[*del.*] was" and "abstracted" : "appears to have been"

45. Deleted: "couple" ; inserted above: "week"

46. Deleted: "da"

47. Deleted: "has"

48. Deleted: "notes" ; inserted above "items"

49. Capital "T" over lowercase.

50. Deleted: "us" ; inserted above "for [*del.*] us to" : "you and me"

51. Deleted: comma.

Mem. Sept 29.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black ink on white laid paper, 9" x 8½"; blue lines recto and verso ⅝" apart; headed "Attorney General's Office, Washington, — 18—." WW inserted the date in the blanks. In the upper left corner is an embossed stamp: "CONGRESS [facade of Capitol] P&P." There is an envelope with it. The present manuscript was printed in Traubel, III, 474-475. It has also been reproduced in facsimile with a transcript in Arthur Golden, ed., *Walt Whitman's Blue Book*, II, between lviii and lix. See WW's account of Ashton's interview with Harlan: "Interview."

Mem. Sept 29—1865¹

The Acting Secretary of the Interior,² Wm. T. Otto,³ on his way to Cabinet meeting, called at the Att'y Gen's Office,⁴ on business, & stopt at my desk a moment. He said, to Mr. W.,⁵ "I hope you are well situated here—I⁶ was sorry to⁷ lose your services in our Department,⁸ for I considered them⁹ valuable.¹⁰ The affair" (¹¹my dismissal) "was settled upon before I knew of it."

In the course of¹² the conversation then & there,¹³ the question was asked¹⁴ Mr. Otto¹⁵ of the particular¹⁶ copy of "Leaves of Grass" which Mr. Harlan¹⁷ had

1. Diagonally at upper left.

2. Deleted: "Judge" ; inserted above: "Wm. T."

3. William Tod Otto (1816-1905) had been appointed Assistant Secretary of the Interior in January, 1862 and was instrumental in securing WW a clerkship in the Indian Bureau on January 24, 1865, where he remained until his dismissal on June 30, 1865. See "Hugo Otto Fritsch," "Addresses" and "Interviews". Deleted: "stopt" ; inserted: "on his way to cabinet meeting, called" above deletion and "at the Att'y Gen's"

4. Deleted: [illeg.]

5. Preceding comma and three words inserted above "said"

6. Deleted: "am" ; inserted above: "was"

7. Deleted: "have lost" ; inserted: "lose" above "lose"

8. Deleted: "as" ; inserted above: "for"

9. Deleted: [illeg.]

10. Deleted: "your dismissal was" ; inserted above "[del.] Your dismissal" : "The affair"

11. Deleted: [illeg.] ; inserted above: "my"

12. Deleted: "some brief" ; inserted and deleted above "some" "a" ; inserted: "the" before "[del.] a"

13. Preceding three words inserted above "sation" in "conversation"

14. Deleted: "him" ; inserted above: "Mr. Otto"

15. Deleted: "about" ; inserted above: "of"

16. Deleted; "volume" ; inserted above "the [del.] volume" : "particular" ; inserted below: "copy"

17. James Harlan (1820-1899), Secretary of the Interior, responsible for WW's dismissal. See *Corr.*, I, 262 n48, II, 26, 160 and "Interview."

in his room, as alluded to in his conversation with the Ass't Atty Gen¹⁸ whether¹⁹ it was a volume bound in blue paper covers—& any thing like²⁰ this—²¹ pointing to a volume of laws paper bound about the same thickness but octavo &²² He said he had had no special²³ conference with Mr. Harlan on the volume,²⁴ (a 500 page paper bound vol. lying on my²⁵ table was shown him, & asked if it was such a vol.²⁶ He said that²⁷ he had seen on Mr. Harlan's desk, a volume of Leaves of Grass, in blue paper covers, & the pages of the²⁸ poems marked more or less all through the book;²⁹ he remembers this volume being shown him & opened³⁰ by some one who saw on his, Mr. O's, table a copy of Drum Taps.

18. [*illeg.*] and preceding fifteen words inserted in very small writing in two lines above "Mr. Harlan had" . The Assistant Attorney General was J. Hubley Ashton, who not only intervened unsuccessfully with Harlan but helped WW to a clerkship in the Attorney General's Office, which he took up July 1, 1865. See *Corr.*, I, II, III.

19. Deleted: "if" ; inserted above: "whether"

20. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

21. Deleted: "showing him"

22. Preceding twenty words inserted in very small writing above "a volume . . . covers" . Redundant period not shown.

23. Inserted above "no" and "co" in "conference"

24. Period not deleted, not shown.

25. Deleted: "the" ;

26. Preceding parenthesis and twenty-one words inserted. Parenthesis not closed in MS.

27. Deleted: "a volume of Leaves" ; inserted: "he had seen on Mr. Harlan's desk a volume of Leaves" on a line above "of Grass . . . pages of the"

28. Deleted: "conten"

29. Deleted: "had been shown him, he thinks by one of the clerks, but he had paid no particular attention to; but he remembered seeing the blue paper covered copy on Mr. Harlan's desk" . Redundant comma not shown.

30. Preceding two words inserted above "him . . . by"

J. T. Trowbridge.

Manuscript not found. Text from Traubel, I, 101-102. Traubel describes it as "an envelope bearing the printed legend: 'Attorney General's office, official business' with W.'s script added to this effect: 'J. T. Trowbridge's anecdote (Sept. 6, 1865) of Rich. Moncton Milnes' letter'. . . Inside the envelope, still on the stationery of the Department of the Attorney General at Washington—Sep 6, 1865—W. had set down this brief narrative. . . ." Robert Monckton Milnes, First Baron Houghton (1809-1885), was a Cambridge "Apostle," MP, man of letters and collector of famous people. When he visited the United States in 1875, Milnes received a similar warning from the "Boston literati," but nevertheless came to Camden to see WW, whom he reassured of Emerson's continued loyalty (Allen, 468). See *Corr.*, II, 344, 373, III, 20, 44, 395. The date of the MS is September, 1865.

J. T. Trowbridge has called on me today, stopt an hour. Told me, on authority of Mr. Emerson, the following. An English gentleman who came to America, and among the Boston literati, not long since, was the bearer of a letter to me from Lord Houghton (Richard Moncton Milnes, the poet)—a friendly and generous letter about *Leaves of Grass* and also intended as a letter of introduction for the gentleman bearing it. But the Boston literati talked severely and warmly about the author of *Leaves*, dwelt on the manner in which he treated Mr. Emerson, and, in short, made such a story that the gentleman changed his plan of visiting W. W. and never delivered the letter sent him.

J. T. T. told me of Mr. Emerson's lectures—one in which he said, speaking of the very few who wrote English greatly—"there is also Walt Whitman, but he belongs yet to the fire clubs, and has not got into the parlors."

By J. T. T's account it is plain that Mr. E. has quite thoroughly shifted his position from that taken in the letter of 1855, and makes the largest qualifications.

Memoranda Pardon Applicants.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #328). Inscribed in black ink on a white Attorney General's office envelope. Entries here run together. The inscription probably refers to former contents. As a clerk in the Attorney General's office, WW was probably very much aware of the topics referred to. The contents may have been a clipping from the *New York Tribune*, September 8, 1865, which remarked in its Washington Notes that fifty-two secessionists had been pardoned the day before and also printed an editorial on pardons. P. 4 of the *Tribune* also explains President Johnson's position on Negro suffrage as explained to a New Orleans journalist. Briefly, he supported it if the Negro could read the Constitution and write his name. WW took a similarly conservative position on Negro suffrage.

Memoranda

Pardon applicants Sept 8-9-1865/¹
also the negro-suffrage²/
also position of the President³/

1. Short line from left under "Pardon"
2. Short line from left under "Also"
3. Line half way across leaf from left.

Make a Fuller Point.

Manuscript in LC (#65). Inscribed in black ink on rectos of white laid paper, 8¼" x 4⅞". LC *Cat.* suggests a tentative date of 1865. WW makes the same point twice in "Bad Wounds—the Young" and "Three Years Summ'd Up" (*SD, Prose* 92, I, 52, 112).

make a *fuller* point that the armies were composed¹ mainly of American born & raised men² The New England States, The west, the³ Middle States,⁴ Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois agricultural New York⁵ &c⁶ were all native born & made the main bulk of the soldiery. A far larger percentage of the Union soldiery than is generally supposed, came from the Southern & Border states. There were several whole regiments [2] from those States, and squads and individuals from them were⁷ sprinkled all through. There were several Irish and German regiments, mostly from the great cities; they did good service,—fought well—but in comparison with the great military⁸ bulk-volume, they were only drops in the bucket.

1. Deleted "of"
2. Deleted: "the foreign ele" . Inserted above: "The New England States,"
3. Deleted: "N"
4. Deleted: "agricultural New York" and "Illinois, &c"
5. Preceding three words inserted above "consin" in "Wisconsin"
6. Deleted: "were quite making a" ; inserted above: "were all . . . made the"
7. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
8. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

It Is Among These.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on a scrap of white wove paper. Trimmed irregularly at bottom, possibly by WW. Paragraph symbol at beginning. The date is 1865.

It is among these, or some one of these that for the best part of¹ three years, (1863, '4, & part of² '5) I make my³ daily or nightly⁴ tours.⁵

1. Preceding four words inserted above "for" and "ye" in "years"
2. Preceding two words inserted above "'5"
3. "my" inserted above "d" in "daily"
4. Deleted: [*illeg.*] . Printer's direction—"run in"—enclosed by line.
5. Notation enclosed by line: "run in"

Baltimore.

Manuscript in LC (#205, sheet #s 1791V-1792). Inscribed in pencil on [8] and inside back cover of *Annual Report of the Surgeon General, United States Army, 1865* (Washington, 1865).

Baltimore

[1791V] *Hicks Gen Hospital* 300 patients Harewood (Dr. Bonteca) Kalorama sm pox is for citizen 250 De Camp at David's Island N. Y 300 patients Tennessee Cumberland at Nashville St Louis Marine U S Gen Hosp S Carolina one at Hilton Head New Orleans the Sedgwick U S/[1792R] Little Rock Ark then there are post hospitals wherever the troops are located. by spring there will not be a single General Hospital left—/ There were 1489 patients in the U.S. Gen Hospitals on 20th of January. in May 65 7.5.3 patients/ 200 Gen Hosps in May '65

Father Jesse Hubbard.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #311). Inscribed in black ink on small scrap of white wove paper, with blue lines $\frac{5}{16}$ " apart on verso only. The first entry "Alfred Hubbard 37 Reg Wisc 9 Army Corps" is in another hand.

father Jesse Hubbard
Milwaukie Wis

Col. Halpine.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black pencil on a small scrap of white wove paper. On recto "he was from Owego." Charles G. Halpine (1829–1868) was a journalist, soldier, and politician. He emigrated from Ireland in 1851, wrote for NY *Herald*, and became editor of *The Leader*; he joined the 69th (NY) Regiment at the outbreak of the war and was brevetted brigadier general for gallantry. Was known as a humorist and published two volumes under the pseudonym of Pvt. Miles O'Reilley in 1864 and 1866. See "Some interesting items" and "Addresses."

Col. Halpine
34 Hammond st

Burst in Lecture.

Manuscript not found. Text from Traubel, II, 47. Brackets are in Traubel. Whitman often expressed his admiration of the Southern character. The date is certainly after 1865.

Burst in lecture (or poem)

We talk of our age's materialism—and it is too true—in gloomy hours—how, amid all the sordidness, the entire devotion of America, at any price, to mere pecuniary success—merchandise disregarding all but direct business and profit—how for a bare idea and abstraction or mere heroic dream and reminiscence—this war burst forth in its great devouring flame and conflagration, quickly and fiercely spreading and raging, and enveloping all, [break] into two great ideas—that of the Union cause—and the other—a strange, deadly Interrogation point, hard to define what—have we not now safely confest it?—Even that other, with magnificent rays, streaks, of noblest heroism, fortitude, perseverance and even conscientiousness, shedding flashes of light through its pervadingly malignant darkness. Was there not some thing grand—and a perennial proof of American grandeur—in that war.

D. W. Wilder.

Manuscript in LC (#108). Inscribed in black pencil and other media on a variety of papers with dimensions more or less 5" x 4", as noted. Nearly all rules are across the leaf. Since the notebook has been disassembled and mounted by LC, it is difficult to visualize its original form, but the variations in paper and size suggest a homemade notebook, as it is described in *LC Cat*. One blank leaf preserved. Entries were made in random groups, and although attempts have been made to date entries in the notes, rearrangement in order, of entry is impossible. Investigation of city directories was practicable for Washington through 1874 and for New York and Brooklyn through 1876. Only Philadelphia directories of the 1870s were checked for identifications. The entries date from 1866 to 1877 and overlap "Addresses" in date, although relatively few names are duplicated. WW's Daybooks (*DN*, I) should be consulted.

[1218R]¹ D. W. Wilder,² office Monitor³ pub. Co. Fort Scott, Kansas / Henry A.⁴ Ebert 138 Dunbarton st./ young man in Georgetown Courier Walter Godey^{4a} box 718 / Theodore Handy⁵ at Flaesch's / Geo. Frs. Dawson 308 East 51st st / Wm A. Degges,⁶ 1512 Twelfth D.C. / H. M. Irwin,⁷ late of Sunday Herald. / John Addington Symonds,⁸ Clifton Hill House, Clifton, Bristol, England. / H.

1. White wove, approx. 5" x 3¾".

2. (1832–1911), Kansas journalist, state official, brother of Congressman A. Carter Wilder ("Walt Whitman Soldier's"), compiler of *Annals of Kansas*, 1875, 1886. He was editor of the Fort Scott *Monitor* in 1871. At some time or another, probably in Washington, he met WW. He accompanied WW and Col. Forney from Kansas City to Lawrence, Kans., in 1879. In a letter of January 23, 1903, to Major J. B. Pond, the famous lecture agent (carbon copy, Kansas State Hist. Soc.), about the latter's *Eccentricities of Genius* (1900), he says that he knew WW, whom he says (erroneously) was in Ford's Theatre the night of Lincoln's assassination. WW was in Brooklyn that night, and the accounts in *MDW* and "Death of Abraham Lincoln," *Prose* 92, II, 503–507, are based on Pete Doyle's experiences. In 1868 Wilder was editor of the Rochester (NY) *Express*, in which WW's friend Hinton published "The Poet Walt Whitman" (March 7, 1868) ("Addresses").

3. "M" written over [illeg.]

4. Inserted above "y" in "Henry"

4a. WW's substitute in the Attorney General's office.

5. A person of this name in Washington directory 1873 only.

6. A stairbuilder of this name is listed at this address in Washington directories of 1872 and 1873 only.

7. A person of this name is listed as "pres" at 81 Nassau St., New York directory, 1866–1867.

8. (1840–1893), author of *The Renaissance in Italy* (1875–1886), *Studies in the Greek Poets* (1873, 1876), *A Problem in Greek Ethics* (1877), *Walt Whitman a Study* (1893), *Studies in Sexual Inversion* (1897). He was much moved by LG and in 1871 began a correspondence with WW which continued for twenty years. Although WW was disturbed by his inquiries in 1890 about the homosexual implications of "Calamus" (*Corr.*, V, 72–73), he did not break off the correspondence. He

Buxton Forman,⁹ 38 Marlborough: Hill St John's Wood London N. W. [1218a]¹⁰
 Alg. Ch. Swinburne,¹¹ Henley on Thames. F. S. Ellis.¹² [1218V] Rob't Buchanan¹³
 Soroba Cottage Oban, Scotland. care of Strahan & Co. 36 Paternoster row London¹⁴
 / Roden Noel,¹⁵ Maybury Woking-Station, Surrey, England / Cand. phil. Rudolf
 Schmidt,¹⁶ No.¹⁷ Baggesch's Gate No 3¹⁸ Copenhagen Denmark / Sampson Low,
 Son & Marston Booksellers, Crown Buildings 188 Fleet st. London [1219R]¹⁹
 Edwin ? handsome letter carrier²⁰ / Wm B. Douglass—"Billy"²¹ / Thomas Mor-
 ton young student—inventor, seeking patent / Mrs. Ann. Gilchrist²² 50 Marquis
 road. Camden sq. N. W. London England / Samuel Ward²³—1406 E st. /²⁴
 Charles Petersen youth—18 or 19—Washington Penn av. n 10th / John Colburn

valued Symonds as a supporter from established literary circles and read and quoted his books. See "Real Summer Openings," *Prose* 92, I, 340; "The Boston of To-Day," *SD*, *ibid.*, I, 266; "Slang in America," *NB*, *ibid.*, II, 574; "An Old Man's Rejoinder," *G-BMF*, *ibid.*, II, 655 (written after Symonds's letter). See also "sent *Press* of 22d," "The Bible," "Behind all art," and Traubel, *passim*.

9. (1842–1917), Shelley and Keats scholar. He attempted in 1872 and 1876 to publish a complete English edition of *LG* after the failure of WW's approach to F. S. Ellis. (*Corr.*, III, 405; Traubel, I, 133; II, 265–267, 344, 433, 434, 438, 439, 445, 447–448; "Rossetti.") His WW collection is now in the Berg Collection, NYPL.

10. In black ink in clipped label of Ellis & Green, Bookseller, 31 King Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C.

11. Swinburne (1837–1909) had been peripherally involved in the publication of Rossetti's edition and in 1871 published "To Walt Whitman in America" (*Songs Before Sunrise*). By the next year he was objecting to WW's prophetic or propagandistic stance. In 1887, without entirely retracting his earlier praise he compared WW's "Eve" to "a drunken apple woman, indecently sprawling in . . . the gutter" and his "Venus" to "a Hottentot wench under the influence of cantharides and adulterated rum." WW took the whole affair quite coolly. (Blodgett, 103–121.) See "wealth of poets," "Of William Blake."

12. F. S. Ellis (1830–1901), bookseller, author, friend of Swinburne, Morris, Ruskin and D. G. Rossetti. He published Swinburne's *Songs Before Sunrise* (London, 1871), which contains "To Walt Whitman in America." In August, 1871, WW proposed publication of a complete *LG*. Ellis and Buxton Forman declined on the grounds of English prudery, but Ellis sent WW a copy of *Songs Before Sunrise* (*Corr.*, II, 133).

13. See "Addresses."

14. Preceding nine words inserted at the left before "Oban"

15. See "The newspapers still."

16. The author of "Walt Whitman, det amerikanske demokratis digter" (February, 1872).

See "WALT WHITMAN travels" and [1219R] n24.

17. Deleted in black ink: "2 Klareboderne" ; inserted in black ink and deleted in red ink: "16" before "Baggesch's"

18. Preceding four words inserted in red ink above "[del.] Klareboderne"

19. White wove, approx. 5" x 4", blue rules ½" apart on recto.

20. See [1219V].

21. See [1219V].

22. WW had read Mrs. Anne Gilchrist's "A Woman's Estimate of Walt Whitman" in December, 1869; it was published in May, 1870; in September, 1871, he learned her identity from her first letter. She came to the US in September, 1876, and left in June, 1879. See "Jeff Mary Han.," "the Idea of All," "sent *Press* of 22d," "Wm J Gurd," and "Kansas & Colorado Trip," *Corr.*, II and III, Traubel. Her letter of November 27, 1871, was written from this address (*Corr.*, II, 143).

23. Samuel Ward (1814–1884), lobbyist, contributed to a fund WW raised for Louis F. Tasistro in 1872 (*Corr.*, II, 173). See "105 Sam'l Ward."

24. In another hand: "Emil Arctander, 217, 2d St. S. E. Q. M. Genl's office/" . Arctander was also acting vice-consul for Denmark. He wrote WW on June 17 and 20, 1872. He translated Rudolf Schmidt's article for WW, who "corrected" it. (MS in LC [Feinberg].)

National Asylum for²⁵ Soldiers,²⁶ Hampton, Virginia [1219V] Wm B. Douglass,²⁷ "Billy" running & walking—Washington / Edwin?²⁸ handsome letter carrier Washington / L. P. Freund, room No. 98 Patent office Dead²⁹ / M. Th. Bentzon,³⁰ a lady care Bureau Revue des deux Mondes, Rue Bonaparte 40. Paris, France. / W. J. Linton³¹ box³² 489 New Haven, Conn. / John Elverson, young man on Fulton ferry—tall, sandy July '72 / F. Maddox Brown,³³ 37 Fitzroy Sq. W. London, England / Rev. John N. Hoare, Ashford, Wicklow, Ireland. [1219aR]³⁴ 1 Torriano Gardens, Camden Rd nw [1220R; ³⁵ 1219aV blank] (just above West Point) [1221³⁶; 1220V blank; 1221V] Wm. Ingram³⁷ 31 N Second st. Philadelphia / Dr. W. B. Drinkard³⁸ 1403 New York av. N. W. Washington dead³⁹ / John Swinton⁴⁰ 134 East 38th st. N. Y. City / Sarah M. Parsons 339 Bridge st. Brooklyn / rooms 58 High st. furnished or unfurnished 3 doors from cars / [1222R]⁴¹ Prof. Edward Dowden,⁴² 50 Wellington Road, Dublin, Ireland

25. "Asylum for" inserted above "soldiers"

26. Deleted: "asylum"

27. See [1219R].

28. See [1219R].

29. Blue crayon. He is last listed in Washington directory of 1873. Deleted: "106 West Madison st. Chicago, Ill" ; inserted: "room no 98 Patent office" on two lines at left under "Freund"

30. Thérèse Bentzon, who had written on WW in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 1, 1872. See "Is Walt Whitman's Poetry Poetical?" Since WW corrects her identity diagonally at the right, the main entry must have been made before late January, 1874.

31. Wood engraver. See below [1237b] and "Addresses."

32. Deleted: "1188" ; inserted: "489" above "box"

33. (1821–1893), painter, friend of the Pre-Raphaelites, who gave Mrs. Gilchrist a copy of Rossetti's *Selections* in 1869. Also mentioned in "Rossetti."

34. A small slip of paper. The address is Mrs. Gilchrist's.

35. Calling card of T. Melville Prentiss. "[illeg.] W Teal" above the printed name and "Cornwall on Hudson NY" below in another hand.

36. White wove, 5" x 2¾". In another hand, the length of the leaf: "Robert S. Hale Elizabethtown Essex Co. N.Y. Landing on Lake Champlain is Westport.—9 miles."

Beneath this page at left in the microfilm protrudes [1222a] which reads lengthwise: "left is [illeg.] Fairm't av. car" . Beneath that protrudes a scrap [1220]: "C [illeg.]"

The reason for the duplication of numbers is not known.

37. Tea merchant in Philadelphia. He hunted out WW in Camden in 1873, thinking he needed help. WW called him: "good, kind-hearted, rather queer old fellow" (*Corr.*, II, 231). He continued his attentions in later years (Traubel, I, 182, 183, 185; II, 47, 320, 323, 416; III, 341; IV, 94, 264, 449).

38. Whitman's physician in Washington. See *Corr.*, II, 192, 197, 201, 211, 215, 224, 226, 239, 240, 272, 289, 315, 322; Traubel, I, 368; IV, 472; *NB, Prose* 92, 612, 714.

39. In blue crayon. Drinkard is in the Washington directory as late as 1874.

40. (1829–1901), brother of William Swinton, journalist, at various times with the N.Y. *Sun*, managing editor of the N.Y. *Times*, editor of his own labor paper. He had read *LG* in 1855 and was a consistent admirer. See "George Walker," "[illeg.] Dick Hunt," "sent *Press* of 22d," "Jo Swinton"; *Corr.*, I, II, III, V, passim; Traubel, I, II, III, IV, V, passim.

41. White wove, 5" x 3¾".

42. Professor Edward Dowden, of Trinity College, Dublin, had published "The Poetry of Democracy: Walt Whitman" in *Westminster Review* (July, 1871). See "Is Walt Whitman's Poetry Poetical?"

/⁴³ see over leaf / Mrs. Anne Gilchrist⁴⁴ Earls Colne, Halsted, 1 Torriano Gardens Camden rd n w England / Cyril Flower⁴⁵ Farredown, Streatham Surrey, S. W. England / S. W. Green,⁴⁶ printer 16 18 Jacob street. N. Y. [1222V] Mrs. Anne Lynch Botta⁴⁷ 25 West 37th st. / European Express, Austin Baldwin & Co. 72 Broadway, N. Y. / H. Starr & Co. 22 Moorgate st. London / A. Tennyson,⁴⁸ Aldworth. Blackdown Haslemere, Surrey, England/ R. Y. Tyrrell,⁴⁹ M. A. 5 Goldsmith Terrace Bray Co. Wicklow Ireland. / Moses Lane⁵⁰ engineer, Plankington House Milwaukie, Wis. [1222aR]⁵¹ Winstead Temple Road, Rathmine st Dublin, Ireland [1223R; ⁵² 1222aV] March 9 '69—*Patrick O'Hara*. policeman at night the talk at door of lower Harvey's—been 5 yrs in reg. Army—2d Dragoons—on the plains—also in the war—married—seems to have been in N. Y. City—seen some hard service in expeditions on the plains—⁵³ / Lieut. Allan C. Kelton U. S. Marine Corps / The Trow & Smith Book M'f'n'g Co. 46, 48, and 60 Greene st. / A. L. Kerr⁵⁴ p.o. box 399 Pittsburgh / [1223V] Nov. 25. 1866. from Jas. J. Hagerman, office Milwaukee Iron Co. 90 Michigan st. very friendly—asked where he could get L. of G. I sent a copy. he sent a second letter enc. \$3 / Nov. 23. '66 from *Allen D. Vorce*,⁵⁵ asking me to write "Pensive," &c. & put autograph—praised Burroughs' article, & signed himself—"your unknown friend,"

43. Deleted in black ink: "R. Y. Tyrrell Fellow of Trinity College Dublin" Inscribed in red ink. "see over leaf" is written on three lines in left margin, followed by fist pointing left in pencil. Tyrrell was a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, who had lectured on WW in 1871 (*Corr.*, II, 134, 153).

44. Address deleted in red ink: "50 [illeg.] road Camden [illeg.] London" Preceding address inserted in black ink between the deleted lines.

45. Later to be 1st Baron Battersea (1843–1907). Met WW in Washington, December, 1870. A Cambridge man, friend of Tennyson, who married a Rothschild. He became a MP, Lord of the Treasury under Gladstone in 1892; he was an art collector, accomplished amateur of riding, hunting, yachting, botany, gardening, photography. Furzedown was his parents' home. Leon Edel suggests him as a possible model for Nick Dormer in Henry James's *The Tragic Muse* (*Henry James. 1882–1895. The Middle Years* [Philadelphia, 1961], 254). See *Corr.*, II, 162; III, 405; Traubel, II, 373, 461; and "Addresses."

46. Printed "Passage to India," *DV*, "As a Strong Bird," *LG* 1872 and *LG* 1876 (*Corr.*, III, 43, 441). See Will, Oct. 1872, Will, May 15–16, 1873.

47. (1815–1891), wife of a professor of Italian and hostess for many years of an important literary salon. In 1871 she was connected with the *Galaxy* and solicited "O Star of France" from WW, who attended some of her receptions (*Corr.*, II, 121; III, 162).

48. WW had sent Tennyson copies of his books through Cyril Flower (ante [1222R]; "Addresses.") Tennyson acknowledged the gift from this address July 12, 1871 (*Corr.*, II, 125–6, 162n). For other Tennyson material see "1854—Alexander Smith's Poems."

49. See [1222R]n.

50. Probably the former Chief Engineer of the Brooklyn Water Works, a friend of the family, possibly through Jeff, who supported WW's work in the hospitals. See "am Dr. L B Russell."

51. Small scrap, black ink. Edward Dowden's address.

52. White wove, 4½" x 3¾", black ink.

53. Entry in black pencil.

54. WW had known an Andrew Kerr, a clerk in the Attorney General's office in 1865–1866 (*Corr.*, I, 270, 283–284, 286).

55. Possibly listed as a banker in NY directory 1866–1867, office at 23 Nassau St., house 40 Vanderbilt Ave., Brooklyn. The poem is "Pensive on Her Dead Gazing" from *DT*.

/ Nov. 24 from. C. M. Plumb,⁵⁶ 57 west 48th st. (\$3 enc.) copy sent / [1224R]⁵⁷ J. Ormond Wilson [1225R; ⁵⁸ 1224V blank] 1868. June 19 [.]⁵⁹ John ?H. Parkhurst night engineer Clarks printing—Treasury / [1868 June 19]^{59a} William Sydnor,⁶⁰ driver car boy on Pittsburgh's car 7th st / Dick Smith⁶¹—driver 14th st. blonde / John Ferguson driver 14th st—tall & slender / James Amos aged 17 young Maryland man conductor 7th st March '69⁶² / S. Wolf 531 H. bet 6 & 7. / Mr. De. Janviers⁶³ 290 G. next to Dr. Hall's church [1225V] James[?] Speed,⁶⁴ Louisville, Ky / James Curphey⁶⁵ Nov. 10. 1866 Banker, No 1. Pine st. N. Y. 2d letter,—March 30 '67—Ans. immediately & order copy (book rec'd April 8th '67) / E. H. Minot Pulaski, Oswego co. N. Y. Nov. 15 / Arnold Tanzer⁶⁶ Box 1156 N. Y. city / Walter W. Reynolds care C. F. Fairfield p.o. box 302 Minneapolis Minn⁶⁷ B. Conant⁶⁸ 25 Stuyvesant st. N. Y. Nov. 20. / H. J. Raymond.⁶⁹ / Bayard Taylor⁷⁰ Kennett Square, Penn. Nov 18 [1226R]⁷¹ rascal [1227R; ⁷² 1226V blank] Mr. Grosh⁷³ 203 B'dway foreman Record office speaks of a N. Y. Weekly ("?'s Weekly" advertising sheet that keeps the run of me) Pub firm on 7th st. Bibles [1228R; ⁷⁴ 1227V blank] G. Frank E. Pearsall⁷⁵ 298 Fulton st Brooklyn / G.

56. In NY directory 1866–1867 as a secretary at this address.

57. Clipped letterhead of office of Superintendent of Public Schools, Washington. Name inscribed in red ink.

58. White wove, 5" x 3¾".

59. Date to left of a brace.

59a. Ditto marks on MS.

60. A Washington driver. WW mentions his illness in a letter to Lewis Wraymond from NY, October, 1868 (*Corr.*, II, 53–54).

61. A driver of this name in Washington directory, 1870, 1871. A driver of this name in NY directory 1866. WW was not in NY in June, 1868.

62. Entry in pencil.

63. A Francis De H. Janvier of this address is listed as a clerk in Washington directories 1867–1869. A De Hayes Janvier is mentioned in 1888 (Traubel, I, 465).

64. Possibly James Speed, Attorney General, 1864–1866, who appointed WW to his department after he was dismissed from the Department of the Interior.

65. In NY directory 1866–1867.

66. An Arnold Tanzer is listed as a clerk in NY directories between 1867 and 1875.

67. Entry written upside down. See 844.

68. A Clarence Conant is listed as a physician at this address in NY directory, 1873–1874.

69. Possibly Henry J. Raymond (1820–1869), politician and founder of the *N.Y. Times*, who had been sympathetic to WW (*Corr.*, I, 299n, 300n, 303, 324, 341; III, 320; Traubel, I, 397; II, 42; III, 77, 521).

70. Perhaps a record of Taylor's projected meeting with WW. *ISL*, 215n.

71. Small clipped letterhead or return address in black ink: "Thomas O'Kane, Publisher, 130 Nassau St., New York." Original name obliterated and "Thomas O'Kane" in red ink. "rascal" in black ink. O'Kane was one of a number of distributors with whom WW had unfortunate experiences in the 1870s. See *Corr.*, II, 244, 264, 273, 275, 294, 345n, 363.

72. White wove, 3½" x 2", blue rules ½" apart, recto and verso, written in black pencil.

73. Originally Grosch. WW struck out the "c". It is doubtful that he was related to Mrs. Grosh, who was a Philadelphian (see "Mrs Grosh"). The "advertising sheet" has not been identified.

74. White wove, approx. 4⅞" x 4"; blue rules ½" on verso.

75. A photographer in Brooklyn, first listed in directory at this address in 1872. WW wrote him at this address June 15, 1876 (*Corr.*, III, 49–50).

Dudley Wells.⁷⁶ 18 Dutch st cor. Fulton N. Y. city / Alf. R. Thornett,⁷⁷ Obs. Sig. Serv. U. S. A. Mt. Washington, N. H. / Wm. Hamilton⁷⁸ Armstrong, 1205 F. st. /⁷⁹ Dr. Adolf Silverstein "hungarische lloyd" / Charles Vadnay, editor "Fovarosi Lapak" newspaper Pesth, Hungary. / Editor of "The Hon" Pesth, Hungary [1228V] Wm Raines, policeman I meet at restaurant / Emmet Robinson cond. No 8⁸⁰ from Charlottesville Albemarle co. Va Sept. '72 / Mr. Ambler, M. st. Sept. 1872 / C. Edw'd Stevens—young man 20—red hair one I lent "Poliuto"⁸¹ to / Prof. W. D. Whitney⁸² Yale College New Haven, Conn / Erskine Branch.⁸³ 1019 4½ st. / A. F. Boyle p.o. box 121 Washington DC / Wm Martin, Treas watch basement—day / Fred Hymer, hill boy Treas / [1229R]⁸⁴ Robert S. Hale, Elizabethtown, Essex co. N. Y. Land on Lake Champlain at Westpoint, 2d landing south of Burlington lives 9 miles from Landing / Wm & Margaret Avery⁸⁵ 109 Nevins st. Brooklyn N. Y. Sarah John Avery⁸⁶ 152 Henry st.⁸⁷ / Wm Denny, (both arms off) night watch, Treas. / Alfred Webb,⁸⁸ 74 Middle Abbey st Dublin, Ireland / Kate Hillard⁸⁹ 186 Remson st Brooklyn / May & Frank Baker 142 C st. n. e. Washington [1229V] O'Connors 1015 O street N. W.⁹⁰ No. of Freedman's Bank Book 14602⁹¹ College Courant—New Haven Con/ Brooklyn Savings Bank⁹²

76. Listed as "types" at this address in NY directory, 1869.

77. See *Corr.*, II, 115n, and "Addresses." A friend of Pete Doyle.

78. WW wrote a lost letter to a William Hamilton, June 15, 1880 (*Corr.*, III, 434).

79. In another hand, deleted: "Paul Liptay Buda [*ins.*] Pest, 17 Kalap utcza (Hungary)" In WW's hand, deleted in blue crayon below: "43 Rivington st N 1014 E st bet. 10 and 11—" In WW's hand in red ink, deleted in blue crayon: "24 Wasagasse III Stock No. 17 Vienna Austria" to the right of the deleted "Liptay Buda". Lipstay (not "Liptay") was a correspondent for Hungarian papers. In 1874 WW arranged to have U. S. tax reports sent to him at a different address in NY. In August, 1876, he visited WW in Camden (*Corr.*, II, 315), and WW pasted his card in his "Daybook" [28]. Probably the intermediary through whom LG was noted in Hungary. W. S. Kennedy (*The Fight of a Book for the World*, 45) records a notice in *Fővárosilapok* (probably the "Fovarosi Lapak" below), May 14, 1872. In "Is Walt Whitman's Poetry Poetical?" (1874), WW boasted of a "rendering in Hungarian." See 1872 entry, [1263V]n.

80. Deleted: [*illeg.*]. Inserted: "Charlottesville" above "from" and "Albemarle"

81. Probably the opera by Gaetano Donizetti (1798–1848). In 1895 Doyle said that he and WW had attended a performance of "Polyato" together on a visit together (otherwise unnoted) to New York before Mrs. W's death (*Calamus, CW*, VIII, 10).

82. (1827–1897), Professor of Sanskrit at Yale.

83. See "from Hooker's command." Branch is also mentioned in "Addresses" with address at Saratoga Springs, in a context of 1869 entries.

84. White wove, 4⅞" x 4". Blue rules ½" apart, recto and verso. Verso has rules only on left one-third.

85. Cousins of Mrs. W (*Corr.*, II, 188n, "Rossetti").

86. Cousins of Mrs. W (*Corr.*, II, 215n).

87. Deleted: [*illeg.*] under "Brooklyn"

88. Webb ordered books from WW February 18, 1876 (*Corr.*, III, 440). See also "Rossetti."

89. (1839?–1915), a woman of letters and admirer of WW. First listed at this address in Brooklyn directory 1871–1872. She was a friend of the Prices, but WW did not meet her until 1876 (*Corr.*, III, 24–25). See below and *Corr.*, II, 224, 241; III, 26, 32, 114, 117, 119, 125, 128, 146, 432. See "Daybook," [5], *DN*, I, 6.

90. Entry in black pencil.

91. Entry in red ink.

92. In his will of 1872 (q.v.) WW estimated he had \$1000–\$1100 in the bank; in 1873 about \$1500; in 1880 about \$3000.

book 101,398⁹³ / As a strong bird 6¾ oz (8 cts⁹⁴ / Dem. Vistas. (pamphlet form 4½ oz 3 cts / John Burroughs Wallkill Br. Middletown N. Y. / Esopus, Ulster Co. N. Y. care of M Deyo⁹⁵ / C. J. Towner⁹⁶ 300 East Capitol st. Washington/ Mr. Carse, 814 S. 4th st. Camden [1230R]⁹⁷ *Denmark* Copenhagen [:]⁹⁸ Letters—9 and 7 cts Books, via Bremen or Hamburg. 8 cts—4 oz newspapers, via Bre. or Hambugh. 4 cts Norway & Sweden [:] letters *10 cts papers 4 Austria [:] Letters 6 and 7 cts prepayment optional Books 8 or 6 cts every 4 oz Newspapers—3 & 4 cts⁹⁹ Chas P. Somerby,¹ 139 Eighth st. New York [1230V] *Camden* Wm M Cauley, boy that brings Tribune / John B. Ward—21, blacksmith no father, mother married again— / Tom Eastlake, left hand off. James McLaughlin. cor. Morris & Henry. / David Fender—redhaired young man² / W. W. Bozorth, 921 Broadway, next to Church. Spruce st (carpenter)³ / Mrs. Sarah Siter 311 N. 41st st. / Bird L. Baldwin Marshaltown Chester co. Pa. /⁴ Dr. J. M. Ridge,⁵ S. A. 304 Mickle st. / Lucien Ware. 418 S. 3d Camden [1230aR]⁶ Lydia Hamilton, the col. woman 231 Spruce st. S. Camden [1231R; ⁷ 1230bR; ⁸ 1230aV⁹] Sam'l Cahall—driver 80 Wm. Roberts,¹⁰ conductor 80 Charley Warren McGinley, driver 106 [1232R; ¹¹ 1231V *blank*; 1231 a b c R&V¹²] Johnston 434 Penn n 5th¹³ 727 Sansom / Scribner 654 [1233R; ¹⁴ 1232 *blank*] & Co Broadway [1233V] Fred. B. Vaughan¹⁵

93. Entry in red ink.

94. Probably postage. "As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free" was published in 1872.

95. Burroughs bought land on the Hudson "about 80 miles from N. Y. and is building" (*Corr.*, II, 242–245 [October 12, 1873]).

96. A clerk in the Treasury Department (*Corr.*, II, 233, 243, 245, 260).

97. White wove, 4⅞" x 3⅞." WW was probably sending material to Schmidt ([1218V]).

98. Brace. The names of countries and cities are to the left of the braces. The postal information is to the right.

99. A clipping [1230c] announcing that Montgomery Schuyler had been appointed managing editor of the *New York World*. (See "Addresses"; *Corr.*, III, 110, 452.)

1. Another of WW's distributors. See *Corr.*, III, 42.

2. In black pencil.

3. Pasted-on clipping announcing services at the Scandinavian Lutheran Church of Camden.

4. Pasted-on clipping announcing services at the Swedish Lutheran Church (Gloria Dei) in Philadelphia.

5. Not listed in Camden directory, 1885. S. A. Ridge, pharmacist, at same address.

6. White wove, 3¾" x 3¾", trimmed inscription at left.

7. Irregular scrap; black pencil.

8. Pasted on [1230Ra], return address on yellow wove paper: "In Five days, return to Dr. C. H. Bruton, no. 124 Vine Street Philadelphia."

9. In another hand in pencil: "Mr. Whitman Please send [*illeg.*, *trimmed at right*] Bourgeois Copy. Also [*trimmed*] send the number [*trimmed at right and bottom*]"

10. A driver, NY directory, 1870–1871. A Charles McGinley is listed as a car man in NY directories, 1866 to 1870.

11. Irregular white wove scrap.

12. Three very small scraps with fragments of letterheads (?) on recto. On verso of [1230 b and c], fragmentary words in another hand.

13. In black pencil; "t" in name inserted in ink.

14. Printed announcement of new address of A. Heineman & Co., 5" x 3¾".

15. In Brooklyn directory for 1870–1871 Vaughan is listed as a carpenter. He is not in directories for 1871 to 1873. See [1258V] below and "Epictetus." Leviness & Weber are not listed at all.

care Leviness & Weber 164 Fulton st. Brooklyn [1233Va]¹⁶ agents for all English Magazines & papers Tice & Lynch 34 Pine st. N. Y. [1233V] Mrs. Maria Smith, Bethuel Smith¹⁷ Glen's Falls. Warren co. N. Y. / James Murphy, Camden, of W. W. club.¹⁸ with the programmes / W. W. Nevins, Editor in Charge Press cor 7th & Chestnut / Pendleton, photo, 1164 Broadway / Mrs. Vangezell¹⁹—Annie Johnny's twin bro. Ben. / Driver Market st. extra—Chas Cooper [Driver] formerly Fulton av.—Wm Dougerty, / Capen, phrenol. 922 Chestnut / Sam'l H. Radford Tom. Norris at Mr. Hickman's 4118 Haverford st. / Camden ferry night pilot—Aleck Olive²⁰ Eng. Phil—Richard Davids [1234R]²¹ visit of Big Frank,²² N. Y & Dave Stevens²³ of Wash. Sept. 7, '74 / Frank & Dave are both driving on 2d & 3d st Phil / Al Roby, (the one who was sick) is on 5th & 6th st. / Harry Parmenter is at ? the end of the route—(inquire where) / Cale Brundage²⁴ is living— / Big Frank's story of his sickness. very serious—typhoid fever—crazy 2 months—hair all come out—Episcopal Hospital—Ph first rate Place also N. E. Cor 10th & Market²⁵ [1234V]²⁶ John Newton Johnson²⁷ either Guntersville Marshall co Ala or Meltonsville—Ala Oct. '74²⁸ J. H. Johnston,²⁹ jeweler 150 Bowery, cor Broome 113 E. 10th st. [1235R³⁰] Call'd. Feb. 28./'76 (saw Kate Hillard same³¹ / Johnson

16. Pasted-on scrap.

17. One of WW's soldiers. See "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz," *Corr.*, I, 149–150. In December, 1874, WW received a letter from Mrs. Smith about her son's financial problems (*Corr.*, III, 318–319).

18. See *Corr.*, II, 338n for a club in 1875 and *Corr.*, III, 21n for reference to a Walt Whitman Debating Club. WW always encouraged his young friends to improve themselves and no doubt encouraged formation of a debating club, such as he had belonged to in 1837 and 1838 at Smithtown, L. I., by the young printers at the Camden *New Republic*. "Daybook" [75] mentions the club in 1876 and 1881 (*DN*, I, 60, 230).

19. See below [1234Vn].

20. Possibly the Captain Olive mentioned in "Scenes on Ferry and River—Last Winter's Nights," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 183.

21. White wove, 5" x 3¾".

22. An old acquaintance. See "Omnibus Jaunts and Drivers," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 19.

23. A driver (*Corr.*, II, 52, 57, 58, and "Addresses").

24. A NY driver. His name disappears from the NY directory after 1869–70.

25. Preceding six words in black pencil. [1234a], a pasted-on clipping advertising canned fish and fruit from California.

26. Scraps and clippings pasted on. [1234b]: in another hand: "sarah's address is 152 Henry St" ; [1234c]: advertisement of photographer who copies old pictures; on right margin in another hand: "Edward Carpenter". Edward Carpenter, the English social thinker, had read Rossetti's *Selections* in 1868 or 1869 and opened a correspondence with WW in 1876. He did not visit WW until 1877. The writing cannot be identified.

27. An eccentric and amusing admirer, who first wrote WW in September, 1874 (*Corr.*, II, 324n). Mentioned also in "G W Childs."

28. Pasted-on: [1234d]: calling card of A. V. Swearingen, Driver; [1234e]: calling card of John Vangesell, Driver (see [1233V]). [1234b] is lacking.

29. Whitman usually stayed with the Johnstons when he visited NY during his Camden years.

30. White wove, 3¹¹/₁₆" x 3¾".

31. Entry in black ink. See [1229R]. In another hand in pencil: "Tyndale, 1021 Clinton St Phila bet Spruce & Pine up Market to 10th/" . On February 24 and 29, 1876, WW wrote Mrs. O'Connor that he was going to call on Miss Hillard, who was visiting in Philadelphia, and also on his friend Hector Tyndale who lived nearby (*Corr.*, III, 24–26). For Tyndale see "Feb. 25th '57" and [1259V].

727 Sansom³² [*I236V*; ³³ *I235V and I236R blank*] *Herbert Aldrich* Camden, Feb. '76 [*illeg.*] children—born in N. Y. Otsego co—father dead cons. of bowels—sister's sickness & death from swallowing the plum-pit—averages about \$7 a week—338 or '28 [*illeg.*] st. Clarence Whittaker³⁴ lives with his parents in Market st. (Harry twin bro) Harry Stafford³⁵ New Rep. printing office March '76 visit Kirkwood (White Horse) April 1. '76 [*I237R*]³⁶ *Drivers* John Kearney; 22 yrs—Haddington³⁷—extra—Oct. 25. '75 on 20 car / Andrew Sweetin,³⁸ Expressman Camden, 30 yrs. blonde/³⁹ [*I237V*] Robt Moore, 21 or 2 yrs. printer friend of Johnny J. (Camden Nov. '75 / Wm Chevalier, printer Camden, '75/[*I237b*]⁴⁰ W J. Linton Box 489 New Haven [*I238R*]⁴¹ Ray Palmer Eaton Bath, Maine was in 32d Maine / Judge⁴² Geo. S. Bryan, Charleston, S.C.[?] Amer. News Company, 121 Nassau st. / Col. Stancel 76 Missouri av. / Thos. Woodworth, Farmer Village Seneca co. N. Y. / Chas. Shambaugh Cavettsville p.o. Westmoreland co. Penn / old soldier, died of consumption Joseph McManus. friend, James McGlenn Elmer, Canada east / Byron Sutherland⁴³ State Normal School,⁴⁴ Erie co. Edinboro[?] Penn. Oct. 1868 [*illeg.*] [*I238V*] James Gray⁴⁵ Bookbinder 16 Spruce st. / S. S. Bryant, Int Revenue. Ap. 18, '67—395 12th st / M. Doolady⁴⁶ 448 Broome st. N. Y. Jesse Whitman⁴⁷ Died march 21, 1870 Martha's⁴⁸ [*illeg.*] home (the corner)

32. Entry in black pencil. In 1875 Philadelphia directory only: Hugh Johnson, mechanic. Not in 1876, 1877, 1878. See [*I232R*] above.

33. White wove, 3¹¹/₁₆" x 3¹/₄". Cancelled vertically.

34. WW wrote him from St. Louis on November 1, 1879 ("Kansas & Colorado Trip" and "G W Childs").

35. See "Harry L Stafford." The reference is to WW's first long stay at the Stafford farm.

36. Faded yellow wove, 5" x 3¹/₄".

37. Presumably the community now absorbed into Camden.

38. Name and address also noted on scrap used for word-study notes ("deathsman executioner") with additional information that he lived at 3907 Haverford, which appears to be a Philadelphia address.

39. A pasted-on clipping advertising printing and lithography.

40. Inscribed in black ink, box numbers in purple ink. Pasted-on white scrap. Linton (1812–1897), who was born in England and came to US in 1866, was one of the masters of reproductive wood-engraving at the end of the nineteenth century and an authority on its history and practice. Published *Poetry of America*, 1776–1876 (London, 1878), with eight poems and an engraving of WW from a Washington photograph (1871?) by George C. Potter. The engraving also appears in *LG* 1876, *CPP* (1888), and *CW* II, facing 156. Linton met WW in Washington and visited him in Camden, perhaps about this time, when WW was preparing *LG* 1876. See [*I219V*] above; "Addresses"; *Corr.*, II, III, IV, passim; Traubel, I, II, V passim.

41. White wove, 4⁷/₈" x 3³/₈". Upper and lower right corners and right edge tattered. Illegible inscription in red ink cut off at bottom.

42. Inserted above "Geo."

43. A soldier whom WW had met in 1865. See *Corr.*, I, 266–267, 268–269, 377; II, 44–45, 95, 238, 366, 367, 368; and [*I259R*], below.

44. Deleted: "Corry"

45. In NY. In 1867 he was custodian and binder of the sheets of *LG* (1867?) (*Corr.*, I, 344).

46. A NY bookseller and publisher who distributed *LG* for a time. See *Corr.*, I, 344, 349, II, 294, and "Addresses."

47. Jeff's wife. She died of tuberculosis in St. Louis in 1873.

48. (1818–1870), the oldest of the family, died in Kings County (NY) Lunatic Asylum, where he had been confined since December 4, 1864. As he always had in family matters, WW accepted the responsibilities involved.

May 1872 visited Hannah⁴⁹ at Burlington last of June, 1872.⁵⁰ Dartmouth Col. piece⁵¹ June 1872. [1239R]⁵² Hiram J. Ramsdell⁵³ New [illeg.] Pen[?] / Manville Winterstein⁵⁴ co K 6th Ohio cav. father Caleb Winterstein⁵⁵ Hampden. Geauga co Ohio / Charles H. Philbrick Griggsville Pike co. Illinois / Benj. Knowler.⁵⁶ 105 Reade st. N. Y. / J. T. Trowbridge,⁵⁷ office of Our Young Folks 134 Tremont st. Arlington. Mass / Dec. 15—1866 Wm Rackliffe,⁵⁸ died in Post Hospital[?] K st buried in National Cemetery, Arlington[?] brother, Ezekiel Rackliffe, Rockland, Maine. [1239V] Charles Hine⁵⁹ 22 Nash st. New Haven [1240R]⁶⁰ Charles Marchand, Alliance Ohio. fo (foundry) Sam'l⁶¹ Loag,⁶² printer, 7th & Sansom [1240V] U. M. Fisk, Galen, Stone Co. Mo. (sent for inf. L. of G.) March. 75 [1241R]⁶³ Edward Whitman⁶⁴ Argus printing office Towanda, Pa [1242R;⁶⁵ 1241V blank] Camden, May 20. '75 Elijah Jeffers, (or Jeffries) boy of 14, Stevens st. cor 4th convey'd me home from car / Al Roby, 19 car 5th & 6th married—fat & hearty afterward paralyzed—died—curious case / Jim Ireland, 30 car. 10th &

49. Hannah Louisa (1823–1908), WW's neurotic but favorite sister, who was living in mutual unhappiness in Burlington, Vt., with an artist, Charles Heyde, whom she had married in 1862. WW had visited her while on his trip to Dartmouth.

50. Preceding twenty words in red ink.

51. WW read "As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free" at the Dartmouth College commencement, June 26, 1872.

52. White wove, 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Upper and lower right corners and right edge tattered.

53. Deleted: "on Tribune." Probably Hiram J. Ramsdell, a government clerk and newspaper correspondent whom WW had known in Washington (*Corr.*, I, 329n, 370, 378; *WWR* 10 (1964), 97–98). The right edge of the leaf is tattered; the address seems to be in Pennsylvania. See "Hospital Notebook" and "Addresses."

54. One of WW's soldiers. See "in Armory."

55. Deleted: "Montvill" ; inserted below: "Hampden"

56. A clerk, and by this time a merchant. One of WW's Pfaffian friends of the early 1860s. See "a m Dr. L B Russell" and "Mrs H. J. Wright."

57. Deleted: [illeg.] "Somerville" following "Young Folks" ; inserted: "Arlington" following "Trowbridge" "office of Our Young Folks" (1847–1916). Novelist, poet and author of children's stories. See "Baily D Damon."

58. A soldier. See *Corr.*, I, 194, 302.

59. (1827–1871), the painter of the portrait in *LG* 1860. In black pencil. In black pencil, deleted in black ink: "806 Broadway (room 7) N Y City" Since WW visited him in New Haven before his death, this entry must be earlier than 1871. See [1251V] "Addresses" "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz," "Will, May 15," *Corr.*, I, 371; II, 30, 130, 131, 366. Deleted: "806 Broadway (room 7.) New York City"

60. Written sideways on scrap of letterhead of Dr. Charles H. Thomas 108 North Twelfth St. Letterhead deleted in red crayon.

61. Deleted: "Logue"

62. A Philadelphia printer, friend of WW's NY jeweller friend. J. H. Johnston. See *Corr.*, III, 68; Traubel, IV, 368.

63. White wove, $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

64. WW's youngest brother (1842–1892), feeble-minded. He had come to Camden with his mother, but after her death in 1873 was probably too great a burden for George and his wife, who were also nursing WW. Towanda is a small town near the NY border. Ed was afterwards settled on a farm in NJ. WW again assumed at least partial responsibility for him ("Received November 5, 1886") and made him residuary legatee in his will of 1888.

65. White wove, 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 3".

11th⁶⁶ [1243R; ⁶⁷ 1242V blank] Mrs. E. A. Shaner Larmier Station Westmoreland co Penn [1245R]⁶⁸ card board [1246R; ⁶⁹ 1245V blank; 1243V blank, 1244R⁷⁰] Summer '75⁷¹ Wm Hutchinsom (i.e. "John Sands") journalist &c. Trenton, evening at W. Jersey Hotel with J. M. S. / Ben Kellam tells me of a man named Brooks, a blacksmith in Camden—quite a reader, &c "wanderer" wants to get acquainted—works at Caffray's carriage factory / man on Pa. RR. boards at Mrs. Siter's Wm Riley / Geo. C. Potter 1220 Cherry st. Phil / Ed: Einstein⁷² Union League Club, N. Y.[?]⁷³ / [1246V] E C Stedman⁷⁴ 80 Broadway N. Y. March 18. '76⁷⁵ / Thos B Freeman⁷⁶ Sloan's Station Jefferson co Ohio (father, Wm Freeman) / Jesse E Baker Bower's Hill Norfolk Co Va. "Old Dominion Burgundy" / Illman Bros Eng Printers 605 Arch st Phil / M A Sevelle Watches—Pawnbroker 2140 north Front Ph[?] [1247R]⁷⁷ Jan '75 Edward Godfrey, machinist—Leesburgh N. J. cousin of Lou's⁷⁸ (her mother was a Godfrey)⁷⁹ Wm. Stansbery⁸⁰ Howard Lake, Wright Co. Minn / Wm H. Millis. Jr.⁸¹ Dover, Kent co. Del. / Joe's⁸² mother Mrs. Eliza C. Baldwin Louella, p.o. Delaware co Penn sister Charlotte / Wm Ingram 31 N.2d st Phil⁸³ / Herman Rosade W. W. Club.⁸⁴ / Mr.

66. Deleted: "(or 11th & 12th)"

67. White wove, 1½" x 3½".

68. White wove, 1¾" x 5". In black pencil in another hand: "A. M. Collins Sons & Co 18 S 6th St" . WW's endorsement in black pencil.

69. Light blue wove, 5⅞" x 3¼".

70. Printed notice, 1½" x 3⅞", that Dr. Charles H. Thomas has removed to 41 North Twelfth Street (Philadelphia).

71. Deleted: "John" ; inserted above: "Wm" Hutchinson was a Philadelphia journalist who in 1882 wrote a laudatory article on WW for a Sunday paper. "J. M. S." is probably James Matlack Scovel, a Camden lawyer and at one time co-publisher of the Camden *New Republic*.

72. A friend from Pfaffian days in NY. In 1875 he wrote from this address generously and tactfully offering financial help. WW declined.

73. Deleted in blue crayon: "Jeanette L. Gilder, 77 Brunswick st Newark, N. J." Gilder (1849–1916) was at this time a literary correspondent and columnist for various journals. In 1881 she and her brother founded the *Critic*, a journal which was friendly to WW.

74. Poet (1833–1908). WW misspelled his name, but deleted the erroneous "a" . A few years later he became a warm but qualified admirer of WW. See "Addresses."

75. Next entry is a printed card [1246a] of J. B. Harrison, Box 168, Vineland, NJ.

76. There was an exchange of letters in 1877, apparently about the purchase of a book (*Corr.*, III, 431, 441, 442).

77. White wove, 5¼" x 3⅞".

78. Probably his sister-in-law, Louisa.

79. Preceding entry in black pencil.

80. A former soldier. There was an exchange of letters in 1874 and 1875 at the end of which Stansberry (WW misspelled the name) asked for a loan of \$65 (*Corr.*, II, 298–299n). Stansberry is mentioned in "Typical Soldiers," *SD, Prose* 92, I, lll.

81. A former soldier from Delaware. WW and Millis wrote occasionally from 1865 to 1881. There were exchanges in February and September, 1875 (*Corr.*, I, 12, 367, 375, 376; II, 363, 364, 365, 371, 372, 373; III, 436). He is also mentioned in "Hospital book 12" Deleted: [illeg.] above "Dover"

82. Possibly the Joseph C. Baldwin with whom WW corresponded in 1877. *Corr.*, III, 431, 432, 435, 442.

83. See [1221V].

84. Walt Whitman Club? See above, [1233V].

Levi, bookseller 339 Chestnut [1247V] Camden Eugene Crosby,⁸⁵ Ass't night pilot ferry/ John Yeatts—Amos Troth / Dick Durell, 2d st. cond. & driver / Fillmore Williams, Wm Williams [:] livery stable 5th n. Federal. from down in N. J. / Mrs. W. R. Johnson, the elder has the pull Miss Donaldson⁸⁶—"Aunt Mary" / Camden. on the ferry, Fred. Boemann,⁸⁷ age 18 or 19, app. to safe-making Sep't. '75 / J. Miller, Barnum's Hotel[?] [illeg.] cor Broadway & 10th N. Y.[?] / Frank Baker, 142 C st. N. E. Wash⁸⁸/ Chas G. Whiting Springfield Republican / G. Leaf (Adams Express office) [illeg.]⁸⁹ [1248R]⁹⁰ Peter George Doyle⁹¹ (M st. south—bet 4½ and 6th) born in or near Limerick⁹² Ireland June 3, 1845 36⁹³ (was 16 when the war broke out) came to America aged nearly 8⁹⁴ in March 1853 The heavy storm & danger Good Friday night—1853—almost a wreck—the experience in the war—prison—escaping⁹⁵ / S. A. Schoff,⁹⁶ p.o. box 270, Washington, D. C. / boy 11 or 12 in Evans's Restaurant Gus Julian works on 7th st / Fred Stewart, the engineer on ship Tom [Stewart,] in Register's office [1248V] Robert Beall⁹⁷ at Morrison's 475 Penn av. / Philp & Solomon's⁹⁸ 332 Penn av. (910) / Mr. Falls⁹⁹ 951 Mass av. n. e. cor. 10th st. / Mrs. May¹ 708 13th st. near G. / Indians Col. Dowling² Chief Cherokees tall one Mr. Long. / Eugene Burdine young man 19 or 20, works in printer, Treasury, lives on Capitol Hill[?] / Frank

85. Helped WW to board Camden ferries. ("Scenes on Ferry and River—Last Winter's Nights," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 183.) WW wrote him letters (unrecorded) from Kansas or Colorado in 1879 and from Canada in 1880 ("G W Childs," "Wm J Gurd," Traubel, V, 7).

86. Although not separated by a line, this name is not connected visually with that of the elder Mrs. Johnson of the "pull." WW sent greetings to a Miss Donaldson in Washington via Ellen O'Connor, February 24, 1876 (*Corr.*, III, 25).

87. WW wrote a macron over the "o" as if to indicate a disyllabic pronunciation.

88. WW's visit to Washington in November 1875 may be thought to account for the reappearance of Washington references, but note that a number of them bear dates between 1870 and 1872.

89. Bottom edge of leaf tattered.

90. White wove, 5" x 3⅞".

91. Almost the only source of biographical information about Doyle, one of the most significant figures in WW's middle life, in WW's MS. See "Epictetus."

92. Preceding three words in faded ink inserted on two lines in space between "in" and "Ireland"

93. Number circled; "6" is in faded ink.

94. Preceding three words in faded ink in small hand between lines.

95. Preceding eight words in faded ink in small hand.

96. An engraver of this name in Washington directory, 1870. He apparently moved to NY. See [1251R], [1258V].

97. Clerk for W. H. and O. H. Morrison, booksellers in Washington. Listed as a clerk in Washington directories 1866–1870. In 1873 he appears as bookseller.

98. A Washington stationery and book store. See "Addresses." Reversed writing on Murdock and Harbaugh entries is blotted from [1248V].

99. Alex J. Falls, clerk in Interior Department in 1866, 1867 and chief clerk in Department of Justice between 1871 and 1874.

1. A Mattie May, widow of Edward May, is listed at this address in 1872, 1873 and 1874 only. He is listed as a carpenter in 1871.

2. Lewis Downing signed a treaty as Chief of Cherokees April 27, 1868 (Charles J. Kappler comp., *Indian Treaties, 1778–1883* [NY, 1972], 996). See [1252R]. WW misunderstood the name.

Howard boy that asked for [*illeg.*] cts to get his mother some meal [1249R]³ Baalam Murdock⁴ cond.—No. 12—(March 1870) / Marylander by birth—parents neither living—half-brothers only /—went to school several years but with little profit⁵ / Lewellyn Harbaugh⁶ driver No. 4. aged about 25, was in the rebel army all through the war—was a cadet at Lexington Va. (aged 16) mother, brother &c. here (is of German or Swiss stock) / Tom Riley, boy of 14 Irish at Shillingtons⁷ / Lieut. Mews, marine corps tall, slender.—comes in to see Blakie / Henry W. Gray,⁸ printer M st. 4 or 5 doors above us. [1249V]⁹ Mrs. Huntington Congress street / John Flood¹⁰ 50 Gouverneur st. n. y. / negative of Seybold's photo—N. E. Bates, care of J. S. Topham.¹¹ 500 7th street, Wash'tn D C / S. R. Wells,¹² Ed'r Phreno. Journal. 389 Broadway, N. Y died April '75 / Old and New, pub'r H. O. Houghton, 135 Washington st. Boston, Mass / Lot at Navy Yard—On K st. Navy Yard. near 11th st. Galligan & Townsend,¹³ agt's 516 7th bet D & E. [1250R]¹⁴ N. Y. Sept. 1870¹⁵ / Burr C. Hosmer.¹⁶ care of F. H. Massa, Pierrepont stores Brooklyn, N. Y. / *Daniel Strain*¹⁷ 500 7th av. cor 37th st. New York City George Storms,¹⁸ Pete Calhoun¹⁹ Wm Swanton Tippy Hoyt.²⁰ / Herman Storms²¹ Passack Bergen co. New Jersey "Hop" & John "Hop"²² Walter & Garry visited me

3. White wove, 4¾" x 3⅞". Reversed writing on Baalam Murdock entry blotted from [1248V].

4. A Washington conductor. WW sent him greetings through Doyle on September 23, 1870 (*Corr.*, II, 113).

5. Deleted: WW's first attempt to spell "Lewellyn"

6. L. L. Harbaugh, conductor, listed in Washington directory for 1870 only.

7. A bookstore.

8. A printer of this name at various locations on M St. in Washington directories from 1867 to 1872.

9. Deleted: "Mr. &" William S. Huntington, a bank cashier on Congress St. in Washington directories, 1870–1872. They were friends of WW and the O'Connors (*Corr.*, II, 276, 304; II 25).

10. Possibly a NY driver, "Broadway Jack" (*Corr.*, II, 69, 74–75, 118–119; "memorials", "Addresses", but a John Flood, laborer, who may not be the same person, is listed at this address in 1867 and 1868.

11. Saddlery and trunks at this address in directories for 1867 through 1870.

12. The Wells of Fowler and Wells, the phrenologists, with whom WW was familiar in the 1850's, "publishers" of *LG* (1855), *LG* (1856). See Allen, 103, 149, 177–178.

13. See "Addresses." It may be that in the late 1860s WW thought of buying property in Washington.

14. White wove, 5" x 3¹⁵/₁₆".

15. Placed like a heading. WW had gone to NY on a two month's furlough at the end of July and returned to Washington at the end of October.

16. Residence at 209 Livingston, Brooklyn, in 1873 and 1874. A Ferdinand Massa is listed as a real estate agent, between 1867 and 1873. See [1262R].

17. A liquor merchant at this address, NY directory, 1869–1870.

18. A NY driver, father of Walt Whitman Storms, with whom WW corresponded in the 1870s. See *Corr.*, II, 363, 364, 371, 372, III, 431, 442, V, 215*n*; "return my book," "Jeff Mary Han"; "Omnibus Jaunts and Drivers" *SD, Prose* 92, I, 19.

19. A NY driver (*Corr.*, II, 57; "return my book").

20. Probably a NY driver ("Omnibus Jaunts and Drivers," *SD, Prose*, 92, I, 19.) Preceding four names in column.

21. See "return my book."

22. Preceding four words written at the upper right of the entry.

Sept 7 '76²³ / last maker, Johnston, 72 Gold st. upstairs / Hugo Fritschy Fritsch,²⁴ 29 Barclay papier mache / go & see Paymaster Cunningham, at Navy Yard (cousin of Mr. F[?]) [1250V] Chas Shanbaugh No 177 Grant st. Pittsburgh Penn²⁵ / Joseph Nolan²⁶ boy in plumber's under Gibson's / Wm. H. Colein,²⁷ engineer Treas. Building (took me around through the vaults, &c.) / Ed. Hamilton *very* black African cor 13th & av. / Jimmy, hill boy Treasury Feb. 1871 / Feb. '71 George Kaibler at Hull & Hume's²⁸ / John Hill,²⁹ night watchman Treas [1251R]³⁰ V. W. Horton³¹ at Gurney's, cor 5th av. & 16th st. 44 West Washington place / George & Lou 322³² Stevens st. (n. e. corner Stevens & West sts)³³ Camden N. J. I. W. Starr & Son's Foundry³⁴ / A. Brisbane,³⁵ 168 Fulton st. N. Y. at Farmwood, N. J. from foot of Liberty / Vinnie Ream³⁶ 726 Broadway. 2d floor / Schoff,³⁷ Continental Bank Note Co. cor Liberty & Greenwich Mr. Charlton /³⁸ W. H. Piper & Co.³⁹ 133 Washington st. Boston [1251V] James H. Hough carpenter shop. Walworth st. n. Willoughby av. Brooklyn. / Horace Carman, 59 5th av. July '71 / John Jansen, 114 4th av. "Andy Johnson" July '71 / Faris,⁴⁰ 543 Fulton av. / Charles Hine,⁴¹ 22 Nash st New Haven / F. S. Ellis⁴² pub. Swinburne, 33 King st. Covent Garden, London / Geo. Frs. Dawson, 31 Lafayette

23. Preceding eight words written in a loop at the left of "Paskack" and "Bergen co." Evidently written six years after the rest of the leaf.

24. An old Pfaffian friend. See "return my book."

25. Entry in black pencil.

26. Joseph Nolan does not appear in Washington directories until 1873 when he had achieved the dignity of "plumber."

27. Listed in 1874 directory only.

28. Grocers in directories for 1872 through 1874.

29. Various John Hills (middle initial varying) are listed as watchmen between 1866 and 1874.

30. White wove, 5" x 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ "; vertical blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart on recto only; 1" margin at left.

31. Gurney's was a photographic studio at 108 5th Avenue, NYC. See [1257R].

32. Deleted: "405"; inserted above: "322". George W was living at least part-time in Camden at the end of 1869. He married in 1871. The Brooklyn dirctory, 1870-1871, lists him as inspector, 101 N. Portland Ave. A letter from WW of March 1, 1873 gives George's address as Starr's Foundry (*Corr.*, II, 203). WW's first letter to Doyle from Camden, June 18, 1873, gives his address as 322 Stevens St. (*ibid.*, 222). This entry must therefore date before 1873.

33. Preceding seven words inscribed in a curved line at the upper right of the entry.

34. Foundry name inscribed at the lower left. George was an inspector of pipes.

35. Possibly the social theorist. See [1263V] below, "return my book"; Traubel, IV, 236-237; *NYD*, 129. He is not listed in NY directories for 1867 to 1875. Ferries for NJ left from Liberty St., NY.

36. Possibly Vinnie (Mrs. Hoxie) Ream (1847-1914), sculptor. Born Madison, Wisc., lived some years in Washington, and went to Italy in 1869 or 1870. Sculpted statue of Lincoln now in Capitol and of other political figures. Despite the NYC address here and on [1256R] she is not listed in NY directories after 1868.

37. Possibly the S. A. Schoff, engraver, of [1248R]. The address is in NYC. See [1258V].

38. Deleted: [*illeg.*] 2 lines above "W.H. Piper & Co."

39. A Boston firm which distributed WW's books (*Corr.*, II, 144, 263, 273).

40. Thomas Faris, photographer, 543 Fulton, Brooklyn directory, 1871-1872. See *Corr.*, II, 33.

41. See [1239V].

42. See [1218a].

Place, N. Y. / Dr. Geo. K. Smith 18 Clinton near Fulton st.⁴³ Brooklyn / Emerson Campbell cond. Myrtle av. aged 24—from Schoharie July '71. [1252R]⁴⁴ Col. Dowling⁴⁵ Gov. & chief Cherokee Nation / Mr. Long—tall part Indian. / ?Col. Ross (inquire) ?Miss Ross / Tasistro,⁴⁶ 1930 Ninth near U / A. Gardner⁴⁷ 921 Penn av. / Wm. Johnson, formerly 51st N. Y. Reg Vol. National Soldiers asylum Dayton, Ohio / Wm Vandermark⁴⁸ / "Victor"—young man in Ulke's carpenter Shop—J. G. Weaver⁴⁹ 605 G. near 6th upstairs [1252V] Austin Baldwin & Co. European Ex—72 Broadway N. Y.—H. Starr & co. 22 Moorgate st. London / Carboic Soaps Bowman & Belwett 52 Barclay st. N. Y. / Dion Thomas⁵⁰ 141 Fulton st. N. Y / G⁵¹ F. E. Pearsall. 298⁵² Fulton⁵³ Brooklyn / Albert Hall driver 60 5th av. March '72⁵⁴ [1253R]⁵⁵ 25 64x 31 26 32 27 \ 33 37x 28 34 29 38x 35 30 63x 36⁵⁶ A⁵⁷ Crawford Crook,⁵⁸ Alexandria boy / young man 19 or 20— in Entwistles drug store gray clothes / Prof. Wm. Swinton⁵⁹ University of California San Francisco Cal / Garaphelia Howard,⁶⁰ 821 21st st. bet H & I. / Allan H. Gangewer.⁶¹ [1253V] Alfred E. Pratt.⁶² Douglas Butler co. Kansas. / Col S. F. Tappan 136 8th st. near Broadway (Hurd & Houghton)⁶³ (Mr. Mott.) / Geo. Harding⁶⁴ 142 east 17th⁶⁵ / Drivers) 7th st. Thos Lynch, on with Wm Harding

43. Preceding three words inserted above "Fulton st."

44. White wove, 5" x 3¹⁵/₁₆".

45. See [1248V] above.

46. Louis F. Tasistro (1808–1875?) was a journalist and State Department translator. WW raised money for his benefit in 1872 (*Corr.*, II, 173–174, and *passim*). He is listed as "teacher" at this address in the 1872 Washington directory.

47. A Washington photographer. WW thought Gardner's photograph of him "the best picture of all" (Traubel, II, 131). He was at this address in 1871 and later.

48. A soldier friend. See "Wm E Vandermark."

49. An upholsterer of this name is listed at 603 G in Washington directories for 1871 and 1872.

50. NY bookseller, distributor of *LG* (*Corr.*, I, 337, 344).

51. "F. E." written over [*illeg.*]. "G" probably added at same time.

52. Written over "cor"

53. Deleted: "& Tillary" . "Brooklyn" probably added at the same time above "ary" in "[*del.*] Tillary"

54. Entry in black pencil.

55. White wove, 4⁷/₈" x 3⁷/₈".

56. Figures in column down left edge of leaf, separated from other entries by a vertical line.

57. Inserted: "A" above and before "Crawford"

58. Deleted: "Cook[?]" ; inserted above: "Crook"

59. See "Rambles Among Words." Swinton was professor at the University of California between 1869 and 1874.

60. A friend of Mrs. O'Connor. WW knew her well enough in 1874 to send her his picture in a newspaper through Mrs. O'Connor and refer to her as "Garry" (*Corr.*, II, 272, 276, 304). She was employed as a clerk in various government offices between 1866 and 1874 and is listed at this address between 1870 and 1873.

61. A government clerk. See "Addresses."

62. WW had nursed Pratt in 1865 and they corresponded until 1870 when Pratt moved to Kansas (*Corr.*, I, 263, 264, 286–287, 311, 333, 345; II, 82, 93). Since the context in this MS appears to be 1871 or 1872 there may be unknown letters, but he is not traceable.

63. Books, 459 Broome. The NYC branch of the Boston publisher.

64. Deleted: "130 Chambers st Chambers st House" ; inserted: "142 E. 17th" above "Chambers st"

medium sized young clean shaved / Av Wm Knott. large nose—33 with Ben Shanks / Young man got on car at bridge at night—Wm Smith friend of Jack Saunders. [1254R]⁶⁶ 811 E st. Duffy near post office / Bufford's Lith 201 Broadway /⁶⁷ New Eng. Lith / Mr. Farley, Am. News Co / Felt,⁶⁸ 455 Broome st / M. B.⁶⁹ Brady,⁷⁰ 785 Broadway cor 10th / green paper. Doty & McFarland⁷¹ 123 William / photo-printers Suddards & Fennimore 820 Arch st. Phila [1254V] Dr. Blankman. 351 West 85th st. bet. 8th & 9th av. N. Y. / Binding & Print Irish Odes. Catholic pub. Asso.⁷² Widdleton's—Essays of Elia Harpers—Handbook of travelers in East. Biblical Studies [:] Strahan London⁷³ / J. C. Sarmiento⁷⁴ 1322 F. bet 13th & 14th⁷⁵ / Frank Norton care Astor Library New York [1255R]⁷⁶ Trubner,⁷⁷ 57 and 59 Ludgate Hill London⁷⁸ / Arthur Henry 35 West 43d st. N. Y. / Wm E. Worthen⁷⁹ 63 Bleeker / "the end crowns the work" / mats,⁸⁰ Eyeglasses. J. Gall 21 Union Sq. Broadway, N. Y. / H. Clapp, jr.⁸¹ Phalanx. Red Bank, N. J. died N. Y. April, '75⁸² / A. F. Boyle, 70 Defrees st. [1255V] women's shoes Cummins, 932 7th st. store on 9th st. between F & G. / Dr. P. Croghan⁸³ 6th bet. H and I. west side / Mr & Mrs. Blood 1221 I. near Franklin Sq. / Douglass⁸⁴ new green house E. bet. 17 & 18th / John Korf, the older larger Wm [Korf,] smaller Brooklyn [:] 1st Auditors /⁸⁵ Joseph A. Velsor,⁸⁶ 98 John street,

65. From "Drivers" to end of leaf written in black pencil.

66. White wove, 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 4"; vertical blue rules $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart recto and verso.

67. Short dash in middle of leaf.

68. A bookseller. See "Addresses."

69. Initials inserted above and before "Brady"

70. Matthew B. Brady, the well-known photographer. See *Corr.*, II, 122, 304.

71. Manufacturers of boxes, trunks, and colored papers, 123 William, NY directory 1866–1867.

72. Short line from left under "Irish"

73. WW was obviously considering bindings and typefaces for a new LG, possibly for the 1876 edition. See [1257V].

74. Listed at this address in the Washington directory for 1870 as a photographer and at the same address in 1871, 1872, and 1874 with no occupation listed.

75. Deleted in black pencil: "M. B. Brady" See recto.

76. White wove, 5" x 3 $\frac{15}{16}$ "; vertical blue rules $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart recto and verso.

77. London publisher. Deleted: "8 and 60 Paternoster row" ; inserted on two lines: "57 and 59 Ludgate Hill" following "Trubner" and above "noster" in "Paternoster" and "row"

78. Deleted: "Benj. Weber" ; inserted above: "Arthur Henry." Henry was a driver. See "81 Clerman "

79. Engineer, NY directory, 1868–1869. See [1257R] below and "Addresses "

80. Deleted: "Pattberg 693 Broadway"

81. See "Addresses."

82. The note on Clapp's death is written in the upper right on two lines following "Clapp" and "Phalanx" and appears to be a later entry.

83. A physician and police surgeon of this name is listed at various addresses on 6th St. in Washington directories between 1866 and 1873.

84. A florist of this name on G St. in Washington directories, for 1869, and between 1871 and 1874; greenhouse on E St., 1873, 1874.

85. In black pencil, deleted in black pencil: "Warren Choate with Philp & Solomon." Philip and Solomon were Washington booksellers. See "Addresses."

86. Drugs, 98 John St. Booklyn, NY directory listed in the NY for 1868–1869. Probably a cousin. See *Corr.*, ante, "return my book," I, 280.

New York City [1256R]⁸⁷ E. M. Howell Hoffman House / Ophelia Lee / Edmund Burke, Seed room Agricultural Bureau / John A. Pierson⁸⁸ Hyattsville, Prince George co. Md. / Theodore young fellow, wood yard cor 14th & K / Anna E. McClure, Quincy Ill Mrs. S. H. Emery⁸⁹ Jr [:] ladies who bo't the photo & sent the liq[?].⁹⁰ Vinnie Ream⁹¹ 704 Broadway James Walker, 13th st. 1st door west of Broadway. [1256V] John A. Pierson, Hyattsville Prince George Co. Maryland.⁹² / John M. Rogers⁹³ Wood Mfg Co. office. 480 Broadway, New York City⁹⁴ / Geo Harding⁹⁵ 64 Bleecker near Crosby / Mr. Littlefield 89 High / A. J. Liebenau⁹⁶ cor 1st & 7th av. Brooklyn / Mr. & Mrs. Tappan 769 6th av. near 44th [1257R]⁹⁷ Brooklyn [:]⁹⁸ James Welb. cond. Myrtle av. large, fallow, lung cough⁹⁹ Fariss¹ 543 Fulton av. near Gold John Rome,² 334 Schermerhorn near Nevins / V. M W. Horton photo operator Gurneys.³ / Elliott Worth,⁴ Mitchell's planing factory 84th st. bet 3d and 4th av. N. Y. Wm. E Worthen⁵—63 Bleecker Mrs. Scott, 621 6th Av Fancy paper, (covers) Meyer 17 Beekman Patrick Dolan, policeman 6th ward Station Franklin st.⁶ E. B. Servoss⁷ 354—E. 121st st. Harlem, N. Y. [1256a]⁸ (April '75) *New Britain* Conn. letter April '75. Married—little boy namesake—affectionate letter—and sent paper (wrote July 14 '76) [1257V] May. '75—New Britain, Conn/ Sept. 21, 1870—Brooklyn—John Rodgers,⁹ conductor Myrtle av. Greenport Connecticut boy, blonde / Gov't. Bindery J. H. Roberts, foreman. D. H. Landwich, businessman / John Farnham Norris Cochran Jr. [:] brothers / Albert Daggett,¹⁰ 395 Canal st. N. Y. / Chas. W. Franklin, Washington

87. White wove, 4 15/16" x 3 5/8".

88. Possibly a photographer. Brooklyn directory, 1866–1867.

89. Deleted: "Emry" ; inserted above: "Emery" . See [1258R].

90. Succeeding entry in red ink.

91. See above [1251R].

92. Entry in red ink. See recto.

93. WW corresponded with a person of this name between 1871 and 1875 (*Corr.*, II, 362, 364, 368, 369, 372).

94. See [1253V] ante.

95. Following three entries in pencil.

96. A Brooklyn soldier. See "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz" and "Baily D Damon." He is listed in Brooklyn directories as a letter carrier in 1870 and 1872.

97. White wove, 5" x 3 13/16".

98. The brace is to the left of the first three entries.

99. Entry in faded black ink.

1. See [1251V] above.

2. Listed as a builder, 334 Schermerhorn, in the Brooklyn directory for 1871–1872.

3. A photographic studio at 108 5th Avenue. See [1251R].

4. A person of this name is listed as a moulder in 1870 and 1871, NY directory, but mentioned by WW in 1862 or 1863 as working in a sawmill ("return my book").

5. First name and initial inserted above surname. See [1255R].

6. Entries from Worth to this point in faded black ink.

7. Listed as a clerk in the NY directory, 1871–1872.

8. White wove, 1/2" x 3/4". Despite the LC number, this entry belongs in this position. It seems to refer to John Rodgers named on [1257V] (or Rogers—possibly a different person) whom WW appears to have met in Brooklyn in 1870 and with whom he exchanged letters after he returned to Connecticut in 1871. (*Corr.*, II, 362, 364, 368, 369, 372; III, 430, 431, 440, 443.)

9. See [1256a] ante.

10. Deputy collector (of revenue or customs?), NY directory, 1870–1871.

boy / Henry Clark, Mrs. White's brother. / specimens of Binding¹¹ [:] Health —
 — Sleep or the —? of the Night—(Hurd & Houghton 1870 [1258R])¹² Mrs.
 S. H. Emery Jr.¹³ Quincy Illinois / Mr. Akerman¹⁴ Cartersville, Geo. / S. D.
 Tillman¹⁵ office American Institute N. Y. City / Mary F. Davis Orange, N. J. / S.
 S. Conant or J. W. Harper, Jr. Harpers, publishers, N. Y. Franklin Sq. / Mat.
 Frontouse[?], Goodhue co. Minn / Alexander Camp Birchett little boy. George-
 town [1258V] J. G. Jansen, care of O. S. Hibbard Mansion House cor 4th av. &
 32d st. N. Y. / Chas. W. Eldridge¹⁶ care of John F. Eldridge. 29 & 31 School st.
 Boston / Schoff,¹⁷ Continental Bank cor Liberty & Greenwich N. Y. / Fred. B.
 Vaughan,¹⁸ care office Erie Railroad Port Jervis N. Y. / The. L. Mumford, same /
 N. Aubin¹⁹ room 9 50 Broad st. N. Y. / W. W. Thayer Journal of Commerce
 Kansas City, Mo. [1258Va; ²⁰ 1258Ra blank] care Leviness & Weber, 164 Fulton
 st. B [1259R]²¹ Byron Sutherland²² Warren, Pa Dan'l G. Guette Post Masters
 Office, P. O. New York / Dr. Edwin Miner,²³ 145 Gates av. cor Grand av. Brooke
 hours 8 to 10—5 to 7—& 1 / Syr Calc. lactophosph²⁴ $\frac{1}{10}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ teaspoonful after
 breakfast & dinner [1259V] Lou's half brother & sister Thomas Haslam Hedwig
 (Hetty) H / Edmund Looman? painter brother in law of Tom Osler / Hector
 Tyndale²⁵ 707 Chestnut Phil / Andrew Jackson Davis²⁶ Mary F. [:] 24 E Fourth
 st N. Y Oct. 73. / Isaac N. Price cond 5th st Camden / Dr. Bielby Marie Le Baron
 Bielby²⁷ [:] 311 Delaware av. Wash / Wm Fowler. cond. Market st. Newark[?]

11. See [1254V] ante.

12. White wove, $4\frac{3}{4}'' \times 3\frac{13}{16}''$.

13. See [1256R] above.

14. A. T. Akerman, a former Confederate, was Assistant Attorney General between 1870 and 1871 (*Corr.*, II, 117).

15. Inserted and deleted above "office" : [*illeg.*] . The same name and address is written in an 1860 notebook, "English runic." In 1871, WW read "After All, Not to Create Only" ("Song of the Exposition") at the opening of the fortieth Annual Exhibition of the American Institute in NYC. Perhaps the old acquaintanceship lay behind the invitation.

16. Former member of Thayer and Eldridge, who published *LG* (1860). See "a m Dr. L B Russell," "Facts in the matter of," "Viccissini sav."

17. See [1248R, 1251R].

18. See [1233V] [1258AV].

19. An engraver in NY directory, 1871–1872. A Mr. Aubin translated Victor Hugo's *L'Année Terrible* for WW. ("Victor Hugo's Année.")

20. White wove, $\frac{3}{8}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$. Originally pasted over Vaughan's address above. This address is given for him on [1233V].

21. White wove, $4\frac{3}{4}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$; horizontal blue rules $\frac{3}{8}''$ apart in recto and verso. All entries in faded black ink.

22. A former soldier. See above, [1238R].

23. In 1871 and 1872 at another address, at this address in 1872–1873 Brooklyn directory.

24. Used as a general systemic tonic and to provide calcium. No longer in use. (Courtesy Mr. Richard Raney, Lawrence, Kansas.) An unidentifiable sign follows. The writing may not be WW's.

25. See [1235R].

26. Almost certainly Andrew Jackson Davis the spiritualist. Listed as publisher at this address in NY directory, 1872–1874. He ordered books from WW April 27, 1876 (*Corr.*, III, 441). See "[*illeg.*] Dick Hunt" [7]. For Mary F. Davis see [1258R] ante.

27. At this address in Washington directory, 1874 only.

Jo Baldwin Nov. 6 '73 / [I260R]²⁸ Wm H. Taylor.²⁹ 201 Elm st. Newark, N. J
 get off at Market st. depot / Miss Jennie Freeman Sloan Station Jefferson co. Ohio
 / [I260a]³⁰ John X. Browne,³¹ 24 Beeckman st. New York (292 Gates av. Brook-
 lyn) / Prof. S. B. Brittan Newark, N Jersey June '74 Reuben Farwell³² Nankin
 p.o. Wayne co. Mich [I260V]³³ April 13. '75 Mrs. Chas Hine³⁴ 432 Chapel st.
 New Haven, Conn [I260b]³⁵ [I261R]³⁶ / Col J W Forney³⁷ 24 Arundel street
 near the Strand. London Eng Dec 13 '77 / F F Patterson Newark Courier /
 [I261V] Rev Geo L Chase Minneapolis Minnesota /³⁸ Mr. Haslam Lou's father
 [:] step mother Louisa Orr Haslam Emma Kate, (dead) Aunt Libby Horrocks,
 (born Haslam Wm Cariss Mrs. Josephine Cariss born Horrocks [:])³⁹ [I262R]⁴⁰
 Claxton, Remsen, &⁴¹ Haffelfinger⁴² / Wm. Green,⁴³ cl'k Trea. young man over
 in Uniontown with his father-in law Mr. Clark / Thos. Ridgates, doorkeeper
 Treasury—at night. / Opera Librettos cheap. Hall. 751 Broadway / tall friend—
 musician & door keeper Albert W. Tyler⁴⁴ / Dr. James C. Hall⁴⁵ 909 Penn. av. /
 Dr. Stone,⁴⁶ 1425. F. / E. B. Elliott⁴⁷ Bureau of Statistics Treasury—room 46. /
 Burr G. Hosmer⁴⁸ 345 West 17th st. N. Y. (for John W. Wolfe Nov. '71 / Iowa

28. White wove, 4⁷/₈" x 3³/₄"; blue rules ⁷/₁₆" apart on recto and verso. Except for the entry for Ruben Farwell, all entries on the right are faded.

29. In June or July 1878 WW met a policeman of this name in NY ("New York Visit"). There is, however, another William H. Taylor, a former NY omnibus driver, who in 1891 (*Corr.*, V, 215) lived outside NY, who is probably the person referred to here. See "Addresses."

30. Pasted-on clipping: "At West Springfield, 13, a daughter to Capt. HENRY A. PHELON, and grand-daughter to C. C. Brand of Norwich, Ct." A Capt. Phelon is mentioned in "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz."

31. Deleted: "Astoria, L. I."

32. A former soldier. See "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz." The preceding date does not refer to this entry. He wrote WW in February, March, and August, 1875 (*Corr.*, II, 372).

33. Black pencil.

34. Widow of the painter, Charles Hine, who had died in 1871. It is not clear what occasioned this memorandum. See ante [I239V].

35. A detached stub numbered [I260b] on verso. The original location cannot be determined. It was fully written on the recto, but only the date "Nov. 18" at the bottom is complete. A few pencilled fragments of words, including "bloom" and "N. Y." (in ink) are legible on verso.

36. White wove, 4¹⁵/₁₆" x 3¹⁵/₁₆". In red ink, deleted in blue pencil: "John Lucas 1029 Race street store 141 north 4th St Phila." Succeeding entries in black pencil.

37. He was an editor and politician and WW's host on trip to Kansas. See "JWF remarked."

38. WW turned the page upside down for this entry. The names are in column. The brace or vertical wavy line follows a space under "Mr. Haslam" and before "step mother"

39. Nothing is opposite the brace.

40. White wove, 4¹⁵/₁₆" x 3¹⁵/₁₆".

41. Inserted above wordspace between "Remsen" and "Haffelfinger"

42. Philadelphia publishers. See *Corr.*, III, 442, 443.

43. At this address in Washington directories for 1873 and 1874.

44. An Albert W. Tyler is listed at the same address as a musician in Washington in 1873 and watchman in 1874. Earlier entries are at different addresses.

45. Listed at this address in Washington directories, 1870-1874.

46. A Dr. Stone is listed at various numbers on 14th St. and F St. from 1866 to 1874, but not at this number.

47. Listed with this occupation in Washington directories between 1871 and 1874.

48. A heavy curved line runs from the left of "Burr G. Hosmer" tailing into the horizontal rule below "Iowa Central . . ." . See [I250R].

Central University Pella, Marion co. / Mr. Peck.—my tall blonde friend in the eating house (with Mr. Kern)⁴⁹ [1262V]⁵⁰ Postage[?] weight Notes⁵¹ 8 7½ oz As a strong Bird 7 oz 8cts⁵² / Dem. Vistas. 4¼ oz 4 cts domestic / After all⁵³ bound—3 oz / New Ed. *Leaves* 1872 [:] 25 oz 42 cts to England. 28 domestic. / Horace V. Bartol 2d auditor's office Rev. C. A. Bartol⁵⁴ 17 Chestnut st Boston / C. F. Clauson⁵⁵ 1428 S⁵⁶ 514 Ninth st. at D. P. Holloway Dead⁵⁷ / Holger Hammerich⁵⁸ / Miss Upton 715 21st / Mrs. C. Hine⁵⁹ 432 Chapel st. [1263R]⁶⁰ James & Priscilla Townsend⁶¹ 92 Bank st. N. Y. / J. O. Ordan, No 4 St Mark's Place, near Cooper Ins. / Albert B. Otis,⁶² 242⁶³ Washington st. Boston. p.o. box 561 / Mrs. Anna M. Kerr⁶⁴ cor Sands & Adams sts. Brooklyn. / Clemens Petersen⁶⁵ 56 E 9th st. N. Y. / Mr. & Mrs. Maverick⁶⁶ 325 State st 4 doors above Hoyt [1263V] *April—May—1872*) car 32—Wash'n—Wm. Preston Williamson cond.—West Va—wishes he “could pick up some nice girl” / Albert Floyd 17 or 18. basement Treas. wanted “Crossing Brooklyn Ferry” / Mrs. Anne E. Schliecker⁶⁷ 1530 I. st. (school) (intr by Brisbane)⁶⁸ / J. C. O'Connor,⁶⁹ Indian Agent Washington, Sept. 1872 /⁷⁰ Philip Christman,⁷¹ the collector / John : Davis, policeman Penn av. 3d and 4½ sts. / Wm F. Lee, formerly conductor goes to sea as *Ass't paymaster* 336 6th st. S. E. / Albert B. Otis⁷² 242 Washington st. Boston box 561

49. Preceding entry in red ink.

50. All the data about postage is in red ink. The line beneath is in black ink.

51. Deleted in pencil: “7½” ; inserted before in pencil: “8”

52. Entry at upper right alongside “Postage . . . 8 oz” with line at left and below.

53. Deleted in pencil: “2½” ; inserted in pencil before the deletion: “3” ; redundant “oz” not printed.

54. See Traubel, II, 299.

55. Listed in Washington directories as a patent agent and draftsman at 515 49th St. in 1872 and 1873. A Danish resident of Washington who acted as intermediary between WW and Rudolph Schmidt, editor of *For Idé og Virkelighed*, between 1871 and 1874, when he seems to have died. For Schmidt see “WALT WHITMAN TRAVELS.”

56. Numbers and letter inserted above “514 . . . Ninth”

57. At left in blue crayon.

58. Hamerich is not listed in Washington directories for 1866 to 1874 nor mentioned in *Corr.*

One associates him with Clausen and Schmidt.

59. Widow of the painter, Charles Hine. See [1239V], [1251V].

60. White wove, 4⅞" x 4".

61. He was a clerk in the NY Hall of Records. She was a cousin of Mrs. W (*Corr.*, II, 215; III, 431, 432, 435; “Rossetti.”

62. A Boston lawyer who bought *LG* 1872, *ASB*, *DV* and subscribed to the 1887 fund (*Corr.*, II, 190).

63. Deleted in ink: “96”

64. In 1886–1887, a widow in Brooklyn.

65. A Danish critic who had emigrated to the US (*Corr.*, II, 173, 282, 287, 295, 310; IV, 257). A friend of Rudolph Schmidt.

66. Deleted: “325”

67. Listed in Washington directories as a teacher in 1873 only.

68. Possibly Albert Brisbane, the social theorist. See [1251R] above, “return my book.” Entries from the top of the leaf to this point are in red ink.

69. See “Kansas & Colorado Trip.”

70. Deleted: “Paul Liptay 43 Rivington st. N. Y. Sept. 1872.” See [1228R].

71. Listed in Washington directories with this title in 1873 and 1874.

72. See [1263R] ante.

Addresses.

Manuscript in LC (#109). Inscribed in black pencil, black ink and other materials as noted, on white wove paper approx. $4\frac{7}{8}$ " x $3\frac{7}{8}$ ". Brown paper cover and relatively uniform page size suggest a commercially produced notebook. The notebook was disassembled by LC and mounted. Entries were made in random groups, and although attempts have been made to date them in the notes, rearrangement in order of entry is impossible. Investigation of city directories was practicable for Washington through 1874 and for New York and Brooklyn through 1876. Only Philadelphia directories for the 1870s were checked for identifications. The entries date from 1867 to 1875, but relatively few names are repeated from "D. W. Wilder." WW's Daybooks (*DN*, I) should be consulted.

[1264R]¹ Addresses [1265; ² 1264V; 1265aR³] M street 2d west of 12th / [G.] P. Putnam & Son.⁴ 661 Broadway / Hats cleaned—Cunningham⁵ / Mosquito nets—[*illeg.*] material Geo. Willner 464 9th bet D & E⁶ / Boots—fits warranted J Georges⁷ 72 & 74 Penn av / Jennings[?] 585 Seventh st near Maryland av. [*illeg.*] & [*illeg.*] drawers—underclothes [1265V; ⁸ 1266 R⁹ and V; 1267 R and V¹⁰] [1268R]¹¹ Wm Vandermark¹² at Gilbert Vandenburgh near Vanderwilkin's / (Jan '69) Dr. Chas. H.¹³ Bowen¹⁴ 452 Mass av. bet. 6th & 7th sts / inquire about the "Western News Co." Chicago / *Maj. Gen. Ambrose Burnside, & the Ninth Army*

1. A label[?] cut from a used envelope, $\frac{7}{16}$ " x 5". Black ink. On verso: "N. J." in another hand. A second label in another hand, "Address Book Walt Whitman", is also numbered [1264] by LC.

2. White wove, upper, lower and left edges tattered, approx. $4\frac{3}{4}$ " x $3\frac{3}{8}$ ". Black pencil.

3. Two clippings, apparently loose in notebook before mounting, one advertising Orient Springs Health Institute of Amherst, Mass (also numbered [1264]), the other advertising cheap printing presses headed: "DO YOUR OWN PRINTING." See [1267].

4. Publishers.

5. Pasted-on clipping advertising hats.

6. Pasted on clipping advertising real estate.

7. Boots and shoes, in Washington.

8. Dark, stained? scrap pasted on [1265R]. Several [*illeg.*] entries not in WW's hand. The last word is "Nebraska." At lower left "21" is written lengthwise in WW's hand, black ink.

9. Loose clipping advertising Shelter Island Grove and Camp on Long Island.

10. Loose clipping advertising printing presses.

11. White wove, $4\frac{7}{8}$ " x $3\frac{3}{4}$ ".

12. A soldier. See "Hospital Notebook" and "Wm E Vandermark."

13. Inserted: "Chas. H." above "Bowen"

14. Ward surgeon at Armory Hospital who went into practice in Washington. See "Life among Fifty Thousand Soldiers," *The Wound Dresser*, *CW*, VII, 99 and *Corr.*, I, 331.

Corps, by Augustus Woodbury, (Providence, R. I. Sidney S. Rider & Bro.)¹⁵ /¹⁶ [1268V] Jan 22, 1867. Reuben Farwell¹⁷ Nankin, p.o. Wayne co. Mich. / father Cornelius Callaghan, Martinsburgh Lewis co. N. Y. Peter Calhune care of Dan'l Strain¹⁸ 439 Seventh av. N. Y. city /¹⁹ [1269R]²⁰ John C. McRae²¹ engr[?] 100 Liberty st. N. Y. / Alexander Work²² Shaker Mount Morris Livingston co. New York/²³ T. J. Coffey No 1829 De Lansy Pla Philadelphia Penn / J. H. Crane & Co²⁴ 53 Louisiana av Canned fruits / A. H. Rome & Bros²⁵ 369 Fulton st Brooklyn / Davis box 218 p.o. [1269V] to John Burroughs [*illeg.*] from N. Y. to Cattskill landing—go in morning boat, leaves from foot of Desbrosses st.—from Cattskill take the stage to Roxbury (50 miles) fare 2.50—Chauncey A. Burroughs²⁶ / Chicago Publisher²⁷ E. B. Myers & Chandler / Robt Clark & Co. Cincinnati does a [*illeg.*] / Jan.[?] '67²⁸ [1270R]²⁹ [*illeg.*] W. Swayne³⁰ 210 Fulton st. Brooklyn & Nos 1, 2, 3 Fulton st N. Y. / M. D. Conway,³¹ 51 Notting hill square W. London England [1270V]³² Mr. Haskell Mrs. Mix,³³ cor. st. Mark's place & New

15. Published 1867. Burnside (1824–1881) had left the army under a cloud, but was an official of several large corporations and governor of Rhode Island, 1866, 1867, and 1868. George W was under his command in the 9th Corps, and WW sent a clipping about this book to his mother for George on January 22, 1867 (*Corr.*, I, 308). He mentions Burnside frequently in connection with George's service. See *Corr.*, I, *passim*.

16. Deleted: "John Burroughs [*illeg. del.*] 377 First st east Bet. B. + C. north"

17. A soldier. See "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz."

18. Dealer in liquors at this address, NY directory 1866–1867.

19. Deleted with slanting stroke: "J. J. Piatt Columbus Ohio [*in black pencil*] / M. D. Conway 60 Westbourne Grove Terrace, Bayswater London W. England [*"gland" in black pencil; entry also cancelled with red crayon*] / Warren Farm house Wimbledon London England [*entry also cancelled with red crayon*]." Piatt was a minor poet whom WW had met in 1863 (*Corr.*, I, 281). For Conway, see below [1270R] and "Introduction to the London Edition."

20. White wove, 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ ".

21. Engraver at this address, NY directory, 1866–1867. See below [1311A].

22. Mentioned in February, 1865. See "Hugo Oscar Fritsch."

23. Four succeeding entries in black pencil.

24. Wholesale fruit and produce dealers in Washington.

25. The Rome brothers had printed *LG* (1855) and set "Passage to India" in type for WW in March, 1870 (*Corr.*, II, 94).

26. John Burroughs's father.

27. Short line from left.

28. Deleted in black pencil: "W. E. Worthen. 128 Broadway. N. Y." Possibly related to an E. Worthen, who was an engineer in the Croton Aqueduct Department in NYC, a friend of Jeff's, who planned a visit to Washington in May, 1864 (*Corr.*, I, 226n); "D. W. Wilder."

29. White wove, 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ ".

30. Bookseller and stationer, Brooklyn directory 1866–1867. Entry in black pencil.

31. Deleted in red crayon: "14 Melborne Grove, Brompton W. London England" . See [1268V] above and [1271R] following.

32. Deleted: "Geo. Alfred Townsend, care of J. N. Metzler, "New York Citizen" office, New York city." Townsend (1841–1914), a journalist who praised WW lavishly in 1867, wrote for the *N.Y. Herald* and was eventually a widely read Washington correspondent. See *Corr.*, I, 329n; III, 45. At left of "New York city" a fist pointing downward and arrow pointing to deleted last entry of address in Paris. See n 34 below. Townsend was abroad between 1865 and 1867. Further deleted entries; "/ Wilson Chesson, Serg't Co F. 5th U.S. Cavalry Camp [*del. Winchester Va*] Fort McPherson Nebraska Mrs Nancy Chesson Plymouth Washington co N.C." WW had known Chesson in the hospital. See "Harewood, Jan 24 '66." Marked "dead" in blue crayon at upper right. See [1273R]. Deleted: "/Wm. J. Bembridge Co F 5th US Cavalry Camp Grant Richmond, Va/"

33. The mother of one of WW's Washington landladies. In January, 1867, her daughter died

York av. store 51 Whitehall st. New York Mr. Haskell's father³⁴ [1271R]³⁵ 2
 Pembroke gardens, Kensington, London, w. Eng [1273R³⁶; 1271V blank; 1272³⁷]
 Jesse E. Baker, p.o. box 38 Portsmouth, Va. / N. H. Barrett³⁸ P. O. Washn[?]
 dead. / J. W. Smith foreign postage clerk, P. O. Washington / Mrs. Naomi Ches-
 son Charles Chesson, brother of Wilson³⁹[?] Plymouth, N. C. / Geo B. Arnold.⁴⁰
 / Abby H. Price,⁴¹ East 55th 331 East 55th st New York / Arthur Price,⁴² 2d
 ass't[?] Eng. steamer Ossipee North Atlantic squadron Nov. '66 / Jesse Mullery,⁴³
 with T. C. & G. G. Brown 21 Newark av. Jersey City[?] N. J.[?] / glove factory
 105 High st. Georgetown⁴⁴ / 2117 Penn. av. bottles [1273V] [illeg.]⁴⁵ Jan 25,
 '67. / F. J. Huntington & Co.⁴⁶ 459 Broome st. New York city / Gibson bros.
 printers 271 Penn av. Washington, D. C. / Order Nov. 1—47,272 lots—on K st
 east, near 11th Navy Yard Galligan & Townsend⁴⁷ 516 7th st. bet D & E / Wm
 D. O'Connor 1015 O street N. w. near 11th⁴⁸ [1274R]⁴⁹ European Express Co.
 60 Broadway, New York. / Benton H. Wilson⁵⁰ Syracuse, Onondaga co. New
 York / Scott & Williams printers, &c 24 Beekman st. New York city / Henry

and she went to Brooklyn to live with her granddaughter, Mrs. Haskell. Mr. Haskell was an im-
 porter of bags. *Corr.*, I, 278, 309.

34. Deleted: "No 6 Passage de la Madeleine chez M. Leartisian Paris, France." See *n* 32 above.

35. White wove, 1½" x 2½". Originally pasted over Conway's deleted Melborne Grove ad-
 dress on [1270R].

36. White wove, 4¾" x 3⅝", irregular right edge.

37. Photostat showing original overlay of [1270R] and [1271].

38. A post office clerk of this name is listed in Washington directory from 1866 to 1873.

39. See [1270Vn32] above.

40. A George B. Arnold is listed in the 1866–1867 NY directory as "pres" with office at 95
 Chambers St. and residence at 279 E. 55th St. A single parenthesis at left connects this entry with
 that for Abby Price at the same (deleted) address immediately below. This, then, must be the "Mr.
 A" who lived with the Price family in the 1850s and with whom WW discussed democracy and
 Swedenborgism (*Corr.*, I, 42n). Miller and Allen (199) identify him as "John A. Arnold" but George
 B. seems to be the correct name. A George B. Arnold, printer, at 19 Spruce St. NY and house at
 31 Hicks St Brooklyn is listed in the 1856–1857 NYC directory. The Prices also lived at this
 Brooklyn address. This is probably the Mr. Arnold, printer, who was spoken of as possibly helping
 with a projected third edition in 1857 (*Corr.*, I, 45n). On a visit to NY in September, 1868, WW
 roomed with Mrs. Price at 331 East 55th Street (*Corr.*, II, 44).

41. A family friend to whom WW was especially close. See *n* 40 above. Deleted: "279." Mrs.
 Price moved between March 27, 1867 (*Corr.*, I, 321) and April 10, 1868 (*Corr.*, II, 25). See "Baily
 D Damon."

42. Son of Mrs. Abby Price, brother of Helen. In 1886 he sent WW a box of oranges from
 his Florida plantation (see "4 ¶ Oct 13: wrote to Ernest Rhys" [LC-Feinberg]).

43. A soldier, formerly from Verona, NJ. See *Corr.*, I, 247 and "Mr. & Mrs. Fitz."

44. Owned by Jacob Ramsburg and Sons. Disappears from Washington Directory in 1872.

45. Corner of leaf torn off.

46. Book dealers in NYC.

47. Listed as real estate dealers in the 1869 Washington directory only. Not listed for other
 years between 1867 and 1874. See "D. W. Wilder."

48. According to the Washington directories, O'Connor moved to this address in late 1869 or
 early 1870. Notice the 1868 or 1868 entry for Galligan & Townsend preceding, despite the 1867
 date at the top of the leaf.

49. White wove, 4⅞" x 3⅞".

50. A soldier. See [1294V]; *Corr.*, I, 322n; II, 95n; "Daybooks," [190] *DN*, I, 226; and
 "Typical Soldiers," *SD, PW* 92, I, III. He named his son after WW. Inserted in blue crayon, deleted
 in black pencil: "Greene, Chenango Co. New York" on a line under the line for Benton W. Wilson.

Clapp, jr.⁵¹ 74 Washington Sq. South⁵² 58 W 4th st office N. Y. Leader⁵³ Room 18 City Hall New York City Oct. '67⁵⁴ died, (April '75⁵⁵ H. Fritsch,⁵⁶ 29 Barclay, [illeg.] Papier mache [illeg.] / Nathaniel Bloom,⁵⁷ cor Broadway & Canal⁵⁸ New York City Aug. 1871 2 East 33 st. [I274V] appointment from Order Book Nov. 13. 1866 W. Whitman app. 3d class clerk Henry Stanbery Attorney Gen'l⁵⁹ / Rec'd \$6:50 from Mr. Whitman for frame for Attorney Gen's off Feb. 12, '69⁶⁰ [illeg.] [I275R]⁶¹ / Thos J. Whitman Chief Eng. Water Works⁶² Cor 8th and Pine sts. / St. Louis, Missouri /⁶³ (office /⁶⁴ [I275V] Mr. Otto⁶⁵ /⁶⁶ Fred. O. Behrens 11th st Island a little beyond Maryland av. left hand side / Amer Photo-Lithographic Co. cor 3d av. & 10th st. Brooklyn office Herald Building⁶⁷ / Gen. Chas. G. Halpine,⁶⁸ office N. Y. Citizen 32 Beekman st. dead⁶⁹ / W. L. Alden.⁷⁰ [I276R]⁷¹ Philp & Solomons 332 Penn. av. French & Richardson 334⁷² / J. C.

51. (1814-1875), "King of the Bohemians," a Pfaffian, and editor (1850-1860) of the *Saturday Press*, which published "A Child's Reminiscence." See *Corr.*, I, 328r.

52. Address inserted in black pencil on a line under the line for Henry Clapp, Jr.

53. Deleted in black pencil: "Room 18 City Hall New York City"

54. Inserted at the upper right.

55. Date vertically in left margin covering this and following entry, but it must refer to Fritsch since Bloom was alive in 1879.

56. One of the young men whom WW met at Pfaff's in the 1860s. See "return my book."

57. Another young Pfaffian. See "Mrs H C Wright." Deleted: "202 West 14th st."

58. Address inserted. Deleted: "323" below "Broadway" "299 [ins. and del. below "Broadway"] Broadway [illeg.]"

59. Henry Stanbery (1803-1881) was Attorney-General between 1866 and 1868. WW thought well of him. *Corr.*, I, 275, 289, 324; II, 26, 27, 27, 31, Traubel, III, 156.

60. The gap of sixteen months from the preceding date is worth noting as characteristic. An illegible signature follows. Entry in black pencil.

61. White wove, 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Deleted with two slanting strokes in black pencil: "A. Simpson & Co. publishers & printers 60 Duane st. corner Elm New York City/"

62. Deleted: "Cor. 4th & [illeg.] st." ; deleted in blue crayon: "P.O. Box 2538"

63. Deleted in black pencil: "Ashton 615 Walnut st Philadelphia Pa."

64. In black pencil, in an illiterate hand: "Helge Helke"

65. Possibly William Tod Otto, Assistant Secretary of the Interior. See "Mem. Sept. 29—1865."

66. Deleted: "Fred [black pencil] Otto Behrend." Inserted on a line under: "Fred O Behrend." An Otto Behrens is in NYC directory for 1875-1876 as an engraver. WW had some acquaintance with him in 1874 (*Corr.*, II, 315), but this address seems to be in Washington.

67. In a loop at left edge before "Brooklyn" in black ink. Entry in black pencil.

68. See "Col Halpine." Halpine died August 3, 1868. He had been a habitu  of Pfaff's but was a member of a more literary set than WW's. On August 27, WW submitted to the *Citizen*, a reform journal, in response to invitations from W. L. Alden, "A Broadway Pageant," which had already been printed in *Drum-Taps*. See *Corr.*, II, 40 and Traubel, II, 211.

69. Blue crayon.

70. See preceding n68.

71. White wove, 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Deleted in black pencil: "Mother & George / No 1194 Atlantic street.— opposite Hamilton street. house of Matthew Hambler Brooklyn New York / Mrs. Thos. J. Whitman care of G. F. Mason [preceding five words in black pencil] Towanda Bradford co. Penn." At some time between 1866 and 1877 Edward Whitman was also in Towanda, Pa. ("D. W. Wilder"). The Whitman addresses in the Brooklyn directory for the period covered by this MS are: 1866-1868, no entry; 1868, 1869, Louisa, wid. 1194 Atlantic Ave., 1868-1870, no entry; 1870, 1871, George W. insp. 101 N. Portland Ave; 1872; Louisa, wid., 107 Portland Ave.

72. Both entries in black pencil. Both firms were booksellers and stationers in Washington. WW occasionally used stationery from Philp and Solomon. The firm also sold LG (see below, [I297V]). French and Richardson also sold LG (see below, [I276V], and *Corr.*, I, 350).

Parker,⁷³ 458 Seventh st. / Dr. M. A. Blankman⁷⁴ / French & Richardson 334 Pennsylvania av⁷⁵ [1276V] Mr. Philp⁷⁶ was to go in steamer from N. Y. July 27 '67 (ought to get in London Aug 9—answer ought to get here last of Aug.) /⁷⁷ French & Richardson⁷⁸ 334 Pennsylvania av. / Miss Evelina S. Hamilton⁷⁹ 122 East 29th st. Mrs. John A. Kennedy,⁸⁰ 135 West 22d st. / Fred H. Hall Chicago Tribune / Amer. Photo-Lithographic co. cor 3d av. & 10th st. Brooklyn (office Herald Building Rm 19⁸¹ [1277R⁸²] Aug 10 '67 Ellen M. O'Connor.⁸³ Jamestown Rhode Island. care of Benj. Gardiner. clapp (Allen) old partner India Rubber co. 347 Broadway⁸⁴ / W. C. & F. P. Church,⁸⁵ publishers. No 39 Park Row.—p.o. box 3201 [1277V]⁸⁶ April '75 (Daily News office 142 Washington st. Boston.

73. Sold books, stationery and periodicals in Washington.

74. Physician and dentist, 280 18th W, 1867–69 Washington directories. Black pencil.

75. See [1276V] above.

76. Philp, a bookseller ([1276R]) who had been in Moncure D. Conway's congregation in Washington, was carrying the Introduction to the proposed London edition to Conway. See *Corr.*, I, 332–333, and "Introduction to the London Edition," "D. W. Wilder."

77. Deleted: "Hinton [*black pencil*]." See [1277Vn] and [1300V] following.

78. See [1276R] above.

79. A Jeremiah G. Hamilton is listed at this address without occupation in the NY directory, 1869–1870, and as a broker, 1870–1871.

80. A John A. Kennedy, Superintendent at 800 Mulberry, with home at this address in NY directory 1866–1867.

81. See [1275V] above.

82. White wove, 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

83. Mrs. W. D. O'Connor came from Rhode Island, possibly she was on vacation.

84. Entry in blue pencil except second "p" on "clapp," which is in black ink.

85. Brothers, publishers of *The Galaxy*, a NY monthly (1866–1878), which published "The Return of the Heroes," "Democracy," "Personalism" (the latter two, parts of "Democratic Vistas") in 1867 and 1868, "Outlines for a Tomb (G. P., Buried 1870)" and "Warble for Lilac-Time" in 1870, "O Star of France" (1871). The magazine, intended to rival the *Atlantic* and *Lippincott's*, was friendly to WW and Burroughs. See Edward F. Grier, "Walt Whitman, the *Galaxy*, and 'Democratic Vistas,'" *AL* 33 (November 1951).

86. Note the late dates. WW's notes are written above and beside an inscription in another hand: "R.J. Hinton 27 Brixham Terrace Wandsworth Road South Lambeth London, England" As so often, WW's notes conceal a significant relationship. Hinton, a journalist, was born in London in 1830 and came to the US in 1851. He met WW in NY in 1855, in Boston in 1860, in Washington probably in 1863 and certainly after the war. He went to Kansas as a correspondent and participant in 1856; supported John Brown but was not at Harper's Ferry. He also helped plan the attempted rescue of Brown in 1859. It was he who suggested *LG* to the radical young publishers, Thayer and Eldridge, and he did his best to boost WW's reputation in the newspapers. He attempted to publish an article in a newspaper run by W.D. Howells' father in 1860, but it was "crowded out." In the *Rochester Express*, March, 7 1868 he compared WW's features to those of John Brown. An article in the *Cincinnati Commercial*, August 26, 1871 signed H.J.R. is probably not his, not only because of the signature, but because it is not as adulatory as his other articles on WW. He and WW were seeing each other in Washington at the time, and Hinton was docile enough to put his name on WW's essay "Walt Whitman Abroad" and place it in the *Kansas Magazine*, I, (December, 1872). (*Corr.*, V, 295). He is also probably responsible for the appearance of "The Mystic Trumpeter" and "Virginia—the West" in the same journal (February, March, 1872). A later article in the *N.Y. World*, in April, 1889 annoyed WW not only because it was "gush" but because it implied that WW had carried copies of *LG* (1855) around to newspaper offices to solicit reviews (Traubel V, 37–48). His papers in the Kansas State Historical Society indicate that on other occasions he also intended to write or speak on WW. See also C. Carroll Hollis, "R. J. Hinton: Lincoln's Reluctant Biographer," *Cent Rev.*, V (Winter, 1962) 65–84.

(July '75 gone back to Washington)⁸⁷ / leaves Wash. Aug 13 / present res 467 Sixth st near D. / after 1st Sep. 413 C—near 3d / leaves by steamer, Aug 17 arrives [Aug.] 29 / Lt. Hurst Lt. Col Avery [1278R]⁸⁸ Anderson & Archer⁸⁹ No 6 Reade st N. Y. City. / Mr. Jacobson was in the "Sickles brigade,"—5th Reg't Excelsor Brigade (74th N. Y. Vols) co. B. [1278V] Col. Clinton⁹⁰ U. S. A.⁹¹ 264 I. bet 17. & 18th office Claims Commission dead⁹² / John Camden Hotten Publisher & c 74 & 75 Piccadilly London, England. dead⁹³ Democracy Westminster Oct⁹⁴ [1279R]⁹⁵ Anderson & Archer.⁹⁶ Book binders No. 6 Reade st. New York City / M. Doolady,⁹⁷ 448 Broome street / E. C. Stedman,⁹⁸ 80 Broadway N. Y. / Joseph B. Marvin⁹⁹ Internal Revenue Bureau Wash. Radical¹ [1279V] W. M. Rossetti,² 56 Euston Sq.³ nw London⁴ England / Geo. Routledge & sons 416 Broome st. N. Y. Box 4009 N. Y. p.o. The Broadway, Ludgate Hill, London) Edmund Routledge, editor⁵ / Robert Buchanan,⁶ care Strahan & Co. publishers 36

87. Preceding entries in black ink; following to ". . . arrives [Aug] 29" in black pencil. Bracketed [Aug] replaces ditto marks in original.

88. White wove, 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". In another hand: "Charles A. Lewis No 26 Mall St Roxbury Mass." Deleted with slanting stroke: "Mr. Hughes Bookbinder 102 Centre st. N. Y. City."

89. Bookbinders. They bound *LG* (1867) (*Corr.*, I, 350; II, 18).

90. A Colonel Clinton is listed at the Ebbitt House in Washington in 1868 only.

91. Deleted in black pencil: "on" ; inserted above in black pencil: "264"

92. At left, in blue crayon.

93. Publisher (1832–1873). Hotten's interest in the American writing had perhaps been aroused by his stay from 1848 to 1856. He published a number of American authors in addition to Rossetti's *Poems by Walt Whitman* (1868). See *Corr.*, I, 348, 353; II, 13, 15, 16, 21, 28, 31, 152. The date of the entry cannot be determined, but the endorsement "dead," which is in blue crayon at right, must be 1873.

94. Preceding three words in red crayon. The reference is to a review of J. Arthur Partridge, *On Democracy* (London: 1866), in *Westminster Review*, 88 (October 1, 1867), 479–505. WW's essay "Democracy" was under consideration by, and to be accepted in October, 1867, by the *Galaxy* (*Corr.*, I, 343) and was to appear in December.

95. White wove, 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{13}{16}$ ".

96. See [1278R]n84 above.

97. New York bookseller and publisher who distributed *LG* (1867) and later works to 1873. See "D.W. Wilder."

98. Stedman, poet (1833–1908). He had been a "genteel" Pfaffian and in 1863 WW knew him in Washington. (*Corr.*, I, 167, 339). He was an admirer of WW's poetry, although not a True Believer, and gave WW generous space in his massive *Library of American Literature* (1889). See "With the names," "A Poet's 68th Year," and "D.W. Wilder." His attitude towards WW is much discussed in *Corr.* and Traubel. The NY directories 1866–1875 do not list him at this address. Name in black pencil; black pencil deleted in black ink: "19 Broome st." ; inserted above in black ink: "80 Broadway"

99. See [1306Rn43].

1. Deleted in black ink: "[ins. and del. in black pencil] 25 25 Bromfield st Boston Mass."

2. See "Introduction to the London Edition." "Rossetti" inscribed above, but not printed here.

3. Deleted: "w c" ; inserted: "n w"

4. Deleted: "N. W."

5. Edmond Routledge, son of George Routledge, founder of George Routledge & Sons of London. *The Broadway* (1867–1872) published in NY and London, was an international periodical. After WW had been praised in its pages in 1867 he was asked to contribute. He received £50 in gold for "Whispers of Heavenly Death" in February, 1868, although the poem did not appear until October. See *Corr.*, I, 355; II, 13, 19, 24.

6. Robert Buchanan (1841–1901) critic. He had praised WW in *The Broadway* in 1868. His quarrel with D. G. Rossetti and Swinburne over "The Fleshly School of Poetry" in 1871 probably

Paternoster row⁷ London, England⁸ / Spectator office, No 1 Wellington street Strand, London. [1280R]⁹ William H. Millis¹⁰ Dover, Kent co. Delaware. / John Morley¹¹ 3 Garden court, Temple, E. C.¹² London editor Fortnightly 193 Piccadilly London, England (Chapman & Hall) / D. W. Wilder,¹³ Daily Conservative Leavenworth Kansas / Saturday Review office¹⁴ No. 38 Southampton street Strand London England. [1280V] Henry Peters¹⁵ steel plate printer / R. S. Spofford & wife 453 13th street dead¹⁶ / Editor Newcastle Chronicle West [*illeg.*] street Newcastle upon Tyne England¹⁷ / London Review. No 11 Southampton Street Strand London, Eng / Editor Athenæum 20 Wellington st. Strand London, W. C. / Editor "Academia" 103 Fleet street London, E. C. [1281R]¹⁸ Thomas Dixon¹⁹ 15 Sunderland st. Sunderland, Eng life buoy Mfr. dead²⁰ [1283R; ²¹ 1281V *blank*; 1282 ²²] Sunday Times 103 Fleet st. London, E. C. / Peter Doyle conductor 50 M street. south bet 4½ & 6th²³ / Edwin Hall—was with Banks—Vermont boy—3d auditors office / D. C. Loyd, Sandusky Fremont Co. Ohio. / Theodore W. Dimon State Department died summer '75²⁴ / Louis J. Hinton²⁵ 25 Brixham Terrace, Wandsworth road London / April 25. '68—H. J. Ramsdell²⁶ 76 Indiana av. [1283V] New carrier's name—Freas—April '68. / Willmer & Rogers. New York

had something to do with Swinburne's recantation of his 1868 praise of WW. See WW's letter to Rossetti, May 5, 1876, *Corr.*, III, 44 and *n*, and "D.W. Wilder."

7. Address inserted above illegible address which has not only been scraped off but deleted.

8. Deleted: "Sampson Low, Son & Marston." Surrounding parentheses not deleted.

9. White wove, 4¾" x 3¾".

10. A soldier. See "A Model Hospital," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 86; *Corr.*, I, 12 (from Millis, the rest of the correspondence is lost), "Whitman Portland av." Deleted: "Bridgeville Sussex co."

11. John Morley (Viscount) (1838–1923) man of letters. Morley was editor of *The Fortnightly Review*, between 1867 and 1882, and met WW in the winter of 1867 and 1868 in Washington. He had published Conway's article in October, 1866, and accepted in 1869 "Thou Vast Rondure Swimming in Space" now "Passage to India," sec. 5, but did not print it. *Corr.*, II, 75.

12. Address inserted.

13. Deleted: "Rochester Express" ; inserted above: "Daily Conservative Leavenworth Kansas." Hinton's "The Poet Walt Whitman" was published in the *Express*, March 7, 1868. See "D. W. Wilder." Wilder was editor and publisher of the *Conservative*.

14. Inserted on line between "John Morley" and "editor . . ."

15. Henry Peters, 43 Dey, printer, in NY directory 1866–1867. WW was currently concerned about a portrait for Rossetti's edition of *Poems*.

16. Inserted in black pencil at left of name.

17. Entire entry in black pencil.

18. White wove, 13/16" x 3¾". Possibly the lower portion has been clipped.

19. It was Dixon who bought the copy of *LG* which passed from William Bell Scott to Rossetti. See *Corr.*, II, 99*n* and "Rossetti."

20. At right above and following "St." on two lines: "life buoy mgs." At left in black pencil before address: "dead"

21. White wove, 47/8" x 37/8"

22. LC photostat showing original arrangement of leaves, [1280R] on top, others unidentifiable.

23. Doyle lived at this address until the 1880s. See "Epictetus."

24. Main entry in black pencil; "died . . ." in black ink at left on two lines before "State Department"

25. WW's error for R. J. Hinton. See [1277V*n*]. Deleted "27" ; inserted before: "25"

26. A clerk and/or journalist in Washington. See "D. W. Wilder."

agents for English magazines & newspapers. / London Sun 112 Strand / A. F. Boyle, Rooms 7 & 8 Federal Block cor 7th & F st. Lock Box 19 p.o. / W. W. Swayne²⁷ 210 Fulton st Brooklyn, New York U. S. A. / Charles Hine²⁸ Studio 806 Broadway New York City. Room 7. dead²⁹ [1284R]³⁰ Illustrated Chicago News [:] E. M. Bacon, Editor A M Farnum³¹ C. A. Church [:]³² proprietors / C. H. Farnham Santa Cruz California or care C. M. Plumb³³ Custom House New York / Judge James H. Cornwell, Police Court Room, City Hall Brooklyn N. Y. / Henry Hurt³⁴ Office Wash & Georgetown R. R. Co 526 New Jersey av. / Henry Hurt, Office city Railroad company³⁵ 537 New Jersey av. cor³⁶ B street. Washington city res. P. st near 16th [1284V] John Burroughs Roxbury Delaware Co. New York /³⁷ Dick Smith blonde, driver[?] 14th st—meet at office every night—at ½ past 8. / John Ferguson driver—boards on 14th just north State Dep. / Vernon driver 17 Navy Yard /³⁸ Robert Ewell cond. on 14th gray clothes[?] / B. Westermann & co.³⁹ German Booksellers 440 Broadway, N. Y. City [1285R]⁴⁰ Successors to⁴¹ Oliver S. Felt, publisher, &c. 455 Broome street, p.o. box 5636 New York City. / Wm. Wise.⁴² 233 Fulton st. Brooklyn, New York. (Alfred Wise)⁴³ / Edward G.⁴⁴ Stewart Telegraph office Plaister Cove, Nova Scotia / p.o. box 524 care of Henry Hurt⁴⁵ Office⁴⁶ Wash. & Georgetown R. R. Co.⁴⁷ New Jersey av.⁴⁸ cor B st⁴⁹ Washington, D. C. [1285V] William Hinsline 3d Auditor's

27. Bookseller and stationer at this address in Brooklyn directory, 1866–1867. See above, [1270R].

28. Artist (1827–1871), at this address in NY directory 1866–1867. He painted a portrait which was engraved for the frontispiece of *LG* (1860). See “D. W. Wilder.”

29. In blue crayon across entry.

30. White wove, 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ ".

31. Farnum's name written above Church's, both followed by a brace before “proprietors”

32. See [1277R] above.

33. Plumb is listed as a special agent in the Treasury Department in NY directory, 1867–1868. Entire entry in black pencil.

34. A clerk (in 1872, treasurer) in the railroad company and a friend of Peter Doyle. *Corr.*, II, 52, 56, 105, 113.

35. Deleted: “cor. N. W. corner” ; inserted above “[del.] corner” : “537”

36. Deleted: “[illeg.]”

37. Entry in black pencil.

38. Succeeding two entries in black pencil.

39. A publisher and importer of German books in NY from whom WW got the address of Freiligrath's publisher. See *Corr.*, II, 48, and [1287V] following.

40. White wove, 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ ".

41. Inserted above “Oliver” in black pencil, underlined in red crayon. Who the successors are is not revealed.

42. Listed as a jeweller at this address in Brooklyn directory 1866–1867.

43. Added at left in black pencil. See [1287Vn].

44. Inserted. Probably the “Ned” Stewart whose letter was sent to WW by Doyle on August 27, 1870 (*Corr.*, II, 108). See also [1291R] and [1300R].

45. See [1284R], above.

46. Inserted above “Wash.”

47. Deleted: “office” ; deleted: “cor.” ; inserted and deleted: [illeg.] under “Wash.” and “Georg” in “Georgetown”

48. Deleted: “&” ; inserted above: “cor”

49. Deleted: “[illeg.]” “426” “[illeg.]”

office borrowed L of G Aug 15. '68 returned it / (Tony) (Anthony) driver[?] on 7th—been on overland route—born in Germany— / Whitelaw Reid⁵⁰ Cincinnati Gazette / [*illeg.*] Mr. Gumpertz⁵¹ 541 12th st near C / William Haines⁵² (young fellow)⁵³ blacksmith father a policeman met on car Aug. 24. '68 / Mrs. Jordan formerly at Mrs Roe's⁵⁴ wife of Lieut. Jordan, U. S. A. / Mrs. S. R. McKnight,⁵⁵ 486 12th st west Kings Studio building [1286R]⁵⁶ Nat. Bloom⁵⁷ s.e. cor Broadway & Canal No 2 East 33 / Will W. Wallace,⁵⁸ with A Metzger No. 6 Odd Fellows' Hall, 2d floor Indianapolis, Ind. / Peter Fox, Athole Depot Massachusetts / Jim Green,⁵⁹ driver on 7th st. / Milton Acheman,⁶⁰ 5th av. N. Y. / Frank Coleman—Red Bank— N. J.—⁶¹ / William H. Taylor,⁶² driver 5th av. N. Y. Larry Eggleston [*driver 5th av. N. Y.*] / Mrs. Mary Alice Rein, East Putnam, [*illeg.*]⁶³ / Dr. Wm. F. Channing⁶⁴ 98 Congdon st Box 69 Providence R. I. [1286V] Francis B. Felt⁶⁵ 91 Mercer 91 Mercer st. / Dodds Express Office cor 27th st & 4th av.⁶⁶ 944 Broadway /⁶⁷ Richard Wade Bleecker 326 East 13th st. (old no. 182) N. Y.

50. Journalist and diplomat (1837–1912), from Ohio; in and out of Washington as a war correspondent between 1861 and 1863 and as an employee of the House of Representatives from 1863 to 1866. He was in Cincinnati until 1868 when he moved to the NY *Tribune*. Despite WW's occasional suspicions, he was a good friend. *Corr.*, II, III passim and "Mrs Grosh."

51. A tailor at this address in the Washington directories in 1866 and 1868.

52. A black blacksmith of this name is listed in the Washington directories for 1869 and 1871.

53. Parenthetical remark in black pencil.

54. A Mrs. Mary Roe kept a boarding house at 120 Bridge, Georgetown in 1867.

55. An artist in Washington directory for 1868, 1869. In 1868 she proposed to paint WW's portrait (*Corr.*, II, 41).

56. White wove, 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ ".

57. See [1274R], above.

58. Possibly a former hospital employee whom WW had known early in 1863. See "a m Dr. L B Russell."

59. A driver of this name is listed on 7th St. in Washington directories of 1870, 1872, 1874.

60. A driver of this name is listed as living on E. 39th St. in the NY directory for 1867–1868. See also "return my book."

61. Entry in black pencil.

62. Possibly a driver who was in correspondence with WW as late as 1891 (*Corr.*, V, 215). Entry in black pencil. "See D.W. Wilder."

63. Entry, including preceding line across leaf, in purple ink.

64. Probably Mrs. O'Connor's brother-in-law. See "a m Dr. L B Russell." Deleted: "69"; inserted: "98"

65. Bookseller, who in 1873 was handling LG. See *Corr.*, II, 214, 363; "D. W. Wilder." Deleted: "Felt & Dillingham 455 Broome st. N. Y. City"; "Chas. F. Dillingham" The latter was written below "Francis B. Felt" and both were connected by a brace at the right. The first "91 Mercer st" is at the upper right; the second is inserted after "Francis B. Felt." See "sent[?] *Press* of 22d."

66. Number marked by pointing fist at left.

67. Deleted in black pencil: "Sept. 29, 1868 2d av. car 55.—goes on a m at 12.noon & off at 2 a m John Flood—been conducting 10 years. passes 55th st going up about 25 minutes to 11—must leave Peck slip a little after $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9—". WW's friends, the Prices, lived on 55th street. See [1273R] and [1289R], *Corr.*, II, 69, 74–75, 118–119. Evidently not the John Flood of "D. W. Wilder."

City [1287R]⁶⁸ Mrs. Ernestine⁶⁹ L. Rose⁷⁰ 19 University Place cor 9th st N. Y. City / Mr. W. E. Rose,⁷¹ Silversmith 561 Broadway N. Y. City / Alonzo Chace Gen'l Ag't Amer Photo Lith Co. Room 19. Herald Bd'g N. Y. City / Henry G. Killmer⁷² 194 Bridge st. near Concord / J. L. Blamire⁷³ Geo. Routledge & Sons. 416 Broome st. N. Y. City /⁷⁴ folks East Weymouth Mass father Russell Barton [1287V]⁷⁵ George Cate Fulton av. car⁷⁶ 61 leaves F. F. ½ past 3 /⁷⁷ Mrs. Northedge⁷⁸ Register's Office Washington /⁷⁹ Mrs. Thos. Harland⁸⁰ 316 West 33d st. / Montgomery Schuyler⁸¹ office N. Y. World. / Andrew Rome⁸² 369 Fulton st. / Sent Package to Freiligrath⁸³ in steamer Nov. 11, 1868 sent let & book⁸⁴ by Jan 27, '69⁸⁵ [1288R]⁸⁶ F. Freiligrath care of J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Stuttgart Germany Wurtemberg Dead⁸⁷ [1289R; ⁸⁸ 1288V *blank*] John Flood⁸⁹ (badge No. 53) 50 Gouverneur st. father's name the same / Leave Peck Slip 6:24 8:28 [:] P. M Night of Oct 5—N. Y.—1868 rode up from Peck Slip to East 55th st. night—start from due at⁹⁰ Peck Slip / William Sims⁹¹ Conductor

68. White wove, $4\frac{7}{8}'' \times 3\frac{15}{16}''$.

69. "rnestine" written over "L."

70. A feminist and wife of W. E. Rose. See "Frances Wright." Since Mrs. Rose left the US in 1869, this entry must be before that date.

71. Listed as jeweler at this address in NY directory for 1869–1870. Apparently Ernestine Rose's husband.

72. "Fastener" at this address in Brooklyn directory 1866–1867.

73. Apparently manager of the American branch of George Routledge Sons. See [1279V] and *Corr.*, II, 19.

74. In another hand: "Russell Otis Barton B. C. R. N. Co 10 First [?] Brooklyn N. Y." The entire entry is in pencil.

75. In another hand: "Alfred Wise 64 Orange St. Store 233 Fulton St Brooklyn". See [1285R].

76. Deleted: "51" ; inserted above: "61"

77. Entry in black pencil.

78. In Washington directory between 1869 and 1874.

79. Entry in black pencil.

80. Her husband is listed as a lawyer in NY directories for 1868 through 1870.

81. Journalist, author (1843–1914). Later a distinguished critic of contemporary architecture. WW was eager to have him as a supporter of his Lincoln lecture in 1878, and Schuyler may have written him in 1885. See *Corr.*, III, 110, 452 and "D.W. Wilder."

82. See [1269R] above. Entry in black pencil.

83. German poet (1810–1876). Wrote a favorable notice of WW in 1868. WW sent him *LG*, Burrough's *Notes* and O'Connor's *The Good Gray Poet*, probably through O'Connor, who also sent a thirty-two page letter. The letter referred to is in *Corr.*, II, 78, dated January 26. WW was very proud of this further recognition from abroad. See "Is Walt Whitman's Poetry Poetical?" and Traubel, I, 18, 407; II, 326, 328, 389, 431, 432; V, 16, 66, 113; and n87 below.

84. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

85. Preceding eight words in red ink.

86. White wove, blue rules $\frac{3}{8}''$ recto and verso, $3\frac{3}{8}'' \times 3\frac{7}{8}''$, apparently a separate slip.

87. Blue crayon along left edge. Freiligrath had returned to Stuttgart from exile in 1868. He died March 18, 1876.

88. White wove, $4\frac{7}{8}'' \times 3\frac{15}{16}''$. Recto and verso in black pencil.

89. The conductor described on [1286Vn], but listed as a laborer at this address in NYC directory, 1867–68.

90. Preceding two words below "start from

91. Listed as conductor in Washington directory, 1869, only.

Penn av Philip Souder⁹² driver [*Penn av.*] / G. P. Putnam & Son 661 Broadway [*I289V*] R. Garrett letter press copying (letter) No. 39 Park Row—room 11 / Pfaff's 653 Broadway restaurant basement above Bleecker / George Smith driver No. 29⁹³ 5th av stage [:] Oct. 13 '68 / "Barnum"⁹⁴ on 5th av Geo Gracie 40 fat red cheeks / James Beck, 4 23d Oct 68. / Care of Hon. Thomas Davis,⁹⁵ Providence, R. I. [*I290R*]⁹⁶ Sunday Oct. 11—'68 Brooklyn, came up from Fulton Ferry by Atlantic st. cars. John Looney.—left Rome at age 18 or 19—been around Cuba, coasting, traveling with show, in the army &c / now time-inspector on Atlantic st. cars—(Maj. Richardson)—office near cor Atlantic & Flatbush Av. / J. L. at Clinton House 4 Atlantic st (Sweitzer) / Feb. 18—Rec'd 3.72 from Mr. Whitman for frame⁹⁷ [*I290V*] Thomas Davis⁹⁸ factory, cor. Richmond & Friendship Providence, R. I. / Dr. Wilson Gates—next door to cor Clinton name up—office in basement /⁹⁹ Music. J. P. Caulfield,¹ Mus. Doc 376 H. st. bet. 13th & 14th / J. W. Wiggins, Jr. Union ferry workshop foot of Atlantic street, Brooklyn New York. [*I291R*]² Trübner & Co³ 57 and 59 Ludgate Hill London / Editor Irish Republic p.o. box 6203, New York City⁴ / Prof. A. J. Schem,⁵ Office N. Y. Tribune New York City / E. P. Jacobson⁶ No. 24 Louisiana av. / M. C. Hart,⁷ Chronicle office / Edward C. Stewart,⁸ Telegraph office Plaister Cove, Cape Breton Nova Scotia / Rev. Wm. Sharman [*I291V*] Mr. Leybold J. C. Tarrise [:] 424 Penn av bet. 4th & 6th sts⁹ / T. W. Dimon care of C. K. Williams, American Express Office Broadway, New York City dead¹⁰ / Evans's News Bureau 492

92. A John P. Souder listed in Washington directory as a car driver between 1866 and 1872.

93. Inserted above "er" in "driver"

94. Possibly P. T. Barnum (1810–1891). His "Museum" was on Broadway. In the 1867–68 directory his residence is given as Connecticut, but in 1868 and 1869 it is given as 5th Avenue. Possibly WW was amused by a certain incongruity, or the entry may refer to a driver.

95. (1805–1895), manufacturer of jewelry and congressman from Rhode Island, 1853–1855. WW had met Mrs. Davis in Brooklyn in 1865 through his friend Mrs. Price and visited the Davis's in Providence October, 1868. See *Corr.*, I, 248; II, 58, 60. The Providence visit is probably the occasion for this entry. See also [*I290V*].

96. White wove, 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 4". Entire leaf in black pencil.

97. Signed in another hand: "L. V. Northwick {?}"

98. See [*I289V*].

99. Preceding entries in black pencil.

1. Listed at this address in Washington directory, 1869.

2. White wove, 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{15}{16}$ ".

3. Publishers. The London agent for WW's books. Deleted in black pencil: "8 & 60 Pater-noster-row" ; inserted below in black pencil: "57 and 59 Ludgate Hill"

4. Entry in black pencil.

5. Editor in NY directory for 1866–1867. Entry in black pencil. See [*I292R*], below.

6. Lawyer at this address in Washington directory, 1869, 1870.

7. Printer in Washington directory, 1869. Connected with Washington *Chronicle*. In 1871 and 1872 he was listed as editor in NY directory. See *Corr.*, II, 125. WW sent him puffs for publication in the *Chronicle*.

8. See [*I285R*] and [*I300R*].

9. Preceding entry in black pencil. Both names are to the right of a brace.

10. Inserted at left in black pencil. Remainder of leaf in black pencil.

Seventh bet D & E room 5 / John Morley¹¹ editor Fortnightly Review Care of Chapman & Hall publishers 193 Piccadilly London [1292R]¹² Miss Becky Chew Georgetown Andy's friend. /¹³ Irish Republic Capt. Wm. H. Grace¹⁴ p.o. box 6203 New York City General agent 164 Nassau st. / E. L. Townsend, Brady's Photo Gallery 352 Penn. av. Wash.¹⁵ / George Thompson young man black eyed—lame with his grandfather Mr. Wilmot inside Navy Yard (Richard Hamilton) /¹⁶ James Amos cond¹⁷—61 Seventh st with Aleck / Tom Wallace, driver 1st out 7th st starts ½ past 5 2nd 7—been to Japan brother of Bill¹⁸ [1292V] Engraving my portrait steel engraving / Mr. Linton¹⁹ mentions Marshall as a very capable man to do it—also Jones See Macdonough about it / new place 107 Portland av. opp. the arsenal.²⁰ / Chas. A. McGuire, 431 7th av. N. Y. City. / John D. Howland,²¹ painted Moke ta vd ta / Mrs. Reynolds,²² 160 East 22d st. Dec. 1, 1869 [1293R]²³ Piece poem The Storm / all the various things that happen in a storm wrecks / at Sea / Death Friends sleeping waking²⁴ / Edmund Burke,²⁵ Seed Room Agricultural Bureau [1293V] gold watch G. C. Allen 42630 Tobias & Co. Liverpool / John L. Saunders,²⁶ 20 Albemarle st. bet E. Pratt and Lombard Baltimore, Md. / C. W. Tufts 298 South 1st Jersey City go by Erie st. cars near Pavonia park²⁷ [1294R]²⁸ Mr. Sharman 332 K. opp. Franklin Sq. bet. 13th & 14th²⁹ / Henry Caldwell Stone Cutter on Treasury rebel—large—young— /³⁰ Frank doorkeeper /³¹ Dr. Bowen³² 452 Mass av. cor. 6th st. from 7 to 10 4 [10] 7 / Dr. Sam'l W.

11. See [1280R].

12. White laid, 5" x 3⅞". Blue rules ½" on verso.

13. Preceding entry in black pencil.

14. Grace is listed as editor at this address in NY directory 1869–1870.

15. WW was photographed by Brady.

16. Remainder of leaf in black pencil.

17. Inserted above "Amos"

18. A Thomas Wallace, driver, is listed as living at 7th St. W in Washington directory in 1867; a William Wallace, driver, at the same address in 1866.

19. William J. Linton (1812–1897), wood engraver who engraved WW's portrait for *LG* 1876 and *Complete Poems and Prose*. The topic here is preparation of a frontispiece for Rossetti's *Poems*. See "D. W. Wilder, " "sent *Press* of 22d."

20. See [1276Rn71].

21. Artist at 715 12th St NW in 1870. No other entries.

22. Deleted: "302 East 26th st." Note entry for Mrs. Reynolds [1296R] and for Mr. Reynolds [1299R].

23. White wove, 4¹⁵/₁₆" x 3⅞", rounded lower right corner, blue rules on recto ½" apart.

24. The pencil notes for the poem are written in a very irregular hand as if WW was holding the notebook in one hand and writing with the other.

25. A messenger in 1872 directory, clerk in Dept. of Agriculture in 1873.

26. Possibly the Saunders mentioned as "a young man I always loved" in a 1874 letter to Peter Doyle, *Corr.*, II, 319.

27. Entry in black pencil.

28. White wove, 5" x 3⅞", blue rules recto and verso ½" apart.

29. This and succeeding entry in black pencil.

30. Entry in black pencil.

31. Entry in black pencil.

32. Listed at this address in Washington directories of 1867 to 1869. and at 603 Massachusetts between 1870 and 1874.

Thayer³³ Burlington Vermont. [1294V] Miss Kate C. Riley, 399 Cor 3d & C. streets Mrs. Ingle's³⁴ friend of Benton Wilson's³⁵ / John Shephard Co. C. 2d U. S. Infantry Danville, Kentucky friend of Dave Stevens.^{35a} /³⁶ Norman Wiard 505 E st. w. intr by Wm Swinton³⁷ / Edward Fuller Tall Lymphatic looks like Sevillon Brown³⁸ [illeg.] 18 Oct 29 [1295R]³⁹ Ludolf Cluss⁴⁰ architect Office S. [illeg.] corner 7th & F house 130 2d bet D & E. / James Rankin Young Washington Editor⁴¹ J. Russell Young⁴² N. Y. Editor Tribune / James H. Sorrell Charles Sorrell⁴³ / March 16 '69 Wm. J. Murray,⁴⁴ works in Mach. Shop Navy Yard Monday Tuesday & Friday evening engaged[?] [1295V]⁴⁵ F. S. Gray⁴⁶ 22 west 29th st. / W. Kurtz⁴⁷ artist East 23d st. Madison sq. N. Y.⁴⁸ [1296R]⁴⁹ Mrs. Reynolds⁵⁰ 160 East⁵¹ 22d st. / Herbert Reynolds⁵² watchman Treasury lives &

33. (1817?-1882), physician and professor of anatomy in the University of Vermont. WW wrote him December 1, 1868 to inquire about the condition of his sister, Hannah (*Corr.*, II, 73-74). See also below, 843. Entry in black pencil.

34. Mrs. Ingle ran a boarding house at various addresses on 3d St. W or NW, between 1869 and 1872.

35. Possibly the Washington driver to whom WW sent greetings through Peter Doyle from NY October 2 and 9 (*Corr.*, II, 52, 57, 58.)

35a. Washington driver. See "D. W. Wilder."

36. Pasted-on advertisement of a "French Steam SCOURER."

37. See "Rambles among Words."

38. A State Department clerk in directories from 1867. Listed as Chief Clerk in 1874.

39. White wove, 4¹⁵/₁₆" x 3¹³/₁₆", blue rules recto and verso ½" apart. Entire leaf in black pencil.

40. Listed at this address in directories from 1866 to 1869. In 1870 he moved.

41. Listed in the Washington directories from 1867 to 1874, usually in connection with the N.Y. *Tribune*.

42. (1840-1899), journalist and diplomat. Knew WW in Washington, printed him in N.Y. *Herald*, and knew him in Philadelphia. At some time, in Philadelphia, tried to persuade WW to omit "Children of Adam." See May D. Young, ed. *Men and Memories* (NY, 1901), I, 76-109.

43. Brothers listed as drivers or conductors in Washington directories between 1866 and 1874. WW sent a cryptic message about a young lady who said that WW was a good bedfellow to James through Doyle October 29, 1868 (*Corr.*, II, 51, 56n85).

44. A William J. Murray, machinist, is listed in Washington directories 1870, 1871, 1874.

45. All entries in black pencil. In another hand in black pencil: "Henry Clapp Jr. 74 Washington Square South New York City." See [1274R].

46. John F. S. ("Fred") Gray, d. 1891, was a member of WW's Pfaff circle of young men about town which was named after him. He rose to the rank of Major and resigned in 1865. He later studied medicine and practiced in NY and in Europe. He is not, however, listed in the NY directories for 1866 through 1874. See *Corr.*, I, 80, 83, 123, 142, 158, 343; "Baily D Damon," "a m Dr. L B Russell," "September & October" and [1299R] below.

47. Possibly the W. Kurtz who photographed WW with the children of John H. Johnston in New York, 1879. A W. Kurtz (1833-1904), crayon portraitist and photographer, exhibited at the National Academy of Design between 1865 and 1882.

48. Deleted in black ink: "829 [illeg.]" ; address inserted in black ink on lines above and to right of "artist." Deleted in black ink: "Broadway [illeg.] st" ; inserted and deleted in black ink following the deletion: "Car 17." At left in black ink: "872[illeg.]" Deleted in black pencil: "photogr"

49. White wove, 4⁷/₈" x 3⁹/₁₆", blue rules ½" apart recto and verso, vertical double red rule at verso right.

50. See [1292V] above. Deleted: "302" ; inserted before: "160"

51. Deleted: "25th" ; inserted above: "22d"

52. Probably not related to the Mrs. Reynolds of the preceding entry.

studies at Howard University—is from Burlington, Vt.—knows Dr. Thayer,⁵³ & speaks very highly of him— / Fred Cogswell—young man, printer on Chronicle⁵⁴ / Theodore F. Wilsey Schenectady N. Y. was in Armory Square Hosp. 1863. office 122 Penn av. bet. 19th & 20th (National Life Ins.) /⁵⁵ Lewin Ball—Depot car Wm Ball⁵⁶—17 car N. Y.[?] / Geo. S. Phillips⁵⁷ Editorial rooms Sun office New York City (Jan. '69⁵⁸ [I296V] Lewis /⁵⁹ Hannibal Hamlin⁶⁰ Steele Bowman⁶¹ May 5—ret from Montana—\$1 / Henry Ansley,⁶² 480 Penn av. bet 3d & 4½ st. warranted watch for one year from 14th Jan '69 /⁶³ [No]⁶⁴ gold watch—42. 530 stamped G. C. Allen⁶⁵ / James Sanders (Champion)⁶⁶ / Robt. Avery⁶⁷ 479 E near 4½ officer—one leg—Armory Square [I297R]⁶⁸ Call at 274 Penn av. adj. Kirkwood House & see painting of surrender of Lee at Appomattox / George Howard⁶⁹ driver 7th st 2 car behind 55 / car 55 goes down past M—9 o'clock am 12: M [past] Penn av. 1.50 3.20 7.50 Goes up Penn. av. a little before 4 ?9⁷⁰ / Frank G. Newland.⁷¹ *John B. Newland*⁷² [:] my friend with Gen. Mishler⁷³ & his brother Frank⁷⁴ / Benj. Robb (“Mulligans”) lives n. Navy Yard bright looking—aged 21—

53. See [I294R].

54. Probably the *Washington Daily Chronicle*.

55. Entry in black pencil.

56. Carman at 804 Washington in NY directory for 1866–1867.

57. Probably “January Searle.” See “English Runic.” Not listed in NY directories between 1868 and 1875.

58. Entry in black pencil.

59. In another hand: “C. S. Tartter 2106 West De Lancey Place/” . The 1873 directory lists him as a cashier living at this Philadelphia address; 1874 and later directories give suburban residences.

60. Hannibal Hamlin (1809–1891), vice-president (1860–1864) and senator from Maine (1848–1861, 1869–1881).

61. The relation of this name to the remainder of the entry is not clear. “Steele” is written over an illegible entry on the line with “Hannibal Hamlin” ; “Bowman” is written below “Steele” on a line with “May 5” Bowman has not been identified. The meaning of the last sentence is unknown.

62. A watchmaker and jeweller of this name in Washington directories from 1867 to 1873, but not at this address.

63. Deleted in black ink: “No of Watch? 362, 557?” Entry in black pencil.

64. WW used a ditto mark under preceding deleted “No”

65. Word and name inserted in black ink on two lines following “420 530”

66. Entry in black pencil.

67. A person of this name employed at Coastal Survey between 1866 and 1874, but not listed at this address.

68. White wove, 5" x 3⅞", curved corners on right edge, blue rules ½" apart on recto and verso, vertical double red rule on verso about halfway across leaf. All in black pencil except as noted.

69. A driver of this name listed in Washington directories, 1866–1874.

70. Following line and entry in black ink.

71. A person of this name listed as clerk in the Post Office in 1869 and 1870, and after 1871 in the Patent Office.

72. A person of this name is listed as clerk in the Public Works Office in 1868 and clerk in the Washington Aqueduct office in 1870 and 1871. This entry must date from 1870. Underlined in black pencil.

73. A Brigadier General Nathaniel Michler is listed as Superintendent of Public Buildings in directories for 1870, 1871.

74. Preceding four words in black pencil.

father 67 hale & hearty—works in Navy [*illeg.*] E[?] / Nat. Gerard⁷⁵ tow-headed boy riding with Townsend / Martin Smith—29 driver / Jim Weaver—conductor⁷⁶ [I297V] March 17 '69 Oliver Dunn Cond. N. Y. /⁷⁷ [I297b]⁷⁸ [I298R]⁷⁹ Mrs. Henry A. Blood.⁸⁰ New Ipswich New Hampshire /⁸¹ Mrs. Asenath Benedict⁸² / Mrs. Cecilia B. Stanbery⁸³ / Benj Clarke,⁸⁴ youth, printer cor 13th & av. / John Laughlin youth, hill boy, Treasury hill July 28 '69 / Thomas Potter, youth of 16 or 17—brings Gen. Boyntons bakery[?]⁸⁵ [I298V] Mr & Mrs. J. O. McClellan.⁸⁶ Batavia, Illinois / James Buchan & Co 190 Elizabeth st New York Carbolic soap⁸⁷ / the Partridges,⁸⁸ 323 Adelphi st near Fulton av. / Pattberg 561 Broadway top floor mats &c. / Col. Otis, foreman Gov't printing office⁸⁹ [I299R]⁹⁰ W. J. Hennessey, care of Rev. E. Colton box 1844 New Haven Conn / Walter W. Reynolds⁹¹ care C. F. Fairfield, box 362 Minneapolis Minn / Dr. F. S. Gray⁹² 22 West 29th st / Charles Henley "Curly"⁹³ / David Colyer,⁹⁴ No 7 Edward Jessup John McCord,⁹⁵ John Wright⁹⁶ (not George) Stephen Murphy,⁹⁷ Jimmy & Pat Connolly

75. A person of this name listed as messenger in 1869, clerk in 1870 and 1871, messenger in 1873, and clerk in 1874. Deleted: "hair brown"

76. Conductor of this name listed only in 1869.

77. Preceding entry in black pencil. [I297a] yellow paper paste-on, ½" x 2¼", inscribed in blue ink in another hand: "Geo. E. Townsend [*del. in black ink*: 126 St. John St] 119 Poplar St [*ins. by WW in black ink*] New Haven Conn."

Succeeding entries upside down on leaf. All cancelled with black vertical stroke. "Philp & Solomon Feb 11. '68—supplied order for 12 copies L of G. \$4 Aug 10, '68 supplied 2 copies—\$4 Early in Nov. '68—sent 6 copies on sale/ Jan 27, 1870—Acc't with Philp & Solomon settled up to Date— They have 5 copies L. of G on sale allow me \$2 a copy. Oct 20, '71—had 2 copies more [*Entry cancelled with red stroke also.*] / French & Richardson Dec. 10 '68—supplied 7 copies at \$1:80." See [I276R] above and "Washington Dec. 19 1870."

78. Left edge of cut-out leaf, 4½" x ¾"; words and fragments of words in black ink visible.

79. White wove, 4⅞" x 3½", vertical blue rules ⅜" apart on verso.

80. Connection with Jennie Bullard of New Ipswich, if any, not known. See "Epictetus." Since New Ipswich is a small village, the coincidence is striking. Mr. Blood was a clerk in the Internal Revenue Service. See [I302V].

81. Deleted with slanting slash: "Mrs. J. O. McClellan, care of Dr. Stone, Kalamazoo Michigan/" See [I298V].

82. A woman of this name is listed at the same address as Sevillon Brown (see [I294V]) in 1870 and through 1874.

83. Possibly the wife of Henry Stanbery (1803–1881), attorney-general under Johnson and WW's chief, 1866–1868. The Stanberys returned to Cincinnati in 1868.

84. A printer of this name is listed from 1869 to 1872.

85. Entry in black pencil.

86. See different address for Mrs. McClellan above [I298R].

87. Two words circled at lower left.

88. Carpenter and sashmaker at this address in Brooklyn directory for 1869–1870.

89. Entry in black pencil.

90. White wove, 4¾" x 3¾", vertical blue rules ⅜" apart on recto.

91. Deleted: "with McKesson & Robbins, 91 & 92 Fulton st. (160 E. 20th st.) New York City/". Deleted in a loop at lower left: "182 3d av. near 17th" New address inserted between lines. Note entry for Mrs. Reynolds at same NY address [I291V] and [I291R].

92. See [I295V] above for another entry.

93. A "Curly," an Ohio soldier, is mentioned in *Corr.*, I, 120, 331.

94. Listed at 424 W. 49th, driver, in NYC directory 1870, 1871.

95. Listed at 150 Pearl, driver, Brooklyn directory 1866–1867.

96. Listed at 248 Tenth Ave., driver, in NYC directory 1866–1867.

97. Listed at N 5th c 3d, driver, in Brooklyn directory 1869, 1870.

[:]⁹⁸ (Chas Healy⁹⁹ curly) drivers Albert Hull on 23d st formerly on 8th Chas. Jewett 23d st. / Colored boy & Mother Lewis Neale 1418F house sets back¹ [1299V] James & Mrs. Haggerty 73 West 23 near 5th at hotel² / Mr & Mrs. Doolittle 208 I 2d door from 20th (? or 23) / Charles Blackmore Herbert Cook [:] (on hill) at [illeg.] / John D. Farrell 120 84th st. near 3d av. (Jim Fory) / Elijah Tompkins³ 306 66th st. near 2d av. / Dan Christman's⁴ Restaurant 636 Eighth st. East. near Navy Yard gate Washington, D. C. [1300R]⁵ Geo. W. Barrow. "Arthur"—No. 4.⁶ / Ned Stewart's⁷ brother William—(they call him Tone) / Henry Hervey Tracy red hair—conductor / Charles Warren Stoddard⁸ p.o. box 1005 San Francisco, Cal⁹ July 1871 / Lloyd—young man in M. St. bet. 10th & 11th / Traverce Hedgeman¹⁰ young slight fair feminine conductor 7th / Willy Halers. drummer boy in marine band / John L. Sanders, 30 depot—6 Navy Yard. [1300V] Eichholtz¹¹ 275 D St near 13 / Hinton¹² east of I¹³ 434 D. 1 door below 4th Monday evening / Wallace Loyd policeman on Av bet 12 & 13 Loupy[?] gait / Thos.¹⁴ Stewart driver car Toby—very red face April '69 [1301R]¹⁵ James Delay—laborer Treasury building¹⁶ says he has known me 9 years / James Davis Macfarland Jimmy Davis, formerly hill boy at Capitol / John Farnum¹⁷ young man in Bank 7th st. restaurant acquaintance / Townsend Clement¹⁸ other young man in Smith & Strong frame shop[?] / Carlo—fruit stand 14th st / John J. McCook¹⁹ int by Mr Blakie[?] / Old man—clocks, & umbrellas mended Mr. Pierce /²⁰ James T. Taylor, route on Intelligencer formerly[?] conductor[?] / F. J. Forner

98. Preceding names in column. The bracket points to "drivers" . Following entries in column.

99. Listed at 232 Division, carman, NYC directory 1866–67. Possibly the same as the "Henley" entered above.

1. Entry in red crayon, address written over in black ink. See [1301R].

2. Preceding entry in red crayon, succeeding entries in black pencil.

3. A soldier from NY of this name is mentioned in "return my book."

4. Listed as a barkeeper in 1869, and owner of a restaurant in 1870. A Henry or Harry Christman is more often listed as owning a restaurant at this address.

5. White wove, 5" x 4", rounded lower right corner, blue rules ½" apart on recto.

6. Entry in black pencil.

7. A driver or conductor in Washington. He was a friend of Doyle, who wrote WW in August, 1870. *Corr.*, II, 108.

8. A writer (1843–1909). His letters to WW in 1869 and 1870 (*Corr.*, II, 81, 97) and his *South Sea Idylls* (1873) are strongly marked by "Calamus" emotions.

9. Deleted: "April" ; inserted: "July" ; "1" written over "o" in year, all in three lines to the right of the address, written on two lines.

10. Name inserted in pencil over dash in black ink.

11. Possibly a "German sergeant with the bad compound fracture" in 1866. He later lived in Washington. See *Corr.*, I, 276–277n. He is listed in directories for 1867 (as a pensioner), and 1868 at the same address as Augusta Eichholtz, dressmaker.

12. At this address in 1869 only.

13. Preceding three words at upper right above "below"

14. Deleted: illegible name ; inserted above: "Stewart"

15. White wove, 4¾" x 3½", blue rules ⅜" apart recto and verso.

16. Remainder of entry at left, separated by an irregular slant line.

17. Listed in Washington directories 1867–1872.

18. Listed in directories 1868–1874; after 1872 listed as in the Treasury.

19. Possibly John J. McCook, lawyer, 291 Broadway, listed in NYC directory 1871–1872.

20. Preceding entry and lines in black pencil.

[?] room 68 3d [*illeg.*]²¹ / Mrs. Neal,²² (Lewis,) washwoman[?] 1418 F. (house sets back) [1301V]²³ N. Y. printing Co 81, 83, & 85 Centre st²⁴ / Judge Lander,²⁵ gray, benevolent medium sized / Alfred Thornett²⁶ Cond. 14th / Lawrence Henry Williams²⁷ cond. 7th st. medium young—drest in dark clothes fair / John Kimball, cond av. new man young smallish medium size drest in dark clothes / Frank M. Everett cond 28 [1302V; 1302R *blank*]²⁸ Erskine B. Branch²⁹ Saratoga Springs New York. / John O'Connor. doorkeeper—Treas. Dep't Nov. 2. '69 / the Bloods³⁰—1221 I near 13th / William Jeffers cond. No. 7. single—boards with Mrs. Fry—lodges near depot / Joseph S. Moss,³¹ St Albans Vt. youth of 16 or 17—with Smith & Strong,—245 F st.—has a brother of 25—bookkeeper at Adams Express—was here two years since on a visit—is now here three weeks only—Dec. 1. '69 / Addison Wood DeVaughn cond. No 2—[1305R; ³² 1303R & V; ³³ 1304 R and V *photostat*] James B. Saunders.³⁴ “Champ” / Alfred E. Stratton N. Y. state both arms off. / Barney Connor³⁵ newsboy (13 or 14) at P. O.) / Stacy Potts, cond 13 aged 18—boyish looking / F. A. Sawyer³⁶ Senator U. S. 1310 F st. bet 13 & 14 / Geo S. McWatters?³⁷ policeman—New York / Maurice Davis young man picture shop 7th near M / Cyril Flower,³⁸ Furzedown, Streetham Surrey, England [1305V]³⁹ Geo. W. Harding 860 Sixth av. bet 48th & 49th st. New

21. Entry in black pencil.

22. See [1299R] above.

23. In other hands in black pencil: “J. Kroell 420 14th H 12./ Elliott Coues Smithsonian Institution Washington, D. C.” WW seems to have repeated the last names in his own hand at upper right of each entry. Coues (1842–1899) became a distinguished ornithologist.

24. Entry in black pencil.

25. Lawyer in Washington directories, 1868–74.

26. Possibly the meteorologist mentioned in “D. W. Wilder.”

27. Listed in Washington directory 1872.

28. White wove, 4¹¹/₁₆” x 3⁷/₈”, blue rules ⁵/₁₆” apart recto and verso.

29. See “D. W. Wilder.”

30. Probably the Mrs. Henry A. Blood of [1298R]. Henry A. Blood was a clerk in the Internal Revenue Service. In 1871 he lived at 122 I NW. He is not listed as living at “N. E. cor 10th & H” (deleted in MS).

31. Clerk of this name listed in directories of 1870, 1871. Smith and Strong is listed as an art gallery in 1870.

32. White wove, 5” x 3³/₄”, blue rules ³/₈” apart on verso.

33. Leaf so torn that it is difficult to see how it holds together. LC photostat [1304] shows that before the notebook was disassembled by LC for mounting [1303] was bound in upside down. A few words are legible. The recto appears to have been a series of separate entries. The top one is “Nov. [*illeg.*] 67[?]” The last refers to an address on Broome St. and concludes “for 20 copies (\$30:” Possibly this is a reference to Michael Doolady [1279R]. The verso, which is almost totally lost, seems to have been continuous text.

34. A conductor of this name was listed in Washington directories for 1869, 1870. A conductor named Champion B. Saunders appears in 1872.

35. Deleted: “bo”

36. Sawyer, F. A. (1822–1891), senator from South Carolina, 1868–1873.

37. WW inscribed a copy of *DT*, now in University of California Library: “Geo. S. McWatters, from Walt Whitman. Washington Feb. 1870” (F. DeWolfe Miller, ed., *Walt Whitman's Drum-Taps and Sequel to Drum-Taps*, Gainesville, Fla., 1959, lv.) A question mark in blue crayon stands above “McWatters” .

38. See “D. W. Wilder.”

39. In another hand: “J. Macdonough. 1. Wall st. house 1207 west 71st st New York./”

York / Lester B. Howe, Geneseo, New York Livingston Co. / Wm G. Green.⁴⁰ Treas clerk lost left hand—lives over at Uniontown, with father-in-law / John W. Curry,⁴¹ colored letter carrier / R. M. Burke,⁴² Ottawa Canada. [1306R]⁴³ residence LeDroit Park Washington / Stephen Chapin⁴⁴ “Brick Pomeroy⁴⁵ / Col. & Mrs. Herring 151 Market st. Newark N. J. office N. J. Mutual Maggie Ashland[?] House. /⁴⁶ C. Camnack & Son⁴⁷ 1423 F street 5 doors east of 15th [1306V] Thos. Jeff. Hibsman⁴⁸ went in war as drummer boy—then one year as soldier. / was born in Penn. / Allen Gangewer⁴⁹ young man 3d auditors office room 68 / Chas Lewis is in Antwerp came back & married Miss Smallwood, daughter of ag’t Col. College [1307; ⁵⁰ 1306a ⁵¹ R and V torn out except illeg. scrap at top.] [1309; ⁵² 1308⁵³] demijohns 27 S. Front st [1311R; ⁵⁴ 1310R]⁵⁵ Aug 8 measurement The naked breast [illeg.] the arm pits [illeg.] in [illeg.] feet 5 ft. 10¾ inches /⁵⁶ [illeg.] Logan [?] 713 Market space [illeg.] Copeland [?] 643 Louisiana av Annie Alcott[?] Emma Boardman [:] 434 Arch st. /⁵⁷ [illeg.] Saturday[?] Review, Oct. 2200[?] words in page. (smaller type—not [illeg.] difference in other [illeg.] [1311A]⁵⁸ Name of the eng. is McRae⁵⁹

40. A treasury clerk of this name is listed in Washington directories for 1867 through 1873. In 1872 and 1873 he was listed as living at Uniontown.

41. A letter carrier of this name appears in Washington directories for 1871 through 1874. Despite WW’s notations, he is not identified as colored in the directory.

42. The reading is clearly “Burke,” not “Bucke.”

43. White wove, 5 x 3¾”, blue rules ⅜” apart on recto. In another hand: “J. B. Marvin” ; deleted: “Internal Revenue Bureau” . Marvin, a Treasury employee of some standing, published an extremely laudatory article “Walt Whitman” in *The Radical Review* in 1877. See above [1279R], “*The Two Objections*,” “Jeff/Mary/Han,” “Kansas & Colorado Trip. ” In another hand: “S.[?] Wolf, 616 L st/”

An unnumbered dark scrap has: “India rubber [illeg.]” on recto. Verso: [illeg.]

44. A Stephen Chapin is listed in Washington directory as correspondent for the *New Orleans Bee* in 1870.

45. “Buck Pomeroy” was the pseudonym of Marcus Mills Pomeroy (1833–1896), journalist.

46. Deleted: [illeg.]

47. C. Cammack & Son, tailors, at this address in Washington directories from 1871 to 1874.

48. In another hand: “T. J. Hibbsman, [del.] Secretary’s Office Treasury 428 Carroll Place First Street East Capitol Hill” . Thomas J. Hibshman, a Treasury clerk boarding at 1st near A SE is listed in 1870 only.

49. See “D. W. Wilder.” He is listed in Washington directories from 1866 through 1874.

50. Small scrap across top of leaf. Traces of writing recto and verso.

51. Clipping or label of “W Horter & Co 109 Market St, Philadelphia” . Listed as liquor dealers in directories for 1873, 1874, and 1875.

52. White wove, 7/16” x 2½”.

53. Clipped advertisement for S. W. Green, printer, 18 Jacob St. NY.

54. Clipped advertisement or letterhead for W. H. Pifer, booksellers, 232 Washington St., Boston. They handled *LG*.

55. White wove, 4¹⁵/₁₆” x 2¾”. Leaf badly worn away at right corners; width given that of widest part.

56. Preceding in black pencil. Possibly these are WW’s measurements?

57. Entry in black ink, written upside down.

58. Dark scrap.

59. See [1269R] above.

E Pluribus Unum.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg # 600). Inscribed in black ink on thin white wove paper 7¼" x 4½". No date can be assigned.

E Pluribus Unum./

"Northern lights"—fitful¹ flashes and hectic² night of the swift coruscations/

"coals of fire" (³fleeces of silver and gold in the sky/

The idea of that in religious chants (pleasure or what not)⁴ which hastens to steadily and indefinitely expand itself, and beget⁵ the future of itself, and ascend and purify itself,—as distinguished from that which merely flashes a⁶ moment, and then descends and expires/

As of⁷ Columbus starting out⁸ with the object of finding the way to Old Asia, but fails in⁹ his object—but finds a New World America—i.e. our purposes are futile, yet result in great results

1. Inserted above "flashes"

2. Inserted above "night"

3. An open loop around word.

4. Preceding seven words inserted above "that . . . which hastens to"

5. Deleted: "ascend[?]" ; inserted above: "beget"

6. Deleted: "f"

7. Preceding two words inserted above and before "Columbus"

8. Deleted: "to" ; inserted: "with the object of" on a line above "[del.] to " and "finding the way"

9. Deleted: "f"

Harewood Jan 24 '66.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black pencil on scrap of white wove paper, approx. 4½" x 3⅛". Blue lines approx. ⅜" apart. Printed by Glicksberg, 160. See also "Addresses."

Harewood
Jan 24 '66

Wilson Chesson
co F 5th Cav./
age 19—Pluro Pneumonia/
mother Mrs. Naomi Chesson
Plymouth—N.C.

young N.C. boy—very sick—is not willing I should write to his mother—lies still, with lack-luster eyes—

For Years.

Manuscript not found. Text from *NYD*, 27. Holloway and Adimari (*NYD*, 27, 204) say it is from WW's "own draft of a memorandum sent by William Douglas O'Connor to Moncure D. Conway, on which the latter was to base his article on Whitman in the British *Fortnightly* (October 15, 1866)." The MS was formerly in the collection of Henry Goldsmith. O'Connor's draft is in Yale. The date is 1866.

For years, he frequented constantly Dr. Abbott's Museum of Egyptian antiquities in New York, absorbing everything.

Walt Whitman's Second Wind.

Manuscript not found. Text from *N&F*, 65 (Pt. II, #40; *CW*, IX, 24). The date is evidently after 1865, possibly 1867.

Walt Whitman's second wind.

Although the phrase may not be thought a very refined one, there is no description that so thoroughly hits the mark as the foregoing one borrowed from the vocabulary of the prize ring.

There is a certain poise of self-pride about the book that offends many.

It is very certain not only that its pages could not have been written anywhere else except in America and at the present, but that the Secession War, or as he calls it the "Union War" is their latent father, and that the result of that war gives an undertone or background of triumph and prophecy to every page.

Memo. The Saturday Review.

Manuscript not found. Text from Traubel, I, 242. The *Saturday Review* comment is made at the beginning of a review of a book of American poetry, vol. 24 (September 21, 1867), 383. *Tinsley's Magazine* was an English publication, also. The date is October, 1867.

Memo. The Saturday Review (London) of Sept 21, 1867, (p 383) distinctly endorses Walt Whitman as the only *American* poet—complains of all the other writers of verse in the United States, are mere imitators, without exception. *Tinsley's Magazine*, for Oct. '67.

?The Foregoing Remarks.

Manuscript in LC (# 97). Homemade notebook, approx. 8" x 6", composed of two kinds of paper: [1051, 1052, 1056a and 1056b] are on white laid paper, water-marked "Joynton 1862." [1053, 1054, 1055] are on white, laid, unwatermarked paper with blue lines $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. LC *Cat.*, #18, says originally sewn with a red ribbon which is not now with the disassembled and mounted leaves. Inscribed in black pencil with black ink correction as noted. Blank leaves and many stubs preserved. LC assigns a conjectural date of 1862, but the reference to "late masses of slaves" indicates a date possibly later than 1865, certainly later than January 1, 1863. The reference to Carlyle might have arisen from WW's reading of Carlyle's three-line anti-Union dialogue, "Ilias (Americana) in Nuce," *Macmillan's Magazine* (1863), but the text suggests a stronger and broader statement such as Carlyle's "Shooting Niagara: and After," *ibid.*, 8 (August, 1867). WW published "Democracy," the first part of "DEMOCRATIC VISTAS," in December, 1867. All the notebook thus was written in the autumn of 1867. The draft of an 1878 letter to Mrs. Susan Stafford on verso (*Corr.*, III, 145) of [1055V] probably results from WW's reaching for the nearest scrap of paper on the floor in Camden.

[1051R] ? The foregoing¹ remarks The remarks I am about to make apply more to Europe where Democracy still waits for inauguration² than America. Here they apply almost exclusively to the masses³ or the lower order of immigrants collected in our large cities,⁴ and to the late masses of slaves.⁵ The prevailing characteristics of the native born⁶ people of every one of⁷ These States make⁸ the line of statement altogether inappropriate⁹ to them. They have long past¹⁰ beyond it. But as Democracy has to do with the¹¹ whole, the¹² points contained

1. Written over [*illeg.*].
2. The following six words inserted above "more to"
3. Inserted.
4. Preceding five words inserted above "grants" of "immigrants" and "and to"
5. At top of page and brought down on an arrow: "of immigrants . . . slaves."
6. Preceding two words inserted above "the people"
7. Preceding three words inserted above "these"
8. Deleted: "make them entirely useful [*illeg.*]" ; inserted: "the . . . statement"
9. Deleted: "to apply such remarks"
10. Deleted: "p"
11. Deleted: "whole body"
12. Remainder of the sentence written in a small hand between lines.

in this part of the question must be met. The above¹³ might come in after the statement¹⁴

{1052R; 1051 V blank} Checkers 305 Market¹⁵

{1053R; ¹⁶ 1052V blank} toward end¹⁷

—The perceptive reader will see that what is said¹⁸ in this article is not by any means¹⁹ intended²⁰ as a formal²¹ rejoinder & answer to Mr. Carlyle.²² What he has offered is after his own manner, frank, bold, & incisive— & is as it should be. For the vast, the aged and ever-changing²³ Edifice of politico-humanity, he, as architect, has presented his plan of repair,—his idea of²⁴ strengthening,²⁵ & revivifying.²⁶ It seems to embody, & stand for, what many shrewd persons & just persons, here in America & there in Europe,²⁷ think, believe or dread, in some form²⁸ or other.²⁹ Largely considered,

{1054R}³⁰ Time³¹ alone can finally answer all these things. But³² as a³³ substitute of an answer,³⁴ as in passing, here are thrown out³⁵ a few suggestions,³⁶ indirections of that other plan, in the new spirit with the³⁷ new [illeg.]*

13. WW's paragraph sign at beginning.

14. A large upward pointing hand at left of this sentence.

15. The location might be in NYC, Philadelphia, or Washington.

16. Lower two-thirds of leaf torn off irregularly with small left stub remaining.

17. Written at top of page.

18. Deleted: "here" ; inserted: "in this article" above "[del.] here" and "is"

19. Preceding three words inserted above "intended"

20. Deleted: "at all"

21. Inserted above "answer" : "[illeg. del.] rejoinder &"

22. Deleted: "He as architect has presented the The great" ; inserted: "What he has [del.] written offered [three words del.] is as it is after his own [illeg. del.] manner, frank, bold & incisive— & is as it should be [preceding sixteen words brought down from top of page on asterisks]"

23. Preceding seven words inserted below the line.

24. Preceding three words inserted above two illegible letters.

25. Deleted: "revif" ; inserted above and before the deletion: "&"

26. Deleted: "The only answer"

27. Preceding seven words inserted above "persons . . . believe"

28. Deleted: [illeg.]

29. Deleted: "Thus answered" ; inserted above: "[del.] The" and "Largely"

30. Torn like {1052R}. Cancelled with slanting stroke.

31. Deleted: "Can be the only" ; inserted above "[del.] only" and "answer" : "alone can finally"

32. Deleted: [illeg.]

33. Deleted: "form"; inserted above: "substitute"

34. Deleted: "en passant" ; inserted: "as" above "ss" in "passant"

35. Preceding two words inserted above "are . . . a few"

36. Deleted: "& outlines" ; inserted in black ink: "indirections" above "of that"

37. Inserted in word space between "with . . . new"

[1055R; 1053V, 1054V blank]³⁸ The civilized world is full of³⁹ maladies

*⁴⁰ That there are dreadful evils, minute & aggregate—that there⁴¹ is many
a vexing problem.

[1056V; ⁴² 1055V, ⁴³ 1056R blank] (for refrain piece

Here goes your fine fat oysters⁴⁴

Here goes your oysters

Here they go—o—o—

Here they go,

[1056b, 1056a, stubs.]

38. Original beginnings: "That the" ; "the" capitalized.

39. Deleted: "evils"

40. Possibly related to asterisked passage on [1054R].

41. Written over [*illeg.*].

42. Written sideways on leaf.

43. Contains draft of a letter to Mrs. Susan Stafford, probably to be dated December, 1878.
See *Corr.*, III, 145.

44. Line identical with one in "Poem (subject) ? for recitation." Over the first syllable of "oysters" are two chevron-shaped diacritical marks; the first syllable of "oysters" in the second line and the first two letters of "go—o—o—" in the third line are marked with single chevrons. Possibly WW was indicating a rising and falling inflection of the voice.

For Introductory.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil on sheet of white wove notebook paper, 6½" x 4", rounded corners upper right and lower left, torn from binding at left, blue rules approx. ¼" apart, top margin ⅝". See *DV, Prose* 92, II, 377ff. Probably written in late 1867 when WW was preparing "Democracy," the first part of *DV*, which appeared in the *Galaxy*, IV (December, 1867). The reference to *MDW* is not clear. A statement parallel to this is in "The Tramp and Strike Questions," *Prose* 92, II, 528.

for introductory to
Mem of War

for Dem Vistas¹—make the point—²the four or five years³ of the War strongly⁴ illustrated what every year of the peaceful life of⁵ America had been before & still⁶ has quietly illustrated, that the heroism & best points & wit of The States, are not⁷ as in other Lands, & in all the past resident⁸ in special Eminences of rulers or leaders or any exceptional⁹ chieftains or rallying-points of persons whatever—but the heroism of the United States resides in the¹⁰ fair broad, limitless, average mass of the Common People—in the country as well as city, & in-

1. Pointing fist in left margin before "make"
2. Deleted: "that"
3. Preceding five words inserted above "[del.] that" and "the War"
4. Inserted above "illus" in "illustrated"
5. Deleted: "These States" ; inserted above "[del.] These" : "America"
6. Preceding five words inserted above "States . . . quietly"
7. Deleted: "to be looked for"
8. Inserted above "st" in "past" and "in"
9. Deleted: "persons" ; inserted above: "chieftains"
10. Deleted: "good"

Or Modifies His Belief.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in pencil on white laid paper, left edge cut and irregular, approx. $7\frac{3}{4}$ " x $4\frac{1}{2}$ ". Chain lines $\frac{3}{4}$ " and blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart, to within $\frac{3}{8}$ " of the left edge. Embossed stamp upper left: "Congress" "P & P," Capitol building $\frac{1}{4}$ " wide viewed slightly from right. The paper is one WW used frequently during the decade he was in Washington. The content bears some relation to *DV*. Date probably in the late 1860s.

or modifies his belief, manners, dress, & general inward & outward belongings.¹ Yet the latent,² indirect but³ never-ceasing⁴ tendency & urge of Democracy⁵ is Individualism. The type⁶ shall remain identical,⁷ because Humanity⁸ remains so; but each man, each woman,⁹ shall present¹⁰ a¹¹ completed isolated specimen as each physiognomy¹² is & must¹³ be.

1. Comma deleted, period inserted. Capital letter written over lowercase in "Yet" .
2. Deleted: "unvarying,"
3. Deleted: "ever continuous" ; inserted above: "never-ceasing"
4. Deleted: "tendents tendensey [?]" ; inserted above "[del.] tendensey" : "tendency &"
5. Deleted: [illeg.]
6. Deleted: [illeg.] ; inserted above deletions and "identical" : "shall ever [del.] remain"
7. Deleted: "but the speciman"
8. Deleted: "is" ; inserted and deleted: "ever" above "is" ; inserted: "remains" above "[del.] is" and "so"
9. Inserted: "shall present" above "woman"
10. Deleted: "is" ; inserted and deleted above: "shall be"
11. Deleted: "an" ; inserted and deleted above: "a" ; inserted and deleted: "[illeg.] as much [illeg.]" above "[del.] an" and "isola" in "isolated" ; inserted under deletion: "completed"
12. Deleted: "is" ; inserted above: "is . . . be."
13. Deleted in the insert: "shall" ; inserted above: "must"

Then (I Should Say.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on three irregular scraps of white wove paper: approx. 1½" x 5⅝", 3¼" x 5¼", 5⅝" x 5¼". Pinholes. Scraps pasted on a leaf 7⅜" x 5¹¹/₁₆". The content suggests the "cosmic literature" section (the last third) of *DV*. On the basis of the handwriting, this probably was written in the 1860s or early 1870s.

Then (I should say, as a sort of concluding thought)¹ the bond of the American Union being & needing to be, far more potent than merely² a political one —³ he alone will⁴ henceforth⁵ serve the unfolding of⁶ Both purposes⁷ after any profound plan, or toward any heroic results, who realizes thoroughly that,⁸ from this time,⁹ the most important of such¹⁰ purposes for the Union or the¹¹ States separately, are not their Political ones, (though those are very,¹² very important,) but far more their¹³ common social,[?] and¹⁴ esthetic, and especially their Religious ones. Out of¹⁵ these, & out of nothing less than these, & a combining philosophy tinged with and tinging these, may we expect in future the satisfactory ultimate triumph of Democracy,

1. End of first scrap.
2. Inserted above "a"
3. End of second scrap.
4. Deleted: "in lasting manner" ; inserted above: "henceforth" above "[del.] in lasting"
5. Inserted and trimmed off: [illeg.]
6. Deleted: "the deep" ; inserted above: "Both"
7. Deleted: "of These States" . Comma not deleted, not shown. Inserted and deleted above deletion and "after any" : "The Western (as all the rest.)"
8. Inserted: "from this time" "that the most"
9. Inserted and deleted: "forth, [illeg.]"
10. Deleted: "results" ; inserted: "purposes . . . separately," on a line above "[del.] results" and "are not their political ones"
11. Deleted: [illeg.] ; inserted: "States" above [illeg. del.]
12. Inserted above "are"
13. Inserted and deleted: "original" above "common"
14. Deleted: "literary" ; inserted above: "esthetic"
15. Deleted: "all"

1st [:] Democracy.

Manuscript in LC (#73, sheet #493V). First scrap is inscribed in black ink on white laid paper, approx. 5" x 7¼", with blue rules ½" apart. The second scrap is the verso of "Certain Studies." See also "All these are." A plan for *Democratic Vistas*. Since the section "Democracy" was published in *Galaxy*, 4 (December, 1867), 919-933, and "Personalism" in May 1868, this MS is likely to have been written before December, 1867.

1st [:]¹ Democracy—(already published.)

2d [:]² Personalism including the Conscience-Moral part³

3d [:]⁴ To the Literary Classes—the whole Salvation of the future depends upon a new breed of grand Litterateurs—

1. Brace.
2. Brace.
3. End of first scrap.
4. Brace.

(Personalism.)

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #17). Inscribed in black ink and, as noted, pencil on white wove paper, 4¾" x 7¾", cut from the bottom of a longer sheet. Blue rules on recto ½" apart. Left edge appears to have been torn from a pad or binding. In his card catalog, Feinberg dates the MS in 1856 and calls attention to "The Song of Prudence" (1856), which is derived from the 1855 Preface. The writing, however, which is larger and more flowing than other 1855–1856 MS, suggests a date in the 1860s. The topics also suggest a date closer to *DV* (1871). The second part of *DV* (*Prose* 92, II, 291–403, ll. 894–1275) was published separately as "Personalism" in the *Galaxy* (May, 1868). One of the leading topics of *DV* is the inadequacy of "culture." See also "I do not feel to write." The date is more likely 1867–1868.

(1 Personalism

Culture, as used, means human knowledge
acquirements.²

—Announce

that the Devout Spirit,³
Conscientiousness
A sense of immortality
the spiritual sense
the spiritual prudence

(—spiritual prudence)⁴

nearly altogether omitted in modern formulas, & in the atmosphere of poems & all the literary products.

1. Curved line at left of and below word.

2. Inserted in pencil.

3. The following four attributes of culture are in column under "Devout Spirit"

4. Phrase emphasized by a pointing fist at beginning and end and line around the whole.

For Dem Vistas.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil on a scrap of army clothing-issue form. "Mullein and Bumble Bees" appears to have been a proposed title for *SD* (*Prose* 92, I, 248), and the phrase appears in various forms in several MS: "Mullein & Bumble Bee Notes" (in LC, not printed here), which bears a possibly unrelated date, July, 1875; "Only Reader dear," dated 1877; "But Only pond-babble—*Only Mulleins & Bumble-Bees*," dated May 3, 1878. The writing is firm, possibly from 1867 to 1871. The relationship to *DV*, which was published in 1871, is not clear.

for Dem Vistas—

In "Mulleins & Bumble Bees" the subtle thread-hold¹ running² through all the meditations & descriptive Memoranda should be the thought³ of Nature, & the conception of all its⁴ shows and sounds, viewed and heard and felt, from the inner & spinal centrality of Democracy.

1. Deleted: "that should"
2. Inserted: "ing" above "n" in "run"
3. Deleted: "&"
4. Deleted: "out ", "shows" ; inserted above: "shows and sounds,"

The Corruption.

Manuscript not found. Text from *N&F*, 177 (Pt. IV, # 120; *CW*, X, 32). It might have been written in the late 1850s or the 1870s.

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

For Dem Vistas.

Manuscript in Trent (19, #6). Inscribed in black pencil with emendations in black ink as noted, on three scraps originally pinned together, but now in dealer's binding with "pref to Dem Vistas." [1] white laid paper approx. 5" x 4 1/8", right corners clipped, blue rules 1/4" apart; [2] white wove paper approx. 6 3/8" x 4 1/8", upper left and both bottom corners clipped, blue rules 1/4" apart; [3] white wove paper approx. 1 3/4" x 3 7/8", torn from a pocket notebook, upper right corner rounded, blue rules 1/4" apart. The paper, the failure of pinholes to match, and the fact that "pref to Dem Vistas" begins with a capital letter as well as a title indicate that the two MS are not continuous, as Bucke presented them in *N&F*. See "Preface to *Democratic Vistas*." The date is between 1867 and 1870, probably the latter year, since it assumes a text entitled *DV* for which a preface might be written. *DV* was printed 1870 and published 1871. First published *N&F*, 61 (Pt. II, #32; *CW*, VI, 16).

for Dem Vistas

? for intro to ? Mem¹

? opening of Preface to
Dem Vistas

The central² dominant facts & glories³ of⁴ America are⁵ always to be found in the mass or bulk of the People.⁶ Other lands, in quite all⁷ ages and mainly⁸ at present,⁹ show justifying¹⁰ greatness¹¹ in their special exceptional¹² heroes,¹³ eminences,¹⁴ kings, martyrs,¹⁵ sages, warriors, bards, intellectualists¹⁶ or what not, [2]

1. Underlining in black ink. A fist in black ink below points to this phrase.
2. Deleted: "&"
3. Preceding two words inserted above "of"
4. Deleted: "the"
5. Deleted: "the"
6. Deleted: "In" ; "other " raised to uppercase.
7. Deleted: "other" ; inserted and deleted above: "past"
8. Inserted above "at"
9. Inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*]; deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "show"
10. Inserted above "greatness"
11. Deleted: "of those lands & ages have been & is to be found [*preceding three words ins. above* "[*del.*] is"]"
12. Inserted above "special"
13. Deleted: "&"
14. Deleted: "&"
15. Deleted: "P"
16. Inserted in black ink above "rds" in "bards" and "or" and "w" in "what"

making¹⁷ a gem-like sufficient¹⁸ setting to the whole¹⁹: If the²⁰ mass, the slag, have possess any²¹ brilliance or importance,²² it is reflected from these²³ gems, & as a background for them.²⁴

But²⁵ here in the United States, while we have curiously few “great men,” in the hitherto²⁶ accepted senses, in any department, there²⁷ is a *People*²⁸ in a sense never before seen or imagined.²⁹ True with³⁰ tremendous streaks of³¹ crudeness, & with³² deficiencies & faults arousing deepest anxiety,³³— yet still, upon the whole, with all the elements, promise, & {3} certainty of³⁴ a Democratic Nationality on the largest scales, & humanities en-masse, such³⁵ as have yet existed only in dreams—a People

17. Deleted: “a select” ; inserted and deleted above “[del.] select” : “them a”

18. Inserted above “-like”

19. Preceding three words inserted above “setting” and “[del.] giving”. Period added above undeleted comma. Deleted: “giving”

20. Deleted: “great”

21. Inserted above “have”

22. Preceding two words inserted above “nce” in “brilliance” and “it is” and “re” in “reflected”

23. Deleted: “few exceptional”

24. Preceding six words inserted above “But here in the United”. WW’s mark indicates new paragraph.

25. Deleted: “here” ; inserted below: “here in”

26. Inserted above “the” and “ac” in “accepted”

27. Deleted: “never was before such a [two words ins. and del.]” ; inserted: “is” above “[del.] never”

28. Deleted: “certainly”

29. Deleted: “With a”

30. Deleted: “a”

31. Preceding two words inserted above “ous” in “tremendous” and “cru” in “crudeness”

32. Deleted: [illeg.]

33. Deleted: “but” ; inserted above: “—yet”

34. Deleted: “such” ; inserted: “a” above and following.

35. Preceding four words inserted on two lines above “at have yet”

Preface to Democratic Vistas.

Manuscript not found. Text from *N&F*, 61 (Pt. II, #32; *CW*, VI, 15). Italics on "Democratic Vistas" from *CW*. Bucke prints this with "for Dem Vistas" and "pref to Dem Vistas" as a continuous essay, whereas they are related MS. The date is between 1867 and 1870, probably the latter year, since it assumes a text entitled *DV*, which was printed in 1870 and published in 1871. First printed in *N&F*.

Preface to *Democratic Vistas*.

In the following book I have combined together what at first reading may appear incongruous—(and I had better say here at once that he or she who is not willing to give the book at least two or three perusals, had better leave it untouched altogether). But the truest analogies and connections are not those of the surface, or of first sight, or visible; they are often like the Subterranean streams of far-apart outlets and different names, but identical at bottom. So my songs refuse to be described or grouped or classified in a statement and are themselves their only real description and classification.

Pref to Dem Vistas.

Manuscript in Duke (19, #6). Inscribed in black pencil on soft, light tan, wove paper of coarse texture, approx. 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 4". All corners of {1} trimmed, lower corners only of {2}. Like "Preface to *Democratic Vistas*" and "for Dem Vistas, this MS was printed by Bucke in *N&F* and *CW* as part of a continuous essay. The difference of paper, the failure of pinholes to match those of "for Dem Vistas" and the title indicate otherwise. The date is between 1867 and 1870, probably the latter year, since the title assumes a text. First published *N&F*, 61-62 (Pt. II, #32; *CW*, VI, 16).

pref to Dem Vistas

As will be seen in the following pages, it is my opinion¹ (repeated perhaps almost tiresomely)² that Democracy in³ New World⁴ soil, or corpus, having established itself in Politics, now waits⁵ for its thorough percolation in Literature, in⁶ the Social intercourse of all classes, and especially⁷ that between Employers & Employed persons. These only will breath into that⁸ corpus⁹ the breath of life, & make it a living throbbing talking acting¹⁰ soul

{2} Of course¹¹ It is to enforce this¹² in various forms, in my way, that I add the¹³

1. Preceding four words inserted above "following pages"
2. Deleted: "it is my [*del.*] conviction [*ins. and del.*] opinion"
3. Deleted: "the"
4. Deleted: "now waits" ; inserted above: "soil, [*del.*] hair{?} or corpus,"
5. Preceding seven words inserted on a line above "for its thorough percolation"
6. Inserted above the wordspace between "Literature" and "the"
7. Deleted: "in the"
8. Deleted: "co"
9. "the" written over "that"
10. "soul" written over "[*del.*] personality"
11. Inserted above "It is" . WW did not reduce uppercase on "It" .
12. Deleted: "in my way"
13. Three-line gap follows. Deleted after gap: "It is" "My idea"

The idea of Democracy¹⁴ to which the young men & young women of These States must habituate¹⁵ and adjust themselves¹⁶, & grow up to, is¹⁷ actual life in all its minutia, is¹⁸

not¹⁹ an abstract something in a theory, in the²⁰ laws, or for election days.

14. Deleted: "that" ; inserted: "to which"

15. Deleted: "them" ; inserted: "and"

16. Deleted: "to"

17. Deleted: "to involve their whole Life"

18. Two-line gap follows.

19. Deleted: "th"

20. Preceding two words inserted above wordspace between "theory" and "laws"

Democratic Vistas.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil on faded white wove paper 4" wide, length varies. *DV* was printed in 1871. It is written out like a title page with memoranda of costs below, between 1870 and 1871.

DEMOCRATIC VISTAS

A Melange

By W—— W——

Wrapping

2 quires	30	—	60
envel			75
ink —			.75
blank books —	6	—	25?
"		—	28
paper			

Theme for Piece.

Manuscript in Trent (10, #22). Inscribed in black ink on white laid notepaper, 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Written as a series of short phrases, most on separate lines with random indentations. WW is writing on the verso of an upside down leaf, for the margin is at bottom verso as is the outline of a Philp and Solomon embossed stamp. The text lies behind "Proud Music of the Storm" (1869) and "The Mystic Trumpeter" (1872) as Trent *Cat.* points out. The date is in the late 1860s.

Theme for Piece
 {*Theme for*}¹ Poem

An opera

? an opera in a dream
 —different singers & characters
 —the suggestions, associations²/

Some old song?³ hymn? Rock
 me to sleep mother?⁴

?Rock'd on the cradle of the deep?⁵
 —With its memories, *associations*
 —of where I last heard it,
 in Hospital.—

—? some typical appropriate
 ?*tune*, or ?hymn or ?something
 played by the band (?some dirge or ?opera passage or dead
 ?march)⁶

1. WW used ditto marks.

2. Pointing hand at left of final phrase.

3. Pointing hand at beginning of line.

4. "Rock me to Sleep" by Elizabeth Allen Akers (1832–1911) appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1860. A lively controversy followed over the authorship, which was settled in her favor in 1867. The poem begins "Backward, turn backward,/ O Time in your flight,/ Make me a child again just for to-night."

5. A salon song, lyrics by Emma Hart Willard (1787–1876), music by Joseph P. Knight (1812–1887), written about 1840. Formerly much loved by basses with the necessary low notes.

6. In parenthesis at right. Question mark above "march"

*Calling up the whole
dead of the war*

The march in last act of *La Gazza Ladra*⁷

[2] One Stanzas must describe
a strong *triumphal*
instrumental & vocal *chorus*
As of *triumphant man*—triumphant
over temptation & all
weakness & ?

7. Opera by Giacchino Rossini, first performed in 1817. WW heard it in his opera-going days in the late 1850s ("Plays and Operas Too," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 20). The opera has not been revived in many years, but the march is known from its use at the beginning of the well known overture.

Branches & Sprigs.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on long scrap of white laid paper 9¾" long, three or four words wide, irregular right edge. Blue rules ⅜" apart on recto only. Bernard relates it to "A Warble for Lilac Time" (1870) and the addition of "the lilacs bloom in the dooryards," to "This Compost," 1. 29, in 1871. The writing supports these dates. First printed, Edward G. Bernard, "Some New Whitman Manuscript Notes" *AL*, 8 (March, 1936), 59.

branches & sprigs of lilacs

Put in that these songs include the city, the mind's thoughts pictures, pageants /
(so as to cover & include the pieces descriptive or having the sense of other things
points besides mere nature) / these too are¹ sung[?] in the *sense of the perfume* of
lilacs, in April & May

1. Deleted: "branches"

Current Criticism.

Manuscript in Trent (44, #6). Inscribed in black ink on two scraps of white laid paper approx. 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. [1] has embossed capitol building in the upper left corner and blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Pinholes. Upper corners clipped. Across the upper left corner in blue pencil: "Personal & criticism" . To the left of the title in black ink: "? Dr Bucke's book" set off by an irregular line. Apparently WW planned to plant a review of Burroughs' *Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person* sometime in 1867, and, coming across his draft sometime before 1883, thought of giving it to Bucke for his *Walt Whitman*. First printed in *N&F*, 64 (Pt. II, #39; *CW*, IX, 23). The date is 1867 or 1868.

CURRENT¹ CRITICISM

NOTES ON WALT WHITMAN as² Poet & Person:—

By John Burroughs,³ New York: American News Company, 1867

It seems⁴ as if the⁵ debate over Walt Whitman & his Leaves of Grass were⁶ not only going to⁷ be kept up with more & more⁸ animation & earnestness⁹ every year,¹⁰ [2] but that the discussion¹¹ is¹² to bring on, (and indeed has so brought

1. Deleted: "NEW" ; inserted before: "CURRENT"

2. Deleted: "Person" [*capital written over lowercase*]; inserted above: "Poet" ; deleted: "Poet" ; inserted above: "Person"

3. Deleted: "American News Co" inserted on a line above "New York: American News Company, 1867"

4. Deleted: "as though" ; inserted and deleted above: "that the" ; inserted above "[del.] the" : "as if"

5. Deleted: "discussion of" ; inserted and deleted above "of": "over" ; inserted above "[del.] discussion" : "debate over Walt Whitman and the merits and demerits [*not del.*] of his poetry" ; inserted and deleted: "of" "over" "regarding" ; inserted: "Walt Whitman [*two words del.*] & his and his [*del.*] book Leaves of Grass"

6. Inserted and deleted: "has not only" ; inserted: "not only" above "going"

7. Deleted: "arouse, not only a more than ever, and be carried on" ; inserted and deleted: "continue pursued" above "[del.] and be carried" ; inserted: "be kept up" before "[del.] carried"

8. Two words inserted above "more" and "ani" in "animation"

9. Deleted: "than ever" ; inserted above: "every year"

10. Deleted: "but that, [*del.*] it out of [*del.*] it, [*two words ins.*] that discussion are likely to be raised, & put in array; [*del.*] on the [*del.*] primary bases of the art of poetry, and the primary laws"

11. Deleted: "alluded to"

12. Deleted: "appears likely to bring on on" ; inserted on a line above: "is [*two words del.*]"

already) an examination, unwonted among¹³ us,¹⁴ of the very bases of the art of poetry, of the¹⁵ high original laws of¹⁶ aesthetics, & criticism. These bases—how¹⁷ do they refer¹⁸ to¹⁹ our special age, &²⁰ country? Those laws—what are they,²¹ as applied to poets & artists of the first²² class, for²³ America &²⁴ for the wants of the²⁵ American people? Such²⁶ are the questions which the advent of Walt Whitman has evidently²⁷ roused,²⁸ & of which these Notes are²⁹ attempts to at least suggest the answer.

already destined [*illeg. ins. and del.*] bring on [*illeg. ins. and del.*] (and [*ins.*] indeed has so brought already) . Redundant “is” at beginning not printed.

13. Preceding two words inserted; inserted and deleted: “us” . All above “of the very”

14. Inserted after “[*del.*] us”

15. Deleted: “question of primary” ; inserted and deleted above: “high,” “highest” above “ion” in “question” and “of” “[*illeg.*]” “universal” ; inserted: “high original” on a line above the [*illeg.*] in the insert.

16. Deleted: “literature”

17. Deleted: “are” ; inserted above: “do”

18. Inserted and deleted: “especially” above “refer to”

19. Deleted: “this” ; inserted above [*del.*] and “age” : “our [*del.*] direct special”

20. Deleted: “this”

21. Deleted: “for our” ; inserted above: “as applied to”

22. Deleted: “order” ; inserted above: “class,”

23. Deleted: “the”

24. Deleted: “the”

25. Preceding five words inserted above “the Amer” in “American”

26. Deleted: “we say,”

27. Inserted above “has roused”

28. Deleted: “and of which we have” ; inserted and deleted above “of which” : “the treatment of”

29. Deleted: “an illustration” ; inserted: “attempts to” above deletion; inserted above: “at least suggest the answer.” on three short lines following “attempts”

Walt Whitman.

Manuscript not found. Text from transcript made April 13, 1917 by Emory Holloway from a "personal scrapbook" in the Harned Collection. Presumably it should be in LC, but it has not been found there. Page numbers are inserted from Holloway's description. Obvious typographical errors have been silently corrected. The date is 1867 or after, but before WW's stroke in 1873. The transcript has been deposited in the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

WALT WHITMAN

The very excellent portrait given on the opposite page is from an original taken by Brady, the photographic artist, in 1871 and represents the poet in his fifty-second year. It can be relied on as a living likeness.

Walt Whitman was born in New York State, May 31, 1819, at a little country village called West Hills, down on Long Island, and is descended from English and Dutch ancestry, of the original settlement.

[2] The incidents of his life have been few. He has worked as printer, carpenter, teacher and clerk. In 1855 he published the first edition of his poems, *LEAVES OF GRASS*, which was increased and issued again in 1857—and, the same process repeated successively in 1860, in 1867, until finally, in 1871, the addition of the pieces of *PASSAGE TO INDIA*, he makes his work "the expression, more decidedly than before, of that combination in which Death and the Unknown are as essential and important to the author's plan of a complete human personality as Life and the Known," and completes his original design.

[3] The book through all these stages has been the subject of widely different judgements, of unusually intense denunciation, and of advocacy at least equally intense. A friendly critic, John Burroughs, first viewing the whole collection as "a series or strata, rising or starting out from a settled foundation or centre and expanding in successive accumulations" sums up his verdict as follows:¹

[4] Besides *LEAVES OF GRASS* this author has also published a prose work, *DEMOCRATIC VISTAS*, treating of religious, social, political and artistic topics, with immediate reference to the present and the future of the United States. It is said that these *VISTAS* are purposed to be added to by successive accumulations, in the same way as the poems.

[5] Walt Whitman has lived most of his life in the city of New York and

1. Space left blank for quotation, directions to printer "¶" "small"

Brooklyn, but has been a good deal in the Southern States and in the West. He was with the army during the whole of the war as volunteer nurse of the wounded, attending to union & rebel sufferers indifferently. Since the close of the war he has been in Washington city, employed as clerk in the Attorney General's office. Mr. Burroughs—to whose interesting little volume of "Notes,"² we refer any person wishing fuller details,—from a favorable point of view—speaks of him as follows:³

And in a late extract from a journal at Washington:⁴

2. *Notes on Walt Whitman, as Poet and Person* (N. Y.: American News Co., 1867); 2d edition (N. Y.: J. S. Redfield, 1871).

3. Space left for a quotation.

4. Space left for a quotation.

A New Love Story.

Manuscript in LC (#78, item #709). Inscribed in column in black ink on white wove scrap. In the second entry “love” is deleted and “souvenir” inserted. Apparently trial titles for a postwar attempt at fiction. Since the writing is strong and regular, although hasty, the date is probably after 1865 but before 1873. See “Opening of the piece.”

A new Love story

A war¹-souvenir

A souvenir of the war.

Souvenir of WW

1. Deleted: “love” ; inserted above: “souvenir”

Opening of the Piece.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #'s 333, 334, 335, 336). Inscribed (jotted) in black ink on four scraps in this order {335}, {334}, {336}, {333}. {335} white wove. {334} white laid with blue lines ½" apart on verso. {336} white laid, blue lines ½" apart, Attorney General's letterhead on verso; {333} white wove, on verso the upper half of The Presidential Proclamation of Amnesty, December 25, 1868. Indentation very eccentric. Published in Glicksberg, 164-165.

{335} Opening of the piece

An Indian Summer (describe the day) pic-nic¹ or day al-fresco, a large company, gathered, in knots—dancing, ten-pins, talk, strolls²—Dr. Vall³ young—formerly in Army Hospital—dinner—afterdinner in a knot of persons—W.W.—in a large group (among the rest, Dr. Vall, an army surgeon) {334} passing away the time in telling anecdotes & stories,⁴ a lady⁵ asked W.W. to tell something about his hospital experiences in the war—the conversation went on in a somewhat desultory manner, without any thing specially memorable, until at length a lady who had not yet taken part in the conversation spoke up, “Mr. Whitman,⁶ I it said that you formed⁷ many strong personal attachments⁸ in⁹ the army hospitals,¹⁰ & met plenty of fine characters.¹¹ Wont you tell us now, who perhaps¹² most imprest you—who,¹³ perhaps, you loved the most,¹⁴ or took the strongest interest in.

{336} The individual addressed¹⁵ paused a moment, looking at his ques-

1. Originally: “A pic-nic” ; inserted above “pic-nic”: “September” ; “A” changed to “An” ; deleted: “September” ; inserted: “Indian Summer”

2. Deleted: “—dinner—after dinner—[*illeg.*]”

3. Originally: “Manton” . Neither Vall nor Manton are mentioned elsewhere by WW.

4. Deleted: “and”

5. Deleted: “says”

6. Deleted: “we have he have heard” ; inserted: “I” “it said”

7. Inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*] ; deleted: “many” ; inserted: “many strong”

8. Deleted: “to the” “in the” “and saw many pers fine ch [*illeg.*]”

9. Deleted: “your experience among”

10. Deleted: “& saw” ; inserted: “& met plenty of”

11. Deleted: “in [*illeg.*]”

12. Inserted.

13. Deleted: “perhaps” ; inserted: “perhaps”

14. Deleted: “&”

15. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

tioner, and then said: Yes,¹⁶ I met in the hospitals the manliest &¹⁷ tenderest characters — I loved them all.¹⁸ piece in MS. describing the peculiar conditions in which love,¹⁹ compassion, reciprocal love, are drawn out) a pause.²⁰ He then spoke substantially as follows: Since you are interested, I will tell you of one case²¹ Virginian somewhat over 30 years old, had moved to Tennessee, & married, could not read or write,²² had a full, somewhat bloodless,²³ face,²⁴ large blue eyes, well apart, & perfectly formed features—the expression of some calm, beautiful animal—

[333] Get²⁵ posted on some²⁶ special case of serious wound²⁷—(look at Surgeon Gen's Rep't in pamphlet)/ The latter part of the piece is to be²⁸ composed of information furnished by Dr. Vall, of what took place between W.W. and the soldier

16. Deleted: "the best chara"

17. Deleted: "most"

18. Inserted: "——I loved them all."

19. Deleted: "affection"

20. Deleted: "I loved them all"

21. The following passage is jotted down in a series of hanging indentations. The reader of *SD* or the hospital notebooks will recognize that WW is describing his composite ideal man.

22. Deleted: "was"

23. Deleted: "[*illeg.*] yet"

24. Deleted: "with"

25. Deleted and inserted.

26. Deleted: "pecul"

27. Hand pointing to left.

28. Deleted: "the"

(Qu?) To Make.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg 35). Inscribed in black pencil and black ink on white wove sheet 10¼" x 9¼". The references to the Rossetti selections and the Freiligrath translations indicate a date in the Fall of 1868. WW possibly planned an appeal to his friend John Swinton, who was an editor of the *NY Times*. First printed in facsimile in George M. Williamson, *Catalogue of Collection of Books Letters and Manuscripts by Walt Whitman* (NY, 1903), n.p.

(qu?) To make a *Personal* item

" or ¶ for "*Minor Topics*"

qu? To commence for instance

"With the bright crispy Autumn weather, WALT WHITMAN again makes his¹ appearance on the sidewalks of Broadway," & &

(three or four lines on *personnel* as lounging along)/²

item³ the obstinancy?⁴ pertinacity⁵ or continuity of⁶ *Leaves of Grass*⁷ & of⁸ the personality of⁹ W. W. in current Literature notwithstanding all attacks & objections/¹⁰

The poems have been republished in England,¹¹ & are being translated by Freiligrath for publication in Germany./¹²

allude to the proposed prose work—"Democratic Vistas."/13

(¹⁴ Can't you put in the idea of an¹⁵ obstinate tenacious, determined *living man*, appearing with a will in our easy-going imitative literature

1. Deleted in black ink: "annual"

2. Line in black ink across leaf.

3. Deleted: "in"

4. Question mark above word.

5. Inserted above "y" in "obstinancy" and "or"

6. Deleted: "the"

7. Deleted: "in on"

8. Inserted above wordspace.

9. Deleted: "in [*illeg.*]"

10. Entry in hanging indentation. Line in black ink across leaf.

11. Deleted: "are"

12. Entry in hanging indentation. Line in black ink three-quarters across leaf from left.

13. Entry in hanging indentation. Line in black pencil three-quarters across leaf from left.

"Democracy," the first part of "Democratic Vistas," had appeared in the *Galaxy* in December, 1867, and the second part, "Personalism," in May, 1868. The whole essay was published in 1871.

14. A curved line encloses this entry.

15. Deleted: "strong" . "n" was probably added at this time to preceding "a"

Real American Red men.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink, with corrections in black and red ink, on two leaves of white wove paper, 10¼" x 9¼", with blue rules 7/16" apart on recto. Leaves numbered in red ink by WW and in upper right of the front is inscribed in red ink: "set carefully and follow copy".

WW was appointed to the Indian Bureau in the Department of the Interior January, 1865, and was dismissed June 30. The MS, however, might have been written at almost any time after he arrived in Washington. His first known article for a Washington newspaper was a "Personal" in the *Sunday Morning Chronicle*, October, 1868 (*Corr.*, II, 64-65n.). The earliest datable use of red ink is in "Epictetus," which bears various dates of 1868 and 1870. It is also used in "Diary of the War" (Morgan Library) a draft of *Memo-randa During the War* (1875). In "Kansas & Colorado Trip" he says the meeting was "8 or 9 years ago." The date seems likely, then, to be after 1870. First printed by Dixon Wecter, "Walt Whitman as Civil Servant," *PMLA*, LVIII (December, 1943), 1096-1097. See also "Then, as a Sample."

REAL AMERICAN RED MEN.—

The¹ Sioux Chiefs, and their party, from the far Dakotah,² now temporarily³ in Washington,⁴ are men more than usually characteristic of their race, & at least⁵ as⁶ noble specimens of savage and hardy⁷ Nature as have ever⁸ yet visited the⁹ cities of the pale face. Any first-class¹⁰ artist or sculptor would never tire of their powerful and massive forms,¹¹ the¹² gnarly and¹³ luxuriant amplitude of their limbs and chests,¹⁴ and the antique & homely¹⁵ fascination of their physiognomies,

1. Above line on caret before "The" and deleted in black ink: "Real sons of the N"
Deleted: "Indians" ; inserted: "Sioux"

2. Preceding four words inserted above "their party,"

3. Inserted above "now" and "in"

4. Deleted: "appear to be" ; inserted: "are" above "ap" in "[del.] appear" and "men" above "[del.] be"

5. Two words inserted in right margin after ampersand.

6. Deleted: "fine"

7. Preceding two words inserted.

8. Inserted above "age" in "savage"

9. Deleted: "Atlantic"

10. Inserted above "artist"

11. Deleted: "their"

12. Deleted: "so"

13. Deleted: "splendid" ; inserted following deletion: "luxuriant"

14. Preceding two words inserted above "limbs and"

15. Preceding two words inserted above "gives" and into right margin.

calling¹⁶ to mind the best¹⁷ profiles of Egyptian¹⁸ and Assyrian antiquities, but more splendid even¹⁹ than²⁰ they,²¹ and in some respects ahead even of the Greek, and²² absolutely unapproachable as pronounced aboriginal²³ portraits, with all the eloquence of silent but most vital²⁴ expression, deep²⁵-cut lines, and the great eyes of the superior birds & animals. The inherent and athletic²⁶ royalty of the man of the woods and mountains, amid all the general²⁷ deprivations and squalor of the race, is triumphantly²⁸ vindicated by these Natural Kings, in shapes that make the types and samples of our²⁹ civilized manhood, in America and Europe,³⁰ shrivelled and puny³¹ in comparison.³²

[2] Yesterday afternoon,³³ Walt Whitman, who was walking down the avenue,³⁴ stepped in, by invitation of the Agent,³⁵ and made them a short impromptu³⁶ visit. "Tell them," said the agent to the interpreter, "that the poet-chief has come to shake hands with them, as brothers."³⁷ A regular round of introductions and³⁸ hearty hand-claspings, and "How's!" followed. "Tell them, Billy," continued the agent, "that the poet-chief says³⁹ we are⁴⁰ all really⁴¹ the same men and brethren together, at last, however different our places, and dress and language." An approving chorus of guttural⁴² "Ugh's!"⁴³ came from all parts of the room, and W. W. retired,⁴⁴ leaving an evidently captivating impression.

16. Deleted: "up" ; inserted in red ink above: "to mind"
17. Inserted above "the"
18. Deleted: "Palmyian" [Palmyran?].
19. Inserted above "than"
20. Deleted: "then"
21. Inserted in red ink: "and . . . Greek, and" on a line above "[*del.*] then" and "they unapproachable"
22. Deleted: "and"
23. Preceding two words inserted above "as portraits"
24. Preceding three words inserted above "silent expression"
25. Deleted: "strong" ; inserted above: "deep"
26. Preceding two words inserted above "royalty"
27. Inserted "the" and "de" in "deprivations"
28. Deleted: "proved" ; inserted above: "vindicated"
29. Inserted above "c" in "civilized"
30. Deleted: "poo"
31. Deleted: "enough"
32. Preceding two words inserted in red as last line; end of leaf 1.
33. Deleted: "on the invitation of the agent,"
34. Deleted: "was"
35. Preceding five words inserted above "stepped in and made"
36. Inserted in red above "short" and "visit"
37. Deleted: "A general hand and hearty" ; "run in" inserted in loop above "hearty"
38. Two [*illeg.*] words deleted.
39. Deleted: "to them th"
40. Deleted: "truly"
41. Inserted above "the"
42. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
43. Deleted: [*illeg.*] ; inserted in red above: "came"
44. Deleted: "with evidently leaving"

This forenoon the chiefs⁴⁵ are being photographed at Gardners⁴⁶ establishment⁴⁷ on the avenue. They appeared⁴⁸ just before noon in all their war-paint, bear's claws, and eagle's feathers, with much scarlet cloth, and fringe, and⁴⁹ made a strange and impressive group, waiting in the ante-rooms.⁵⁰

45. Deleted: "[*illeg.*] were" ; inserted above: "are"

46. Alexander Gardner (1821-1882). Photographer, one of Brady's assistants during Civil War, later proprietor of his own studio. Photographed WW.

47. Inserted above "ers" in "Gardners" and "on the"

48. Inserted: "just before [*illeg. del.*] noon" above "appeared in all their"

49. Deleted: "Gardner were filled in were"

50. Deleted: "silent and curious"

Whitman, Democrat.

Manuscript in Virginia. Inscribed in black ink with black pencil emendations on white wove paper, 7" x 7¹³/₁₆", embossed "CARLTON" upper left. The writing and the references to Wagner's *Ring* establish a date of late 1860s or early 1870s.

Whitman, democrat and man of the Western &¹ New² as he is, appreciates, even to enthusiasm, the poetry³ of the Old myths and of feudalism.⁴ I have⁵ often heard him place the Bible at the head of all⁶ known poetic literature. Eschylus, Homer, (prose translations) and Shakespeare, have been his fond studies from earliest manhood. He believes in Tennyson, & admires the Idylls of the King.⁷ He loves the old⁸ German Ballad, and revels untired in the lore of the Valkyrie, Siegfried, Brynhild, and all involved in Wagner's *Ring of the Niblung*, and the *Tannhauser*⁹ of the same master.¹⁰

"Then," he said, "an entirely different world or development of the world¹¹ from all these, and entirely different themes, are for me."

1. Preceding two words inserted.
2. Preceding six words (including those in *nt*) inserted.
3. Deleted: "and art"
4. Deleted: "He I heard"
5. Deleted: "heard" ; inserted: "often heard him"
6. Deleted: "p"
7. Written over [*illeg.*]
8. Inserted.

9. The passionate familiarity with Wagner's music here implied is an exaggeration. WW might have heard *about* the *Ring* in the 1860s, but there was little opportunity to hear the music until the mid-seventies. In soberer moments he admitted the ignorance that his reference to *Tannhäuser* reveals. He seemed to think it part of the *Ring*. *Faner*, 52-53.

10. Two paragraph signs inserted in pencil.
11. Preceding five words inserted in pencil.

In at Through.

Manuscript in LC (#96). A homemade notebook sewed with green ribbon; leaves 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{16}$ " white laid paper watermarked "Joynson 1862". Originally thirteen leaves of which eight were blank. The notebook has been disassembled and mounted and the blank leaves and one stub removed and preserved. Although the watermarked paper, which is identical with that in other manuscripts such as "The foregoing remarks," suggests the date of 1862 assigned by LC, the late date of that MS and the references to William Swinton and George Lafayette Fox make early 1870 more likely.

I am indebted to Professor Bascom Wallis, Colorado State University, for his valuable contributions to the notes.

[1046R] In at through¹ the conquer'd doors they crowd²

[1047R; 1046V blank]³ Putnam's improved spring bed—spiral springs covered with sacking [1048R; 1047V blank]⁴

[1048V]⁵ Cultivate & make strong⁶ the faculty or something in Character which ? the ability of waiting due time for the results seeds⁷ of action
[1049V; 1049R blank] A ¶ devoted to the dissection of the ?⁸ "reformers" abolitionists &c

[1050V; 1049A, a stub, 1050R blank] fine Lithographer Fred Meyer & sons 96 & 98 Fulton st N.Y. Fox as Hamlet⁹

1. Written above "at"

2. Cf. "Song of Myself" (1860), sec. 37, l. 946. Line added in 1860, "Through the conquered doors they crowd. I am possessed." The line in the notebook is an attempt at the more rhythmical line of 1871.

3. Written upside down on leaf.

4. In another hand: "Prof Wm Swinton University of California San Francisco/ Mr. Buffum". Swinton (see "Rambles Among Words") was Professor of English between 1869 and 1874.

5. Hanging indentation.

6. Preceding three words inserted above "ate" in "cultivate" and "the fac" in "faculty"

7. Inserted above "results"

8. A large question mark to the left of the two succeeding words.

9. George Lafayette Fox (1825-1877) appeared in T. C. DeLeon's burlesque *Hamlet* in New York from February 14 to April 16, 1870. Whitman, however, was in Washington at the time, but might have seen him there.

Epictetus.

Manuscript in LC (#110-110g; also numbered 88-97). When the manuscript was examined by Holloway in preparation for *UPP*, it was a notebook. At some later time it was disassembled, mounted and bound, reportedly by William E. Barton author of *Abraham Lincoln and Walt Whitman* (N.Y., 1928), in a volume entitled "Lincoln Material." Holloway describes it as a "a large square notebook in flimsy, much worn yellow covers of paper" (*UPP*, II, 94n1). No traces of binding are now visible, but since the papers are of various kinds and sizes the notebook must have been homemade. Each leaf is separately described below, and each is printed in the order given in *UPP*, II, 94-97, rather than that apparently assigned by Barton and represented by the LC foliation. Several leaves are heavily emended in various writing materials as described below.

The MS is probably the most important autobiographical document we have from WW and has been discussed by all recent biographers. Not, however, until Oscar Cargill recognized the significance of the numbers "16" and "164" in 1950 (see n23 below) and Roger Asselineau discovered the emendations mentioned in n24, has its meaning been understood. Edwin Haviland Miller (*Corr.*, II, 3-4) has perceptively interpreted WW's relationship with Doyle, an analysis which should be read with his discussion of the relationship with Harry Stafford and other young men (*Corr.*, III, 2-9). Discussions are also in Allen (421-425) and Asselineau, *passim*. F. DeWolfe Miller, "Whitman's 16.4 Diary," *ABC*, XI (May, 1961) 21-24, mentions alterations in the dates, but none have been found by the present editor.

When read in the context of WW's correspondence, it becomes clear that the depression recorded in the notebook and the efforts to command his feelings were occasioned by his fear that Doyle did not return his love. On July 26, 1870 he went to Brooklyn on leave and on the 30th wrote in his first letter to Doyle: "We parted there, you know, at the corner of 7th st. Tuesday night. Pete, there was something in that hour from 10 to 11 o'clock (parting though it was) that has left me pleasure & comfort for good—I never dreamed that you made so much of having me with you, nor that you could feel so downcast at losing me. I foolishly thought it was all on the other side. But all I will say further on the subject is, I now see clearly, that was all wrong" (*Corr.*, II, 101). For Doyle's biography see "Appendix" to this MS.

Dr. John C. Broderick, Chief, Manuscript Division, LC, courteously verified a number of the readings.

Published *UPP*, II, 94-97. Pp. [93], [95] in facsimile in F. Dewolfe Miller, "Whitman's 16.4 Diary," *ABC*, 11 (May, 1961), 22-23. See also illustrations in this edition.

[110R, 88–89]¹ Epictetus.²

(Description of a Wise Man.)

He reproveth nobody.—

Praises nobody

Blames nobody,

*Nor even speaks of himself.*³

If any one praises him, in his own mind he condemns the flatterer.

If any one reproveth (? or insults)⁴ him he looks with care that it do not irritate him.

All his desires depend on things within his power.

He transfers all his aversions to those things which Nature commands us to avoid.

His appetites are always moderate.

*He is indifferent whether he be thought foolish or ignorant wise.*⁵

He observes himself with the nicety of an enemy or spy, and looks on his own wishes as betrayers.

[110aR, 90; *V blank*]⁶ *After an*)⁷ *Extract from Heine's*⁸ *Diary*⁹ (Paraphrased & varied)¹⁰ Nov. 25, 1868— (night.)to live *a more Serene, Calm, Philosophic Life.*—*reticent, far more reticent*¹¹—yet cheerful, with pleased spirit and pleased manner—far less of the gusty, the capricious—the puerile¹²—

1. Gray wove paper, 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", inscribed in black ink. Entries with hanging indentation. Show-through from inaccessible verso.

2. WW had first read Epictetus at age 16. In 1881 his copy of the *Encheiridion* was thoroughly underscored in purple pencil (Traubel, II, 71–72).

3. Underscored in black pencil.

4. Parenthetical statement inserted in pencil above "es" in "reproveth" and "him"

5. Underscored in black pencil; "wise" inserted in blue pencil above "ignorant" ; "ignorant" not deleted.

6. White wove paper, 6" x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ ", inscribed in black pencil with emendations in blue crayon, purple ink, black ink. This variety of colors gives an intensity which print does not communicate. Entry with hanging indentation.

7. Preceding two words inserted at left in blue pencil and separated from body of entry by a slash or single parenthesis.

8. The extract from Heine has not been identified. As F. DeWolfe Miller suggests, it is probably from a magazine or anthology (*ABC*, 11 (May, 1961), 24).

9. Title underscored in black pencil.

10. Parenthetical phrase inserted in black ink on the left on two lines before "Nov. 25, 1868 . . ."

11. The underscoring and all the capitals are inserted in purple ink. The capitals are written over lowercase.

12. Preceding nine words inserted in pencil above and in the space at the right of the preceding words. Entry with hanging indentation.

No more attempts at smart¹³ sayings, or scornful criticisms, or harsh comments on persons or actions, or private or public affairs.¹⁴

[110cR, 93; *V blank*]¹⁵ *Cheating, childish abandonment*¹⁶ of myself,¹⁷ fancying what does not really¹⁸ exist in another, but is all the time¹⁹ in myself alone—utterly deluded & cheated by *myself*, & my²⁰ own weakness—REMEMBER WHERE I AM MOST WEAK,²¹ & most lacking.²² Yet always preserve a kind spirit & demeanor to 16.²³ BUT PURSUE HER²⁴ NO MORE.²⁵

A Cool, gentle, (LESS²⁶ DEMONSTRATIVE)²⁷ MORE UNIFORM²⁸ Demeanor²⁹—give to poor—help any—be indulgent to the criminal & silly & to low persons generally³⁰ & the ignorant,³¹—but SAY³² little—make no explanations—*give no confidences*³³—never attempt puns, or plays upon words, or utter sarcastic comments, or, (under ordinary[?]³⁴ circumstances) hold any discussion [or]³⁵ arguments.

13. The “t” is written in black ink over “ty”

14. Holloway reports (*UPP*, II, 95) as follows: “Here a third of the page has been cut out, but the stub shows that whatever had been written on [at lower left] it had been emphasized with double purple wave-lines and a fist.” The stub has disappeared. Entry with hanging indentation.

15. Inscribed in black pencil on verso of advertisement for *Leaves of Grass* and *Drum-Taps*, 9¾” x 7⅞”, which dates from 1865. Emendations in black ink and blue ink. Evidently continuation of an entry (not 110b) with hanging indentation; ascenders on “h”, “h”, and “d” clipped.

16. Three words written on a strip pasted above the body of the placard. The marginal scoring noted below seems to have been added after the strip was pasted on.

17. Deleted in black ink: [*illeg.*]; inserted over in black ink: “fancying”

18. Inserted in black ink above “ex” in “exist”

19. Preceding four words inserted in black ink above “but” and “in”

20. All the preceding entry marked in left margin by single waved line in purple ink.

21. Double underscoring in black ink.

22. Preceding eleven words marked in left margin by double waved line in purple ink.

23. The numeral is written above the period, leaving a space after “to”. A “P” has been erased under the numeral. The period is below the numeral. Oscar Cargill first realized that “16” almost certainly stood for “P”, i.e. Peter Doyle, the young Confederate veteran and horsecar conductor whom WW had met in 1865 (“Walt Whitman and his *Leaves of Grass*,” *Toward a Pluralistic Criticism*, Carbondale, 1965, 25). See Appendix to this MS.

24. WW erased “im” of “him” and wrote “er” over it. Roger Asselineau (2), I, 187, 329n57, was the first to notice that “her” is written over erased “him”

25. The lower line of the double underscoring is in black ink. Following entry with hanging indentation.

26. The “L” has been written over an illegible letter.

27. Parentheses inserted in black ink. Underscoring in black pencil.

28. Two words inserted in black ink above “DEMEANOR”; “UNIFORM” is triply under-scored in black ink.

29. Triple underlining added in black ink. A hand in the left margin points to these three words.

30. Preceding five words inserted in blue pencil above “y” in “silly” and “—but SAY”. Caret, however, is in black ink.

31. Three words and comma inserted in black ink above “little”

32. Original pencil traced over in black ink. Triple underscoring in black ink.

33. Underscoring in black pencil. The remainder of the sentence is in black ink.

34. Corner of leaf torn off.

35. Corner of leaf torn off. Word inserted from *UPP*, II, 95.

[*IIOBR*, 92; *V blank*] ³⁶ June 17—

Good! July 15 ³⁷

It is IMPERATIVE, ³⁸ that I obviate & remove myself (& ³⁹ my orbit) *at all hazards*, ⁴⁰ from this incessant *enormous* ⁴¹ & *abnormal* ⁴² PERTURBATION ⁴³

[*IIOeR*, 95; *V blank*] ⁴⁴ (Congress adjourning is in great excitement ⁴⁵ War is said to be declared in Europe ⁴⁶ 2½ P.M.—I am writing in the office not feeling very well—oppress with the heat ⁴⁷

July 15—1870—⁴⁸

TO GIVE UP ABSOLUTELY ⁴⁹ & *for good*, from the ⁵⁰ present ⁵¹ hour, ⁵² this FEVERISH, ⁵³ FLUCTUATING, ⁵⁴ *useless* UNDIGNIFIED PURSUIT ⁵⁵ of 16.4 ⁵⁶—*too long*, (*much too long*) ⁵⁷ persevered in,—so humiliating— —*It must come at last* & ⁵⁸ had better

36. Placed here following Holloway's order. Entry with hanging indentation. In a large sprawling hand on white laid paper, 5¹/₁₆" x 7³/₈"; with blue lines ³/₈" apart. Black ink with shading or overwriting, underscoring, marginal emphases and fists in red ink. Additions in red pencil. There are four marginal lines for emphasis at the left; the outer line curves halfway across the page under the text.

37. The exclamation and date in red pencil.

38. Preceding three words underlined in red ink.

39. Inserted and deleted in black ink: "from{?}"

40. Preceding three words written in red ink, traced over and underlined in black ink. Inserted and deleted in black ink above "this" : "[*illeg.*] from" ; inserted in black ink: "from" before "this"

41. Inserted in black ink, underlined in red ink above "& *ab*" in "*abnormal*"

42. Underlined in red. This word and the two preceding are marked at the right by a fist. At the beginning of the next line "*enormous*{?}" has been inserted above and heavily deleted in black ink.

43. In a very large hand in black ink, traced over in red ink. Double underlining in red ink. Marked by a fist below in red ink pointing up.

44. White wove paper, 7³/₈" x 6¹/₂". The surface is marked by an imitation watermark of waved lines. The inscription in black pencil in a sprawling hand. Emphasis of various kinds has been added in purple ink, red ink, and red pencil as noted below. Only a color reproduction could do justice to the feeling conveyed by the MS page.

45. According to the Washington *Evening Star*, July 15, 1870, the excitement was caused by the press of bills to be considered before adjournment and the large number of appointments not yet confirmed by the Senate.

46. Germany mobilized against France July 15, 1870.

47. Illegible erasures appear under the inscription. The number "16" is, however, clearly legible. See *n*23 above. The writing is somewhat smaller than that of the next entry and appears to have been crowded in at the top of the page. At the left is double scoring in heavy, red crayon-like pencil which loops around under the last eight words.

48. In black pencil crowded in between entries.

49. First underscoring in purple ink, second in red.

50. "e" written over "is"

51. Inserted above "*the*" and "*hour*"

52. Deleted: "all"

53. Second underscoring in red ink.

54. Second underscoring in red ink.

55. Second underscoring of two preceding words in red ink *above* the purple underscoring.

56. As pointed out by Oscar Cargill, "Peter Doyle." In purple ink, underscored in black pencil.

57. Single underscoring in purple ink: "& *for good* . . . *too long*)"

58. Preceding six words underscored in purple ink.

come now—(*It cannot possibly be a success*)⁵⁹ LET⁶⁰ THERE FROM THIS HOUR⁶¹
 BE NO FALTERING,⁶² NO GETTING ⁶³*at all henceforth*, (NOT ONCE, UNDER⁶⁴
any circumstances) —*avoid seeing her,*⁶⁵ *or meeting her,*⁶⁶ *or any talk*⁶⁷ *or explana-*
*tions*⁶⁸ —*or* ANY MEETING WHATEVER, FROM THIS HOUR FORTH, FOR
 LIFE⁶⁹ July 15 '70⁷⁰

[110dR, 97; *V blank*]⁷¹ Outline sketch of a superb calm character⁷²

his emotions &c are complete in himself,⁷³ irrespective of whether his love, friend-
 ship, &c are returned, or not

He grows, blooms, like some perfect tree or flower, in Nature, whether viewed by
 admiring eyes, or in some wild or wood, entirely unknown

His analogy is⁷⁴ as of the earth, complete in itself,⁷⁵ enfolding in itself all processes
 of growth effusing life & power, for hidden purposes

[110fR; 96; *V blank*]⁷⁶ Depress the adhesive nature/
 It is in excess —making life a torment/

59. Preceding six words inserted on a line above "come now—" . Parentheses in purple ink.

60. Pencil "L" overwritten in purple ink.

61. Preceding three words inserted in ink above "THERE BE NO" without underscoring.

62. Deleted: "or"

63. An erasure of several words over which a wavy line had been scrawled in black pencil.

64. Preceding words of this sentence underscored singly or doubly, as shown, in purple ink.

65. "her" is written over an erased "him"

66. See preceding note.

67. Last two letters of "talk" written over an erasure.

68. Last six letters of "explanations" written over an erasure.

69. Triple underscoring of preceding five words in purple. Marked by a red ink hand below pointing upwards. The entire paragraph is marked by a wavy red vertical line in the right margin.

70. Date in red pencil in large characters.

71. Inscribed in black pencil with black ink corrections on white wove paper, 6¼" x 3½". Blue rules ½" apart. Red-blue-red lines as in a ledger 2¹⁄₁₆" from left margin. Entries with hanging indentation.

72. Line across leaf after heading.

73. Deleted: "indifferent" ; inserted above: "irrespective of"

74. Original beginning: "It is" . Preceding three words inserted above the deletion and "as of the"

75. Deleted in black ink: "proceeding without" ; inserted in black ink above: "enfolding in itself" ; "all" inserted on next line before "processes"

76. Inscribed in black ink on white card, 3¾" x 2⁵⁄₁₆", which is mounted on a scrap of white wove paper 8¾" x 6¼" with blue rules ½" apart. Lines across leaf after each entry. On the backing scrap are mounted two newspaper clippings. The first, dated at right in black ink by WW "March 1870," mentions a certain Haji Athanassi who had died possessed of all his faculties at 125 years after living on a diet of fish and vegetables. The second, dated "1860" at right in black ink, mentions the death of the vivandière of the Fourth French Regiment of the line at age 95.

Ah this diseased, feverish disproportionate adhesiveness/
 Remember Fred Vaughan⁷⁷/
 Case of Jenny Bullard⁷⁸/
 Sane Nature⁷⁹ fit & full Rapport therewith/
 Merlin strong & wise & beautiful at 100 years old.

[110gR, 97; V blank]⁸⁰

77. *Corr.*, I, 182n47 cites letters to WW in 1860 and identifies him then as a driver. His NY address in 1862 is given in "return my book." Two letters of August and November 1874, four years after this entry (Feinberg, LC) give more information. Although his grammar is occasionally faulty, the writing and "literary" style suggest some education. He came from Brooklyn, was close to WW at one time and knew his mother. He had married, had children, worked in a variety of jobs, had "troubles," had taken to drink, and at some time become estranged from WW. He had recently rehabilitated himself. The letter of August 14, which encloses what he says is one of the weekly unmailed letters he had been writing for four years to WW, is apparently an attempt to reestablish connections. The letters express a very strong dependent attachment to WW, to the point of fantasy, but the exact circumstances that WW remembered are not clear. They are vivid enough, however, to have come to mind when he was distraught at Doyle's apparent failure to return his love, even though he and Vaughan had been out of touch for at least eight years. In 1874 WW noted his address ("D. W. Wilder"), probably from this letter. Vaughan called on WW at least twice in 1876 (*DN*, I, 28), and on November 23, 1878, the two met on Chestnut St. in Philadelphia (?) (*ibid.*, 121). On May 14, 1879 WW, on a visit to NYC, heard that Vaughan was running an elevator in the NY Life Insurance Bldg (*ibid.*, 143). In October, 1880 Vaughan's name is noted in another hand with a printed clipping of the address of the insurance company (*ibid.*, 204). In a daybook for 1885 the name of a Fred B. Vaughan with an address of Harrisburg, PA is noted with two question marks (*ibid.*, II, 325). Vaughan called on WW in Camden as late as May 10, 1890 (*ibid.*, 554).

78. The only known reference to Miss Bullard is in a letter of October 19, 1865, from W. D. O'Connor, who was staying at her home in New Ipswich, NH. O'Connor describes her as one who is "handsome, bountiful, generous, cordial, strong, careless, laughing, large, regardless of dress or personal appearance and appreciates and likes *Leaves of Grass*" (Traubel, I, 85). Professor Larry Maness, of Kings College (PA) and a former resident of New Ipswich, reports that her full name was Sarah Jane Wollstonecraft Bullard, born in Boston September 11, 1828, died in New Ipswich October 13, 1904. She never married. Her sister Mary, however, was at Brook Farm where she met and married J. S. Dwight. Jenny lived in one of the more handsome houses of the village. A very old lady who remembered her from childhood days reports that she lived with two other women most of her life and was fond of group readings of Shakespeare and other poetry on Thursday evenings. Professor Maness's informant knew of no emotional tragedy, but her spinsterhood and the two other women may indicate something of which O'Connor and WW were aware. Possibly WW met or knew of her through O'Connor or through a Mr. and Mrs. Henry A. Blood. Blood was a clerk in the Internal Revenue Service, and Mrs. Blood's address was noted by WW as New Ipswich, NH. See "Addresses."

79. Deleted: *[illeg.]*

80. Unidentified clipping dated "March, 1870" by WW mounted on white sheet 10¼" x 8¾" with blue rules 3/8" apart. Backing sheet endorsed by WW: "[*Fist*] A Warning to Literary Men philosophers thinkers & poets". The clipping reports Thomas Carlyle's growing moodiness and misanthropy.

APPENDIX

One of the strongest known emotional experiences in WW's life was his friendship with Peter George Doyle, the obscure streetcar conductor and railway baggage master who was his intimate friend for a decade. Doyle seems never to have inspired any poetry; "Calamus" and "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" precede their meeting. But if the relationship did not end in the kind of tragedy adumbrated in "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," it was "Calamus" brought to life. The relationship loosened after 1876, and, since Doyle was shy of Whitman's later friends and they probably found him uninteresting or perhaps embarrassing, little is known of him.

Doyle was born in Limerick, Ireland on June 3, 1845 ("D. W. Wilder"), or in 1847 (Doyle in "Interview with Peter Doyle," *Calamus, CW*, VIII, 4), or in 1848 (Record of death, Records Department, City of Philadelphia). There is also confusion about the date when he came to the U. S. Doyle says he was "about two years old," which would make it 1849 or 1850; WW says "nearly eight" ("D. W. Wilder") and speaks of a storm at sea on Good Friday night, 1853. His father, according to Doyle, was a blacksmith, and there were eventually "four other men" (brothers?) in the family: Francis M., a policeman murdered in 1871 (*Corr.*, II, 172n and "Policeman Doyle"), Michael F., also a policeman, Edward, a conductor, and James, a laborer (*Corr.*, II, 3n) as well as the mother. They first settled in Alexandria, Virginia, but during the hard times of 1856-1857 they moved to Richmond, where the father had been offered a job in an iron foundry.

Pete joined the Fayette Artillery and when the war broke out entered or was mustered into the Confederate Army. WW says he was sixteen when the war broke out. He was wounded, captured, and brought to Washington and, according to WW's notes, escaped. (His brother, Policeman Francis Doyle, served in the US Navy [*Corr.*, II, 148n].) He was, however, given his parole in Washington, and "hung around that region with no particular object in view," finally becoming a streetcar conductor. In 1891 WW further confused the record by telling J. H. Wallace that when they met, Pete was on convalescent leave from a hospital (Johnston and Wallace, 147). He appears in the Washington directories as a laborer in 1864, a conductor between 1868 and 1872, brakeman in 1873, and a conductor in 1874. He appears to have lived with his mother and various brothers on M Street near 4th. Binns says his streetcar route was from Georgetown to the Navy Yard via the Capitol.

The date of his meeting with WW is also in confusion. Doyle said 1866; Allen suggests 1865; and a photograph (*Corr.*, II between 244 and 245) is inscribed 1865 by WW, but in a much later hand.

Doyle's account in 1895 of their meeting is touching.

You ask where I first met him? It is a curious story. We felt to each other at once. I was a conductor. The night was very stormy,—he had been to see Burroughs before

he came down to take the car—the storm was awful. Walt had his blanket—it was thrown round his shoulders—he seemed like an old sea-captain. He was the only passenger, it was a lonely night, so I thought I would go in and talk to him. Something in me made me do it and something in him drew me that way. He used to say there was something in me had the same effect on him. Anyway, I went into the car. We were familiar at once—I put my hand on his knee—we understood. He did not get out at the end of the trip—in fact went all the way back with me.

They saw each other almost daily in Washington, and when WW was away he sent Pete fervid and affectionate letters. At least once according to Doyle's account, they went to New York together for a week, a visit not recorded elsewhere. (See, however, "D. W. Wilder.") They stayed in Jersey City, for some reason, but took dinner with Mrs. W in Brooklyn on Portland Ave. They went to see Donizetti's *Poliuto* and rode on the tops of busses with their heels hanging over. In their relations WW often adopted a fatherly role, trying to cheer Doyle up in his frequent fits of discouragement, buying him clothes and encouraging him to "improve himself," saving his money for him, and worrying about his safety on the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad.

Doyle effectively sketched their companionship in Washington to Bucke and Traubel in 1895 (*Calamus* [Boston, 1897], 21-33; *CW*, VIII, 5-16), but WW's letters and the present MS give us a picture of a deeper and more intense relationship, probably deeper than Doyle consciously realized. As we will see, his love for WW was deep and permanent whereas WW's feeling was briefer, although he always spoke of him tenderly (Traubel, V, 228). On one level Doyle filled WW's need for a son who, unconcerned with literature or ideas, would accept him in the same unquestioning way that his mother or his sister Hannah did. Of course the love was not entirely familial, and the relationship was not without its agonies, as the present notebook shows. Whether it included any physical expression beyond embraces and kisses is unknown. The nineteenth century was, ironically, far more permissive than the sophisticated twentieth about expressions of masculine affection if they were suitably ideal, but, as Edwin H. Miller points out (*Corr.*, III, 4), WW was aware, in his relations with Harry Stafford, a few years later, what construction could be placed on such a companionship and, for what the fact is worth, most of Doyle's letters to Whitman have disappeared, although Stafford's have survived. Incidentally, in November and December, 1876, WW seems to have suffered a crisis in his relationship with Stafford similar to that recorded here, but he covered his tracks more carefully (*DN*, I, 49, 51). Doyle's few surviving letters show him to have been uneducated and inarticulate but deeply responsive. What WW's Washington friends thought of him we do not know; they probably found him dull. Only Burroughs, who after Doyle's death called him "a kind of 'mute inglorious' Whitman and a manly and loveable character" (Barrus, 351), seems to have appreciated him. So deeply sensitive was Burroughs to the relationship between WW and Doyle, that when Doyle died, it brought Whitman back so vividly that, Burroughs said, it was "almost like losing Walt anew."

The relationship survived WW's removal to Camden in 1873. Indeed, in his loneliness Doyle became even more necessary to him and they corresponded frequently. Pete apparently failed to make a Christmas visit in 1873 but came in the last week of May, 1874. WW was well enough to pay a long visit to Washington in November, 1875, and Binns thinks that Pete escorted him when he attended the Poe dedication in Baltimore. But the flow of letters and newspapers slackened sharply in 1876. WW was recovering somewhat; he was preoccupied by the preparation of the 1876 printing of *LG* and *Two*

Rivulets, by the Anglo-American controversy over his neglect by his fellow-countrymen, and by Mrs. Gilchrist's arrival in September. More important perhaps was the fact that in July he had met Harry Stafford, a young farm-boy but much like Doyle, and had begun to visit the Stafford family's farm. Here, stimulated by Harry's affection, as Miller observes, as well as by fresh air and exercise, he made a striking recovery. Doyle, however, sent WW some money in December, possibly as a Christmas gift, which WW accepted as a loan.

The later contacts can be at least partly reconstructed from WW's daybooks and the surviving correspondence. The communications, however, were often a postcard or newspaper. WW wrote in December, 1876 and March 1877. In 1878 he wrote in January, February, April (twice), July, August, September, November (twice) and sent a pair of gloves for Christmas. He wrote in April, June and September in 1879. In 1880 he wrote in January, April (ticket to Lincoln lecture), May, June (twice), and July and August (from Canada). Doyle wrote in June, July, and August and met him in Niagara Falls to accompany him back to Camden. (See also "G W Childs.")

Doyle apparently moved to Philadelphia before 1880 or kept quarters there for use during layovers on his railroad runs, for he is listed in the directory for 1880. In 1881 WW sent him an inscribed copy of *Specimen Days* now at Texas. WW sent him some clippings in 1882 to an unrecorded address ("sent Press of 22d"). In 1883 WW noted a Philadelphia address and a Washington address, apparently concurrent, and Doyle spent an afternoon with him in December. In that year or in 1884 WW recorded another Philadelphia address ("Mrs Grosh"). Doyle visited him again in December 1884. In 1885 a note in another hand gives P. G. Doyle, 409 Hoffman St., presumably in Philadelphia, and in December of that year WW sent Doyle \$10 when his mother died. Doyle called again in June, 1888, but "only staid two minutes."

Doyle must have settled in Philadelphia by that year, for the directory lists him as a baggage master, and he appears regularly (as directories go) until his death. But in December, 1889, WW spoke "tenderly" to Traubel of Doyle, only to add "I wonder where he is now." In 1891, when J. W. Wallace, his English admirer, wanted to meet Doyle, WW said he had not seen him for two years and did not know where he was. He seems to have thought he was in Washington. Traubel thought he was in Baltimore. By this time WW had changed his will. In 1873 he had left a silver watch to Doyle. In 1892 he left a gold watch to Traubel, the silver watch to Harry Stafford, and nothing to Doyle.

Doyle must have recognized that their relationship no longer had its old meaning for WW. Harry Stafford had married in 1884, but by the late eighties Whitman needed not only a substitute son, but a man like Horace Traubel, then twenty-nine or thirty, equally adulatory and uncritical, but mature enough to minimize any possibility of emotional upsets, and with some understanding of WW's work and the ability to help him with practical matters. Moreover, Traubel could bolster WW's faith in his mission, which had taken some heavy knocks. WW also told J. W. Wallace that Doyle "hardly represented the average American because for years past Pete has been whirled among the sophistications." A worldly and ennuye'd baggage master is hard to imagine, but in any case Doyle would have been uncomfortable at Mickle Street. Even physically WW was less available to Doyle, for in 1895 he hinted to Bucke and Traubel that the formalities of being admitted by a housekeeper or nurse were a barrier. When WW died, Doyle was almost turned away from the door before someone recognized him and admitted him to view the body of the man he had loved so long.

Doyle's later life was as commonplace as that of any single blue-collar worker of his

age. He boarded for a number of years in South Philadelphia, then moved to 1104 Arch St., in the central city and closer to Pennsylvania station. He was baggage master on Philadelphia-Boston trains and Percival Wiksell, a Boston Whitmanite, in his obituary tribute before the Whitman Fellowship gives a vivid picture of his cursing out a passenger who had criticized the railroad (*Conservator* [September, 1907], 103-104). Wiksell says further:

Pete was a cranky fellow, the boys said, but he held them close by his singular magnetic personality. Ale always tasted better when he was along. They always wanted him at christenings and weddings, and such occasions, but he usually begged off to be in a quiet place where a few close friends knew where to find him.

Fellowship was Pete's faith, and the Elks . . . represented his principles and embodied his ideas of practical service.

Wiksell and Traubel kept in touch with him. Binns gives a photograph (facing p. 233), which shows a solid, portly man with a luxuriant moustache, dressed in a white shirt with dark tie and jacket. He died in St. Joseph's Hospital, Philadelphia, April 19, 1907, of uremia (Philadelphia Department of Records) and was buried in the Congressional Cemetery, Washington, on April 23 in a lot where his brother Edward had been buried in 1900 (Mr. John C. Davis, Washington).

WW was always with him. "You could hardly talk five minutes with him," said Wiksell, "before he was quoting Walt for some fact or opinion, or was telling some story he got from Walt." The bond was very close, fifteen years after they drifted out of contact. As Doyle told Bucke and Traubel in 1905:

I have Walt's raglan here [*goes to closet—puts it on*], I now and then put it on, lay down, think I am in the old times. Then he is with me again. It's the only thing I kept amongst many old things. When I get it on and stretched out on the old sofa I am very well contented. It is like Aladdin's lamp. I do not ever for a minute lose the old man. He is always near by. When I am in trouble—in a crisis—I ask myself, "What would Walt have done under these circumstances?" and whatever I decide Walt would have done that I do.

Washington Dec. 19 1870.

Manuscript in LC (# 206, Sheet # 1793). Inscribed in ink on white wove scrap with blue lines $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart. For further information on sales of his work see "Addresses."

Washington Dec. 19 1870

Messrs. Morrison, Bookseller, hereby acknowledge to have received 2 copies Leaves of Grass [2 copies] Passage to India [2 copies] Democratic Vistas¹ from W. Whitman, on sale, at 25 per cent off. Robert Beall for W.H. & O H. Morrison

Apr 11 '71 paid 75 cts for copy of Passage to India.²

1. Titles and quantities in column.
2. In black pencil at lower left.

Appendage. Appendant. Appendix.

Manuscript not found. Text from *N&F*, 178 (Pt. IV, #122; *CW*, 10, 33). Undoubtedly trial titles. The "MS" was probably a group of separate scraps since Bucke's last two entries, "Leaves Supervenio / Leaves Supervened," are on a scrap of paper, 1³/₁₆" x 2³/₈", in the Berg Collection, NYPL. They are suggestive of the Annexes to *LG*, but the writing on the Berg scrap is of WW's prime. Possibly they refer to WW's plans about 1870 to compose a new volume of poetry. See "Preface" (1872).

Appendage. Appendant. Appendix. Supplement—ary. Annex—ed. Appendix-Leaves. Postscript-Leaves. Added-Leaves. Supplement-Leaves. Sur-Leaves (sur, from "supra" ? "super" —over and above —something added, beyond). Plus-Leaves. Leaves-Over-Plus. Surplus Leaves.

The Newspapers Still.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on stiff, white, unruled, laid paper, 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Writing very similar to "Walt Whitman, who." Directions for printer upper right in red ink: "follow copy in punctuation &c & read proof very carefully by copy." Paragraphs indicated by indentation and red ink symbols. WW mounted a major campaign to publicize his reading of his American Institute poem, "As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free" (then called "After All, Not to Create Only") at the Fortieth National Industrial Exhibition in NY on September 7, 1871, including the distribution of advance copies to the press. After the failure of the piece he continued with articles planted in friendly newspapers. Allen (433-434) notes the *Washington Star and Chronicle*, and Traubel, I, 328-329, prints a puff of September 7 from the *Globe*. First printed by Emory Holloway, "Whitman His Own Press Agent," *Am Merc*, 18 (December, 1929), 482-488. The date must be late 1871.

The newspapers¹ still keep up their talk about Walt Whitman. Here now comes the announcement that Roberts brothers, of Boston, are² to publish³ his late American Institute utterance in small book form. From abroad, we learn that the English poet and critic, Roden Noel, of aristocratic & Lord Byron lineage, has prepared a⁴ lengthy review of Whitman for the *Dark Blue*, the new Oxonian magazine.⁵

Taking the⁶ American Institute piece for their cue,⁷ the country & city, press all round⁸ have opened fire⁹ on W. W. and kept up¹⁰ continuous fusillades of¹¹ mostly witless and a little witty squibbing, with here & there an extended editorial, generally against the poem. The N. Y. *World's* frantic, feeble, fuddled articles on

1. Deleted: "foreign and domestic" . Comma not deleted, not printed.

2. Deleted: "about" ; inserted above: "[*del.*] soon to"

3. Deleted: "ing"

4. Deleted: "long" ; inserted above: "lengthy"

5. Roden Noel (1834-1894). Minor poet, third son of the Earl of Gainsborough, who had a family connection with Byron. His essay was "A Study of Whitman," the *Dark Blue* (October-November, 1871), enlarged in his *Essays on Poetry and Poets* (London, 1886). See Blodgett, 147-149. Before next paragraph "¶" in red ink.

6. Deleted: "American" ; inserted above: "American"

7. Deleted: "the [*ins. and del.*] American press ditto all over the United States" ; inserted: "the country & city press [*two words del.* are in] all round" on lines under "Taking piece for"

8. Deleted: "since" ; inserted and deleted in red ink above: "pretty generally"

9. Inserted in wordspace above "opened on"

10. Deleted: "a"

11. Deleted: "much" ; inserted above: "mostly"

it are curiosities. The *Telegram* dryly calls it the longest conundrum ever yet given to the public. The N. Y. *Sun*,¹² the *Standard*, and some of other¹³ journals however, strongly commend the piece.¹⁴

The simple truth about Whitman, as author not only¹⁵ of this American Institute piece¹⁶ but all else, is that his¹⁷ contempt for the "poets" and "poetry" of the day, his¹⁸ presentation of thoughts [2]¹⁹ and things at first hand, instead of second or third hand,²⁰ his sturdy and old-fashioned²¹ earnestness, and his unprecedented novelty,²² make him²³ a capital target for the smart²⁴ writers and verbal fops engaged in²⁵ manufacturing items and "criticism." Then besides, to be candid, Walt Whitman *is* a pretty hard nut to crack. His involved sentences always hiding at least half their meaning, his kangaroo leaps as if from one crag to another, his appalling catalogues, (enough to stagger the bravest heart,) his unheard-of demand for²⁶ brains in the reader as well as the thing read, and then²⁷ his scornful silence, never explaining anything, nor answering any attack, all lay him fairly open to be misunderstood,²⁸ to slur, burlesque,²⁹ and sometimes³⁰ spiteful inuendo; and will probably always continue to do so. Like his own "kosmos,"³¹ he can be viewed from many and partial points of view; among the rest, from one or two whence he certainly³² appears gross, repellent, and dangerous. But his³³ complete and permanent character—and that is the only just method of comprehending him—is nevertheless³⁴ healthy, free,³⁵ manly, attractive, and of a purity

12. Deleted: "and"

13. Deleted: "presses" ; inserted above: "journals"

14. Entire sentence inserted in small writing between lines. Before next paragraph, "¶" in red ink.

15. Preceding two words inserted above "of"

16. Deleted: "and" ; inserted above: "but"

17. Inserted and deleted: "almost savage" above "t" in "that" and "his" and "cont" in "contempt"

18. Inserted and deleted: "novel" above "pre" in "presentation"

19. One or more lines trimmed at top.

20. Inserted and deleted: "and" above "his"

21. Preceding three words inserted above "rdy" in "sturdy" and "earnestness"

22. Deleted: "and" . Preceding four words inserted above "[del.] and makes him"

23. Deleted: "only [illeg. ins. in right margin] too [illeg. ins.] inviting a" ; inserted: "a capital" above "[del.] inviting"

24. Deleted: "writing idiots" ; inserted: "writers" above "writing"

25. Deleted: "making up" ; inserted: "[del.] the manufacturing [del.] of" above "[del.] making up" ; deleted: "journalistic"

26. Deleted: "as in"

27. Inserted above "and"

28. Preceding three words inserted above "en" in "open to slur, b" in "burlesque". Inserted and deleted: "and to" following insert.

29. Deleted: "with" ; inserted above: "and"

30. Deleted: "lying slander" ; inserted: "spiteful" above "[del.] lying"

31. Deleted: "this writer" ; inserted: "he" above "er" in "writer"

32. Inserted above "app" in "appears"

33. Deleted: "entire" ; inserted above: "complete"

34. Deleted: "of"

35. Word and comma inserted in wordspace above "healthy manly"

and³⁶ strength almost beyond example. The basis of his principal³⁷ poetry is the intuitional & emotional,³⁸ actuated by what the phrenologists term self-esteem and adhesiveness. Like all revolutionists and founders, he himself³⁹ will have to create the growth by which he is to be fully understood and accepted. This will be a⁴⁰ slow and long work, but⁴¹ sure.

36. Deleted: "freedom" ; inserted: "strength [*del.*] quite [*del.*] almost" above "[*del.*] freedom" and "beyond"

37. Deleted: "poems"

38. Deleted: "dominated" ; inserted: "actuated by what" above deletion and "the"

39. Deleted: "by his writings"

40. Redundant "a" deleted.

41. Deleted: "it is"

Walt Whitman Travels North.

Text from a photostat in LC (#257). Location of original unknown. In December 1871 WW received a letter from Rudolph Schmidt, announcing his intention of writing his study, and sent him *LG, DV* and several articles about his work. "Walt Whitman, det amerikanske Demokratis Digter" appeared in *For Idé og Virkelighed* in February, 1872, and WW received his copy in April. This note, evidently to be placed in a newspaper, must have been written sometime between October, 1871, and February, 1872. See *Corr.*, II, 143-144, 150-153, 163-164. A summary was published as from the *New York Commercial Advertiser* April, 1872, in the "Advertisements" (7-8) of *As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free* (1872), and, apparently in selections, in Horace Traubel's *In Re Walt Whitman*, 231-238. Schmidt also published a translation of *DV* in 1874. They corresponded irregularly until 1889. See Roos, Carl, "Walt Whitman's Letters to a Danish Friend," *Orbis Litterarum*, 7 (1949), 34-39. See also "sent Press of 22d," "D. W. Wilder," "*Is Walt Whitman's Poetry Poetical?*"; *Corr.*, I, II, III, IV passim.; Traubel, I, 274-277, 402, 406, 408, II, 82, 85, 117, 159, 182, 354, 355, III, 360-362, IV, 103, 222, 336-338, 356-358, 464-465.

WALT WHITMAN travels north.

The Danish magazine, "For Idee og Virkelighed" (for the Idea and Reality.) published at Copenhagen, & a leading literary and art organ of the Scandinavian races, is to have a review and translations of Mr. Whitman's "Leaves of Grass."

105 Sam'l Ward.

Manuscript in LC (#216, sheet #1815). Inscribed in column in violet or faded red ink, black ink, and black pencil emendations on half sheet of white laid notepaper, 8³/₁₆" x 5", blue rules ³/₈" apart. Embossed stamp at upper left. On April 26, 1872 WW printed an appeal in the Washington *Daily Morning Chronicle* for funds in aid of Louis Fitzgerald Tasistro (1808-1886), journalist, actor, State Department translator, lecturer, although WW did not mention his name. On the 27th the *Chronicle* published a list of contributors (*Corr.*, II, 171-172n). Nothing seems to be known of WW's previous relationships with Tasistro, but after his permanent move from Washington in mid-June 1873 his letters to Peter Doyle through 1875 frequently mention or inquire about him in passing. The speed and quantity of the response tells much about WW's standing in Washington. The source of his earlier gifts to Tasistro is not known. The date is April, 1872.

105¹ Sam'l Ward² 25 W. F. Clark—³Sec. office—1313 st n.w.⁴ 2 Ebbitt H⁵ [:] Com. D.L.B., Vaine[?]⁶ U.S.N.⁷ 1 W.A. Torrey.⁸ 5. E. T. Peters, statistics—2d Comptr. —5. Jas. Burchard—5. Jas. G. Blaine⁹ by Mr. Sherman¹⁰ & friend 10 Warren Choate—5/ Anonymous—1 Mr. Maguire, E st. 10¹¹ Wm Hincks—Globe office Cong. Rep. 10. Gentleman in the street —1 [*Gentleman in the street*]¹² —5 Gentleman in the street—1 Geo. Wm. Curtis¹³—5 M. A. O'Conner—1 Mr Fitch—10 C. G. Colgate, rep. N.Y. stock ex 5 J[?]. L. Hayes—5/ March 26—gave L.F.T.¹⁴—\$30 — & \$2 in goods \$2 previously given—\$37

1. In black ink at top of column of figures at right. Just before deleted "80"
2. Samuel Ward (1814-1884), minor author and famous lobbyist. For WW's letter of thanks in the third person see *Corr.*, II, 173. See also "D. W. Wilder." In violet or faded red ink.
3. In violet or faded red ink.
4. Address inserted in black pencil.
5. This name is written sideways along a brace at the left of the following two names. In violet or faded red ink.
6. Inserted. An initial "B" or "V" is deleted. WW was probably filling out the name.
7. In violet or faded red ink.
8. In violet or faded red ink.
9. (1831-1893), senator.
10. Possibly John Sherman, senator.
11. James C. McGuire (1812-1888), a collector of Americana. For WW's letter of thanks see *Corr.*, II, 175. It is in a more informal tone than that to Ward.
12. WW used dittos.
13. George William Curtis (1824-1892), man of letters.
14. Louis F. Tasistro.

Walt Whitman.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on white wove paper, 5¾" x 8", with blue rules ½" apart. WW returned from his Dartmouth visit approximately July 25, 1872 (*Corr.*, II, 181). The article by Madame Blanc (Thérèse Bentzon) appeared in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 99 (June 1, 1872), 565–582. The writing is strikingly like that of "Walt Whitman, (from Holland.)"

WALT WHITMAN who has been away north¹ this summer, and besides visiting his aged mother, has been holding close communion with the Atlantic seabeach, the Hudson, Connecticut and White Rivers, Lake Champlain, the Vermont mountains, and the² Adirondacks—traveling leisurely through a dozen States, besides delivering the Poem at Dartmouth College Commencement—returned to Washington last night, in good condition. By the way we see that W. W. and his "Leaves of Grass" have received the honor of a long criticism in the great French periodical, the *Revue des*³ *Deux Mondes*.

1. Inserted above "away"
2. Deleted: "long spread"
3. Deleted: "Due"

A Tip-Top Caricature.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in black ink on white wove paper, 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6", blue rules $\frac{7}{16}$ " apart. At upper right deleted: "lead [illeg.] first page." On verso in unknown hand "ak Walt Whitman's manuscript. Item for the Evening Star." Holloway, says the caricature appeared in the *Fifth Avenue Journal*, 1872 and reprints it facing p. 240. The *Journal* for this year has not been found. A clipping in the Rollins Collection, Princeton, reads: "The bearded and ruddy physiognomy which we present as No. 18 of our 'Men of the Day,' will be recognized by many Broadway wayfarers who will not know to whom it belongs. Walt Whitman, however, has a reputation better known than his face, and his quaint and original writings rank abroad as the most advanced type of American characteristic poetry. But it is in his geniality and his wholesouled generosity and kindness that Walt Whitman is best known among his American friends, for while much of his work is 'poetry of the future,' there are natural peculiarities of the man which appeal to the affectionate regard of all who know him. The author of 'Leaves of Grass' is certainly one of the 'Men of the Day.'" Frank Bellew (1828-1888) was born in India and came to the US in 1850. He was a habitu  of Pfaff's, where WW probably knew him (see "[illeg.] Dick Hunt"), and achieved a reputation as a cartoonist and illustrator. The date is 1872.

A tip-top caricature of Walt Whitman, forming No. 18 of the burlesque portraits of "Men of the Time" has just appeared in the shop-windows of New York, Washington, and other cities. It¹ represents W. W. at full length, with characteristically² easy attitude, immense³ beard, hand in pants pocket,⁴ enormous and open shirt-collar,⁵ exaggerating⁶ all the points,⁷ till they are very funny, while the likeness is⁸ admirably preserved.⁹

It is said to be from the design and burin of Frank Bellew. If so, that choice artist has never made a more palpable hit.

1. Deleted: "saves[?] WW's salient points"
2. Inserted: "ally easy" ("easy" above "ally")
3. Inserted above "de" in "attitude" and "be a" in "beard"
4. Deleted: "the extravagant" ; inserted: "enormous" above "extravagant"
5. Deleted: "and"
6. Deleted: "es" ; inserted above: "ing"; deleted: "them"
7. Preceding two words inserted above "all till"
8. Deleted: "subtly" ; inserted above: "admirably"
9. Beginning of new paragraph deleted: "The designing artist is said"

Washington, D.C.

Manuscript in Walt Whitman House, Camden, N. J. Inscribed in black ink on right inside leaf of double sheet of faded? white paper, 12 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 16 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Framing prevented close examination of paper. Emendations are not available. The parenthetical list of his books in Redfield's hands is in black pencil. Redfield was a publisher and WW's agent. S.W. Green was a large NY printing firm which advertised fireproof premises. The witnesses were Alfred Thomas and Webster Elmes who are identified by WW in pencil as "Clerks in Sol. Office Treasury." On the facing leaf the will is docketed, with a double red line above and a single red line below: "Will of *Walt Whitman*, Oct. 23, 1872, Washington, D.C. bequeathing personal property, &c. to Edward Whitman—Louisa Whitman trustee—(or, in her absence, George W. Whitman, trustee & executor)." WW sent the will to George for safekeeping the same day (*Corr.*, II, 187). For other wills see "The last will" of 1891.

Washington, D. C.

October 23, 1872,

I, Walt Whitman, (aged 53, and now a Clerk in the Department of Justice in this City,) do hereby will and bequeath to my mother, Louisa Whitman, in trust for my brother, Edward Whitman all my property, being personal property, namely between Ten and Eleven Hundred dollars in the Brooklyn Savings Bank, corner of Fulton and Concord streets, Brooklyn, New York,

Also what is due me on account of sales of my books from J. S. Redfield, 140 Fulton street, New York City, (Redfield has 500 last edition "Leaves of Grass"—also over 400 "As a strong Bird"—also 500 Democratic Vistas)

Also the stereotype plates of my books owned by me, & left for safe keeping with S. W. Green, Nos. 16 and 18 Jacob street, New York City.

And said Brooklyn Savings Bank, and said J. S. Redfield, and said S. W. Green, are directed to account to, and receive receipts from, my mother, Louisa Whitman, the same as from me.

In case of the death of my mother, Louisa Whitman, my brother George W. Whitman is hereby authorized to act as above in her place as trustee & executor.

Witness { Alfred Thomas
 { Webster Elmes

Walt Whitman

It Has Been Good Fun.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on white laid paper, 9³/₄" x 8¹/₄", each half of a folded letter sheet, torn or cut at left. Page 2 consists of two scraps pasted together as noted. Watermarked "Carew Co Improved" over US shield and stars; embossed "Congress" over front view of capitol, "P & P" under. Blue rules ⁵/₁₆" apart. Pagination in red ink is WW's. At upper left of [1] is a false start: "Scores of"; deleted in red ink at upper right is "(read proof carefully by copy *verbatim and punctuation*)" in red ink.

The reference is to two cartoons satirizing Horace Greeley by Thomas Nast (1840–1902) in *Harper's Weekly*, October 26, 1872, at the height of the Grant-Greeley campaign. "Miss Columbia May to H.G. December—'Do you see anything Green in my Eye'" was on the cover. "That Tidal Wave—'We are on the Home Stretch'" was a double-page spread. It shows the ship of the Democratic party wrecked by a wave outside the safe harbor beyond which the Capitol gleams. The essay was intended for a newspaper, but no publication has been found. The date is late October, 1872.

IT HAS BEEN GOOD FUN to-day¹ observing the groups gathered around Shillingtons, Beal's, Parker's, Robert Reill's, Bishop's,² and the other periodical stores of the Avenue and Seventh street, to look at Nast's latest³ comic pictures, "The Tidal Wave" and the irresistible "Do you see any thing green in my eye?" Both are strokes of genius, and judging by Washington City,⁴ the appreciation of this sort of thing is complete.⁵ The motley crowds, by dozens and scores,⁶ big and little, old and young, white, black and brown, learned and illiterate,⁷ all made it plain enough "where the laugh came in."⁸ In fact it was one⁹ general smile varied by guffaws,¹⁰ grins, and¹¹ every known form¹² of cachinnation. Here was¹³ a

1. Deleted: "watching"; inserted and deleted above: "seeing"; inserted: "observing" above "the"

2. Inserted above "ll's" in "Reill's" and "an" in "and"

3. Inserted above "st's" in "Nast's" and "c" in "comic"

4. Inserted. Deleted: "their"; inserted above: "the"

5. Preceding fourteen words inserted on a line above "Both are strokes of genius"

6. Preceding four words inserted above "ley" in "motley" and "crowds, . . . big"

7. Deleted: "exhibited"; inserted above: "all . . . enough"

8. Deleted: ", by"; inserted: "In fact it was" on two lines above and in the right margin.

9. Deleted: "continual"; inserted above: "general"

10. Deleted and inserted following: "grins"

11. Deleted: "all"; inserted: "every known" above "[del.] all" and "form"

12. Deleted: "s"

13. Preceding two words inserted above "A" and "str" in "stray"; WW did not reduce uppercase "A"

stray Senator or Representative, there a head of a Bureau or even Department, swarms of clerks up to nine o'clock visitors, the colored people,¹⁴ the "knights," mechanics—¹⁵ the whole mass put in¹⁶ merry humor by these amusing cartoons. Among [2]¹⁷ the rest of the jolly heads, in one¹⁸ group on the Avenue,¹⁹ we saw the white locks and red face of Walt Whitman,²⁰ proving that he can, on due provocation, laugh enormously, (notwithstanding some of his foreign critics,) and was now doing²¹ the same.²²

The general pictorial²³ illustration business, and especially²⁴ the original comic²⁵ line, is certainly²⁶ going to develope—or is already developed—into a great American institution. Already we²⁷ compete with the best English and German wood-engravings, and their artists & designs; the French only are ahead of us. But we shall yet, and soon, outstrip [3]²⁸ the whole²⁹ world. We have more of the spirit of³⁰ fun in us, as a people, than any other. It is racy, a³¹ perennial product of the soil, the breed. Nast is the Moses who has³² smitten the rock, and the³³ waters are already beginning to gush forth. Several of the inferior comic papers also³⁴ show talent of the first order in every number. Then³⁵ there is something in the pictorial art that affords a subtler, jucier, more³⁶ appropriate medium for the expression of absolute humor³⁷ than any other³⁸ artistic outlet.³⁹

14. Preceding three words inserted above "visitors the"

15. Deleted: "all" ; inserted: "—the whole mass" above "[del.] all" and "put"

16. Deleted: "a"

17. Deleted: "the crowd we saw Walt Whitman [del.] lau enjoying the pictures & the scene his with is [preceding three words del.] with about as much" "the rest we saw w"

18. Inserted and deleted: "of these" "the"; "groups" changed to singular.

19. Preceding six words inserted.

20. Deleted: "who can" ; inserted: "proving that he "[del.] could can on due provocation" above "laugh enormously"

21. Deleted: "his best."

22. End of first half sheet. On next half sheet underlined "22" [?] at left edge. Illeg. letter deleted.

23. Inserted above "ral" in "general" and "ill" in "illustration"

24. Deleted: "in"

25. Deleted: "picture"

26. Deleted: "devel"

27. Deleted: "outst"

28. At upper right: "(burin)"

29. Inserted above wordspace between "the world"

30. Preceding four words inserted above "re" in "more" and "from"

31. Deleted: "genuine" ; inserted: "perennial"

32. Deleted: "smote" ; inserted above: "smitten"

33. Deleted: "real"

34. Inserted above wordspace between "papers . . . show"

35. Inserted above "T" in "There" ; uppercase "There" reduced.

36. Inserted above "appro" in "appropriate"

37. Preceding two words inserted above "of" and "[del.] fun" ; deleted: "fun"

38. Deleted: "form." ; inserted and deleted above: [illeg.]; inserted: "artistic outlet" above deletions.

39. Paragraphing indicated by inserted ¶.

From all & several of which we launch⁴⁰ the prophecy that Art in America is going to loom⁴¹ up in⁴² at least one new and special institution of the first class, the Pictorial Comic. For there is⁴³ unquestionably the droll side of life, & all its affairs, persons, politics⁴⁴ every thing—and even⁴⁵ as an influence of civilization—such chaps as Nast, and others⁴⁶ whose names we would give, if⁴⁷ we knew them—show that “in the hands of men entirely great,” the *burin* too is mightier than the sword.

40. Deleted: “forth” ; inserted and deleted above: “out”

41. Deleted: “a” ; inserted: “at least one” above “in new”

42. Inscribed over “look”

43. Deleted: “certainly that” ; inserted above: “unquestionable the”

44. Deleted: “and”

45. Inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*]; following six words inserted above “such chaps as Nast”

46. Deleted: “that might”

47. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

The City as Well.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Bound with a letter of J. H. Johnston presenting it to a Mr. Watson, March 11, 1912. Inscribed in black pencil on white wove paper ca. 7¼" x 4¹/₁₆" including scrap pasted on at bottom. Main leaf has rounded lower right corner. Faint rules ⅜" apart. The writing seems to be earlier than 1873.

the city as well as country. Other wars, other eras, emergencies, have cropt out better specimens of special Captains¹ and warrior chiefs than this contest, but I think no where in Earths² history, old or new, have THE PEOPLE exhibited themselves to such glorious advantage, take it all in all, as in the four or five years of this war, especially in its beginning & ending. Speaking generally, too, & in reference to personal & emotion[?] qualities, & heroism, I include³ [*the*] South just the same[?] [*as*[?]] the[?] North[?]

1. Deleted: "and [*del.*] probably perhaps [*ins.* above "probably"] (with the exception of President Lincoln) [*del.*] more better Pilots through the storm"

2. Inserted above "history"

3. Beginning of pasted-on scrap.

Rossetti — Mrs. Gilchrist.

Manuscript in LC (#216, sheet #1894R). Inscribed in black ink in two columns on scrap of white laid notepaper. Each name has a tick in front of it. Probably a list of recipients of a clipping, a newspaper, or one of his own publications. WW could not have known of "Barthong" (n 12) before January, 1872. In 1873 he was gravely ill and his surviving correspondence is mostly about his personal affairs.

-Rossetti¹ -Mrs. Gilchrist² -Dowden³ -A. Webb.⁴ -Conway.⁵ -T. Dixon⁶
-Swinburne⁷ -Buchanan⁸ -Tennyson⁹ -R. Schmidt¹⁰ -P. Liptay¹¹ -H.
Buxton Forman¹² -Editor Revue (France)¹³ -Maddox Brown¹⁴ -Trowbridge¹⁵
-Pris. Townsend.¹⁶ -Marg. Avery.¹⁷ -John Swinton¹⁸ -Commonwealth

1. William Michael Rossetti. See "Jeff, Mary, Han."

2. Mrs. Gilchrist first wrote WW in 1871 and came to the US in 1876.

3. Dowden's article on WW appeared in the July, 1871, *Westminster Review* and he wrote WW (for the first time?) on July 23 (*Corr.*, II, 368).

4. An Irishman who ordered books from WW ("D. W. Wilder").

5. Conway was acting as an agent of sorts in England. See "Introduction to the London Edition."

6. A self-educated manufacturer of lifebuoys and other cork products in County Durham who was responsible for the introduction of *LG* to the Rossetti circle. See "Addresses."

7. WW received Swinburne's "To Walt Whitman in America" in 1871. Swinburne began to change his mind by 1872 (Allen, 446). No correspondence with Swinburne seems either to have existed or to have survived.

8. An overenthusiastic English supporter in 1872 and 1876.

9. He wrote Tennyson in April and September of 1872, each time sending a publication (*Corr.*, III, 174, 184).

10. Danish supporter, whose essay on WW appeared in 1872. WW and Schmidt had been in correspondence since December, 1871. See "WALT WHITMAN travels."

11. A Hungarian journalist in the U. S. Probably responsible for a notice of WW in a Budapest publication. See "D. W. Wilder."

12. An English critic. See "D. W. Wilder." Deleted: "Barthong." WW meant Thérèse Bentzon, whose "Un Poète Américain Walt Whitman" had appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* January, 1872. He called her "Barthon" in "Is Walt Whitman's Poetry Poetical?"

13. See n 12, above. "Editor" written over "be"

14. An English Pre-Raphaelite painter. See "D. W. Wilder." End of first column of names.

15. J. T. Trowbridge, man of letters. See "Baily D Damon."

16. WW's mother's cousin. See "D. W. Wilder."

17. Another of his mother's cousins. See *ibid.* No letter to either cousin survives, nor do we know the reason for their sudden appearance.

18. Then on the *NY Times*. See *ibid.*

-College Courant¹⁹ New Haven -Mary Van Nostrand²⁰ -Mayor Powell -M.
F. Pleasants²¹ -Ed. Appleton's weekly -Prof. Youmans²²

19. Deleted: "Hartford" ; inserted above: "New Haven"

20. His sister on Long Island.

21. A fellow clerk in the attorney general's office (*Corr.*, I, 284, II, 106, 117).

22. Probably Edward Livingston Youmans (1821-1887), although self-educated, a distinguished science writer and editor. In 1842 he met WW at Mrs. Chipman's boarding house on Chambers St. WW was then editor of the *Aurora*. In later life, Youmans maintained that WW was a fraud who wrote as he did because he could not make money by writing in a conventional style. (John Fiske, *Edward Livingston Youmans* (NY, 1894.)

?Note Tuesday—Dec 3. '72—.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet # 332). Inscribed in black ink on white wove half-sheet of notepaper, torn along left edge, 8½" x 5". Blue lines 5/16" apart. Date December 3, 1872

? note¹

Tuesday—Dec 3. '72—

9½ o'clock a.m. (If you go to Washington you will see a man in plain clothes black)² saw President Grant on horseback,³—a handsome young horse of dappled grey—he rides easily & firmly (⁴ he was entirely alone—he just rode along on a moderate canter, and was not distinguishable⁵ —reminded me of that other occasion—June? 1865—when⁶ after the grand review of three? days—the return of the armies after Lees and Johnston's surrender—two men dressed in black clothes not by any means new, with ordinary walking sticks, edged their way through the crowd⁷

1. In blue pencil.
2. Crammed in on right side.
3. Deleted: "above"
4. Deleted: "it" ; following four words inserted on a line following.
5. Deleted: "—he was entire"
6. Deleted: "I saw two"
7. Probably a comparison with Grant's simplicity of dress.

Washington as a Central.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink, red ink, black pencil, and blue pencil on six leaves of white laid paper, 9¾" x 7½", with Department of Justice letterhead. All sheets seem to be halves of double sheets. Page 4 comprises two scraps. Most entries with hanging indentation. Dixon Wecter, "Walt Whitman as Civil Servant," *PMLA*, 58 (December, 1943), 1104*n.*, assigns a date between December, 1871, when George H. Williams was appointed Attorney General, and WW's stroke in January, 1873. The reference to John Burroughs' *Wake Robin* supports this dating, although WW made Burroughs a year younger than he was. First published by Wecter.

*Washington as a central winter residence*¹

The² tendency seems more & more³ pointing⁴ to the gradual establishment of⁵ superior & permanent advantages in this city⁶ for general first-class winter residence.⁷ The Americans are migratory, and like⁸ change of scene. To those who can afford it,⁹ wherever they go in summer, flitting abroad or to the uttermost parts of the land it is getting to be generally agreed¹⁰ they cannot do better than¹¹ rendezvous here for the winter.

2¹² Thus Washington is¹³ gradually and we think surely¹⁴ forming a distinctive metropolitan American Character.¹⁵

1. No numbering. There is an illegible pencil inscription at upper right and two more to left and right below the title. The page is cancelled by a vertical pencil stroke.

2. Deleted: "growing"

3. Preceding three words inserted above "seems [*del.*] to" ; deleted: "to"

4. Deleted: "irresistibly"

5. Deleted: "many"

6. Deleted: "as *the*" ; inserted above "[*del.*] as [*del.*] the winter residence": "for a general first-class" ; deleted: "a"

7. Deleted: "of the good people of the United States."

8. Deleted: "a"

9. Deleted: "whatever"

10. Preceding eighteen words inserted above "in better"

11. Deleted "come" ; inserted above: "rendezvous"

12. Numbered in blue by WW. Page cancelled through "crystalizing" by a vertical pencil stroke.

13. Preceding three words inserted with a finer-nibbed pen above "We are," which was not deleted in MS.

14. Preceding four words inserted with a finer-nibbed pen above "lly" of "gradually" and "getting"; deleted: "getting to"

15. Deleted: "of city"

Perceptible centres of Literature,¹⁶ Science, Society, are¹⁷ already here, &¹⁸ are rapidly crystallizing

We want a good opera house—¹⁹

We want a good Book publishing house for highest classes of American books, not of ephemeral character²⁰

3²¹ The advantages here are such as²² the Congressional Library, (one of the first class ones of the world)—

To some extent²³ we are already²⁴ a literary centre—²⁵ (this is especially true of Journalists)

Educational—Georgetown College Columbian College²⁶ Howard University Health[?]/²⁷

(Ought to be a place of standard²⁸ Athors, publishers & book manufacture)

Ought to be a first class monthly magazine published here.—²⁹

has been one seriously³⁰ contemplated, and planned³¹ to be called “The Dome,”³² with W. D. O’Connor for editor, but it seems delayed so far—hope it will be started—The editor named would be a very good one—

(Mention various personages)³³

John Burroughs,³⁴ from New York state, age 33,³⁵ by some considered³⁶ our most³⁷ perceptive observer³⁸ American Nature, and³⁹ raciest describer thereof; author of “Wake Robin,” and “Notes on Walt Whitman.”

16. Original first word; inserted in left margin and deleted: “The” ; inserted above “[del.] The Literature” : “Perceptible centres are” with a finer-nibbed pen.

17. Deleted: “all” ; inserted above: “already” with finer-nibbed pen.

18. Deleted: “will gradually form formulate in”

19. Marked at beginning with a finer-nibbed pen by a cross.

20. Marked at beginning with a finer-nibbed pen by a cross. Preceding ten words inserted with a finer-nibbed pen on five lines at right following “house” . Deleted: “We want a first class American literary & political monthly magazine”

21. Numbered in blue pencil in the upper right corner by WW.

22. Preceding seven words inserted in red ink with a finer pen above “The Congressional Library” . WW did not reduce the succeeding “The” to lowercase.

23. Preceding three words inserted with a finer-nibbed pen above “A Literary”

24. Preceding three words inserted following insert, in n23, in red ink with a finer-nibbed pen. “A” not reduced.

25. Deleted: “esp” . Succeeding parenthetical phrase written with a finer-nibbed pen on two lines above “Georgetown College” at the end of the line below.

26. Preceding two words inserted in pencil before “Howard”

27. Inserted at left margin in pencil.

28. Deleted: [illeg.].

29. Deleted: “was” ; inserted above: “has been”

30. Inserted in red ink with a finer-nibbed pen above “con” in “contemplated”

31. Preceding two words inserted in red ink with a finer pen above “ted” in “contemplated” and “to be”

32. Title marked by a pointing fist in red ink at left.

33. Parenthetical phrase in red ink with finer pen on a line above “John Burroughs from”

34. Deleted: “of” ; inserted above: “from”

35. Burroughs was born April 3, 1837, but, since *Wake Robin* was (listed as) published May 15, 1871, he had just turned 34.

36. Deleted: “the” ; inserted above: “our”

37. Deleted: “racy writ” ; inserted: “perceptive” above “[del.] racy”

38. Deleted: “& writer of our the” ; inserted: “American” above “[del.] of our”

39. Deleted: “racy” ; inserted above: “raciest”

4⁴⁰ William D. O'Connor, of Massachusetts, before mentioned/ Also several⁴¹ literary men, and not a few ladies, from the West, South, and of our own District. (Collect names of others)⁴²

Then the poet⁴³ Walt Whitman, himself⁴⁴ aged 52,—for all his venerable beard— (⁴⁵ whose fate for the present⁴⁶ it seems to be neglected by publishers, insultingly slurred by critics and sundry⁴⁷ official magnates in his own country, but welcomed with admiration, & applause both as person & poet⁴⁸ by the best authorities abroad, translated in Germany & Denmark, republished in England, and pronounced by the Westminster Review “the first & only representative in art of American Democracy.”⁴⁹

5⁵⁰ people are⁵¹ setting up their domestic & social⁵² tabernacles here⁵³

Chas Astor Bristed⁵⁴

Dr. Channing⁵⁵ of Providence R. I.

Professors & scientific gentlemen of⁵⁶ the naval⁵⁷ observatory⁵⁸ Smithsonian Institute, Coast Survey &⁵⁹ hydrographic & signal offices,⁶⁰

40. Numbered in upper left in blue pencil by WW. Leaf pasted together, the top half (after “(collect names of others)”) overlapping the bottom half slightly. Top half shows traces of trimmed-off words in black ink. Both halves are separately cancelled with vertical pencil strokes.

41. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

42. Parenthetical statement in red ink, but with a coarser point than that used for the other entries in red. End of first scrap. Traces of writing have been cut off.

43. Preceding three words inserted in red ink with a finer-nibbed pen in the left margin and above “Walt”

44. Inserted in red ink with a finer-nibbed pen above “[*del.*] of” . Deleted in red ink: “of New York” . WW forgot to delete “City,” which is here omitted, at the beginning of the next line.

45. Deleted: “and”

46. Preceding three words inserted in red ink with a finer-nibbed pen above “fate it”

47. Inserted in red ink with a finer-nibbed pen in left margin before “official”

48. Preceding five words inserted in red ink with a finer-nibbed pen above “plause” in “applause” and “by the”

49. Edward Dowden’s “The Poetry of Democracy: Walt Whitman,” July, 1871. The quotation marks are inserted in red ink with a finer-nibbed pen.

50. Numbered by WW at the upper left in brackets in blue pencil.

51. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

52. Preceding three words inserted above “their tabernacles”

53. Preceding ten words inserted in red ink with a finer-nibbed pen above “Chas. Astor Bristed”

54. 1820–1874, author.

55. William Francis Channing (1820–1901), son of William Ellery Channing, brother-in-law of Ellen O’Connor, physician and scientist. See “a m Dr. L B Russell”

56. Preceding four words inserted above “essors” in “Professors” and “observ” in “observatory” ; original “of” deleted following “Professors”

57. Inserted with finer-nibbed pen above “obs” in “observatory”

58. Deleted: “and”

59. Preceding three words inserted above “ute” in “Institute” and “hydragr” in “hydrographic”

60. Preceding three words inserted above “Mr. Bryan”

Mr. Bryan,⁶¹ Mr. Ring,⁶²
 The Judges of the Supreme Court
 Senators Sumner,⁶³ Trumbull,⁶⁴ Chandler,⁶⁵
 Messrs. Fernando Wood,⁶⁶ B. F. Butler,⁶⁷ Chipman,⁶⁸
 Gov. Cooke,⁶⁹
 Mr. Blair,⁷⁰
 Sec's Fish,⁷¹
 Attorney Gen. Williams⁷²
 The series of⁷³ Presidential & Cabinet⁷⁴ receptions, forming a continued⁷⁵ brilliant,⁷⁶ exhilarating, democratic spectacle
 Headquarters of the Army
 Diplomatic representatives & their⁷⁷ families & staffs
 —The gay spectacle on the avenue of a fine day—the numerous⁷⁸ first class horses
 in teams or single harness—a peculiar attraction
 The botanical garden & numerous conservatories
 6⁷⁹ International copyright would be a benefit to Washington
 Already⁸⁰ many foreign authors visit here—
 Our musical society takes the prize in the New York [*illeg.*]⁸¹ Upon the whole,

61. Possibly Thomas Barbour Bryan (1828–1906), lawyer, District Commissioner, Vice President of World's Columbian Exposition.

62. Possibly J. H. Ring (1820–1882), actor.

63. Charles Sumner (1811–1874).

64. Possibly Lyman Trumbull (1813–1896), senator from Illinois.

65. Possibly Zechariah Chandler of Michigan, senator, Republican boss. Deleted: "Fenton" [?], possibly Reuben Eaton Fenton (1819–1885) governor of NY, senator, chairman of US Commission to International Monetary Conference.

66. (1812–1881), Democratic boss and wartime mayor of NYC.

67. (1818–1893), Civil War general, military governor of New Orleans in 1862, congressman, governor of Massachusetts.

68. Possibly Norton Parker Chipman (1836–1924), delegate from DC.

69. Possibly Henry David Cooke (1825–1881), brother of Jay Cooke and his lobbyist, first governor of DC.

70. Either Francis Preston Blair (1791–1876), Jacksonian, Free Soil, Republican politician, or his son (1821–1875), politician. A preceding "M" deleted.

71. Hamilton Fish (1808–1893), secretary of state under Grant.

72. George H. Williams (1820–1910), attorney general, senator from Oregon; WW's ultimate superior.

73. Preceding two words inserted in red ink with fine pen above wordspace before and above "Pre" in "Presidential"

74. Preceding two words inserted in red ink with a fine pen above wordspace before and above "receptions"

75. Preceding three words inserted in red ink with a fine-nibbed pen above deleted "a" and "brilliant" ; deleted: "a"

76. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

77. Preceding three words inserted in black ink above "atic" in "Diplomatic" and "families"

78. Deleted in red ink with a fine-nibbed pen: "fine" ; inserted in red ink with a fine-nibbed pen: "first class" above "[*del.*] fine" and "hor" in "horses"

79. Numbered by WW at the upper left in blue pencil. Deleted: "the"

80. Deleted: "there are"

81. Sentence inserted on two lines in black pencil.

the prospect is⁸² that there⁸³ must gradually grow up here a⁸⁴ central winter residence, social, literary, political musical & scientific, which will view with that of⁸⁵ any capital in Europe.

82. Written somewhat to the left of the left margin.

83. Deleted: "will" ; inserted above: "must"

84. Deleted: "character of life we"

85. Space of possibly three letters left at beginning of next line.

Will of Walt Whitman.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in black ink on white laid paper 13" x 8¾" with red-blue-red margin 1⁷/₁₆" from left edge. WW's assets are listed in hanging paragraphs. Endorsed on [4V] "Will of Walt Whitman, May 16, 1873." On January 23, WW had had a stroke which affected his left side and leg. By April, he was able to get to the office regularly in the afternoon. James Cornwall Whitman, [3], seems to have been a posthumous child of Andrew Whitman (*Corr.*, I, 207, 281). Redfield went bankrupt in 1875, at which time he owed WW \$63.45 (*Corr.*, II, 118). Michael Doolady had proposed to WW in 1867 that he act as his agent, which he did until sometime in 1873. See *Corr.*, I, 349-350; II, 244ⁿ; "D. W. Wilder"; and "Addresses." In the first week of October, 1873, WW wrote Doyle from Camden that he had revised his will (*Corr.*, II, 248). This document has not been located. For other wills see "The last will." [1] of this will in facsimile in Anderson Galleries Catalog Sale #2198 in Francis and Lozynsky, 135.

Will of Walt Whitman—

Washington, D.C.

May 15th, 1873

For the purpose of confirming and adding to my former Will, written in 1872, & placed in charge of my brother George W. Whitman, I hereby again & further Will and bequeath, *all my property*, namely,
Nine hundred & fifty dollars, deposited by me, and now held in my name, by book 101,398, of & in the Brooklyn Savings Bank, corner of Fulton & Concord sts., Brooklyn, New York, with the interest accrued thereon.—

—Also

Five hundred and fifty dollars, deposited by me, & now in my name, by book 14, 602, of & in the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, of 1507, Pennsylvania av. Washington, D.C., with the interest accrued thereon—and also any further sums deposited by me in said Freedman's Savings Co. & credited on said book 14, 602, with interest.—

—Also

The plates of my books, "Leaves of Grass," "Passage to India," "Democratic Vistas," & "As a strong Bird on Pinions Free,"—being some six hundred (or over) pages of electrotyped or stereotyped plates—Also some three hundred and fifty copies, (cloth,) of "As a Strong Bird, &c"—all at S. W. Green's, 16 and 18 Jacob street, New York City,

—Also—

The copies of my books,¹ & money due from said copies, or sales, at & by, M. Doolady, 98 Nassau st. N.Y. city.

Also, returns due, for my books, from Samson Low & Co. booksellers, London, England.

{2} Also, returns due for sales of my books, from Trübner & Co. booksellers, London, England.

Also, a balance due me of \$63.43 from J. S. Redfield, bookseller, now or late of New York.

Also, all salary, balance, moneys due me on the pay roll, from my clerkship in the Solicitor's office of the Treasury, in the Department of Justice,

Also, all my clothes, books, watches, furniture, and *all my personal property of any description whatever*,

To my mother, *Louisa Whitman*, in trust for my brother, *Edward L. Whitman*, to be used for his support & benefit, as to her may seem proper,—and in case of decease, (or for other cause,) I name my brother *George W. Whitman* as Trustee & Executor² in her place, with full and the same power & privilege as the said Louisa Whitman & in her stead—

—And the said Brooklyn Saving's Bank, or its officers—& the said Freedman's Saving & Trust Company, or its officers—and the said S. W. Green, printer, 16 & 18 Jacob st. N.Y. —And the said M. Doolady, 98 Nassau st. N.Y. —And the said Sampson Low & Co. of London, —And Trubner & Co. of London—& the said J. S. Redfield—& the accounting officers, & pay clerk of Solicitor's Office, Treasury— are hereby ordered to pay and account to George W. Whitman, or to Louisa Whitman, & take his or her receipt, for amounts due me, as above described,— and such receipts are hereby guaranteed to be the same, and as valid as if signed by my hand—And the foregoing, I declare to be my will, written by my own hand.

witnessed by³

Walt Whitman

{3} I wish my dear mother, as Trustee, or Executor⁴ or my dear brother George W. Whitman, as Trustee, or Executor⁵ to fulfil the following named conditions, as parts of my will, at their convenience.

1. Preceding three words and comma inserted above "& money"
2. Ampersand and word inserted above "stee" in "Trustee" and "in"
3. Harry T. Douglas and Palmer Tilton.
4. Preceding two words inserted above "ee" in "Trustee" and "or"
5. Preceding four words inserted above "man" in "Whitman" and "to fulfil"

I wish Eighty-Nine Dollars paid to Peter Doyle—that sum being due to him from me. I also will to him my silver watch. Appleton-Tracy movement, hunting-case. I wish it given to him, with my love.

I will my portrait in oil (by Charles Hine) to my brother George—also the old oil painting, portrait, with old frame. Also the portrait in oil, of mother, by Jacobs, small size.

I will my open-face silver watch to James Cornwell Whitman, son of my brother Andrew.

I will a good gold ring, (one from my fingers) each to my brother George, brother Jeff, sister Mary, sister Hannah, and nephew James Cornwell Whitman—also, to each just named⁶ a good photograph portrait of me, such as may suit them—also⁷ a good bound copy of my poems, to each.

My gold watch is to go to my mother, to be disposed of or not, as she may think proper. (It is a good time piece, worth from 130 to \$150.) If deceased, the proceeds to go to my brother Edward.⁸

My portrait by Walter Libbey is to go to my brother Jeff.
May 16, 1873

Walt Whitman

6. Preceding two words inserted above “each a”

7. Insertion erased: “to each”

8. Written in small script in two lines in space between “\$150.)” and into the right margin.

Don't Forget.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #317). Inscribed in black ink on inside of an unused envelope addressed in another hand to Miss Anne J. Markham, of Alleghany, Pa. Firm writing suggests a date before 1873; the envelope suggests the "autograph pest" of the 1880s.

Don't forget that *the South* furnished probably half a million troops to the Union Army in the Secession War; 350,000 white and 100,000 black, certainly. Even in South Carolina there were a number of Nationalists, some of them eminent and wealthy ones.

May 2-'63 A Night Battle.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on white wove unlined scrap. The night battle referred to is probably that at Chancellorsville, May 2, 1863, which the Union lost, although "Stonewall" Jackson received a fatal wound.

May 2—'63¹
*A Night Battle in ? of² the
late War*

We talk of the Histories of our Union War, (which have already begun to accumulate, many volumes,³ both sides and⁴ a few partially good ones.)

1. Written above.
2. Written above "in"
3. Inserted: "both sides" above "mes" in "volumes" and "and"
4. Deleted: "some really"; inserted and deleted above deletion: "[*illeg.*] half of them" ; inserted: "a few partially" above "[*del.*] them" and "good"

In Life.

Manuscript in Huntington. Inscribed in black ink on white laid scrap. The top of the leaf is torn. The fragment is obviously the end of an introduction and in a general way resembles *Memoranda During the War*, 3.

[*illeg.*] in life, these years, [*illeg.*] to visit the sick & wounded of the Army, both on the field & in the Hospitals of Washington City & its adjacencies, I found it necessary to keep little note-books—merely sheets of paper, folded, to carry handily in the pocket—for cases, names, incidents, & c. It is¹ from these Memoranda, briefly & rapidly pencilled on the spot that I transcribe quite all the following incidents. Whatever they do not have, they² have at least the qualities of being written³ amid the scenes, & of presenting what the eyes saw and the heart felt at the time⁴

W W

1. Deleted: "to" ; inserted above: "from"

2. Deleted: "are" ; inserted above: "have"

3. Deleted: "on the spot" ; comma not deleted; inserted: "amid the scenes, &" above "written" and the deletion.

4. Deleted: "probably of conveying [*ins. and del.*: "perhaps out of" above "[*del.*] probably of con" [in "conveying"]] the more or less the convulsive" . Not deleted: "temper and"

To Change the Book.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on white wove scrap, 5½" x 3¾". Cancelled with vertical pencil stroke. The writing is that of the 1860s rather than the tighter script of the 1850s and earlier. It is possible that it was written in connection with the major revisions WW began after 1860. First published by Emory Holloway, "Notes from a Whitman Student's Scrapbook," *Am Schol.*, 2 (May, 1933), 274.

?¹ To change the book —go over the whole with great care—to make it more intensely the poem of *Individuality* —addressed more² distinctly *to the single personality listening to it* —ruling out, perhaps, some parts that stand in the way of this — —cull out the egotism[?] somewhat[?]³

1. Question mark above text. Pointing hand before text.
2. Inserted above wordspace between "addressed distinctly"
3. Bottom of leaf tattered.

Words in the Bible.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black ink and black pencil on white wove paper, 7⁷/₁₆" x 4³/₄", pasted on inside front corner of the "Blue Book," WW's corrected copy of *LG* (1860). The figures are placed in column at the right on brackets from the various titles. Although, as the use of ink and pencil shows, entries were made at various times, the date is after 1860 for all and for at least part, after 1865, when *DT* was published. First published, in facsimile, in Arthur Golden, ed., *Walt Whitman's Blue Book* (N.Y., 1968) I, [iv].

	Words ¹
Words in the Bible, (the Old and <i>New Testament</i> , excluding the Apocrypha, by printers calculations, that is assuming the whole space to be compactly filled with printed words—(actual words in the Bible 773,692	895,752
Words in New Testament by printers calculation	212,000
Words in Iliad	
Virgils works altogether	163,000
Words in <i>Æneid</i> , a literal prose translation by Davidson, (Buckley's ed)	115,500
Davidsons translation edited by Buckley	122,400
Bucolics & Georgics	40,800 ²
Words in Dante's <i>Inferno</i> literal prose translation by Dr. J. A. Carlyle—(printers calculation)	53,100 ³
Words in <i>Paradise Lost</i> —	96,500
Words in Boston ed. <i>Leaves of Grass</i> by printers calculation	150,500
“ “ <i>Drum Taps</i> —	33,000 ⁴
	183,500 ⁵
Cowper's Works, complete by printers calculation, about	185,000

1. Black ink.

2. Entry in black pencil. A pencil line is at the left.

3. Entry in black ink.

4. Entry about *Drum Taps* in pencil. A pencil line at left of this and *LG* entry.

5. The total number of words in his works so far.

The Thought of the Completion.

Manuscript in LC (#49, sheet #132R). Inscribed in black ink on white paper scrap approx. $4\frac{5}{8}$ " x $8\frac{3}{16}$ ". Blue rules $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart. Top margin $1\frac{5}{16}$ ". Cancelled by a diagonal slash. Verso later used for "*Camden, N. Jersey & Delaware.*" The text parallels "Passage to India" so closely that it must date before 1871 or even before 1868 or 1869, the date of "Thou Vast Rondure Swimming in Space," which was incorporated in "Passage to India." See "Passage to India MS, p. 928."

The thought of the completion of the Orbic¹ Circle—from the traditional commencement & origin of the Race² in Asia—³of the rounding of the long journeys of Humanity and Civilization, and so⁴ many thousand years since—and their final junction, as it were, by these visits, & by the ties of the Pacific—all of which will surely play so large a part in⁵ both the Real and Ideal future of The United States—

1. Inserted above and deleted above "Orbic" : [illeg.]
2. Preceding three words inserted above "in" in "origin" and "A" in "Asia"
3. Inserted from top of leaf on arrow: "from Asia—" ; inserted: "of" above "the"
4. Inserted above and before "many"
5. Deleted: "the future"

? Echoes & Airs.

Manuscript in a private collection. Inscribed in black ink and blue crayon as noted on grayish white laid paper, 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x approx. 6". Set up as a title page. Right edge torn irregularly; vertical fold approx. 1 $\frac{3}{16}$ " from left. Pasted on cardboard and matted. I am indebted to the owner for this description. The only book publication WW is known to have planned in 1870 or 1871 is *Passage to India* (1871) which was included as a separately paged supplement to *LG* (1872). Since the major theme of the *Passage to India* pamphlet is death, the proposed title is rather light in tone. One should remember, however, that the lilac had a solemn significance for WW. The MS also suggests the religious emphasis of the Preface (1872). This was written in 1871.

? Echoes & Airs¹
of
LILAC-TIME
for 1870, '71, &c.

The book must express the effort to fuse Man & Nature, To² reconcile & make harmonious in man that part of him which is Moral Ideas³ with that part of him which is physical nature⁴ a great part⁵ of which effort consists in realizing the conscience, the⁶ moral law, the sense of right/⁷

Here is the analogy in the⁸ interior world of the ? attraction of gravity & all the grand laws of the exterior

1. Written in blue crayon above the entry in black ink: "Airs & Echoes" . "Airs & Echoes" deleted in blue crayon.

2. Deleted: "fuse" ; inserted on two lines above "[del.] fuse" and "moral ideas" : "reconcile & make harmonious [*preceding three words ins.*] in man that part of him which is"

3. Deleted: "&" ; inserted above: "with"

4. Preceding twenty-four words inserted, brought down by lines and asterisks.

5. Deleted: "whereof proceeds from" ; inserted with a finer-nibbed pen: "of which effort" above "[del.] eeds" in "proceeds" and "from"

6. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

7. Line from left about one inch; deleted at the beginning of the next paragraph: "Th"

8. Deleted: "superior" ; inserted above: "interior"

Allude to the Suez Canal.

Manuscript in LC (#79, sheet #759). Inscribed in black ink on verso of a half-sheet of white wove notepaper with Attorney General's Office letterhead. Blue lines $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. It seems to be a note for "Passage to India." Since the Suez Canal was opened in 1869 and "Passage to India" was published in 1871 the note probably dates between those years. See "Passage to India MS, p. 928."

Allude to the Suez Canal./100 miles long. 328 feet wide 26 feet deep (Cost \$55,000,000)

Passage to India.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed chiefly in black ink with a broad-nibbed pen, and passages in black ink with a fine-nibbed pen, black pencil, and blue pencil on home-made notebook 6¼" x 4⅛" of laid white paper with embossed rectangular seal "Platner & Porter [Picture of Capitol Building] Congress" on first leaf only. Blue lines ⅜" apart. Sewn after p. [16] with white string in the fold. First printed in Traubel, IV, 399–400; later in a diplomatic transcript by Fredson Bowers, "The Earliest Manuscript of Whitman's 'Passage to India' and Its Notebook," *Bull. NYPL*, LXI (July, 1957), 348–352. For other MS see "Allude to the Suez Canal," "?Echoes & Airs", "The thought of the completion of the Orbic Circle," and "1880 Notebook," *Feinberg Cat*, #61, in LC.

{1, front cover} Passage to India.
Completion Pacific RR, 1869.¹

{3; 2 blank} ? quite a long piece—

The spinal² Idea [:]³ That the divine⁴ efforts of heroes, & their ideas,⁵ faithfully lived up to, will finally prevail, and be⁶ accomplished however long deferred

{5; 4 blank⁷}⁸ put this in literally⁹ Every great problem is *The Passage to India*¹⁰
Columbus, type of faith ? perseverance/
O¹¹ the free, clear
O the way! the free, clear passage!

1. Original reading: "[del.] The {ins. above "The" } Completion Pacific RR. {del.} completion [ins. above the deletion 1869.]" Title in large letters in black ink with large-nibbed pen; subtitle in smaller letters with finer pen.

2. Inserted in small letters between words with a fine-nibbed pen.

3. Following entry written to right of a brace.

4. Deleted: "works" ; inserted above: "efforts"

5. Deleted: "fin"

6. Deleted: [illeg.] ; Bowers (349) suggests "su" [supreme?].

7. On [4] an offset from [5].

8. At foot of the leaf is stamped the symbol: "54Ro897".

9. Preceding four words inserted above in pencil.

10. Below and at left are two of WW's characteristic pointing hands. This and following entries have hanging indentation.

11. Deleted: "for". This and the succeeding line are in pencil. Above is a line drawn from the left halfway across the page.

[7; 6 *blank*¹²] at outset draw a¹³ simple picture of the setting out of the Columban expedition of discovery—? the voyage.

[9; 8 *blank*¹⁴] —In Course of the piece, a geographical & other description of the country through which the Continental Road passes—the states, (their names,) the fauna, mountains, rivers, &c.¹⁵

[11; 10 *blank*¹⁶] —Bring in the discovery of the route by Cape of Good Hope—¹⁷ Vasco de Gama?¹⁸

? And I saw the lesson.¹⁹ A main idea is to be that a²⁰ brave heroic thought or religious idea, faithfully pursued, justifies itself in time, not perhaps in²¹ its own way but often in grander ways.²²

[13; 12 *blank*²³]²⁴? (then at end)

—What else remains?²⁵ The old ones²⁶ being attained, what²⁷ deeper, new²⁸ problem?²⁹

What other passage to India? /

a religious sentiment is in all these heroic ideas, & underneath them³⁰

[15; 14 *blank*]³¹ Thou too, O³² my Soul,³³—takest thou³⁴ passage to India?

To³⁵ the³⁶ mystic wisdom—the lore of all old philosophy,

To³⁷ all the linked³⁸ transcendent streams, their sources,

12. On [6] an offset from [7].

13. Word deleted by blot, possibly “strong” ; inserted above: “simple”

14. On [8] an offset from [9]. “In” is blotted, perhaps deleted.

15. See “Passage to India,” sec. 3.

16. On [10] an offset from [11].

17. Deleted in pencil: “who was it by?”

18. See “Passage to India,” sec. 4.

19. Preceding sentence and punctuation inserted below “Vasco de Gama?” in pencil. It may, however, be a separate entry.

20. Deleted: “great heroic”

21. Deleted: “the”

22. Entire paragraph in black pencil.

23. On [12] an offset from [13].

24. See “Passage to India,” secs. 7–8. Entry in hanging indentation.

25. Blotted but legible. Next word heavily blotted; Bowers (350) conjectures “wh[*illeg.*]”

26. This sentence heavily emended and blotted. The three preceding words inserted at right with a fine pen. Original reading: [Bowers (350) conjectures] “wh S[*illeg.*] as these these being”

27. Original reading following “what” : “pr still long pr”

28. Inserted above “er” in “deeper”

29. Inserted below line. Original reading illegible, as is word inserted above; possibly original begins with “p” or “n” (Bowers (350) suggests “newer”).

30. Passage in blue pencil. Separated from preceding by line in blue pencil.

31. WW began with “What” , deleted it and began a new line.

32. Inserted above “my”

33. In column and deleted: “—what” , “—past the” , “—what is thy”

34. Preceding two words crammed in between deleted line (see n 33 above) and above “passage”

35. Inserted above “The” ; uppercase not removed from following “The”

36. Deleted: “wisd”

37. “the linked” inserted above “tranc” in “trancendental” , as in preceding line; uppercase not removed from “All”

38. Two preceding words inserted above word space and “tranc” of “trancendental” . A dot above “ed” of “linked” may be a diacritical mark.

The Vedas, with all their hymns & sacred odes,³⁹
 To vast and might poems, the Ramayana, the Mahabarata,
 [17; 16 blank]⁴⁰ And you O my Soul?⁴¹
 Have not you & I long sought the passage to India?⁴²
 Some⁴³ isthmus⁴⁴ sought—some fond and ? strait
 Some Suez or some Darien Panama⁴⁵
 ? (What are the straits)
 [19; 28 blank⁴⁶]⁴⁷ O Love; passage to India

Pride of man! passage to India

Then after the rest

Passage to India, O, my soul

[21; 20 blank⁴⁸] Make a fine, full gorgeous picture of the starting out ((?) or landing?) of Columbus⁴⁹ / also about Vasca de Gama⁵⁰ / also of the Pacific RR route—its features—geography &c &c⁵¹

[25; 22 blank; 23–24 torn out] I see Columbus sailing out of port at ?

I see—(then ? the voyage in brief)

?? open⁵² the piece with a lofty? declamatory?⁵³ passage declaiming the phrase
 “passage to India”

39. Line inscribed in pencil on upper right corner of the leaf and brought to this position by a pencil line linking two asterisks. A crossed-out asterisk in pencil below the following line suggests that WW may have originally intended to place this line there.

40. Entire page in pencil.

41. Original reading: “O you O Soul?” ; “O” deleted; “And” inserted above; “my” inserted above “O” on caret. A false start on a succeeding line: “See” deleted.

42. Original reading: “How long have you & I sought passage to India?” First three words deleted; “Have not” and “long” inserted above on carets above “you & I . . . sought” ; “the” inserted before “passage” at the beginning of the next line.

43. Original beginning: “Sought the” deleted; “Some” capitalized.

44. WW wrote “fond i” , which he deleted and wrote “isthmus”

45. “Panama” below “Darien”

46. Offset on [18] from [19].

47. Between entries approximately four blank lines. WW has indicated by three short dashes at left margin his intention to fill in the gaps.

48. Offset on [20] from [21].

49. See “Passage to India,” sec. 4, l. 76. Entry in hanging indentation.

50. See “Passage to India,” sec. 3, ll. 152–159. Entry in hanging indentation.

51. See “Passage to India,” sec. 3, ll. 48–64. Entry in hanging indentation.

52. One question mark is above “open”

53. This question mark and that preceding are above “lofty” and “declamatory” respectively.

{29;26 blank; 27-28 torn out}⁵⁴ Columbus set forth ? from Palos Aug 3, 1492 he landed and with his great footstep imprest a New World (12th October 1492 he landed in America⁵⁵ at daybreak)/

Not⁵⁶ to Castile & Leon, but to all the old world, Columbus gave a New World/
See⁵⁷ p. 158, vol., VII *Enc. Amer*⁵⁸/

In old age poverty, dejection, humiliated & in prison

He was of deepest piety

Portraiture of Columbus⁵⁹

{31-32 blank and pasted to 30, which is blank}

54. All following entries in hanging indentation.

55. Two words inserted above "landed . . . at"

56. [*Illeg.*] deleted before "Not"

57. "See" is blotted.

58. Citation not located. *Encyclopedia Americana*, ed. Francis Lieber, assisted by G. Wigglesworth (Philadelphia, Lea and Blanchard), 1829-1833), was reprinted many times and by different publishers over the following decades. In the 1842 and 1849 printings WW's citation is to a page of physical and economic description of Jamaica. Page 159 mentions Columbus's landing there on his second voyage. *New American Cyclopedia* (N.Y., Appleton) 1863, VII, 158 is part of the article "England."

59. Whitman used a heavy-nibbed pen, writing diagonally, with pointing fist at right.

Songs Of Insurrection.

Manuscript in American Academy of Arts and Letters Collection, LC, #6. Inscribed in black ink with black pencil emendations on white paper. Blue rules. A note at the top: "p 363 L. of G." Pages 363–369 of *LG* (1872) contain a cluster "Songs of Insurrection": "Still though the One I Sing," "To a Foil'd European Revolutionaire," "France, the 18th Year of These States," "Europe, the 72d and 73d Years of These States," "Walt Whitman's Caution," "To a Certain Cantatrice." The cluster was retained in *LG* (1876) with the same paging but with the addition of "After an Interval" (1876; *LG CRE*, 617). The "preface" or note was probably written for the *LG* (1872), since to have put it in the appropriate Centennial Edition would have caused difficulties with the plates. This was written between 1871 and 1872. First printed in Furness, 229.

*Songs of Insurrection*¹

p. 363 L. of G.

Not only are These States² the born offspring of Revolt against mere overweening³ Authority. . . .⁴ but seeing⁵ ahead for Them⁶ in the future, a long, long reign of⁷ Peace,⁸ with all the growths, corruptions⁹ and tyrannies & fossilisms¹⁰ of Obedience,¹¹ (accumulating,¹² vast folds, strata, from the rankness of continued Prosperity and the more and more overshadowing¹³ and insidious grip of Capi-

1. Title written at left of leaf; citation at right.

2. Deleted: "founded in—the bold denial of" ; inserted above: "the [*ins. above* "off" in "offspring"] born offspring of Revolt, of promptly the [*preceding three words and comma del.*] against"

3. Inserted above "mere" and "Au" in "Authority"

4. Deleted: "Seeing"

5. Deleted: "Seeing" at beginning of new paragraph.

6. "The" emended to "Them" by addition of "m" ; deleted: "United States" ; inserted above the deletion: "in the future"

7. Inserted and deleted: "future" above "of"

8. Deleted: dash.

9. Inserted above "hs" in "growths" and "and t" in "tyrannies"

10. Preceding two words inserted in pencil above "nnies" in "tyrannies" and "of O" in "Obedience"

11. Deleted: "formed, in vast strata, out of"

12. "ing" written over [*illeg.*]

13. Deleted: "power" ; inserted above: "and insidious grip"

tal,) I feel¹⁴ it worth while to keep well up, & vital¹⁵ even¹⁶ such ideas¹⁷ as the following

14. Deleted: "to put on" "to raise a note of caution, (perhaps unneeded alarm" ; WW dropped to the next line and began a deleted passage in the middle of the line: "to preserve" "that the ideas of the [*ins.*] following cluster will be all sufficiently needed in the [*preceding six words del.*]" "among the" "in the future" ; inserted: "always be needed" above "[*del.*] be all sufficiently" ; line drawn halfway across page from left; new paragraph opening deleted: "that it may be" ; inserted: "it" above "[*del.*] be"

15. Preceding two words inserted in pencil above "up"

16. Inserted and deleted: "a few" above wordspace between "even such"

17. Deleted: "and verses"

The Daylight.

Manuscript in LC (#78, sheet 671). Inscribed in columns in black ink on wove white paper. Title in much larger hand than other entries. Above title, deleted: "All" . Nothing is known of any intentions WW had of publishing this magazine. See also "The Scout" and "Washington as a Central," p. 913. Unfortunately a date cannot be assigned, although the writing seems firm.

The Daylight ?magazine ?annual ?monthly ?quarterly