

THE SOURCE OF WALT WHITMAN'S VIEW
OF WOMEN IN LEAVES OF GRASS: A
REDEFINITION OF THE MATERNAL ROLE

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DEBORAH DOAN RICHARDSON

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Born in 1819 in West Hills, New York, Walt Whitman has often been called an anachronism, a man ahead of his times. Readers and critics of Whitman frequently praise Whitman for the radical doctrines he expounds in his Leaves of Grass. One such doctrine is his supposedly modern view of woman and her role in society. Critics, especially the female ones, tend to misinterpret Whitman's words in this area. Many readers believe Whitman was a proponent of modern feminism. Mabel MacCoy Irwin demonstrates this tendency by writing, "The self-elected mother of a new race, she shall remember with deepest gratitude the name of him who called to her while she was yet asleep, who sang for her while she was yet in chains and whose songs did more to set her free than all the songs that were ever sung--the name of Walt Whitman."¹ Such a desire to liberate woman from her traditional role or roles was not the intention of Whitman's message to women. Instead, a redefining of the maternal role was apparently Whitman's goal for woman in Leaves of Grass.

What picture then does Whitman draw of the American female in his poetry? First and foremost Whitman's songs of women are songs of maternity. His poems speak often of the majesty and grace of motherhood and the essential role of the procreant urge. In "Song of Myself," he chants

"urge and urge and urge,/ Always the procreant urge of the world."² In his small poem "Mother and Babe," he comments thus: "The sleeping mother and babe--hush'd, I study them long and long."³ For Walt Whitman the maternal image is truly worthy of study. Only a woman can bear a child, and her unique place in society arises from her maternity. "Be not ashamed women, your privilege encloses the rest, and is the exit of the rest,/ You are the gates of the body, and you are the gates of the soul."⁴

Maternity holds this attraction for Whitman because it encompasses all future generations. Whitman states unequivocally that woman's ability to bear better children with each successive generation is the foundation, the heart, of a nation's greatness. Hence, America's future greatness lies dormant in unborn generations of children. Listen to his words in "Song of Myself," "On women fit for conception I start bigger and nimbler babes,/ (This day I am jetting the stuff of far more arrogant republics)."⁵ Whitman, as the poet of democracy, was vitally interested in these arrogant republics and the superior race which would govern them. He sees America's potential: "I see the mighty and friendly emblem of the power of my own race, the newest, largest race."⁶

The role of woman as a lover is obviously a forerunner of the maternal role. In fact, several readers refer to the sexual role as the dominant one given females in Leaves of

Grass.⁷ One cannot deny the impact of woman's sexuality on Whitman's poems. Leaves of Grass devotes an entire section entitled "Children of Adam" to Whitman's celebration of sex. In his poem "Ages and Ages Returning at Intervals," Whitman comes to posterity "offering these, offering myself,/
Bathing myself, bathing my songs in Sex,/
Offspring of my loins."⁸ Whitman finds nothing rank or disgusting in the act of copulation. Sex is an intricate part of his belief in the divinity of the individual and the sanctity of the body. The body, all its organs regardless of function, are divine because the body and soul are synonymous terms of Whitman's religion. In "I Sing the Body Electric," Whitman cries, "O my body! . . ./ I believe the likes of you are to stand or fall with the likes of the soul, (and that they are the soul)."⁹ This emphasis on sex, the male-female enigma, colors several Whitman poems.

In a closer examination of these sexual references, one will notice that woman's sexual role is always of a dual nature. The purpose of sex is twofold. Superficially, sex represents solely an expression of limitless love. Whitman chants, ". . . all the men ever born are also my brothers, and the women my sisters and lovers, . . ./ a kelson of the creation is love."¹⁰ Yet beneath this exterior of love lies a second facet of sex, the sexual act as an act of conception. "Sex contains all, bodies, souls,/
Meanings, . . . the maternal mystery, the seminal milk,/
All hopes, benefac-

tions, bestowals, all the passions, loves, beauties, delights of the earth,/ All the governments, judges, gods, follow'd persons of the earth, these are contain'd in sex as parts of itself and justifications of itself."¹¹ Whitman rarely divorces the concept of sex from the concept of parenthood. Indeed, the final beauty and sanctity of sex is a derivative of the beauty of parenthood. "From the night a moment I emerging flitting out,/ Celebrate you act divine and you children prepared for,/ And you stalwart loins."¹²

Other poems support a third view that Whitman's poems celebrate the woman in her role as a liberated woman. Such a belief is understandable when one studies Whitman in the context of his own era. His period was not one of feminine liberation. From two separate authors, one perceives the woman's place in society in the nineteenth century. Mabel Irwin in her book Whitman: The Poet-Liberator of Woman described woman as a subordinate, financially dependent on man and supposedly mentally and spiritually inferior to him. "She was a slave herself; she bore to her Lord and master slave children."¹³ In 1897 another contemporary writer, Helen Abbott Michael, delineated the following areas of woman's inequality:

- 1) the loading of all domestic cares upon the woman
- 2) the lack of female suffrage
- 3) the limited opportunities for experiences in the life surrounding a woman

- 4) the double standard in sexual dealings
- 5) the lack of financial independence¹⁴

Hence in the 1850's this movement called the "woman question" was an important controversy.

Where was woman's place in society? For many nineteenth century readers, Whitman's portrayal of woman in his Leaves of Grass answered this question. In the midst of a traditional inequality, Walt Whitman came to be the poet "of the woman the same as the man," saying "it is as great to be a woman as to be a man."¹⁵ This belief in the equality of the sexes abounds in his poetry. When he addresses man, he addresses woman also. He never tires of the endless dichotomy--"man or woman," "I launch all men and women," "male and female," "souls of men and women," "Trusters of men and women," "O the old manhood . . . o ripen'd joy of womanhood," "workmen and workwomen," always acknowledging the twain. Additional evidence of his prophecy of the active liberated woman is found in his "Song of the Broad-Axe," "Where women walk in public processions in the streets the same as the men,/ Where they enter the public assembly and take places the same as the men; . . ./ There the great city stands."¹⁶ Whitman entreats women to undertake an aggressive independent role in the lines, "I say an unnumbered new race of hardy and well-defined women are to spread through all These States,/ I say a girl fit for These States must be free, capable, dauntless, just the same as a boy."¹⁷

Once again, however, one must search for the true message underlying the concept of liberation outlined in Leaves of Grass. Whitman desired feminine liberation not because he was a fanatic proponent of women's rights, but because equality of the sexes would expand and enhance woman's mental, spiritual, and physical capabilities. As Henry A. Myers so aptly remarked, "The poem obviously springs not from devotion to feminism but from a recognition that women should also share in the community of equal persons. Whitman never attacked a convention merely for the sake of reform; he attacked only those conventions which stood in the way of his vision of reality."¹⁸

Whitman's vision of woman was a vision of motherhood. Thus a woman must be dauntless, intelligent, strong because she is the mother of unborn generations. If she possesses such laudable traits, she will become the source of man's evolutionary progress: "Envelop'd in you sleep greater heroes and bards."¹⁹ A perfect race can come only from a perfect mother. With each step woman takes towards her own equality and the full realization of her potential as a person, mankind advances. Civilization develops. Frederick Mayer describes the ultimate product of Whitman's superb mother as "a new perfect race whose mind, body, and emotions would be expressions of the highest standards of civilization."²⁰

Any study, then, of Leaves of Grass may acknowledge the existence of three different roles for the women in Whitman's

world to assume. It may also accept Whitman's belief that the two roles of lover or comrade and equal or liberated being are subordinate to the third role, the mother. But with the delineation of these three roles comes the inevitable question, what led to Whitman's poetic adoption of these roles? Which woman had the greatest impact on Whitman's views? Although students of Whitman differ in their responses to this question, apparently many see his own mother, Louisa Van Velsor, as the wellspring of his every concept of woman. Whitman's first glimpse of woman was his mother, and the close relationship developed between them never faltered during their lives together. Louisa remained the most profound and lasting influence on his life and poetry.

The physical inheritance Louisa bestowed on Walt Whitman is readily apparent. John Burroughs described Whitman's countenance: "One notes the great strength of his face, of the fullest Greek pattern and combining the qualities of weight with that which soars and ascends; head high-domed and perfectly symmetrical, with no bulging of the forehead; brows remarkably arching; nose straight and broad, with a strong square bridge; gray beard, in bushy fleeces or locks; florid countenance, well seamed; blue eyes, with heavy projecting lids; and in physiognomy, as in his whole form withal, a certain cast of chivalry."²¹ Louisa's physical cast paralleled Whitman's. A rather heavy set woman in middle age, she possessed the blue eyes and florid countenance common to her Dutch ancestry.

Yet Whitman's resemblance to Louisa was more than a mere physical one. Walt was indebted to her for various personality traits. John Burroughs described Louisa Van Velsor as a woman, "with her good health and good sense, her kind and generous heart, cheerfulness, equanimity, her big family of sons and daughters."²² She was of Netherland descent, and her mother (Walt's maternal grandmother) was a Quaker in religion. Although Louisa attended the Baptist services, she and her husband exposed Walt to additional Quaker sources. For example, as a youngster Whitman was taken to the lectures of the famous Quaker preacher Elias Hicks. William Sloane Kennedy listed some qualities standard in the Quaker personality, all being admirably revealed in Walt's makeup:

- 1) self-respect
- 2) a belief in the intuitions of the soul
- 3) respect for every other human being
- 4) plainness
- 5) placidity
- 6) silence
- 7) unconventionalism
- 8) belief in the right of free speech
- 9) benevolence and friendliness
- 10) deep religiousness²³

Kennedy thought these traits only tinged Whitman's writings. Considering the close relationship of this mother and son, their influence was probably much greater than Kennedy was willing to acknowledge. It was this very store of inherited personality traits which gave rise to Whitman's poetic doctrines regarding women. Note especially the third quality. This respect for every other human being was a direct sire of his belief in a woman's equal right to self-respect. It

nurtured the seeds of a belief in male and female equality. Couple this hereditary picture with Whitman's environment. He lived in the presence of a mother who ran a large family, handled all crises, and was physically and emotionally sturdy. Louisa's Quaker ancestry explains the emphasis on equal participation by both sexes in not only the problems and tasks of everyday home life but also in the community's religious activities. Yet supporting this ancestral belief in the dignity of woman and the worthiness of every human being was Louisa Van Velsor's personal capacity to live the doctrine of equality. As a young girl, the "poet's future mother was a daily and daring horse-rider."²⁴ In her family of eight children, both sexes labored with their hands and traveled on horseback. Outside his home, Whitman listened as a young man to the lectures of Frances Wright, lectures concerning rational education, equal rights for all women, and her own role in American politics. In later years, he encountered women of the caliber of Anne Gilchrist, whose brilliant literary ventures could arouse only admiration of and support for a woman's intellectual capabilities. This blend of a hereditary Dutch self-respect with an environmental exposure to women worthy of such respect does much to explain Whitman's espousal of the doctrine of total equality in his Leaves of Grass.

In addition to her influence on Whitman's poems of the liberated female, Louisa Van Velsor Whitman also influenced his portrayal of the maternal woman. As noted above, she

raised eight children of her own, including Walt. The maternal role pervades Whitman's writing because his own mother meant so much to him. Whitman himself told Horace Traubel in 1888 that "the best part of every man is his mother."²⁵ From "Song of Myself" come the lines "I say there is nothing greater than the mother of men."²⁶ From his mother and her Dutch ancestry came Whitman's fond acceptance of the Dutch history, a history of "investing themselves not so much in outward manifestations as in the blood and breed of the American race."²⁷ This idea of motherhood then is of such importance as to warrant Kennedy's comment that: "Whitman considered his Leaves of Grass to be in some respects understood only by reference to the Hollandesque interior of history and personality," a history and personality conferred on Whitman by his mother, Louisa Van Velsor.²⁸

This description of Whitman's mother demonstrates his initial exposure to a strong feminine influence. The ideas she imparted to Walt Whitman were reinforced by his exposure in later life to women who displayed those qualities he admired in his mother. Whitman students give credit to many women for their influence on Whitman. However, only six women relevant to this study will be discussed in detail here. The six are Frances Wright, the New Orleans "dark lady," Ada Clare, Ellen O'Connor, Mrs. George Whitman, and Anne Gilchrist.

As a child, Whitman was influenced by Frances Wright. She was one of the few women actively involved in the politics of the early nineteenth century. Possibly, Walt heard one of her early speeches "preaching rational education, equal rights for all men, and urging the workers to organize."²⁹ If not, he was definitely aware of her vital role in the Van Buren presidential campaign of 1836 in which he was also involved. His personal appraisal of her influence on his life is evident: "She has always been to me one of the sweetest of sweet memories: we (who heard her speak) all loved her: fell down before her: her very appearance seemed to enthrall us . . . I never felt so glowingly toward any other woman."³⁰ Not only were Frances Wright's political views on suffrage and education compatible with the Quaker concepts of Whitman's childhood, but she was as capable in her chosen field as Louisa Van Velsor was in her home.

Many readers believe a second woman from New Orleans is the primary source of Whitman's poems on women. The New Orleans theory was proposed initially by Henry Bryan Binns in 1905 in his Life of Walt Whitman. Whitman traveled to New Orleans with his brother Jeff in February, 1848, to work on the Crescent. The Binns theory expresses the belief that Whitman fell passionately in love with a New Orleans lady, probably a dusky Creole. It goes on to state that Whitman suffered the loss of this lover and subsequently dedicated several poems to her memory. This theory was later taken up

by Emory Holloway on the basis of the following facts:
Whitman wrote to John Addington Symonds boasting of his own illegitimate children; Whitman's departure from New Orleans was sudden; several poems of the period, including "Once I Pass'd through a Populous City," mention the loss of a lover. Yet the evidence proposed by Binns and Holloway is inconclusive. The letters of the period between Whitman and his family lend no support to the existence of this "lady under the bed." In addition, it is doubtful that Whitman, charged with the care of his younger brother Jeff for the duration of his trip would engage in such an amorous adventure. Still others will counter this refutation with a variation of the original theory, i.e., the possibility of a second Whitman trip to New Orleans in 1849. Supporters of this view believe that Whitman journeyed to the South a second time in 1849. Being alone on this trip and severed from all family ties, he could have more easily formed a liaison with a woman. Yet Charles E. Feinberg has proved conclusively that Whitman could not have made a second trip to New Orleans. His evidence is based upon several paid bills and contracts signed by Whitman from September, 1849, through December, 1850.³¹ Hence, this "affaire de coeur" can be summarily dismissed. In fact, most students will concede that from this point in Whitman's life until his death in 1892 Whitman disengaged himself from any romantic dealings with women. He allowed his women to assume only the roles of mother, companion, and liberated woman, never that of lover.

Thus in the decade from 1850 to 1860, only one woman is prominent in Whitman's life, Jane McElheney. Better known as "Ada Clare," she enacted the feminist role quite as well as any twentieth century woman might. She disregarded the social conventions outlined for the nineteenth century female by openly having a lover, Louis Moreau Gottschalk, and bearing his illegitimate child. She and Walt became friends in the mid-1850's when she joined the bohemian circle at Pfaff's Restaurant where Walt was a member. These "Bohemians," as they were called, gave Ada the title of "Queen of Bohemia." Ada was a competent columnist for the Saturday Press and had written a novel accepted by publishers Thayer and Eldridge. In both she exhibited a remarkable wit and cultivation of mind. She must have been a close companion to Whitman for Kennedy remembers Whitman's "dwelling fondly on the name and memory of Ada Clare."³² Perhaps Whitman was fond of the nonconformity he found in Ada, a nonconformity reflected in his own actions. Perhaps he saw in Ada the strength of character which was a prerequisite for his ideal mother.

In the 1860's a fourth woman entered Whitman's life, one capable of assuming the roles of comrade and mother. She was Mrs. Ellen O'Connor, wife of Whitman's close friend William Douglas O'Connor. Whitman first became acquainted with the O'Connors in 1860 and from 1863 to 1872 was their guest for meals and evenings at home. During this time, a circle of Washington friends, including Charles Eldridge,

John Burroughs, John T. Trowbridge, and Dr. Frank Baker, developed around Whitman and O'Connor, for both men possessed a certain magnetic quality. After a pleasant meal, the O'Connors would host this coterie for the evening. Walt and his friends recalled "not only scenes of discussion and argument but also calm, domestic and even idyllic scenes."³³

Initially, the relationship between Nelly and Walt was one of companionship. John Burroughs described Whitman's idle time with Nelly as follows: "Walt helping Nelly hang window-shades . . .; Walt and Nelly going before breakfast to the market to buy fruit for their breakfast . . .; Nelly exploring with Walt the older part of Washington . . ."³⁴ Nelly's roles included that of hostess, close friend, and mother of her one daughter, Jeannie. This simple picture was later complicated when Nelly awoke to her growing love for Whitman. Several letters to Walt in the 1860's and 1870's reveal a passionate love. For example, in an 1870 letter Nelly wrote: "My very dear friend--It is good to feel so assured of one's love as not to need to express it, it is very good to know that one's love is never doubted or questioned, for these reasons it is I am sure that we do not write to each other . . . You must not neglect the golden opportunity of letting me love you and see you all that is possible."³⁵ Nelly's statement concerning the lack of correspondence between them is indicative of Whitman's response to Nelly's change in feelings. Whitman always retreated in the face of such frank passion, trying to

discourage the love without losing a precious friendship. He was apparently aware of Nelly's feelings in the 1870 letter but refused to acknowledge their existence with an answer. He continued to visit the O'Connor home as before until December, 1872. One evening in 1872, the habitual discussion at the O'Connor home ended in an irreconcilable quarrel between Whitman and O'Connor. Although no one can be certain what caused the break up, an interesting study of the quarrel is found in an essay by Florence B. Freedman.³⁶ The quarrel was followed by William and Nelly's separation, for it brought to the surface several differences which had built up in the O'Connor marriage, basic differences in the personalities of Nelly and William. Still Nelly remained Whitman's friend throughout his life. Whitman described Nelly as "a superb woman--without shams, brags; just a woman."³⁷

Mrs. George Whitman was a fifth woman who reinforced the concepts of motherhood and companionship initially instilled in Whitman by Louisa Van Velsor Whitman. Louisa Orr Haslam entered Whitman's life when she married Walt's brother George in 1872. In effect, she married the entire Whitman household. She never refused any responsibilities handed her, and thus she unassumingly became the mainstay of the Whitman clan. Amy Haslam Dowe, one of Lou's relatives, was perhaps most fully cognizant of the burdens under which Louisa labored:

As to the Whitman household, Aunt Lou's capable hands were always full. Soon after her marriage, her husband's feeble-minded brother, Eddy, and his aged mother had been brought there to be cared for. Perhaps on her husband's parent, Lou lavished some of the love unspent since the death of her own mother, when she was a child. And surely nothing will more endear a woman both to her husband and to her brother-in-law than devotion to their mother . . . Kind Mother Whitman soon died, but Eddy lived on; and before long the partly paralyzed Walt came to join the Camden family. Moreover, at one time my aunt also took care of her husband's nephew, son of his deceased brother Andy.³⁸

Thus, Louisa seemed to epitomize the role of a mother. She was a woman to whom one could always turn, a woman who resolved her chosen family's every problem and crisis.

One other woman served as final proof to Whitman that a great mother could be both a comrade and a capable person. This was Anne Gilchrist. Whitman first encountered Mrs. Gilchrist when William O'Connor showed him a letter from William Rossetti accompanied by Mrs. Gilchrist's evaluation of Whitman's poems. Anne was the widow of Alexander Gilchrist, English biographer of William Blake, and was herself an accomplished writer. In reading Leaves of Grass, she had fallen deeply in love with the poet and was not reticent in professing her passion in letters to Whitman. In one letter dated September 3, 1871, she wrote, "In May 1869 came the voice over the Atlantic to me. O the voice of my Mate: . . . O come. Come my darling: look into these eyes and see the loving ardent aspiring soul in them--easily, easily will you learn to love all the rest of me for the sake of that and take me to your breast for ever and ever."³⁹

Whitman's written response attempted to suppress this newborn love. Yet it did not reverse Mrs. Gilchrist's decision to journey to America with her family in September, 1876. From several accounts by Walt's friends, the meeting between the two was an awkward one. Whitman insisted on friendship without passion, and with the passage of time, Mrs. Gilchrist was able to reciprocate in kind.

Whitman admired Mrs. Gilchrist for many of the qualities and talents he admired in his own mother. She was her own woman. In addition to raising her own family of three, she was an active participant in other areas. One writer aptly described her as "no mere juvenile enthusiast but a literary woman of considerable experience, some forty years of age, who had assisted her husband during his lifetime in an important literary work and now after his death was engaged in preparing a second and enlarged edition for publication, who was full of plans and activities, including rearing and education of three children and had no little experience of the world and the vicissitudes of life and fortune."⁴⁰ For Whitman, Mrs. Gilchrist was more than a female; she possessed a vital intellect capable of stimulating his own fertile mind. Whitman spoke of Mrs. Gilchrist "as one in conversation with whom you did not have to abate the wing of your thought downward at all, in deference to any feminine narrowness of mind."⁴¹ Yet beyond these excellent capabilities, Mrs. Gilchrist possessed a certain aura of maternity. She brought her own family to America, and her later letters

to Whitman revealed the pride she felt in her children's accomplishments. She also liked "to discuss domestic matters" with Mrs. George Whitman, especially the differences between the American and the English woman's home.⁴² Mrs. Gilchrist and Whitman remained comrades even after Anne's return to England in 1879. In describing his relationship with Mrs. Gilchrist, Whitman said, "I ask myself more than a little if my best friends have not been women. My friend, Mrs. Gilchrist, one of the earliest, a picked woman, profound, noble, sacrificing, saw clearly when almost everybody else was interested in raising the dust--obscuring what was true."⁴³

Although many other women could be mentioned during various periods of Whitman's life, those described above seem to have exerted the most influence on Whitman and on his concepts of women in Leaves of Grass. The overriding thesis of this study has been that there is a dominant and controlling maternal concept which governs Whitman's presentation of women at all times. Louisa Van Velsor, the poet's mother, is the primary source of this concept. In addition, six women and their influence on Whitman's life have been examined to lend corroborative evidence. This idea of motherhood then serves as the later basis for Whitman's acceptance of the subordinate feminine roles of lover, comrade, and liberated woman. Charles Feinberg, during his visit to the Texas A&M University campus, made an interesting observation. He remarked that Whitman never married, indeed

never became totally involved emotionally with any other woman in his life because he refused to allow any woman to supplant his mother. Thus, Louisa Van Velsor was the primary source of Whitman's view of women in Leaves of Grass.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Mabel MacCoy Irwin, The Poet-Liberator of Woman (New York: Mabel MacCoy Irwin, 1905), p. 77.

² Walt Whitman, "Song of Myself," Leaves of Grass: Comprehensive Reader's Edition, ed. Harold W. Blodgett and Sculley Bradley (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1965), p. 31. Further references to the poetry of Walt Whitman are to this text.

³ "Mother and Babe," p. 275.

⁴ "I Sing the Body Electric," p. 97.

⁵ "Song of Myself," p. 74.

⁶ "Song of the Broad-Axe," p. 192.

⁷ Edward Hungerford, "Walt Whitman and his Chart of Bumps," American Literature, 2 (January, 1931), 350-384.

⁸ "Ages and Ages Returning at Intervals," p. 107.

⁹ "I Sing the Body Electric," p. 100.

¹⁰ "Song of Myself," p. 33.

¹¹ "A Woman Waits for Me," p. 101.

¹² "From Pent-up Aching Rivers," p. 93.

¹³ Irwin, p. 21.

¹⁴ Helen Abbott Michael, "Woman and Freedom in Whitman," Poet-Lore, 9 (Spring, 1897), 225-228.

¹⁵ "Song of Myself," p. 48.

¹⁶ "Song of the Broad-Axe," p. 190.

¹⁷ "Poem of Remembrances for a Girl or a Boy of These States," p. 589.

¹⁸ Henry A. Myers, "Whitman's Conception of the Spiritual Democracy, 1855-1856," American Literature, 6 (November, 1934), 252.

¹⁹ "A Woman Waits for Me," p. 102.

²⁰ Frederick Mayer, "Whitman's Social Philosophy," Sociology and Social Research, 33 (March, 1949), 277.

²¹ John Burroughs, Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person (New York: American New Company, 1867), p. 85.

²² Ibid., p. 78.

²³ William Sloane Kennedy, Reminiscences of Walt Whitman (London: Alexander Gardner, 1896), p. 85.

²⁴ Burroughs, p. 78.

²⁵ Horace Traubel, "The Good Gray Poet at Home," The Saturday Evening Post, May 13, 1905, p. 1.

²⁶ "Song of Myself," p. 48.

²⁷ Kennedy, p. 88.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Gay Wilson Allen, The Solitary Singer: A Biography of Walt Whitman, (New York: University Press, 1967), p. 29.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 30.

³¹ Charles E. Feinberg, "A Whitman Collector Destroys a Whitman Myth," in The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 2 (1958), 81.

³² Kennedy, p. 70.

³³ Florence B. Freedman, "New Light on an Old Quarrel: Walt Whitman and William Douglas O'Connor 1872," Walt Whitman Review, 11 (June, 1965), 35.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ William White, "Women in the Life of Walt Whitman," The Huntington Long-Islander, May 29, 1975, p. 17.

³⁶ Freedman, pp. 27-52.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 39.

³⁸ Amy Haslam Dowe, "A Child's Memories of the Whitman's," (Lion Collection of Walt Whitman), part of which is published by Edwin Miller in the Walt Whitman Review, 13 (September, 1967), 73-79. Amy Haslam Dowe--a niece of Louisa Whitman, George's wife--visited the Whitman's in Camden when the poet was living with the George Whitman's.

³⁹White, pp. 16 and 22.

⁴⁰Edward Carpenter, "Some Friends of Walt Whitman: A Study in Sex-Psychology," The British Society for the Study of Psychology (London: Atheneum Press, 1924), p. 7.

⁴¹Kennedy, p. 9.

⁴²Dowe, p. 11.

⁴³Paul J. Ferlazzo, "Anne Gilchrist, Critic of Walt Whitman," South Dakota Review, 10 (Winter, 1973), 74.