British Records Relating to America in Microform (BRRAM) series

Collected papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

from Bolton Archives and Local Studies Service

Contents of the microfilm collection

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MICROFORM ACADEMIC PUBLISHERS
Summary of Contents of the Microfilms

Reel 1:  
ZWN 1:  **American Walt Whitman Fellowship Published Papers**

ZWN 2:  **Bolton Whitman Fellowship Papers**
1-17. Reports of Bolton Whitman Celebrations
18. Birthday Gift
19. Invitation
20-37. Addresses to the College
38-54. College Songs and Poems

Reel 2:  
55. General News Cuttings
56-63. News Cuttings : J Johnston
64-70. News Cuttings : F Nightingale
71-74. News Cuttings : C F Sixsmith
75-78. News Cuttings : F Wild
79-88. Other Biographical News Cuttings
89-97. Other News Cuttings
98-104. Miscellaneous Items

ZWN 3:  **Papers relating to Bolton Whitman Fellowship Revival and Recent Deposits**
1-3. Posters and Notices
4-8. Illustrations
9. Exhibition Notes
10. Photocopies collected by Paul Salveson
11. Souvenir Pack
12-19. Items deposited by Mrs Harrison in 1984

ZWN 4:  **Walt Whitman Correspondence**
1-61. Letters to and from Walt Whitman

Reel 3:  
ZWN 5:  **The Traubel Correspondence**
1. **Horace L. Traubel**
1-180. Letters to and from Horace L. Traubel
Reel 4: 181-370. Letters to and from Horace L Traubel

Reel 5: 371-571. Letters to and from Horace L Traubel

Reel 6: 572-818. Letters to and from Horace L Traubel

Reel 7: 819-935. Letters to and from Horace L Traubel

2. Anne Montgomerie Traubel
1-82. Letters to and from Anne Montgomerie Traubel

3. Gertrude Traubel
1-10. Letters to and from Gertrude Traubel

Reel 8: ZWN 6: J W Wallace Correspondence and Associated Items

1. Correspondence
1-49. Wallace Family Correspondence, including J W Wallace, George Wallace and Jim Wallace, 1895-1939
50-92. Correspondence with Dr John Johnston, 1886-1924
93-102. Other Correspondence not primarily related to Whitman, 1877-1919
103-164. Correspondence to Minnie Whiteside and the Wallace Family relating to the death of J W Wallace, Jan 1926

2. Writings and Publications
1-5. Diaries, Notebooks and Drawings 1870-1913
6-18 Diaries, Notebooks and Drawings 1870-1913
19-20. Poems, Articles and Lecture Notes 1889-1923

Reel 9: 21-44. Poems, Articles and Lecture Notes 1889-1923

Reel 10: 45-59. Publication of Visits to Walt Whitman with J Johnston, 1915-1918
60-76. Other Publications 1910-1920

Reel 11: 77-82. Other Publications 1910-1920

3. Biographical Articles
1-2. Published Biographies
3-6. Unpublished Biographies
7-11. 70th Birthday tributes
12-21. Obituaries

4. **Books and Pamphlets Collected By J W Wallace**
1-4. Catalogues
5-7. News Cuttings
8-12. Newspapers sent by Whitman
     (for Address Labels, see ZWN/4.)
13-27. Books and Pamphlets

Reel 12: ZWN 7: **Ormrod Correspondence and Associated Items**
1. **John Burroughs and Clara Barrus Correspondence and Associated Items**
1-4. Correspondence relating to John Ormrod's visit to Mrs Traubel and John Burroughs, 1920.
5-24. Clara Barrus correspondence with the Ormrod Family.
50-85. Postcards of John Burroughs and places associated with him.
86-88. Photographs of places associated with John Burroughs.
106. Other item relating to John Burroughs.

2. **Proposed Memoir on J W Wallace**
1-29. Correspondence, 1932/3.
30-69. Correspondence, 1936/7.
70-74. Publications by Caroline Eccles.

3. **Other correspondence and Associated Items**

1-36. Other correspondence.
37-43. Photographs kept by John Ormrod.
44-46. Publications kept by John Ormrod.
57-59. Other news cuttings relating to Walt Whitman.

**Reel 13**

ZWN 8: **Nightingale Correspondence and Associated Items**

1. **Correspondence from J W Wallace**

1-121. Correspondence, 1913-1925

2. **Correspondence and other items relating to W S Monroe**

1-42. Correspondence, 1930-1931
43-59. Other items, 1930-1931

3. **Correspondence relating to Donations to Bolton Library**

1-18. Correspondence, 1930-1931

4. **Other Correspondence**

1-27. Correspondence, 1917-1943
28. Other item, nd.

**Reel 14**

ZWN 9: **Other Correspondence**

1-200. Allen, Lily to Davis, Mary C

**Reel 15**

201-410. Davis, Mary C (cont) to Roy, Ormiston (Willie)

**Reel 16**

411-543. Russell, GW to Wild, Fed
Reel 17:  

ZWN 10:  **Bolton Library Correspondence**  

1-80.  Correspondence, 1938-1970  

81-161.  Further Batch of Bolton Library Correspondence kept separately in Chief Librarian's Office and Donated to Bolton Archives in 2004

ZWN 11:  **Photographs**  

1.  **Group Photographs**  

1-73.  Bolton Whitman Fellowship  

74-77.  Bolton Lads Club  

78-79.  Unidentified Group  

2.  **Photographs of Individuals and Families**  

1-6.  R M Bucke  

7-18.  J Johnston  

19-39.  Traubel Family  

40-77.  J W Wallace and Wallace Family  

78-113.  Walt Whitman Engravings and Photographs  

114-157.  Other Individuals and Families  

3.  **Large Photographs**  

1-8.  Large Photographs

ZWN 12:  **Relics and Mementos**
REEL 1:

ZWN 1:  **American Walt Whitman Fellowship Published Papers**

1. **First Year**

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship International: Officers Elected at the Organization Meeting held in Philadelphia, 31 May, 1894, p1, (p2 blank).

2. Organization, pp3-6, June, 1894 (notes from *The Conservator*, June, 1894; mostly from Traubel's minutes).

3. Constitution, pp7-9, (quotations from Whitman, p10), June, 1894.


8. The Objects of the Fellowship (signed by Daniel G Brinton, Francis Howard Williams, and Horace L Traubel), pp49-50, Oct, 1894.


12. Members: Jan 15, pp69-72, Jan, 1895.

13. Charlotte Porter and Helen A Clarke, "A Short Reading Course in Whitman", pp75-79, (quotations from Whitman, p80), Feb, 1895 (reprinted from *Poet Lore*, which Miss Porter and Miss Clarke edited).


15. Contents First Year: 1894-5, p89, (quotations from Whitman, p90).

Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

2. **Second Year**


5. Oscar Lovell Triggs, "Whitman the Most Significant and Most Universal of Modern Writers", pp11-12, Nov, 1895 (letter read at the afternoon session, 31 May, 1895).


11. Contents Second Year: 1895-6, p49, (quotation from Whitman, p50), June 1896.


3. **Third Year**

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship International: Officers Elected at the Third Annual Meeting held in Boston, 31 May, 1896, p1 (p2 blank).


4. **Fourth Year**


2. The Secretary (Horace L Traubel), "Annual Meeting: Philadelphia, 31 May", pp3-6, April, 1898.

3. Charlotte Abbey, "Walt Whitman's Unsung Songs", pp7-10, April, 1898 (read at the afternoon session, 31 May, 1897).

4. The Secretary (Horace L Traubel), "Convention Notice: 1898", pp11-12, April, 1898.

5. Laurens Maynard, "Walt Whitman's Comradeship" (read at the afternoon session, 31 May, 1897), pp13-19, (quotation from Whitman, p20), April, 1898.


Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship


10. Richard Le Gallienne, "Walt Whitman: An Address" (read at the meeting of the New York branch, 12 March, 1898), pp45-49, (quotation from Whitman, p50), May, 1898.

5. Fifth Year


2. The Secretary (Horace L Traubel), Annual Meeting: New York, 31 May, pp3-6, May, 1899.

3. Oscar Lovell Triggs, "Walt Whitman: A Character Study", pp7-22, April, 1899 (read at the meeting of the Walt Whitman Fellowship International: 31 May, 1898).


7. The Secretary (Horace L Traubel), Program of Sixth Annual Meeting, Boston, 31 May, pp41-42, May, 1899.

8. Thomas B Harned, "Whitman and Physique", (read at the meeting of the Walt Whitman Fellowship International: 31 May, 1898), pp43-53 (quotation from Whitman, p54), May, 1899.


6. Sixth Year

1. Walt Whitman Fellowship International: Officers Elected at the Sixth Annual Meeting, Boston, 31 May, 1899, p1 (p2 blank).

2. The Secretary (Horace L Traubel), Annual Meeting: Boston, 31 May, pp3-6, June, 1899.

Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

7. **Seventh Year**


2. The Secretary's Notes on the Convention in Philadelphia, 31 May, 1900, pp3-6, May, 1901. (220 members now in the group. Fellowship Papers not brought up to date because of a lack of funds.)


8. **Eighth Year**


2. With Reference to the Ninth Convention, at New York, 31 May, pp3-4, May, 1902.

9. **Ninth Year**


10. **Tenth Year**


5. Poem: "To Walt Whitman" by Elsa Barker, pp27-34.


7. Tenth Annual Convention of the Walt Whitman Fellowship International at the Hotel Lafayette-Brevoort, New York, May Thirty First, Nineteen Hundred Three (program).

11. **Eleventh Year**


Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

12. **Twelfth Year**


13. **Thirteenth Year**


14. **Fourteenth Year**


15. **Fifteenth Year**


16. **Sixteenth Year**


17. Seventeenth Year


18. Eighteenth Year


19. Nineteenth Year


20. Twentieth Year


21. Twenty-first Year


Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

22. **Twenty-second Year**


23. **Twenty-third Year**

24. **Twenty-fourth Year**


25. **Description and checklist**


ZWN 2: **Bolton Whitman Fellowship Papers**

1-17. **Reports of Bolton Whitman Celebrations**


3. As above (J Johnston's copy).

4. H L Traubel's report of the return of Dr Bucke to USA and J W Wallace's departure for USA, 5 Sept, 1891.

5. Report of Meeting of Eagle Street College for Whitman's funeral, 30 March, 1892.


8. As above, 3 June, 1904.


10. Another copy of above.

11. As above, 15 June, 1906.

12. As above, 3-10 June, 1907.


14. As above, dedicated to Fred Wild.

15. As above, 10 June, 1910.

16. As above, 16 June, 1911.

17. As above, dedicated to Wentworth Dixon, 20 June, 1913.

18. **Birthday Gift**

18. Mock Conveyance of birthday present of walnut writing desk to J W Wallace. Donatis Amoris Causa, the Boys of the Eagle Street to the Master Thereof, 10 Aug, 1889.

19. **Invitation**

19. Invitation card, H L Traubel, Secretary, to the College to attend the 6th Annual Whitman Birthday Celebration in New York City on 31 May, 1893. 17 May, 1893.

20-37. **Addresses to the College**


21. Address to the College, J W Wallace, F Nightingale's copy, 20 Jan, 1890.

22. "A Rejoinder" to criticism of his paper to the College: J W Wallace, 8 Oct, 1890.

23. As 22 above, with margin note.

24. Address to the College, J W Wallace, 6 Jan, 1893.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship


27. Notes taken on Whitman Day Address, J W Wallace, 31 May, 1907.


29. Paper on Whitman read to the College, R Wightman, 31 May, 1918.


31. As above, copy written by J W Wallace.


33. Rough notes for Whitman Day Address, "If Walt Whitman Came to Walker Fold", J W Wallace, 30 May, 1925.

34. Final version of 33 above, dedicated to Maria Hood.


36. As above, amended version sent by Fred Nightingale to Lady.

37. As above, final version.

38-54. College Songs and Poems

(For further poems by Walt T Hawkins see 9-17 above.)

38. Printed leaflet: The Song of the Eagle Street College, dedicated to the "Masther", 1889.


40. Printed leaflet: The Eagle Street College Nursery Rhyme, 28 April, 1890.

41. Draft: Birthday song dedicated to the Doctor (J Johnston), 8 Dec, 1890.

42. Ms copy: A College Song Sung at the Eagle Street College, J Johnston, 10 April, 1891.

Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship


46. Offprint: Greeting to the "Boys" assembled to do honour to the Memory of Walt Whitman (poem from London) and greeting from W A in Sussex, by J Johnston, 31 May, 1904.


49. As above, 30 May, 1908.

50. As above, 31 May, 1910.


54. Ms poem (incomplete): To the Fraternal College, nd.

REEL 2:

55. **General News Cuttings**

55. Large volume, with many loose cuttings and articles inserted relating to College activities and members, c1890-1955.

56-63. **News Cuttings: J Johnston**


Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

62. As above, newspaper unknown, nd.

63. "Donation of J Johnston's Whitman books to Bolton Library", newspaper unknown, 31 May [?].

64-70. News Cuttings: F Nightingale

64. "Mr Fred Nightingale's Reminiscences", Bolton Journal, 9 Jan, 1931.


66. As above, 80th birthday, Oct, 1937.

67. As above, 81st birthday, Oct, 1938.

68. "Presentation to F Nightingale by Blair Hospital Trustees", newspaper unknown, 1937.


71-74. News Cuttings: C F Sixsmith


73. "Local Friends of Walt Whitman", address to Lancashire Author's Association by C F Sixsmith: Chorley Guardian, 9 April, 1938.

74. As above, Southport Announcer, 13 April, 1938.

75-78. News Cuttings: F Wild


77. "Local Will – Mr Frederick Wild", newspaper unknown, 1935.


79-88. Other Biographical News Cuttings


Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

81. Obituary for Frederick Hutton, newspaper unknown, nd.
84. "Late Mr Thomas Shorrock – impressive funeral", *Bolton Journal*, nd.
88. "Death of Mr Evan Dixon", *Bolton Chronicle*, offprint, 1 June, 1896.

89-97. **Other News Cuttings**

95. "Cincinnati Harvest", *International Musician*, May, 1953. [incomplete]
96. "Eagle Street was the home of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship", by B F Davies, *Bolton Journal*, 15 April, 1954.

98-104. **Miscellaneous Items**

98. Note, Walt Whitman quotation from title page of "Eyo 4" by James Agate, 1940.
100. Advertising card, Thompson's Spa Confections, Philadelphia, nd.
101. Advertising card, J H Johnston & Co. Diamonds, Watches, Jewellery and Silverware, 17 Union Square (or Broadway and 15th St, New York).
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

102. Printed prayer, God's Sustaining Grace, nd.

103. List of W Whitman Group [kept with 104 below].

104. Envelope addressed to Mrs Heelis, 50 Russell Street, Bolton [kept with 103 above].

ZWN 3: Papers relating to Bolton Whitman Fellowship Revival and Recent Deposits

1-3. Posters and Notices


3. Poster: University of Iowa, Walt Whitman Centennial Conference, 26-29 March, 1992

4-8. Illustrations


6. As above.


8. As above.

9. Exhibition Notes


10. Photocopies collected by Paul Salveson


11. Souvenir Pack

12-19. **Items Deposited in 1984 by Mrs Harrison**


13. Letter: J W Wallace, Anderton, to Wentworth Dixon, 8 June, 1891. Whitman's liking for and views on Epictetus and the Stoic philosophers, Whitman's "severity in sickness" and advice to Dixon to write to Whitman warmly, without "gush".

14. Copy letter: J W Wallace, Anderton, to Walt Whitman, June 1891. Reporting on how he gave Whitman's letter to Wentworth Dixon and on Dixon's "true and genuine" but "undemonstrative" character and his "delight in the writings of Epictetus".

15. Copy postcard: Walt Whitman, Camden, to J Johnston, 23 June, 1891. With latest news, including the departure of Dr Bucke on 8 July.


17. Page torn from a book: Walt Whitman sketch by J W Alexander with the poem "Death's Valley" by Whitman and overleaf the painting, "The Valley of the Shadow of Death" by George Innes, printed by Harper & Brothers, New York, nd.


**ZWN 4: Walt Whitman Correspondence**

1-61. **Letters to and from Walt Whitman**

1. Copy of a ms list by J W Wallace of letters and postcards received from Walt Whitman by J W Wallace and Dr J Johnston. Asterisked items do not appear in the book *Visits to Walt Whitman of Two Lancashire Friends*.

2. Ts of letters and postcards from Walt Whitman to J W Wallace and J Johnston. With note re inclusion/exclusion in *Visits to Walt Whitman*.


Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship


6. Walt Whitman, Camden, to Bessie and Isabella Ford, 3 Aug, 1885. Thanks to them and to Edward Carpenter for the gift of £50.

7. As above, 11 Aug, 1885. Postcard. Thanks for letter from E[ward] C[arpenter], which arrived safely.

8. Envelope, possibly for item above, from Walt Whitman, Camden, NJ, postmarked Aug 1885.


10. Walt Whitman, Camden, 29 May, 1887. Ts probably of a postcard to Dr J Johnston, in Johnston's hand. Thanks for pictures and birthday present.


13. Walt Whitman to Thomas Harned, in pencil, prob. 1888-9, together with two letters from E H Miller, both dated 1954, on the probable authenticity of the letter. The inscription of which the letter is a draft was recorded in the "big book" of 1888-9.

14. Copy of the Boston Evening Transcripts, 8 Aug, 1890, with label postmarked Camden, NJ. Addressed in Walt Whitman's hand to J W Wallace (unopened).

15. Transcripts of letters by J W Wallace:

   (i) J W Wallace, Anderton, to Mrs Mary Davis, Camden, 22 Aug 1890. Thanks for her and Warren Fritzinger's hospitality to Dr Johnston during his visit to Whitman. [Mrs Davis was Whitman's housekeeper, and Fritzinger, known as "Warry", was his nurse.]

   (ii) J W Wallace, Anderton, to Walt Whitman, 28 Aug, 1890. Thanks for the Camden Post, the Camden Morning News, the letter from The Critic and the postcard. Words of comfort to Whitman re his still being rejected by the major literary magazines, plus thanks for kindness shown to himself and to Johnston during their visit. Enclosing a news cutting from December last [not enclosed].

   (iii) J W Wallace and J Johnston, Bolton, to Walt Whitman, 13 Dec, 1889. Season's Greetings from Wallace, Johnston and "The Boys" [of "Eagle Street
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

The topic for the next meeting is Whitman's thinking on the subject of immortality. Whitman's framed portrait, from the *Illustrated London News*, presides over the meetings, as over Wallace's daily life. Is sending a song by Dr Johnston and a copy of a letter by Wallace, both inspired by Whitman's work and example. Sadness at Browning's death and wishes for Whitman a "long calm & splendid sunset".

(iv) J W Wallace, Anderton, to Dr J Johnston, 1 Sept, 1890. Enclosing copy of Friday's letter to Whitman. Recounts a long walk up Belmont Road, whilst reading from *A Passage to India*, and another subsequent walk. Plus an account of his reading that day.

(v) J W Wallace, Anderton, to Walt Whitman, 5 Sept, 1890. Thanks for postcard and again for portrait, which far surpasses the *Illustrated News* one." Thanks from Johnston also for portrait painted by Sidney Morse. He has improved in health since his return, and brought Wallace a present of two volumes of essays by J A Symonds.

(vi) J W Wallace, Anderton, to Walt Whitman, 9 Sept, 1890. Thanks for pocket book copy of *Leaves of Grass*. Delighted with every detail, esp [the portraits opposite?] pp132 and 296, and with the correspondence of the pagination to the old edition. Treasures Whitman's personal inscription, which is a lesson and a blessing. Then follows an account of his mother's death-bed blessing upon her son, and the similar experiences on witnessing the deaths of four others during the following three months. Whitman's affection seems like a divine gift in such circumstances.

(vii) J W Wallace, Anderton, to Walt Whitman, 19 Sept, 1890. Thanks for postcard and papers. Johnston has already reported on the meeting of Sept 13, in which he gave the College an account of his visit to Whitman. Thanks and affection to Whitman from the whole group Thomas Shorrocks would like to purchase the pocket edition of *Leaves of Grass*, so Wallace is sending 22/- for a copy. Wallace is reading *Leaves of Grass* on his holidays, which he spending rambling. Has given the proof sheets of Whitman's paper on Burns to the Bolton Junior Burns Club (so-called because it post-dates the Bolton Burns Club; all its members are working men).

16. Walt Whitman, Camden, to Dr J Johnston, 8 Sept, 1890. Transcription of postcard in Johnston's hand. Thanks for photographs. "Is it practicable to fac-simile your plate (of course at our expense here) of my picture (9n 1890) to send here for my forthcoming little (2d) Annex? – We all like it much, I sh'd like to have one to keep here to print from." Warry and Mrs D[avis] send love and thanks.

17. Walt Whitman, Camden, to Dr J Johnston, 13 Sept, 1890. Ts in Johnston's hand. All is as usual. Thanks for message book. Has sent a second copy of the pocket bound *Leaves of Grass* to Wallace. Enclosing letter from Dr Bucke to himself received lately. Greetings to all the friends.

18. Walt Whitman, Camden, to Dr J Johnston, 20 Sept, 1890. Ts. Covering letter to accompany "little p'kt". Refers to meeting [near Bolton to report on the visit to Whitman] on 13 Sept. If photographic plate cannot be duplicated, please send the

20. Transcripts of letters by J W Wallace to Whitman and Johnston:

   (i) J W Wallace, Anderton, to Walt Whitman, 4 Oct, 1890. Thanks for letter of Sept 22 (received Oct 3). Has seen Johnston's note from Walt and also the copy of *Leaves of Grass*. Has started to record his ideas about *Leaves of Grass*, written when rambling and reading. Has sent these papers to Dr Johnston, who has organized an evening of reading and discussion. Is sending *Browning's message to his Time*; see esp pp35-48. Dr Johnston has brought a copy of *Putnam's* from Dr Bucke, containing O'Connor's story, "The Carpenter", which includes a description of Whitman's person.

   (ii) J W Wallace, Anderton, to Walt Whitman, 15 Oct, 1890. Thanks for the postcard of Sept 30 (received Oct 11) and for copy of *Leaves of Grass*. Has heard of John Burroughs' visit to Whitman. Fred Wild might visit Whitman on his way home from Canada. Is sending an old copy of the *Sunday Chronicle*, of 1887, in which there is mention made of a "Walt Whitman Junior" on its staff, whose verses frequently appear but do no credit to the name.

   (iii) J W Wallace, Anderton, to Dr J Johnston, 15 Oct, 1890. Thanks for postcard. Enclosing draft of letter to Whitman. Does not think Johnston can publish a photograph of Whitman except by arrangement with him. Whitman intends to publish the photo (using Johnston's negative) in his next "Annex". Would like comments on his "Rejoinder".

21. Walt Whitman, Camden, to Dr J Johnston, 1 Nov, 1890. Ts in Johnston's hand. Greetings. Is enclosing a printed slip, "Old Poets". Has been out in wheelchair this afternoon.

22. Facsimile of above, made 14 Nov, 1890.

23. Walt Whitman, Camden, to Dr J Johnston, 18 Nov, 1890. Ts of postcard, in Johnston's hand. Thanks for his and Wallace's letters. Much the same in health. Has just sent of a "poemet" for NY paper. The Ing[ersoll] lecture is to be printed in a book and a copy will be sent. Daily visits from Horace Traubel here, and regular news from Dr Bucke.

24. Facsimile of above, on waxed paper.

25. Walt Whitman, Camden, to Dr J Johnston, 25 Nov, 1890. Ts of postcard by J Johnston. Thanks for letter of 15 Nov. Celluloid photographic plate arrived safely. Whitman has granted its use to *NE Magazine* to accompany an article by Horace Traubel. Will send a copy. Will also send *Philadelphia* magazine with "my latest poemet." Love to him, Wallace and "all the boys."
26. Facsimile of postcard listed above. 2 copies.

27. Walt Whitman, Camden, to Dr J Johnston, 29 Nov 1890. Ts by J Johnston. Thanks for his and Wallace's letters. Has sent the *Leaves of Grass* to Rev Mr Johnstone. Details of health. Sad about the death of his brother.


29. Walt Whitman, Camden, to Dr J Johnston, 31 Dec 1890-1 Jan 1891. Thoughts as he waits for the New Year, which arrives as a "dark stormy morning". Sends best wishes.

30. Walt Whitman, Camden, possibly to Dr J Johnston, 5 Jan 1891. Postcard presented by J Ormrod, 1957. Thanks for Review of Reviews plus letters from him and Mr Johnstone. News of cold weather, plus visitors. Message from Bucke and news that O'Connor's tales are to be published by Houghton & Co. in Boston. Remembrances to Wallace and all the friends.


32. Walt Whitman, Camden, possibly to Dr J Johnston, 8 Feb 1891. Postcard, presented J Ormrod, 1957. Thanks for magazines and papers sent. Bucke has been ill but has now recovered. Warry [Warren Fritzinger] is well.

33. Walt Whitman, Camden, to J W Wallace, 23 Feb 1891. Ts by Johnston. Feeling a little better this morning. Thanks for copy of the Art magazine. First batch of copy for "Goodbye" has gone to printers; ten days to wait for proofs. Mentions next issue of NA Review [possibly an error for NE Review], but postcard ends in scribble.

34. Walt Whitman, Camden, to Dr J Johnston. Facsimile of note to say that he has been interested in the "Holland" book. Horace Traubel has gone to New York for two days, and Whitman is expecting the doctor.

35. Walt Whitman, Camden, to J W Wallace, 9-10 May 1891. Facsimile of letter by J W Wallace on *Boston Evening News* stationery. At a low ebb. Has been visited by Dr Longaker (his physician) today, after a ten-day absence. Has had a letter from Dr Bucke. Has sent May *NE Magazine* to Wallace and Johnston. Details of health and appetite.


37. Envelope with proofs of "Good Bye My Fancy", marked in Whitman's hand.
38. Walt Whitman, Camden, to J W Wallace, 23 May 1891. Copy of letter received 3 June by J W Wallace. Thanks for Manchester Guardian and Contemporary Magazine. Bleak joke about his bad health. Supposes Wallace has received the copy of "Good-Bye" sent to Dr Johnston. Will send a portrait [photograph] or "mark of self" soon. Dr Bucke is still "lamed badly".

39. Walt Whitman, Camden, to J W Wallace, 28 May 1891. Ts, also printed in Visits. Thanks for letters from himself and Dr Johnston, which cheer him much amidst his general torpor. Gives loving compliments to all the boys, and "this scrawl to Wentworth Dixon to keep if he cares for it."

40. Carbon of ts of above.

41. Facsimile of above, plus lithographed copy of facsimiled letter. (With envelope noting same, signed J Johnston.)

42. J W Wallace, draft of address "To Walt Whitman, For his 72nd Birthday".

43. Walt Whitman, Camden, to Dr J Johnston, 1 June 1891. Facsimile of letter. 6 copies. Very cheerful account of his birthday celebrations, with a "spree", a "capital good supper", and letters from friends, including one from Tennyson. The Bolton friends' cable was read aloud and enjoyed. He himself consumed a quantity of champagne, despite feeling ill earlier, and was moved to speak of departed poets [Ralph Waldo] Emerson, [William Cullen] Bryant and [Henry Wadsworth] Longfellow, as well as for [John Greenleaf] Whittier and Tennyson. Dr Bucke was there, as was Horace Traubel, recently married.

44. Walt Whitman, Camden, to J W Wallace or Dr J Johnston, nd. Facsimile of extract of letter. Includes much praise of the Bolton Fellowship for their loyalty.

45. Geoffrey Buckwalter, Camden, original letter to Walt Whitman, Camden, with original letter from Walt Whitman, Camden, to J Johnston on verso, 9 June 1891. (With envelope addressed by Walt Whitman to J Johnston.)

46. Wentworth Dixon, Bolton, to Walt Whitman, 13 June 1891. Thanks for letter gifted to him through Wallace, and for inscribing his name in the copy of Leaves of Grass that the College gave to Dixon on his birthday.

47. Walt Whitman, Camden, to Dr J Johnston, 27 June 1991. Facsimile of letter received 9 June. Suppose Johnston has received the printed slips re the birthday. This letter refers to portrait photographs. Is looking forward to seeing his finished tomb in the cemetery.

48. Walt Whitman, Camden, to Dr J Johnston, 3 July 1891. Postcard ts by Johnston. Health is much the same. Will carry out the programme recommended by Johnston in his letter of 23 June.

49. Walt Whitman, Camden, to Dr J Johnston, 31 July 1890 [sic, but see below]. Transcription of postcard in Johnston's hand. Thanks for letter of 22 May. Perhaps the preceding letter has not arrived. Received a full account of the Bolton visit [?]. Finds Wallace and his letters cheering. Best wishes to Geo Humphries. Should he
send him a copy of *Leaves of Grass*. Has Johnston received the photographs of Whitman's tomb (built by himself)? Vines and creepers still to come.

50. Facsimile of above, with note that postcard received. J Johnston, 10 Aug 1891. Original given to Geo Humphries.

51. Walt Whitman, Camden, to Dr J Johnston, 28 Aug 1891. Facsimile of postcard, presented by John Ormrod, Aug 1957. Thanks for his two letters and for Wallace's letter. Looking forward to seeing Wallace so soon, with Dr Bucke, and Mrs O'Connor.

52. Ernest Rhys, Llangollen, N Wales, to Walt Whitman, 2 Sept 1891. Greetings from mountain cottage, where he and his wife have been living for four months. Has heard of [J R] Lowell's death. Has Whitman written about him? Dr Johnston has reported on Dr Bucke's visit to Whitman. Rhys is sorry to have missed him. Rhys is sending his "Cockney Tragedy", with sketches by "a very clever young fellow", Jack Yeats. Please show it to Horace Traubel.

53. Walt Whitman, Camden, 6-8 Sept 1891. Possibly original, on coloured paper, with quotation from Whitman in the *Boston Evening News*, 7 May, 1891. Went out for a short drive to the cemetery yesterday. Wallace expected hourly. Dr Bucke present. Bucke expects to take Wallace with him to Canada. Sunday (7 Sept): no news of Wallace yet. Horace Traubel and Dr Bucke to go to Philadelphia. 8 Sept: Wallace has arrived. Has spent the afternoon with Whitman. Goes to Canada with Dr Bucke tomorrow.

54. J W Wallace, London, Ontario, to Walt Whitman, 27 Sept 1891. Regrettfully, this is the last evening at Dr Bucke's. Beautiful grounds and very good weather. Has enjoyed most of all his conversations with Bucke about Whitman, and seeing Bucke's Whitman collection. Has spent the day helping Bucke with papers about Whitman, who is to be commended for having adhered to his course despite all criticism, so that now, his work has "a rounded completeness beyond your own plans". Love and blessings from both. [With photocopy of same.]

55. Address label torn from envelope, postmarked Camden, NJ, nd but probably between 9 and 27 Sept 1992 (see above). In Whitman's hand: "J W Wallace / care Dr Bucke / Asylum / London, Ontario, Canada.


57. Walt Whitman, poem, "The Commonplace", facsimile of Whitman's handwriting, on waxed cloth.


60. Newspaper, unknown, 9-10 Sept [?], postmarked Camden. Addressed by Whitman to J W W in Anderton.

61. Three Christmas cards from Charles E Feinberg with facsimiles of Whitman's handwriting:

(i) First draft ms of "O' Captain! My Captain!", written on the death of Abraham Lincoln and printed in memory of JFK, 1917-63. With signed insert from Charles Feinberg.

(ii) Ms of memorandum ["Winding up"], Feinberg Collection, c1867: "The most important requisite now in the United States is a great, fervid, emotional passionate nationality. Though there are today but few signs of it, I have no doubt it will come – nay, I think it is even now rapidly forming."

(iii) Greeting to Kitty, daughter of Alma and John H Johnston, New York, c1880.

62. Copy of *Leaves of Grass*, first edition, 1855

**REEL 3:**

**ZWN 5: The Traubel Correspondence**

1. **Horace L. Traubel**


   J W Wallace, Anderton, to H L Traubel, 2 April 1891. Thanks for copies of *The Conservator* and news of Whitman's improved health.

3A. J W Wallace to H L Traubel and A M Traubel, nd. Draft. Thanks for letters of 20th and 21st. Wallace is disturbed by news of Walt's condition after Warry's cheerful account. Johnston is visiting Annan (his birthplace) and Wallace will give him the news upon his return. Looking forward to reading Traubel's article in the *NE Magazine*, and shares his anger that it has been tampered with.

5. J W Wallace, Anderton, to H L Traubel, 16 May 1891. Thanks for his letter and forwarding birthday letter for Walt, signed by friends.


16. Anne M Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace and J Johnston, Bolton, 21 Dec 1891. Whitman seriously ill although serene. Refers to enclosed cutting from the Philadelphia Press (not enclosed), and to reading Wallace's and Johnston's accounts of their visits to Walt.


20. Anne M Traubel, Camden, to J Johnston, 19 Jan 1892. Grateful to hear that Johnston has received Morse's bust of Whitman. Whitman much improved, although very weak.

21. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, Anderton, 19 Jan 1892. Postcard: Walt is alternately sinking and rallying; weather is alternately storm and sleet. Writes to Bucke twice a day.


23. H L Traubel, Camden, to J Johnston, 30 Jan 1892. Concerning Whitman's failing strength and waiting for "signs of an end". Whitman has appreciated Morse's portrait of himself.


25. H L Traubel to J Johnston, 1 Feb 1892. Walt is in pain and is not expected to last much longer. He is visited by George W Childs, proprietor of the *Ledger*.

26. H L Traubel to J Johnston, 8 Feb 1892. Printed extract from letter. Walt wants copies made of his letter of 6 Feb to serve as his farewell letter to friends everywhere.


28. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4 March 1892. Anne is ill; Walt is no better. He is content to do the slightest things for Walt.

29. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 16 March 1892. Thanks for the *New Review*, and for his friendship during this difficult time. Walt seems increasingly secluded, as death slowly approaches.


32. Anne M and H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 26 March 1892. Excerpt from above letter from Anne Traubel recounting Whitman's death, with H L Traubel's comments on same. Typed copy by J W Wallace plus carbon copy of same.


34. Anne M Traubel to J W Wallace, 29 March 1892. Thanks for his letter. Has been ill. News that Ingersoll is to speak at Walt's graveside has aroused antagonism. Walt's autopsy details have become available.

34A. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, nd. page 2 of letter. Assures Wallace of his part in the Traubel family life. Carpenter is far too anxious about the effect of Traubel's proposed book on Walt's reputation. Traubel anticipates a number of books on Whitman within the next few years and enumerates those in preparation. He has reservations about what he has heard of Kennedy's book.

35. H L Traubel, Philadelphia to J W Wallace, 4 April 1892. Postcard. Received Wallace's last letter and note. Deeply sad after Whitman's death. Bucke has gone and only he and Anne remain.


37. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 8 April 1892. Is sending a copy of Whitman's will; objects to the US journals' treatment of him, esp compared with the English journals. Longaker to write some notes for Traubel's book about Walt's last illness. Asks about the O'Connor photograph of Walt.

38. H L Traubel to [?], 9 April 1892. Is concerned about the preservation of Whitman's home. It may be possible to purchase the estate from Mrs Whitman. Does not like Stedman's preface and will not circulate the book.

39. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10 April 1892. To accompany his marginal notes and other made while attending Whitman in his last illness.

40. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 24 May 1892. Has sent several copies of a pamphlet which he wishes Wallace to circulate, if he sees fit. Is arranging a dinner next week – probably commemoration of Whitman's birthday.

41. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 3 June 1892. Winding up Walt's affairs. He and Clifford miss Whitman's presence, although they believe in his immortality. Anne is pregnant.

42. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4 June 1892. Bucke recommends that Wallace should utilize Last Days [q.v. 1991] in a tribute to Whitman in England. If this appeals
then it should be done at once and Traubel must see the manuscript. Reference to [Edward] Carpenter's anxiety about Traubel's being about to publish his notes.

43. H L Traubel to [?], 5 June 1892. News of Anne, and an issue of the Atlantic [The Atlantic Monthly?] that has outraged Whitman's friends. Bucke advises Traubel not to write but Burroughs has already done so.

44. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 7 June 1892. Anne and Gertrude both prosper, but Walt's absence is keenly felt.

45. H L Traubel to J Johnston, 6 July 1892. Concerning a hostile review of the Children of Adam section in Leaves of Grass.

46. H L Traubel to J Johnston, 7 July 1892. Re proposed visit to Johnston in England in the Fall, in view of Anne and the baby's already being in London. Reports on Brinton's paper on Cosmic Consciousness to the Browning Club at Boston, and R M Bucke's objections.

47. H L Traubel to J Johnston, 8 July 1892. Burroughs objects to Murray's bust of Whitman. Traubel's appraisal is more measured. Refers to a book he is about to send to Charles F Sixsmith. Asks about imminent British elections.

48. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 8 July 1892. Delighted to hear of Johnston's proposed visit.


50. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 18 Aug 1892. Suggests Wallace distribute the papers he sent (see above) to labour leaders. Is sending the Aug Conservator with Morse's account of the Homestead strike. Also mentions the Buffalo strike as it inconveniences Harned, plus news of Bucke and Gilchrist, Morris and Burroughs.


52. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 27 Aug 1892. Mostly quotation from two of Anne's letters. The first is about Walt's letters, including his plans for Drum Taps. The second is about the Preface [to Last Days] written by Bucke, which contains many of Walt's own "notes at beginning".

53. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 28 Aug 1892. More quotations from Anne's letters, in which she confides her opinions about Bucke's limitations, especially with regard to the place of women.

54. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 29 Aug 1892. Re Chubb's lectures on American subjects. One of these is about Whitman. Chubb is in England until December, and Traubel forwards his address.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

55. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30 Aug 1892. Brief note due to busyness. Asks for letter from Charles Sixsmith, when he can/wishes to write one.


57. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4 Sept 1892. Lovely weather to begin the excursion. Circular re book [*Last Days*] returned by Bucke. Has not heard from J W W for over a week.

58. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5 Sept 1892. Home from excursion, which went very well.

59. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 7 Sept 1892. Quotes letter from 1882 in which Burroughs criticised Carpenter's lack of engagement, in order to contrast with the present time.

60. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 9 Sept 1892. Has received Mrs Fairchild of Newport's reminiscences of Whitman; also of Stevenson. Persistence of Whitman's reputation as a poet, despite the persistence of traditional art at present. Admires Symonds' essay on "Culture".

61. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 10 Sept 1892. Longaker's illness jeopardises plans for their joint holiday. Traubel will at least go to New York to meet Burroughs, and if possible, Stedman, Ingersoll, Gilden [?] and other correspondents. Will stay at Johnston's. Has quoted some of Wallace's letters, anonymously, in *The Conservator*.


64. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 13 Sept 1892. Letter accompanying proof of circular (not enclosed here). Carpenter may decide not to contribute to the book.

65. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15 Sept 1892. *Last Days* should be finished by late winter, for publication in Spring. Enclosing a copy of *Justice*, in which there is a note from Garland.

66. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 16 Sept 1892. To accompany two packages, containing circulars, blanks and a copy of the *Star*. Will forward copies of the House appeal (see 1 Oct below) to accompany these. Asks for Wallace's report of his visit to Carpenter.

67. H L Traubel, New York, to J W Wallace, 22 Sept 1892. Much talk with J H Johnston and family, where he is staying. Reminiscences of Walt from [Andrew] Rome (see 73 below), Ingersoll, Burroughs and Johnston.
68. H L Traubel, New York, to J W Wallace, 23-24, 28-30 Sept 1892. Omnibus letter. Has visited Burroughs in his study, and heard him read from *Leaves of Grass*. Visit to [Niagara] Falls with Longaker, via London, Ontario. Traubel now reading Whitman's letters to his mother, and his letters from 1865 onward (i.e. post-hospital), but these are not to be included in the projected volume. Traubel to write a paper on "Walt Whitman's 'Artistic Atheism'".

69. H L Traubel, To Whom It May Concern, 1 Oct 1892. Printed letter, amended in ink. The purchase for preservation of Whitman's final home on Mickle St, Camden. With artist's sketches of the house and Whitman's grave.


72. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 6 Oct 1892. Gilbert to publish Walt's letters, although not soon. Useless to press Carpenter for his contribution to the book about Walt. "In Re" to include some letters by Walt in '73 at the onset of his illness.


74. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 8-11 Oct 1892. With greetings from Anne Traubel. Concerning the letters from Walt and others to go into the book. Regrets unscrupulous publication of some of these, e.g. Kennedy's publishing Bucke's letter to Whitman re his visit to Tennyson. Ingersoll to lecture on Voltaire to The Ethical Society in Chicago. H L T is undaunted by Walt's detractors in the press and elsewhere. Thanks members of the Eagle Street College, some named, for their support.

75. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12-13 Oct 1892. More on Ingersoll's nobility of person. The sadness of the intervening year since Wallace's visit. Missing Walt, but convinced of the eternity of love.

76. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14 Oct 1892. Traubel thinks that more than banks and land are at fault, as per Wallace's letter.

77. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14 Oct 1892. Greetings and sundry news. *Leaves of Grass* is selling better than ever. So are the "Selected Poems". *Autobiographia* is just published.

78. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 15 Oct 1892. Anxious about Wallace's response to his circular, eliciting subscriptions for the Whitman house and letters. Melancholy over the deaths of Whittier and Tennyson.
79. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 16 Oct 1892. Has completed and delivered a paper on democracy. Encouragement to Wallace for achievements past to comfort him for worry about things not achieved in the present.


82. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 19 Oct 1892. Columbus celebrations and elections are exciting the populace.

83. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 20 Oct 1892. Reports on the eclipse at noon that day, and on one's responsibility to try to understand the laws of science.


85. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 29 Oct 1892. Anne and he have been worried about Gertrude's health; however, she does not seem seriously ill.


87. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 31 Oct 1892. Oppressed by nostalgia as he sends Walt's water-bed (on which he spent his final two days) back to Bucke. Working on a paper: "Woman's Rule and Woman's Right".


89. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5 Nov 1892. About 100 orders for the book now received; when 200 have been received, printing will begin, with a view to publication on Walt's birthday. Expects criticism from Morris and his followers.

90. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 6 Nov 1892. Morse's three Homestead lectures to be published as a pamphlet. Mention of Democratic Vistas as stating the true American spirit.

91. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 7 Nov 1892. Pleased with Sixsmith's letter and photograph enclosure. Wallace should forward the orders for the book. US elections tomorrow. The Conservator must be given up or change its form in February as it is too costly. Feels betrayed by friends. Some refuse to contribute to the fund to purchase Whitman's house.

92. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 8 Nov 1892. Election day reflections on the importance of the common man.
93. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10 Nov 1892, with marginal note from Anne Traubel. Asks about the Lancashire strike. Has heard about Wallace's trouble with his eyes. Invitation to visit issued by both Traubels.

94. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11 Nov 1892. To enclose a dictated letter from Anne (not enclosed), whose hand is sore from housework. Hopes that she will become his assistant. Is pleased with election results.


96. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 19 Nov 1892. Regrets Wallace's declining their invitation. Wants his views on the 'Socialistic movement'; he himself prefers individualism.


98. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 21 Nov 1892. Will send the Homestead pamphlet. Has received a letter from Fred Wild. Enclosing a letter from Ingersoll (not enclosed). Quotes hostile review of Walt and followers (lovers of spiritual hog-wash).

99. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 22 Nov 1892. Enough subscriptions have been received to guarantee the book's publication. Thanks for journals, esp literary. Does not espouse the same principles as does The Clarion. The Homestead is still embattled.

100. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 23 Nov 1892. Enclosing the '60 edition [of Leaves of Grass?]. Feels distracted by pressure of work. Wants to comfort Wallace whose eye problems are making him melancholy.


104. R G Ingersoll to H L Traubel, 26 Nov 1892. General offer of help, esp with the scheme to save the Whitman Home. Also accepts Traubel's offer of a keepsake of Whitman. Copy of letter.

105. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 27 Nov 1892. Has discovered a new cache of Walt's letters to his mother. Some ticketed and marked "Examined and extracts made", probably used by Whitman himself.
106. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 28 Nov 1892. Exhorting Wallace not to worry or feel he has been remiss about anything. Reference to being troubled by Miss Conway. Neither must he abdicate his own principles.

107. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 29 Nov 1892. Has forwarded yesterday's letter from Ingersoll. (Not enclosed.)

108. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 30 Nov 1892. Wallace must not write again until his eyes are well. More orders for the book have come in. Is working hard. Mentions again new letters from Walt to his mother.

109. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 1 Dec 1892. Ingersoll has written supporting Traubel's article in the *Exponent* and also "Woman's Rule and Woman's Right". Glowing report of his Chicago Lecture on Walt. Traubel would like the English reprint of Ingersoll's lecture on Walt.


111. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 2 Dec 1892. Letter from Lezinsky (?) offering practical help re Walt's house. Is enclosing *Jewish Women*, with his article in it (not encl.); has written a second letter for *The Exponent*. Finds composing easy.

112. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 3 Dec 1892. Claims to have experienced both heaven and hell; feels changed by Walt; has received a revelation. Did J W W receive Bucke's life of Whitman, sent long ago?

113. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4 Dec 1892. Received Wallace's letter describing his struggle to read. Would like to eavesdrop on a meeting of the "College"; took Longaker's boy and Thom [?] to the local zoo.

114. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5 Dec 1892. Harned is to give the "Walt Whitman Reunion" reception at his home on Jan 5. Asks for a letter to read there, and one from J.H. Johnston also. More praise of Ingersoll.

115. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 6 Dec 1892. Has received Sixsmith's essay. Wishes to be a mentor. Tennyson's reputation is under attack, but no one can diminish his achievement. Wants Wallace to send any book subscriptions.

116. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 7 Dec 1892. Enclosing an article, addressed to Bonsall [?], possibly about protectionism. Walt was strongly anti-protection, feeling this was unworthy of the Republican Party.

117. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 8 Dec 1892. Has received his letters re Miss Conway's visit. Is not as impressed as Wallace himself. Has sent off Walt's hospital letters to Gilder.
118. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9 Dec 1892. Spent the evening at Harned's, then wrote an article for Ingersoll's magazine, *Unity*. Tonight he will counter Bonsall's latest attack. Greetings to various members of the College.

119. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 21 Dec 1892. Mentions his work at the bank. Urges Wallace to spare his eyes and refrain from writing. His article on Whitman for *Arena* rejected due to lack of space. Thanks for birthday wishes.


121. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 28 Dec 1892. Moderate praise for Harned's speech. Traubel himself was asked questions about Whitman's religious habits and tastes, and about his attitude to Tennyson.

122. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 29 Dec 1892, written on subscription notice for the Whitman house. Preparing for the Reunion at Harned's. Greetings to various members of the College.

123. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30 Dec 1892, written on subscription notice for the Whitman house. Best wishes for the coming year.

124. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 31 Dec 1892. Eddie Whitman has died, the last of Walt, Mrs Whitman, Heyde and Eddie.


126. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 1 Jan 1893. Has received his delayed letters. Moderates his previous reservations about Miss Conway; trust Wallace's firmness of purpose in spreading Whitman's message.

127. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 2 Jan 1893. The family is spending the day at Longaker's. Hopes that one or more members of the College might come over for May 31st, and sends greetings. More on Miss Conway, plus an appreciation of Anne M Traubel, who will write to Miss Conway.


131. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 7 Jan 1893. Reflections on the primary importance of individualism, especially socialism, a philosophy with which even
Johnston has some sympathy. The present civilization is insufficiently individualistic.

132. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 8 Jan 1893. Carpenter writes anxious that Walt material is not rushed into print. Symonds, hearing from Carpenter, is also anxious that private material remain private. Carpenter clearly disapproves of Traubel's notes, which he has discussed with J W W. Traubel is not perturbed by Carpenter's disapproval, nor his threatened withholding of his sketch of Whitman.

133. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 9 Jan 1893. Received Johnston's letter, but too late for the Reunion. Heavy winter snows Is to visit Ingersoll in New York.


138. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 14 Jan 1893. Reflections on Whitman's letters, his dislike of clergymen, his attempts to support his mother, his regular payment of George's board in Camden.


142. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 18 Jan 1893. In response to Sixsmith's interest, Traubel confesses to a dislike of spiritualism. Speaks well of Miss Conway's last article. Mistrusts state intervention, legislation, external structures of any kind, esp nationalized industries; trusts only co-operation of individuals.
143. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19 Jan 1893. Planning to see Ingersoll in New York. Long quotation from one of Ingersoll's letters in praise of himself, endorsed by Burroughs' praise of Ingersoll.

144. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 20 Jan 1893. Overworked. Is working on Tennyson interview, which he regrets not having discussed with Whitman. Is sending 50 copies of The Conservator and would like Wallace's views on his article, p 4. Note to say use discretion when forwarding material to Miss Conway.

145. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 21 Jan 1893. Quotes from Bucke's reply to Traubel re Carpenter's letter, in which he admonishes Traubel to be honest and produce the truth about Walt. Refers again to Symonds.

146. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 22 Jan 1893. Quotes from Bucke's high opinion of Ingersoll, who values him close to Walt. Has been to speak at a meeting of workingmen, and will speak at the same place in March about Leaves of Grass.

147. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 23 Jan 1893. Wants to introduce William Innes, Jr, a musician and lover of Walt, of Philadelphia, to Sixsmith. Through Innes, Traubel has met another musician, Dalmas, whom he admires. Rumours of plans to move Walt's house are false. Meanwhile, more needs to be done in England to support the house and the book as well.


149. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 25 Jan 1893. Wants to know if his letters containing notes were on a train referred to in news item enclosed (not enclosed). Traubel has quoted from Wallace's letter in a meeting of his section. Recommends increased compactness in Wallace's writing style.


151. H S Morris, Philadelphia, to H L Traubel, 26 Jan 1893. Wants to help with the project to buy the Whitman House but cannot afford much. "It was a great gratification and will be a life-long memory with me, that I was able to give my mite toward Walt's comfort; yet even that was a bit of a burden and I felt relieved when it ceased." Has growing family expenses and can only donate $10. "I have been looking over Symonds' new [?] book, In the Key of Blue. It is entertaining enough; but, to me, rather thin in texture. A book of personal sensations must have some supreme excellence of style: either Walt's or Hawthorne's." Invitation to Traubel and Anne either "here" or at the Academy.

152. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 27 Jan 1893. Since Eddie [Whitman] is dead, Traubel and other disciples hope to inherit the Mickle St home. No money at all from England yet. Plans to begin In Re next week. Reflections on the politician Blaine, who has just died.


156. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 31 Jan 1893. Comments on his copy of the *Workingman's Times*, with contributions from Miss Conway and Keir Hardie. Pleased at Hodgkinson's prospective visit, and offers to be host.

157. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 1 Feb 1893. Happy anticipation of Hodgkinson's visit, and what he will be able to report back to Wallace.

158. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 2 Feb 1893. Most books Wallace requested have been sent, and papers too. The more knowledge of the controversy over Walt, the better. With extensive reflections on the meaning of life.


160. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 4 Feb 1893. Stoddart now has Traubel's article, "Whitman & Murger", which may appear in *Lippincott's*.

161. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 5 Feb 1893. Wallace to send orders for *In Re*, if health permits. Some discussion of the issue of the annexation of Canada. Against social edifices generally, and thinks some English projects mistaken. Morse, in Chicago, has been ill. Asks after Fred Wild's wife. Harned to speak to the Liberal League about Whitman.

162. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 6 Feb 1893. Traubel judges his own Whitman collection to be almost as large and as precious as what was left in Walt's estate. Drawing on verso of new cabinet he has ordered to house all his work.

163. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 7 Feb 1893. Harned and he to visit George Whitman to complete an interview for the Whitman book and to negotiate for the house, which will then become a permanent trust.

164. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 8 Feb 1893. Brunton (Brinton?) refutes allegations of Walt's homosexuality.


166. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10 Feb 1893. Thanks for *Workingman's Times*. Attacks Miss Conway's writing for its lack of passion.

168. H L Traubel, New York, to J W Wallace, 12 Feb 1893. Attended Cait's [?] lecture to the Ethical Society a.m. on the centrality of Robert Browning to the present age; p.m. spent with the Ingersolls. Ingersoll's lecture on Lincoln a resounding success. Traubel sat with the family in a box of the Broadway Theatre, which was packed.


170. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 14 Feb 1893. Feeling overworked. Ingersoll has received many letters re his "Liberty in Literature" address, mainly from new readers of *Leaves of Grass*. Read Gladstone's speech on Home Rule, of which he is in favour.


172. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 16 Feb 1893. Reflections on individualism, the central value of which C F Sixsmith is apparently suspicious. Mistrusts statism, even socialistic statism.


174. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 18 Feb 1893. Has heard from Fred Wild and from J Johnston; Arthur Stedman in New York showed him a notice of the *Autobiographia*. Would like a copy of this. Would like to send them copies of "the book" [*In Re Walt Whitman*].


176. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 20 Feb 1893. Is mailing copies of *Liberty*, with his article on the free trade dispute which Bonsall refused to print. Where are the 20 orders that Sixsmith says he has sent? Date of publication of the Washington letters uncertain, and the *Century* selection not until Jan 1 1894.

177. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 21 Feb 1893. Quotes from Ingersoll's and Bucke's letters. Railroad failure makes more work at the bank.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

178. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 22 Feb 1893. Trying to order Walt's papers: two or three barrels of manuscripts, letters and scraps. Walt's diary records Wallace's and Johnston's visit to Camden.

179. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 23 Feb 1893. Comments on the latest Conservator, with articles by Ingersoll and himself. Consoles Wallace re his eyes. Urges him to visit the family.


REEL 4:

181. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 25 Feb 1893. Since In Re is to include Last Days [q.v. 1991], the manuscript, which Wallace holds, will have to be transcribed and sent by Wallace himself, or Sixsmith, or Johnston. Bucke also urges this.


183. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 1893. Still anxiously waiting for Rollerton's translation from the German of his essay on Whitman, which is scheduled to be printed soon. Symonds' Michael Angelo and In the Key of Blue are both attracting much critical attention.

184. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 28 Feb 1893. Busy last day of the month at the bank; is it so with Greenhalgh? Clifford to speak on Saturday (at Brinton's reception), as will Harned and probably [J H] Johnston. F Williams is to read and Philip Dalmas, the musician, will sing.


187. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 3 March 1893. Fifty acceptances so far for Brunton's reception. Traubel has decided not to speak. Tomorrow is inauguration day in Washington (Cleveland to become President).

188. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 4 March 1893. The day of Brunton's reception. Traubel has written something, but is undecided about whether to deliver it. Is planning a small meeting of friends on 26 March. Harned is unwell.

189. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 5 March 1893. Bertha Johnston has written to say that her father has been seriously ill and asks Traubel to take over the arrangements for the Whitman dinner in New York. Traubel will go from New
York to Burroughs & then to Canada. "Anne will not leave Camden till late in the summer if at all." Bucke writes warmly about Traubel's "Walt Whitman at Date". Has also written a new article called "Conversations", to be announced in The Century. "The more I wrote in my article touching W's message to the working classes the more I am struck with the wealth of the material offered." Who from Bolton will come to the dinner? PS: "Walt always seems young & new – always gives a heath of dawn, the opening flower, the rising god – prospectus everlasting.

190. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 5 March 1893. The meeting was a success. Traubel's speech, "Walt Whitman the Comrade" was greatly appreciated, and will appear in print. Brunton, [J H] Johnston, Bonsall, Harned, Thomas Earle White all made speeches. Dalmas sang two songs.

191. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 6 March 1893. McKay's (?) little son is ill, probably dying. Has received the Workingman's Times, with the article by Miss Conway, which seems thin and insubstantial. Is awaiting J W W's letters for In Re; Sixsmith should aid with any copying.

192. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 7 March 1893. He and Anne have both received Wallace's letters. Is very busy, especially on In Re. Hopes to send proof copy of his speech. Remarks on Dalmas's musical genius.

193. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 March 1893. Comments on Morris's criticisms of [John Aldington] Symonds and Burroughs, and the difficulty of pleasing Morris and his ilk. Meditation on the mistrust of schools as producers of individuals, or even as teachers of style.


195. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10 March 1893. To accompany copy of his speech. Also sending Inquirer of 9 March, which mentions the meeting. Would Wallace consider writing one or many articles for The Conservator? Symonds the only overseas contributor to the project to salvage Whitman's house. Does [J J] Johnston's request for a set of Columbian stamps include the $5 and $7 specimens? [Verso of letter on order form for the Whitman house project.]

196. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 11 March 1893. Finds he is in disagreement with Sixsmith over the value of cooperation versus individualism, and Socialism versus individualism.


198. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 13 March 1893. Acknowledging bad news from Wallace. Traubel is in the midst of proof-reading. He and Longaker are planning a Whitman reunion for April. Bucke looks as though he might become a millionaire, as Walt feared, and free himself from having to work at the Asylum.


202. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17 March 1893. Will the College send a delegate to the May dinner in New York? If so, he could be Traubel's guest in Camden. Nearly the anniversary of Whitman's death (26 March), when a meeting will be held. Wallace to read Traubel's article on George Whitman.


204. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 19 March 1893. Ingersoll expected on 29 March, to lecture on Shakespeare. Another request for articles for the new larger Conservator; dictate to Sixsmith if necessary. In Re progressing well. In daily correspondence with Bucke. Postscript addressed to Sixsmith to say that Traubel is in favour of Home Rule.

205. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 20 March 1893. Thanks for letters for himself and Anne. In praise of Ingersoll. Is arranging a small meeting, probably at Innes' home, with Ingersoll, and Dalmas. Miss O'Connor has written to say that she is sorting out Williams' letters, many from Walt. Report of Tom Earl White's reply to Harned's assertion that Walt's poetry was "the face of immortality". White sees the poetry rather as a universal mirror, reflecting the views of any faith – or lack of it – whatsoever.


207. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 22 March 1893. Quotes from Bucke's letter to him commenting on his speech and prose poem "Curse not".

208. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 23 March 1893. The fire in Chicago has scattered some of Morse's manuscripts and destroyed others, including all of his notes for the
book. Schmidt has written to say that he has sent Johnston orders for two copies of the book, which Traubel has not received.


212. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace and J Johnston, 27 March 1893. Innes may write Sixsmith some notes re "our little meeting at his home. Dalmas played, Longaker read [mostly from "Whispers of Heavenly Death"], and I spoke my little speech." This last included letters from Wallace, Bucke, Morse, Sixsmith and J[ohn] B[jurroughs]. Went in the evening to the Liberal League together and there debated Mrs Crompton's paper on "The Moral Influence of Certain Writers". Then there occurred an "exciting little episode". "A sceptic called on Harned to read "A Woman Waits for me" from the platform. I jumped up & called out "Read it Harned! If you don't I will!" – But Harned did not read – in fact, a listener suggested that perhaps the audiences did not wish it. When it came my turn to speak the questioner was again on his feet. "Mr Traubel – read the poem!" I faced the audience. "Shall I do it?" I asked – adding – "There is no poem in the book I should hesitate to read." But they called out to me to "speak" and let the reading go. Then I said: "Did it ever occur to you that the reason it is impossible to read such poems in an audience like this is not because there is evil in the poems but because there is evil in you & me?" That brought down the house. They applauded warmly. As I told Bucke – "My blood was up" – [incomplete?]

213. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28 March 1893. Traubel is to go to the Art Club with Garland and Harned after Garland's lecture on the labour question in the New Century rooms. Garland a fine example of "the American race". Tomorrow Traubel is to attend Ingersoll's lecture, "Walt Whitman the Comrade".


215. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30 March 1893. Ingersoll's lecture superb, both in delivery and content. Traubel spoke with his parents also. Verso: Society for Ethical Culture form.

216. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 31 March 1893. Attending to a mass of details with regard to the book which is now at the printers. Still dazed by Ingersoll's lecture's power. Verso (two sheets): corporate office stationery.

217. H L Traubel, with Anne Traubel, Philip Dalmas and Wm T Innes, from, to the "College" at Bolton, 31 March 1893. A vow of unity with the Bolton group, signed by the above.

219. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace and J Johnston, 2 April 1893. Is working on restoring his essay "Walt Whitman" to its original shape, before it was edited for publication in the NE Magazine. Verso on The Contemporary Club of Philadelphia stationery (Traubel is Treasurer).

220. H L Traubel to J W Wallace and J Johnston, 3 April 1893. Is working on Walt's letters to his mother, written from Washington, 1873, when he was stricken with paralysis. They will fill ten to twenty pages of In Re, which is going to be longer than originally planned. Has heard that Wallace is to begin work on Last Days. Bucke pleased with his (Traubel's) work on George Whitman. Verso on printed corporate stationery.

221. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 4 April 1893. Wishes he had more time to write to friends. Describes his work at the bank as dealing with the needs of widows and orphans.

222. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J Johnston, 4 April 1893. Spring greetings from an inadequate correspondent. Sends his love also to Johnston's father and wife.

223. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5 April 1893. Disagrees with the English methods of achieving social equality, although he acknowledges that their aims are the same. Traubel claims his is the "method of freedom" – of less law, and less of the state, rather than more. In this Traubel sees himself as being in sympathy with Walt, whom reformers "always accused ... of want of sympathy because he saw beyond their isms – because he saw where their virtues ended as well as where it eminenced[?]. Still Leaves of Grass seems to him to epitomize all philosophies."

224. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 6 April 1893. Has been verifying Walt's letters for the selection for Century magazine, and the paralysis letters (see above) for In Re. This is a time-consuming procedure, yet the quality of Walt's letters justify every effort.

225. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J Johnston, 7 April 1893. Is sending three copies of Leaves of Grass as per Johnston's last order. Is very busy with the book. Likes Johnston to tell him of the men he meets & the hours they enjoy together. Would like to meet Miss Conway in person.

226. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 7 April 1893. Dalmas's regular Friday evening visit is expected, although sometimes prevented by students. Is enclosing Salter's lecture on Russia, which Traubel (though he will publish Brinton's passionate refutation of it) rather admires. Inquiring if Stepmark, last seen at the Ingersoll's Shakespeare lecture two years ago, lives in London.

227. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 8 April 1893. Rolleston will not be able to do the translation, so Bucke's will have to stand. Traubel to speak at the Kensington Reform Club on Sunday, on "Walt Whitman the Democrat".
228. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9 April 1893. Refers to missing letters close to the
time of Whitman's death (their own correspondence?). Yet his sense of the day
was "not dark" and it is the same sense of joy that enables him to work on the
letters.

229. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 12 April 1893. Requests that one
particular letter of Anne's be included in his essay on *Last Days*. If the completed
ms. has already been forwarded to Traubel, send the letter itself with instructions
as to its placement.

230. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 13 April 1893. Is glad the Wallace
enjoyed his speech and will forward 10 extra copies as requested. Bucke was less
enamoured of it. But his sensibility is less poetic than Wallace's.

231. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 15 April 1893. Dalmas is to visit – a
favourite of Gertrude's. The book proceeds. Thomas H Dudley, whom Traubel
referred to in "Walt Whitman at Date" died that morning.

232. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 16 April 1893. Ingersoll is ill. The book continues to
be printed, but the essays are not in the order that Traubel had prescribed. Dalmas
has a new Whitman song.

233. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace and J Johnston, 17 April 1893. Dave
McKay (?) has told him his young son is dying. Will forward his latest article in the
*New England Magazine*. Has Society for Ethical Culture reports to write, plus *The
Conservator* to get out this week.

234. H L Traubel to J Johnston and J W Wallace, 18 April 1893. For 31 May in New
York, Burroughs and Ingersoll are expected, although Bucke is still doubtful. The
book will be 300-400 pages, but Harned has agreed to complete the project
without changing the price. Traubel is grieved that Wallace's list of letters from
Whitman is not complete.

235. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to "Fellows" [J W Wallace and J Johnston], 20 April
1893. Symonds died in Rome yesterday.

236. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to "Friends" [J W Wallace and J Johnston], 21 April
1893. Want any information about the manner of Symonds's death that may be
printed in the English papers. "I am glad he lived to finish his book on Walt."

237. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 26 April 1893. Thanks for the material
on Symonds. *The Conservator* is at the press; 25 copies will be forwarded in due
course.

238. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace and J Johnston, 27 April 1893. Dr
Bucke has written of Ingersoll's great expectations of Traubel, who feels that their
faith may have been misplaced. *Last Days* has arrived, and Traubel seems pleased
with it, although he has not yet had time to check it carefully. "… perhaps I wrote
you rather differently than to Bucke – but it seems to me you get at the spiritual
Whitman more infallibly than does "the good doctor". There are some errors in
your added notes – for instance at the point where you say Walt felt his pulse
fifteen minutes before he died – which is not true, it must have been an hour or two earlier that he did that extraordinary thing. Fifteen minutes before he died he did no more than breathe, and I think – I know – I was the last person he recognized. [This?] was as I entered the room & the doctor loudly called out my name. W. opened his eyes, I took his hand from under the cover & reached it out to me. It fell to the bed before I could grasp it – but for that time I held it without change, except once from left to right, as I took out a pencil & made some notes in the margin of your paper. But I tell all this in my diary, & you will eventually see it there. Meanwhile do not use this present letter…".

239. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J Johnston, 28 April 1893. Hopes all the books Johnston ordered have arrived. Bucke says Ingersoll said he will be in New York for 31 May. Who is coming from Bolton? Will send Longaker's paper once it is in type. Today Traubel sent Wallace pages of "Walt Whitman at Date". Would be grateful for any comments.

240. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace and J Johnston, 28 April 1893. "I am not quite sure that Symonds took entire hold of Walt. There were times & ways in which he seemed a little doubtful of his choice. However, it must remain for us to see the length & breadth of his feeling from this deliberate volume."

241. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 3 May 1893. Is sending a copy of H S Salt's Songs of Freedom. Salt compares Whitman to Shelley, which seems right to Traubel. Both love justice; both are revolutionaries. Walt is an ally of the workers. "When they wake up it will be as a giant, who shakes off the night with a huge growl." The labour movement seems further ahead in England.

242. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 4 May 1893. Has Symonds's book. Note bibliographical and other errors. Traubel is especially aggrieved that Harned has been left out of the list of Whitman's friends, whereas Warry, a paid servant, has been included. Traubel blames Wallace for Harned's being omitted.

243. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 7 May 1893. J H Johnston has pneumonia, so organisation of the Whitman dinner falls to Traubel. The typesetting of the book is about two thirds complete. Bucke is unsure whether he can get to New York on 31 May; otherwise, all the usual disciples will be there.

244. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 8 May 1893. Harned's book The Pursuit of Happiness, just published by McKay, pays tribute to Walt. McKay now has hopes his son will live, although one lung is wholly gone.

245. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 9 May 1893. Greetings to the Bolton group Wants feedback on Symonds's book. "It will do good not so much to men who know Whitman but to the outside world whose disposition expresses ignorance or aversion."

246. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 10 May 1893. Seventeenth anniversary since the opening of the Centennial Exposition prompts a meditation on the passing of time. Has been rereading Bucke's Cosmic Consciousness, which he refers to as a "paper" [pre-book paper?] Bucke may be logical but he has a very limited creative imagination.

248. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 12 May, 1893. Apparently to accompany two portraits, one a profile. J H Johnston is very ill. Dalmas and Burroughs to attend the dinner but Stedman will not be there.


250. H L Traubel, from, to J J Johnston and J W Wallace ["Dear Souls"], 14 May 1893. Dalmas is unwell. Is preparing a rendering of lines from "Song of Myself": "mad naked summer night" for the Whitman dinner in New York. He lives at Primos, below Philadelphia. The dinner will be small – eight to ten guests.

251. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 15 May 1893. Notes that John Hay has apparently also lost a relative (his correspondence is black-edged). Has read Symonds's book, which he finds helpful, although the inspiration of Walt is "not gigantic".

252. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 16 May 1893. Has received a paper from Sixsmith containing portraits of Katherine Conway and Keir Hardie, which he comments on.

253. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 17 May 1893. Ingersoll will attend the dinner, as will John Swinton (well known in the labor movement). Regrets that Anne must stay at home. Dalmas is to be the house guest of several diners.

254. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 18 May 1893. Thanks to Sixsmith for the clear fair copy of Last Days. Traubel is going to London, Ont. to stay with Bucke for about a week beginning June 5. The Conservator out tomorrow. Did Wallace read "Prophet" in the April issue?

255. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 19 May 1893. Has received a note from Mrs Symonds. Last Days is being edited for the printer. J H Johnston and wife going west, so will not be able to attend the dinner. Anne and Traubel have spent evenings with Dalmas in his rooms.

256. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 20 May, 1893. Will send Johnston the two books he has requested. Reassures Wallace that his "editing" of First Days consists only of "set[ting] it verbally straight in several places". Yet "That pulse business occurred much earlier in the day. The facts as to the death must rest upon my records, which I can swear are faithful absolutely...".

257. H L Traubel, to J W Wallace, 21 May 1893. The number of dinner guests has swelled to thirty or forty. Traubel has just finished the 1891 report for the book. What did Wallace and Johnston think of the full "Walt Whitman at Date" article?
258. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 22 May 1893. Hopes to finish typesetting the book before he leaves for New York in a week. Does Wallace agree that in *Cosmic Consciousness* Bucke makes too much of the rosy light that accompanies "illumination"?

259. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 23 May 1893. Greetings to the Bolton group


*Verso*: Philadelphia, 29-30 May, 1893 from Milburn. The book is still not finished. Most of the literary crowd have declined their invitations to the Whitman dinner. In transit and excited about "the historic day".

p2: from New York, 31 May-1 June, 1893. Will stay at J H Johnston's in New York, while Johnston is away. Ingersoll, Burroughs, Harned, Swinton, Bristow, Garrison and Traubel spoke at the dinner. "Swinton made an ass of himself". Letters read include Wallace's and Johnston's. Thirty-four present at dinner. 

*Verso*: from New York, 2-3 June 1893, from West Park. Enjoyed his time with Ingersoll in New York. Is staying over the road from Burroughs' house, possibly due to his wife not wanting them as house guests. Went on a boat trip to Poughkeepsie with Burroughs.

261. H L Traubel, New York, to J W Wallace, 4 June 1893. Johnston's letter was well received at the dinner.

262. H L Traubel, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace and J Johnston, 5-9 June 1893. Travelled 9am to 10pm: went by boat to Poughkeepsie, then a train to Niagara. Next day (6 June) mostly in Niagara, then on to London, for about 7pm. Met by Bucke, with Willie Gurd [?] and Duke Bucke. Has visited Dorchester, attended a cricket match, been to a fair in town.

263. H L Traubel, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace and C F Sixsmith, 10-12 June 1893. Staying with Bucke, Dalmas is there also. Has met Mr Coyne, a new Whitmanite, and visited the Gibson's at Delaware. Greetings to the Bolton group (On Bucke's personal stationery, marked "Medical Superintendent's Office, Insane Asylum, London, Ontario").

264. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, 13 June 1893. Has travelled from 4am to reach Philadelphia by 10pm. "The drive over the mountains, through the Lehigh Valley, surpassed all previous experiences." Dalmas and he both tired out but pleased to be home. Some anxiety about Anne and Gertrude.

265. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 14 June 1893. Gertrude and Anne both suffering from the hot and sultry weather, whereas Traubel feels "weather-proof". Has received a moving letter from Margaret Symonds, J A's daughter. Also received an account of the Bolton celebration of 31 May. Has heard from Sixsmith about Wallace's ill health.

266. H L Traubel to J W Wallace and J Johnston, 15 June 1893. Has received Morse's article, the last manuscript for the book. *Last Days* has become footnotes to the
letters written to Bucke and Mrs Heyde in the period between Dec ‘91 and March ‘92. Has inserted a brief description of Walt's death into Longaker's article, since he was not present.

267. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 16 June 1893. Salter's parents' tragic accident near their home in Burlington, Iowa: the mother killed and the father critically injured by a tree that fell across their carriage while they were driving through a cemetery. Will send a copy of Longaker's narrative to Johnston. Many thanks for The Guardian, which Traubel enjoys. Is there a report of Wallace's speech for 31 May celebration?


269. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 18 June 1893. Is "curious to know more about [Wallace's] new appearance." Thanks to Sixsmith for The Labor Prophet [sic] and the Workingmen's Times, with Miss Conway's article, which Traubel admired. Morse's article will be among the most interesting in the book. Sources are notes made at the time, some approved by Walt. Anne and Gertrude are now well.

270. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 19 June 1893. Sorry that the portrait (of Traubel, probably) fails to satisfy. Traubel would like a more recent portrait of Wallace. Is enjoying the hot summer, despite occasional anxiety for Anne and Gertrude. Is unable to act upon the pull toward England that he feels from time to time.

271. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 20 June 1893. Thanks to Wallace and Sixsmith for Two Worlds with the Whitman article from the "Dictator". In Re is now almost typeset. Expects to publish 1 Aug or sooner. On the train back from Canada met Prof. Mendel, of Chicago University, who knows Triggs, of whom many good things are expected. Walt is well treated in the latest edition of Poet's Lore. Stoddart is no longer Editor of Lippincott's. He attended the New York dinner. "Swinton's speech at the dinner rather disgusted us. We had expected more serious knowledge of Walt but found him thoroughly ignorant of his worth and significance. Burroughs says: "It is hard for such a man to believe that a man with whom he has grown up can have had any godlike elements and have become a person of importance to the world." And so Swinton dwelt a good deal upon Walt's desire to "puff" himself and said that the mother was like the son, "gaseous & watery" – and said that Walt lacked in the sense of humor – did not know a joke from an abstraction – and said that he (Swinton) did not suppose that Whitman had read a dozen books in his whole life &c &c &c. Bursall & Burroughs were tearing mad but had no chance to retort. The best part of Swinton's speech was a letter from Walt to his mother which he read with considerable humor and sense. But you can see his caliber when I tell you that although this is one in the series we are about to print he positively declined to let us use it. He explained [only?] that he wished to use it for his own purposes."

Traubel wishes he could go to New York more often, but cannot afford to do so. Alexander's portrait of Walt hangs in a very prominent place in the Metropolitan. "It is humbug. It is not W W."

273. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J Johnston and J W Wallace, 22 June 1893. Feels the connection with comrades over the sea. "I think the soul of our dead brother plays with the tangles of my hair & touches my temples to fire." Clifford sends word that his father has died.

274. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 23 June 1893. "Stedman (Arthur) writes me of a projected English edition of L of G. As we have no copyrights there we cannot of course interfere with the proceeding though I could wish we might for a while control the issue. Walt's death stopped us from getting English copyrights." The next Conservator is ready to print after nine days' hard work by Traubel. Has met a young merchant, a theosophist and an admirer of Carpenter, esp his last book.

275. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 24 June 1893. Is glad to hear that Sixsmith is enjoying London. The English edition of Leaves of Grass is to be edited by Henley. What will that mean for the book? "I hope no vandal will ever re-arrange the Leaves. W sacredly charged against it."

276. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 25 June 1893. Dalmas, who has toothache, has been staying with the Traubels. He and Bucke are now great friends. "The book is now all in type except for a few papers on which we mean to insert briefer poems & notes. I look upon the bolume & say, behold it is good! It contains much over which Whitmanites may assuredly congratulate themselves." &c. Does not like Morris' translation of Sarragin. Bucke wanted to translate it but "Walt wanted us to use Morris".

277. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 26 June 1893. "I like your speech very much. It is true, Walt declared immortality – but it was an immortality that was as well here as hereafter. Any doctrine which withdrew us from Earth would be bad. The Evil & ill-adjustment needs to be transformed. We will give wings where they belong, but will not say that wings are better than feet. We will see everything doing its part. What we need greatly (?) to do is to infiltrate the spirit of the [powers? forces?] into the movements for popular reform going on in our time. Simply to use L of G for speculation would be folly. Through it must come profounder acceptivity – a grasp of the supernatural in what we generally think the transient...".

278. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 27 June 1893. Congratulations to Katharine Conway and her betrothed. "Anne says she is glad the man is not Wallace, because, good as she is, she is not good enough for him. Which is in no way to cheapen miss Conway but only to say that your worth is beyond price... Traubel's article to appear in next issue of Poet's Lore.

279. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 28-29 June 1893. Praises Wallace's speech, to be delivered shortly. "You do wisely to call attention to a heaven that may start now and here. Nothing of Walt could have meant to withdraw us from the present – to substitute any future for any present." Burroughs' Lippincott article is part of a
chapter of what will be his book on Whitman, although he is still undecided whether to publish it. Remarks on the Victoria tragedy.

280. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 30 June 1893. Has had to refuse an invitation for 4 July due to lack of funds. Bucke writes that he was impressed with Wallace's speech. "No doubt you will be able to make Walt potent in the labor movement in England." The last pages of the book have been typeset, p452 being the latest.

281. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 1 July 1893. Has spent an evening with Dalmas and family in Primos. His home seems suitably rustic, an isolated "hermitage", because it has not been "improved" in a long time. Wants further news of Enid Stacy. Ingersoll is going to Cincinnati. Has a short piece in the *New Age* Review.

282. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 2 July 1893. "It is truly our part to make hay while the sun shines. We will plant & plant. The harvest is sure. No day comes but I see new signs of the inevitable victory. It was our cause equally with Walt's in his life, and it is supremely our cause now he has gone. And we cannot narrow the intent of his gospel. Not a day but will prove that we name all men as our fellows, omitting no individual, no race. And we will break down tariffs and lines between nations so that it can no more be said of man that he deliberately hid himself from himself – that he was more interested in war & dissension than in peace & unity. How, then, dear Wallace, must I echo your conviction of the university opened by L of G! It is a heaven of worlds – an infinite space vital with life. And it belongs with us to hold fast to the ship while she sails, minding no star but that on which all tie their fates!"

283. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 3 July 1893, with an appended postscript Camden. 4 July as "earth's cause", not America's alone. "The lesson of America is in the unachieved not in what she has done...". Ingersoll praises "Cosmos" in *The Conservator*.

284. Anne M Traubel and H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4 July 1893. Belated thanks for Olive Schreiner's "Dreams". Gertrude is learning to say Wallace's name. Hopes for Wallace's eyes and Miss Conway's happiness: "I do not tender congratulations but hopes and faith". Greetings from Horace Traubel.

285. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 5 July 1893. Has sent material concerning Walt by Longaker to Johnston. Walt had apparently been reluctant to have any doctor and, having agreed to Longaker, was about to change his mind when that doctor arrived.

286. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 6 July 1893. A musician – not Dalmas – has written to Traubel to say that he has set some of Walt's songs to "melodies of a new make". "No book so qualifies the newest musical sense than Walt's. It helps and force (?) melody. Yet the commonalty wonder if he has any music at all. A man solemnly rose in a recent meeting at which I spoke and asked if I had "discovered any verbal beauties in Walt Whitman" – and to me "yes" &c., he seemed able to express nothing but surprise." Is to address some university students about Walt on Saturday afternoon.
287. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 7 July 1893. Physical description of Dalmas, who has heart trouble, is tall and thin, and has "the face of Dante plus cheer." Innes, by contrast, is heavy and stolid, with a teutonic drop. Looks forward to an edition of *L of G* in small volumes which will be what Walt used to call "carry-about-able"; meanwhile, a New England publisher has proposed a deluxe edition of *L of G*. Anne sends greetings.

288. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 July 1893. The English edition of *L of G* is to be edited by Henley. "What will he edit? The book should remain intact. Walt's final make (?) was such as to express his own charge that the book should remain in the form latest given it by his own hands & thought. Bucke always talked of rearranging the poems, chronologically. But to protect himself even against his friend Walt did as he did. The poems are in spiritual sequence, & he knew it. The little Stedman sampler takes them out of connection, puts the first last, puts the last first, and so on, omitting by the way the Adamic poems, so that instead of a representative volume, we've got a hodgepodge. Let us be careful. The dead Colossus is entitled to his integrity not less than as he lived."


290. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 10 July 1893. Hears from Wallace that Hulton (?) will perhaps be over this summer. Is sending some material as a sample of what will appear in the Layer (?) & Eldridge volume, which will soon be published. Autograph volume available to Wallace at the old price, or else he may wish to have the amount of an order charged [to the Whitman estate].

291. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to [Wallace and the whole] College, 11 July 1893. Is prevented from meeting them by time and money. "The temporal difficulties are serious. But our souls are one, … Walt called for a "church", and then he had a way of adding: "Woe to them if they build on a creed!" and you dare not! For the possession of a creed is the forfeit of Whitman! … It seems but earned that you should have insisted on the human, earthly side of the Whitmanic gospel. For because of heaven as well as in spite of it, life, as we know it here & now, deserves respect & must be transacted for its own final ends. A few of you gather together, from week to week, pledged to a lofty ideal & idea – sworn to the new earth, the future." Special love to Wild and Hodgkinson, Hulton & Greenhalgh, Sixsmith. The book is nearly finished and all orders should now be forwarded.

292. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 12 July 1893. Comments on [Henry S] Salt's introduction to his *Songs of Freedom*, which he thinks is excellent. Shelley, by contrast, "lacked in body". "But so much that we see in others by glimpses … we find in Walt full-rounded. It is our safety that Walt tied [?] to no one of the social philosophies … Non-commercialism [?] in doctrine allowed Walt full play for sympathy & comradeship".

293. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 13 July 1893. Thanks to Charles [Sixsmith] for papers sent. All well so far this summer. Is visiting Primos with Dalmas tomorrow.
294. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 16 July 1893. The Davis suit [?] is much in the papers. The claim is fraudulent. George meets it without hesitation. Mrs Davis has hurt herself by the transaction; it is unlikely the case will ever get to court. Harned expects a non-suit. "According to the law here her acceptance of the legacy bars her against further claim. She enters a bill dating from 1885 to 1892. From '85 to '88 Walt had no nurse – needed none – (for he went about himself with perfect ease) – and from 1888 on, when the need was evident, we furnished & paid the man. So you will see the thin texture of the claim. The nature of Mrs Davis' housekeeping was not such as to at any time compel respect. Mrs O'Connor & Mrs Johnston & Mrs Harned and other(s?) of the near friends of Walt were always protesting that it was our duty to get rid of Mrs Davis & see that Walt had quarters conducive to comfort and health. But for the desperate objection that we knew Walt would make we would never have submitted him in his sickness to her housekeeping, which we considered deleterious in the highest degree. I have no disposition to do Mrs Davis injustice. But she is a foolish woman at the least, & seems to have in some degree the notions of an adventuress. No lawyer upstanding would have taken her case. She went to a shyster-lawyer, a young Sledge [?], an arrant fool if not knave, onetime student of Harned, who can never have got the real facts from her or can never have told her, knowing the facts, that her claim was hopeless... Harned has given her notice to vacate the house.

295. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 17 July 1893. A son was born to them early that morning. Anne seems well. and sends her love. "The papers still harp on Mrs Davis and her suit. Strange! Walt was poor enough himself all his life – managed to die leaving a few thousand dollars (mostly gifts) – and now comes inevitable litigation. it is enough to stir up his poor dead bones. I think we will shortly get possession of the house. if we do we will repair it at once – put it into the best shape."

296. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 18 July 1893. Anne continues very well. Horace is writing a paper on "Beauty and Morality" for a meeting tomorrow. Asks for current portraits photographs of Wallace and Johnston. News of Bucke and Innes. Traubel may go to Chicago toward the end of Sept.

297. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19 July 1893. In two hours Traubel has written his address on "Beauty and Morality" of over 50 pages. "Thinking comes easy. I dip my pen in the ink & let the rest take care of itself. There is a self back of one's formal self which uses the external agents as media only. It is a mediumistic trait. I seem to have it in abundance and it quickly facilitates my labor." Anne and Gertrude continue well. Will see Mrs [Joseph] Fells and Dalmas before the meeting.

298. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 20 July 1893. Has received a portrait photograph from Ingersoll. Presses Wallace for a visit. Is putting the last touches on In Re.

299. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 21 July 1893. More on Mrs Davis. "She does not seem to realize that her attack both in its inspiration & mode – is made directly upon Walt. She is fact is blinded by her feeling & passion. As a reward she will get nothing in money & she will lose the respect of Whitman's
friends. Harned has been lugged into the papers but luckily I have been spared. All reporters coming to me are sent off dissatisfied..."

300. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 22 July 1893: "Sanborn writes me: "I see there is an unhandsome claim made for money by the nurse who took care of our old family; but I hope there is no basis for any charge of neglect Etc." – There is no basis – and there the thing rests. Mrs Davis has given Walt's enemies another chance to talk, but the talk of these enemies will only read to her disadvantage." Anne does quite well and sends greetings. Has been with Dalmas at Primos, where he and Miss Whinnery [?] sang.

301. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 23 July 1893. Has received letters from Johnston and also one from Sixsmith describing Miss Conway's husband [sic] [i.e. Bruce Glasier]. Wishes both well, "But frankly I am glad her husband is not named Wallace." Because he would then be more likely to be involved exclusively in the labor movement. Which he does not oppose, but which seems too narrow in scope for the wholesale revolution he envisages.


303. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 25 July 1893. Encouraging letter to Wallace, despite his troubles. "Dear Walt always spoke of "Solidarity", and would never abate of the dream that so possessed him. And he has passed the great principle on to us. This is why we cannot ally ourselves with any one measure of reform & abandon the rest. Walt reserves the world for a narrow provincialism." Anne's health seems to be improving.

304. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 26 July 1893. Has left Ingersoll's portrait and two manuscript copies of poems by Walt. Anne is still not well enough to write herself but sends greetings; the boy is yet unnamed.

305. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 27 July 1893. Send orders for In Re. Intends to print within the fortnight and ship copies by the last week in August. Intends paper and margins to be like Goodbye; the book must be handsome. "It cannot fail to have great spiritual & biographical value." Longaker is pleased with Wallace's and Johnston's response to his paper – particularly the latter. Brinton has a new book out.

306. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28 July 1893. Is going to visit Dalmas, who is ill, on his old Estate in Primos.

307. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 29 July 1893. Advance thanks for the Carpenter book, which has not yet arrived. Mrs Davis has gone quiet, but has not yet vacated the house.

308. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 30 July 1893. Anne's health seems to be improving. Innes is visiting, with his homing pigeons. These are set free and arrive in Philadelphia, where the Traubel family makes an extra trip "The pigeons are all
home – must have travelled the distance in about five minutes. The message was lost. It was a Whitman letter & autograph. Did it go up or down?"

309. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, 31 July 1893. The day of the University Excursion. To Harleigh by the 5pm train, then to Mickle Street, and finally to Harned's. The Harned family is away, but the guests will lunch at the house and be able to speak to Traubel &c, Nicolas Douty (?) is to sing songs. Dalmas, at the last moment, sends regrets – something half-expected in his case. Traubel's mother is quite ill – paralysis is feared.

310. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 1 Aug 1893. Sends reports of the excursion in *The Times* and *The Inquirer*, which are favourable, but full of errors. Traubel himself enjoyed it, and so, apparently, did the students.

311. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 2 Aug 1893. Various publishing projects frustratingly near completion. Miss Gilden has the whole manuscript for Casell & Co and has made Traubel no offer. Longaker fell off his bicycle and injured his arm.

312. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 3 Aug 1893. "Book is arrived. It is lovely. Let me send you my hearty thanks."Hopes to get *In Re* on the press next week.


314. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5 Aug 1893. Questions re Wallace's and Sixsmith's news of "the discharge of [Charles's] father". "Why sis the "squire" asks to have Charles expelled? For his interest in social [?]" Apparently Charles and father "would not submit to the ignominious declaration". Mentions Wallace's "Liverpool offer" and his refusal.

315. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 6 Aug 1893. Anne feels that Wallace should have gone to Liverpool; Traubel hopes he has made the right decision.

316. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 7 Aug 1893. The Burroughs book has arrived. Traubel has the key to the 328 house in my pocket. "George does not size up to the situation. He lacks the sentiment which would induce a gift of the residence for the estate to a trust. The house should be given up but we cannot make him see it."

317. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 Aug 1893. *In Re* is now typeset. Traubel has sent a galley proof of Walt's talk on universality with Ingersoll.

318. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9 Aug 1893. Praise from Innes for Morse (presumably for his bust of Walt); praise from Ingersoll for Traubel poem "A Face", quoted verbatim. "Did I tell you I had heard from Ingersoll about poem – "A Face" – which he says is as elemental & cosmic as Walt's? That he also speaks of it as "magnificent"? I am quite staggered. it hardly seems likely that the man's wonderful intellect is not misled here. Read the lines for yourself. You will not believe that I am in any sort carried away by the generosity of my friend? I feel always as if to shake my head over it. And yet I know I contain things which are worth while speech if they can ever be accomplished…".
319. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10 Aug 1893. Traubel to mail two copies of pocketbook edition [of ?]: one for Sixsmith and one for Katharine St John Conway. Is without domestic help; both he and Anne will be constrained until a replacement can be found. Traubel is working on the Aug Conservator.

320. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11 Aug 1893. Comments on Katharine Conway's retaining her maiden name, at least as a writer. Tries to read Bruce Glasier from his portrait.

321. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12 Aug 1893. Remarks on the difficulty of getting good domestic help. Threatens to dine in the Dalmas establishment, itself "not cultivated to extinction" but "rather virginal", if his own household problems remain unresolved. Innes is still in Chicago (at the Exhibition).

322. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 13 Aug 1893. Working hard on the book – quite a few serious errors have slipped past the page proofs stage and have got on to the plates. "In the last ed'n of L of G we made no less than 30 corrections … And even today I know of further errors which the thirty I mention did not include." Went to Primos (to Dalmas's house) as well as engaging a new domestic worker.

323. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14 Aug 1893. Is thinking of charging $3 instead of $2 for the book to non-subscribers. Wants to know more about Sixsmith's father: "Has he yet been replaced of found other haborage? I guessed the shy of the removal but you have not told me.

324. H L Traubel to J W Wallace and J Johnston, 15 Aug 1893. Not as interested in the Near Nation (?) as is Sixsmith. Greetings also to Johnston.

325. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 16 Aug 1893. The book will begin to be printed on Friday or Saturday. Meanwhile, Traubel is very busy with The Conservator. Gertrude is teething and Anne only slowly returning to health, so Traubel feels like the only vigorous member of the household. His mother has been ill all summer. Harned has just bought an immense house at Wayne Junction, Philadelphia, and Traubel's parents will set up house with them. "I see nothing of Warren & Mrs Davis. Harned got Warren a good job in Camden which he forfeited by misbehaviour. Say nothing of this – ".

326. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 17 Aug 1893. Has heard from Sixsmith about Wallace's renewed eye trouble. America's "financial situation is greatly strained. We even read of parades & meetings of the unemployed in New York. We seem caring to the point when some serious move must needs to be made towards the amelioration of the condition of the masses. The poor devils in Congress who think they can legislate virtue[?] in or out are no wise readers of nature – human or external." Is very anxious about his mother, who is very ill. See story in new number of The Conservator. The price of In Re definitely to go up to $3.00 except for original subscribers.

327. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 18 Aug 1893. Harned has returned to Camden with his family. Bucke is off to Gloucester Pools. In Re about to go to Press. Needs
more copy to fill *The Conservator*. Owes Sixsmith (especially) notes, but too busy to comply at present.

328. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19 Aug 1893. Innes has returned from Chicago. The children are well and "Anne builds up splendidly. All will be well with us now, I hope." The book to go to press Monday morning – was unexpectedly delayed.

329. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, 20 Aug 1893. Is about to have tea with John Henry Mackay, "the great German social writer" and Tucker, both en route to Chicago. "They are both handsome men and I am sure I am in for a good feast of soul." Has inscribed a copy of *L of G* for Mackay.

330. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 21 Aug 1893. Enjoyed meeting Mackay, although his English is deficient. Mackay doesn't think highly of the norgz-Rollerton translations into the German. Thinks *L of G* will have an effect on the German nation. Is a friend of Rudolf Schmidt.

331. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 22 Aug 1893. "Tucker told me that the book did not pay". He does not think the New York riots will last. But Tucker is over logical; yet while he disclaims idealism he is the most idealistic of men. *The Conservator* is being printed.


333. H L Traubel, 23 Aug 1893. Typed call for subscriptions, in view of the paper's increased size, on *Conservator* letterhead. Signed by Traubel.


335. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 30 Aug 1893. The book is at the bindery. Cannot ship Wallace copies promptly as his orders have not been received. Will ship in bulk instead to Bucke in Canada. Need to sell 700 to pay expenses. Subscriptions amount to approx. 300.

336. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 31 Aug 1893. "We have called the boy "Wallace" and we anticipate that his next of name on the other side of the sea will adequately wish him well." Postscript: "Do you see *Seed-Time*? I think Havelock Ellis edits it...".

337. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 1-3 Sept 1893. Pleased about the forthcoming notice for the book in *The Inquirer*, which promises "disclosures – as if some exciting disclosures were to be made". "I have allowed one of their staff to examine & excerpt from my plate & proffgs. No sheets ready to give out yet". He will cull the more personal matter. "The *Inquirer* is not as a paper warmly for W W but this young man – Upton O Jefferys – is in many ways loyal to Walt's memory & future."

338. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4 Sept 1893. Plans for a Whitman concert. Dalmas has completed four or five pieces and has several more in process. Douty [?] has
eight. Cauffman is said to have soaked up the Death Carol successfully. Miss Cook has several, including "My Captain!". "This book, which has been accused of being without music, will be the future's best inspiration to melody."

339. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 5 Sept 1893. A succession of obstacles has prevented the completion of the book. "The boy is Wallace. Honor to you, wherein we may fitly proclaim honor. He thrives – has a blue eye, is active & strong, and grows in our favor day by day!"

340. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 6 Sept 1893. Reporting a meeting on vegetarianism, the need to abolish vivisection. "Ingersoll is ardently opposed to vivisection."

341. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 7 Sept 1893. McKay is back in town, says L of G is selling well. He has some copies of In Re in paper covers, in indifferent paper – and I mean to mail you a copy within a few days."

342. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 Sept 1893. Going to Chicago on 25 or 26 Sept to stay for a week. Will see the Great Exposition. "The main point is, that we should realize what it all leads out to.” Bad blunder by printers requires a reprint of four pages, which will delay the book into next week.

343. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9 Sept 1893. Ingersoll's daughter has had a second child, a son. "Who does well, in the early part of Aug? This is the second child." The four pages have now been reprinted and the whole is with the binder.

344. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 10 Sept 1893. Has had letters from Wallace and Sixsmith, Sixsmith describing his trouble (?). Will send 20-30 books as soon as possible. The children are well. Dalmas went away ill abut a week ago but writes encouragingly of himself.

345. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 23 Sept 1893. "Dear Wallace: Do not fear but we hold you near us, and in our child Wallace meant to honor you and your noble friendship Never be apologetic. You stand on your own feet & by a right which no man can dispute. All will justify your pride. Nothing can excuse abasement. So I do send you our love again. The Scott's Wallace is not ours."

346. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 24 Sept 1893. Off to Chicago tomorrow and finding it hard to prepare himself to take a holiday. 40 copies of the book to be shipped to Wallace.


349. H L Traubel, Chicago, to J W Wallace, 27 Sept 1893. Is staying with Fels and his wife, but shall move to a house closer to the Fair. Morse not in town. Feels excited to be in Chicago.
350. H L Traubel, Chicago, to J W Wallace, 28 Sept 1893. Is thrilled by his visit. Morse is there, after all, and unchanged in his cheerfulness. Traubel went to the Fair alone.

351. H L Traubel, Chicago, to J W Wallace, 29 Sept 1893. Has spent two days at the Fair. Spiritually uplifted by the lack of hard commercialism. "The word is put up & men but reap & sow in amity. Could I but give you [a] picture of lake & grounds! The long stretch of blue – the city of lights, busy with its thousand seekers – the flush of good feeling on every hand. I find myself admiring of the great effects – the imperial contrasts & harmonies of color; and there is architectural splendor which excites me to reminiscence & hope. California Idaho & other of the states have buildings characteristic of their origin & history – flavors [?] of the fair / I have looked at them long & loving. Indiana has had its day & I have heard Harrison speak. He is much greyer & stouter than when I saw & spoke with him in 1899."

352. H L Traubel, Chicago, 30 Sept 1893. Tomorrow he leaves for home. "But what a great help it has been to me to run off & see this great place & to know what it may mean for the future of America. I have only attended the business sessions of the convention & let the speaking go as far as possible." After lunch with the Fels will have one last visit to the Fair.

353. H L Traubel, Chicago, to J W Wallace, 1 Oct 1893. Will begin the journey at 3.15 pm. Salter left last night, to sail for England tomorrow, to begin a lecture tour. Sorry to leave; sorry too that Anne had to stay at home.

354. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 2 Oct 1893. Just home at 8.45 pm. Looking forward to reading Seed-Time [sent by Wallace?], esp Noe's article on Symonds. Hasn't had a reply from Margaret Symonds in response to his letter of the summer. "Strange to say Bucke has not written me for ten days. This is the longest break in six years."

355. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 3 Oct 1893. "There were a couple of letters from Ingersoll in my absence. Both are full of his royal faith & courtesy. You can hardly realize from your distance the powerful notion [?] of this man. Walt's confidence & admiration were not misplaced. The book has been praised. "Our longer hope is that it may do the cause much good. Kennedy wrote that the vol is "meaty" but does not feel disposed to be thoroughly friendly somehow. We have long been at a loss to explain his attitude post Walt's death. It is different from former characteristics."

356. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 5 Oct 1893. "Bucke's silence rather disturbs me. He had not indicated any possibility of his going away, and, in fact, I do not think he would go beyond my reach, and wish to be absolutely closed to the current of information which I keep sending his way without first speaking of it to me." Harned & his family left for Chicago yesterday, for about a week. "The Davis case will not come up until the January term. I am glad. I wish I could personally escape all participation. There is horror & disgust in it for me. I hate treachery."

357. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 6 Oct 1893. "I am curious to know what you have to say in the nature of criticism of Bucke's C C You say you would criticise it
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

sharply. So would I. But B would say of me, or of anything that I would say, that as I do not engage [?] with his sphefic insight, I am incapable of judging whether his statements have any value or are worthless. Bucke lacks in imagination. He has not the entrance-pass to the inner temple. Imagination is the world-key. Bucke does his 'folly' when he does it by virtue (or by vice!) of his provincial intellectualism. It is not intellect that ships for the longest voyage. It is a tower for which words have no cover [?]. Do I err & talk evilly? Well – I love you!'

358. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 7 Oct 1893. Re Morse: "He is a living fact – not a creation of fancy. But he really proved a great bore to Walt, who, towards the ends of the marque's mint [??], could hardly contain himself. The former had hands but no tact. He did not take in the lay of the ground. Walt said of him once to me – "He is mixed good & bad – like all the rest of us, for the matter of that! But he has a side which tries me."

359. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 Oct 1893. Is working hard to catch up His mother has been ill again. She is brave and calm.


361. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10 Oct 1893. A number of musicians are setting Whitman's poems to music: Miss [?] Cook, Dalmas, Docety [Douty?], Cauffmann, all local. "Dalmas strikes highest and with most originality & vigor." All sing also.


363. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12 Oct 1893. Anne corroborates yesterday's reassurances. She is very well, although very busy and her correspondence lags behind. Hard to recognise himself in the virtues of his children. Busy with The Conservator.

364. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 13 Oct 1893. Hopes the book will justify itself financially. Spiritually, it is self-justifying in that it will introduce some new readers to Whitman. Poor response from the Press, who concentrate on the book's appearance rather than its content. Yet "some of these supercilious fellows realize that we look upon Walt with other than literary eyes. In Re was not written for literary effect. it was written to tell a story – written for the story & its Hamlet."

365. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14 Oct 1893. Enclosing a Sun editorial. Doesn't understand French hatred of the English. Also the "greater America, which includes all." Supports Home Rule. McKay writes that he had his valise stolen in Chicago. It contained the mss. of all his writing for three years.

366. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 15 Oct 1893. Sixsmith sent the Liverpool Pulpit and the Labour Prophet. "If my time were my own I would sing him a song – I would touch his heart – I would make him see that I am grateful." The Harned's returned from Chicago yesterday. To clarify a photo sent: Gertrude's eyes are blue.
367. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 16 Oct 1893. Acknowledges compliments about Gertrude. Busy with *The Conservator* again. Sorry that the books have not yet arrived. Bucke took two weeks to get his. He is full of praise for its beauty. McKay's book, *the Anarchists*, is out, as is C Wagners' *Youth*. Is sending the *Farmers' Tribune*, a populist paper in the west. What is the fate of Home Rule? "When will England cease its puppet-show & drown its queens & aristocrats?"

368. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17 Oct 1893. Dismayed to hear of Wallace's repeated complaints about his health. Both Anne and he want him to come to America to mend. Wallace does well not to dwell on his troubles. Dalmas worsens his illness by dwelling on it and regales his friends with it too.

369. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 18 Oct 1893. The NY world has received the book well, and now the Boston *Traveller* is taking notice. Sorry that your books are taking a long time. "Do not judge me harshly for the changes in *The Last Days*." Bucke feels taxed by the bureaucracy of his office. The boy Wallace is full of vivacity.


**REEL 5:**


373. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 22 Oct 1893. Dalmas is visiting. Has been ill and speaks of going to Florida. Has been seeing Dr Weir Mitchell, specialist in nervous diseases. His illness is deep-seated and incurable. *The Conservator* is in type. "I am not popular with our lecturers. I think Salter likes me but I am sure the others do not". It's the non-partisanship of the paper that has caused this.


375. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 24 Oct, 1893. Baby Wallace prospers. "Tomorrow is set for the trial, but Judge Pancoart [?]. George's counsel, will move for a postponement; on the ground that important witnesses for the defense cannot be got ready by that time."
376. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 25 Oct 1893. "Pancoats [sic] motion was allowed. Mrs Davis was in court with Mrs Heller, Ingram & Harry Fritzinger. Ingram seems to be Mrs Davis' chief adviser. But he is a fool – friendly [?] as the same will show. Ingram has heart but no head. He fails to perceive that this case is one against W W – against no one else. Carrow, Mrs D's lawyer, fought hard against postponement. But Garrison (you know his speech in Camden's Compliment?) deferred to Pancooart's [sic] desire. Thus the matter goes over to January. I grieve that it need ever be revived. But what passes must harm [?]."

377. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 26 Oct 1893. Proposes a series of Whitman meetings for the winter, and wants to make them superior to those held last winter. Brinton is lecturing in New York, but Traubel hopes he will speak on Whitman at the first meeting. "Brinton is profound in his field tho' his field is not the universal, He & Bucke are intellectualists and get all that intellect can give. But beyond intellect, there's another world, & that they do not see. They are both without music. The far reach of song is not of their ken. Brinton is a profound Browningite. He is held in high esteem by the Browning Society here. He lectures in this city & East & west on every imaginable subject. his range is very great. There is a spice on the provincial in Bucke. He lives off there alone & fails to see world factors which perhaps do the most for our expanding civilization. He has not half the respect that he should have for woman. His wife is herself narrow & dull & he sees all women in her likeness. Walt always found his finest specimen in woman & Bucke fails altogether to see the wondrous life that opens up through the female nature. His conception of C C [Cosmic Consciousness] is limited by this fact strangely and by that other fact of his deficient imagination. He has his theory in intellectual grasp but misses his best phenomena [sic] by not having eye [sic] to see it. I do not blame him. I lament it."

378. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 27 Oct 1893. Has been asked to read Bucke's paper on Cosmic Consciousness before the Theosophical Society in Philadelphia. The paper to be the basis for further discussion. Doesn't intend to take his instructions too literally. Spiritual truth is what counts.

379. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 28 Oct 1893. Comments on the Liverpool Post, in which there is evidently an article on L of G: "He fails to see the cosmic nature which possesses L of G and will account for what seems to the general world vanity & vain glory ... Nature compels us to a proper self-regard but does not utter the word of Eternity or tend to drive men against each other. We will value self for what it may further but not demand that the world shall minister to our personal pleasures."

380. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 29 Oct 1893. Reassures Wallace that nothing has happened to the books, which still have not arrived. Verso: form letter eliciting financial support for The Conservator.

381. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 30 Oct 1893. Will need to send someone to search for the missing books. Despite error in address, they should have reached Wallace by now. Harned is going to move to Wayne Junction, with Traubel's parents, which will leave Traubel quite alone. "I love Camden, and Harned does not... The city is sacred to me – more near my heart than all the historic places of earth."

383. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 1 Nov 1893. Glad Wallace has the book at last. Some discussion of terms for dealers. The *Post's* review misses the main point, but means well. Anne will write in a few days; after spending all day with the children she is too tired at night to write.

384. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 2 Nov 1893. Interested in Keir Hardie's paper. "I am quite sure that on the whole your labor papers beat ours. The *New Nation*, which I often send you, is dry & hopeless in its color & tone & I am quite sure it does not affect seriously the life of America. I read Gladstone's Midlothian speech & liked its lively [?] tone. I should say that political & social England has every reason for hope. Enough of you are awake to keep the wheel steady. Bye & bye the port and happiness. I am just as much interested in your prosperity as in our own."

385. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 3 Nov 1893. Visited by [J H] Johnston in the bank two days ago. "I found him rather cautious in what he said of the Davis suit, as if there was in him some latent sympathy for the woman. Perhaps I am in error. They are about to close their house & live with Holbrook, of the *Herald of Health*. Ingersoll is lecturing in the west. I have just read of a vast house addressed by him in Chicago. I grieve to think that you may never hear him…".

386. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4 Nov 1893. Went with Willie and John Aston to a DePachman concert last evening, which was very moving. The Liberty Bell was due back in town today, but the schoolchildren's scheduled viewing had to be deferred due to stormy weather. Princeton won football match between Princeton and University.

387. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5 Nov 1893. Willie and Eddy Innes and Brown, of *The Conservator* came for tea, with a young musician called Wilson. Willie is happy to have received Wallace's letter yesterday. Bucke has written at length to complain of "being in the dumps in money matters. His meter is without a place, it would seem." metier?

388. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 6 Nov 1893. "I found that Chadwick has been writing about our volume in the *Christian Register*, the great Unitarian newspaper published from Boston. He has owed me a grudge because of my controversy with him in *The Conservator*, so he here strives to pay off the debt, doing so at the expense of the volume & of all concerned in its making. This is not criticism, of course. I cannot be refuted by having my brains knocked out with a club. The whole notice is vile, and takes my mind back to the days, I think in the early Eighties, when O'Connor found it necessary to flay Chadwick in the *New York Tribune*. The *Register* itself has always seemed to taboo or despise W W, at whose death it wrote one of the meanest things that appeared anywhere in America – a fling so mean that in a spirit of cowardice it was forced in effect to supersede by a softlier paragraph the week following [sic]. When they received our volume
they took good care to pass it over to their most hostile man. Chadwick professes to be friendly to Walt & to speak as he does in his defense. But those of us who know the inner facts know that the attack is meant for me – that it represents an opportunity embraced to even up with my old criticism of Chadwick. It has interested me a good deal for its confirmation of Walt's own words to the effect that the battle is but just begun, & that we will for long be required in the fight. All is well. The old Liberty bell was brought back to Phila today. The whole town was in the streets. It was an inspiring scene."

389. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 7 Nov 1893. Happy with the Bulletin's report of the book. Tomorrow "our section" [of the Ethical Society] discusses "Theosophy & Evolution". "Wayland Smith, who has the opening paper, is strongly an adherent of W W and usually quotes him with effect. I love to have the people on this Occidental continent awake to their debt to the Orient. East & West are companions, hand in hand, and they should ever travel together. I think Carpenter's book is greatly helpful in the right direction...".

390. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 Nov 1893. Emphatic Republican victory at yesterday's elections. "The people are afraid of free trade & the revenue tariffs. They see only evil ahead of them. As they are so ignorant, they are just by so much cowards. They fear abstractions & have not sympathy enough to feel a lively interest in the welfare of the general world....". McKinley in Ohio and Pennsylvania are both soundly Republican. Manufacturing states are supportive of a high tariff. Complains of difficulty and necessity of educating the present generation. Eventually, however, "you will get Home Rule for Ireland & we will get free trade for America. ... and in the end we will see that much which weakness despair of strength may achieve. The real blood of a country flows not in veins of flesh."

391. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9 Nov 1893. Morris has promised a notice in the Literary World, and Garland will write one for the Arena. All his friends have condemned the notice in the Register. Ingersoll is back from the west. Is coming to Camden to work with Bonsall on the Post. "All is well. Anne goes to a concert tonight & I shall stay at home with the children."

392. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 10 Nov 1893. Both he and Anne have received a letter from Wallace today. Is just home from Roxboro (suburb of Philadelphia) at midnight and feeling worn out. Had taken a package of letters "to and concerning Walt" which interested his friends, even "though they are by no means ardent lovers of Walt & really only stand doubtingly today on the threshold of L of G, knowing not whether to enter or retreat. Thousands are in the same attitude of mind, but in the end we will win all of them over – win at least the sound men & let the next pass on their ignorance. Daylight will not always come to all, but the growth of a few generations of objections may eventuate in universal insight...". Has a letter from Salter, who is in London. Presumes Wallace cannot meet him. "The ways of friends & congenial souls are too often pated. I look for invention to decrease our difficulties year by year. In the end we will shake hands across the sea. I do not know how it can be done but I know it will be done...". In any case plans to go to the Paris Exposition in 1900. "We must not defer our schemes till the night, nor must we let fate reduce us to childhood."
393. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 11 Nov 1893. "You tell me of a change in *Last Days* which will be made in future editions should such even be called for. Just now the outlook is gloomy & the sale of books does not begin to pay expenses. Let me have such money as you collect from time to time so that we may turn it over to the printer, who should have it –".

394. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12 Nov 1893. "Morris may print a vol of poets thro' Lippincott." Doesn't think much of his published verse thus far. "It is one thing to write for the market – it is another thing to write from the heart." Laws' poems are harshly reviewed in the States – makes too much of dialect and too little of "what is really poetic & strong".

395. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 13 Nov 1893. Brinton to speak at the Contemporary Club (Philadelphia) tomorrow, plus Cope and others. Sale of Walt's book has fallen off greatly this year, though is it beyond what it was in his lifetime. "We find George Whitman very narrow & almost grasping. They are hungry for this paltry few hundred dollars yet were content in his lifetime to leave him in the hands of his friends."

396. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14 Nov 1893 (emended in pencil from 14 Sept 1893). Love to Charlie [Sixsmith] who continues to be ill. Nostalgic about Walt's queries about Club nights. "It seems that even Chadwick's friends think he made a mistake in that attack on me. It certainly showed him up in a rather bad light. Mud may stick to princes."

397. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 15 Nov 1893. Brinton spoke poorly – or, rather, indifferently. The group has decided on a Re-Union meeting for December and Frank Williams will speak, then there will be a dinner at Reisser's. "Brinton has consented to address us *in extenso* some time in the winter on W W. He has never done this, tho' Walt was always anxious to have him do it." Anne, Gertrude and the baby all well. Anne sends her love. She is disappointed that Miss Conway never answered her letter.

398. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 16 Nov 1893. "Morris calls Chadwick's attack upon me 'dirty'." Asks about his reaction to the Oct issue of *Poet Lore*, with Traubel's article in it. "I am hoping to hear from you that you like it though I am prepared for your disgust." Please send copy of paper Wallace is writing when it gets into print. Could Wallace write an article for Traubel entitled "Virtue and the Poets"? Cait [?] says that Whitman is *not* the poet of democracy – that that poet is not yet come tho' foreshadowed by George Eliot. Absurd man!"

399. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 17 Nov 1893. Thanks for *The Guardian*. Is Charlie still ill? The Traubel family is well, esp himself, which is as well as there is no time to "sit by & suffer & call in the doctor."

400. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 18 Nov 1893. Gilchrist in Philadelphia next week. Traubel doesn't think he'll make a great splash in the British art world. "Burroughs is painfully disappointed in his Cleopatra." Postscript: "Gilchrist is such a good fellow I wish he painted better pictures –".
401. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19 Nov 1893. Has heard from Carpenter. He elects Bucke's *Cosmic Consciousness* and Traubel's *Walt Whitman at Date* as the best things in the book. No two readers seem to have the same reaction. "I find that few people understand the book. They interpret it as the clamor of egotism & false worship, & fail to catch the thread which to us was first & last & is our explanation & excuse. It is the literary atmosphere which requires [?] judgement. We will go on, never dreading the cries of those who lounge along the wayside."

402. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 20 Nov 1893. Received another copy of *The Guardian*. England has resolved its strike, but one is brewing in America. US papers generally not sympathetic to working men. only the *Sun* discusses the English strike. Met Gilchrist, Miss Refflier and Morris at the Academy, where Gilchrist is lecturing on Early English painters. His Cleopatra was in the exhibition but it was too dark for him to see it that afternoon.


404. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 22 Nov 1893. Has read Morley's speech in Lancashire and interested in Gladstone, who "love great good in spite of his compromises...". His maintaining of power is a testimony of England's good sense. Recommends a kind of idealistic opportunism. Is sending American papers for the sake of comparison. The Lebigh [?] strike is attracting attention in the East, and Cleveland's Hawaiain demonstration has assumed national, if not international, importance. "Cleveland seems to have made a moral move, wherefore I respect his action. But the average American cannot get beyond his antiquated patriotism and therefore cannot understand & condemns the pacifier of the administration. *The NY Times* stands almost alone in defense of the strikers, although the *Ledger* feebly echoes its position. I send the *Ledger*."  

405. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 23 Nov 1893. Has heard from Salter in London, who regrets not having the time to visit Wallace. He is to go to Berlin to lecture, with his lecture to be translated by an interpreter. In London he lectured on "Socialism & Ethical Culture". Traubel feels sure that Wallace will agree with the gist of it. "My own feeling is so averse to any extension of governmental functions that state Socialism always excites my distrust. Co-operation is legitimate enough and it will grow from less to greater. But we should have some alternative for its exercise apart from the control of the state. Salter is individualistic, too, & even in this address, hints at the objection I feel. By the way, the *Chronicle* interests me. It is radical and democratic. I read in Keir Hardie's paper the account of the strike of miners & the butchery by the troops. All that is tragic and will exact measure for measure in the end. Did ever men or states do evil with infinity? I think not. Nemesis guards the portal well, & every corner much yield his darling to [?] that spot." Family is well. "Gertrude knows your picture on the wall & points it out to our visitors."

was so touched that he almost embraced me." When he was robbed in Chicago, the book was in his stolen satchel. Traubel sent him a duplicate, which he was overjoyed to receive. "Perhaps you may wish to write to him. he loves W W, & is a handsome fellow –."

407. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 25 Nov 1893. Gilchrist's address on "Early English Painters" acknowledges Whitman's influence on the modern world of art. "He talks more nearly the true gospel than he paints." His Cleopatra is "weak".

408. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 26 Nov 1893. The Innis family came for lunch: mother, father, Ed and Will. Traubel to spend the afternoon with some of them, probably to visit Fels at Tioga. Has sent In Re to Manchester Guardian. Wants suggestions for other English papers. No really good notice in America, although Garland is to write it up for the Arena. Innis to write to Charlie [Sixsmith] this evening.

409. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 27 Nov 1893. Fels and his wife visited this evening, and the four have visited Ketler, who lives close by. Gilchrist has left Philadelphia, Salter is on his way back from London. Harned is doing the final bit organizing of his move out of Camden, although he will retain his office. "Harned would be a happier man if he cared less for houses & goods. I find him prevailingly restless & dissatisfied."

410. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28 Nov 1893. Has just received news that his mother has had another attack ("nervous or semi-paralytic"), while visiting his sister at Germantown. Although Harned urges Traubel to leave Camden, Traubel feels his talk is to complete the work he has marked out for himself. "It means years of devotion. What else does one get out of life? The spirit must not be burdened with excess of goods [foods?]."

411. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 29 Nov 1893. His mother is better. Has visited her in Germantown. Harned has now moved to lower Germantown, near Clifford. Burroughs does not think Traubel should have included the 1873 letters in In Re, although most others seem especially interested in these.

412. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 30 Nov 1893. Has just received from Johnston the Manchester Guardian for 21 [Nov] containing the notice of In Re. Plus letter from J W W and a paper from Charlie. A straightforward review and commendable in that. But Traubel still feels misunderstood by those who expect a literary book. "The scholar is so accustomed to books which aim rather at expression than matter that to them the creation of a book for other ends seems unworthy or mysterious. I am quite free to acknowledge that my own part in the volume is insignificant & hopelessly vain. But there is other matter which more than makes up for what mine may lack... [T]hey do not understand me &... they fail to grasp the immense proportions of Walt's personality as they spread out in cosmic grandeur. This is necessary to the understanding of our book. Until this is seen the book will seem solonial emrely with exaggeration & absurdity. I may be mistaken in my methods – and may be mistaken in the idea that I can aid the cause at all – (Am I all too vain & emboldened?) – but I am convinced that the principle for which we contend is so tremendous & revolutionary that no word of applause
can be too warm – too highly colored. … It transpires that the Guardian review is in fact an "attack". Reviewer cannot grasp the emotion that underlies the venture.

413. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 1 Dec 1893. Francis Howard Williams is to address a forthcoming Whitman meeting. [J H] Johnston has been over again from New York, chiefly to collect money from debtors. Traubel's mother continues to improve. Thanks for Wallace's remarks re Traubel's contribution in *Poet Lore*. Does Wallace read Traubel's "Collect" in *The Conservator*?

414. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 2 Dec 1893. Asking for any contribution from Wallace towards Traubel's printer's bill for *In Re*. Salter, still on the high seas, is pleased with his trip. Has raised his opinion of English Socialists even higher.

415. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 3 Dec 1893. Is sending a copy if the *Literary World* "in which Morris has a note on Whitman's treatment of the manuscript of his [Donnozin?] translation. I told him that "spiteful" was badly used, & he has admitted that all right. He tells me that his note is badly cut & that the linking of Walt & Dawson was done by the Editor. The whole thing is rather small. Unless Morris could have done better than this he should have refrained from comment. Law's book gets only hostility here from the press. The *Athenaeum* was cruel. Did you see it?" Postscript: "I have not heard from Bucke for a fortnight – nor have I written him in that time. The hiatus is dreadful! I have been busy beyond all precedent."

416. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5 Dec 1893. Objects to the *Guardian*'s criticism of Ingersoll's "Syrea" phrase. Ingersoll particularly liked it and so did Walt. Not surprised at the criticism of himself (Traubel). "Sorry for what you tell me of Hardie. I hoped he would prove amenable to your influence & really take Walt to his heart."

417. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 7 Dec 1893. [Joseph] Fels had hoped to send Charlie [Sixsmith] something in England, but this will not now be possible. Morse's magazine lacks way behind its date. Morse is full of ideas, but powerless to fulfil them. "I am sure you must be happy when you contemplate your powerful influence in reaching common minds & hearts." Warns Wallace to be careful of his eyesight.

418. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 Dec 1893. Has sent a couple of pamphlet copies of Altgeld's defense of his pardon of the Chicago Anarchist. Altgeld has become "exceedingly unpopular" in America, and will probably lose the next election.

419. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9 Dec 1893. Traubel's mother is well again. Harned is settling in well in Germantown. Fels may travel to England, in which case, Wallace can expect a visit.

420. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10 Dec 1893. Fels is to go to England. Traubel forwards his London address. Is enclosing a message of condolence for Hodgkinson re the death of his child. Ingersoll to lecture in New York.

421. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11 Dec 1893. Comments on the bombing of the French Chamber of Deputies. Regrets the means to an end that he implies is otherwise noble. Only when freedom of speech is denied might it be necessary to
resort to other weapons. Salter's speech yesterday was excellent. He spoke about the English general public's "more sympathetic … attitude towards the working-classes than the same public could be here." Salter very admiring of the *London Chronicle*.

422. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12 Dec 1893. Wallace can expect Fels before the New Year. "Long [Longaker?] has been in to see me. I am afraid his sympathies are rather with Mrs Davis. It makes me shrink from meeting him." Perhaps Howells will give a lecture (for the Contemporary Club?), something he has never attempted before. He wants to present the ideas in his new essay, entitled "Liberty", before the public.

423. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 13 Dec 1893. "I have sent copies of Altgelds' [sic] statement to Carpenter, Johnston & Sixsmith as well as to you." He is condemned in America by all who hold to the orthodoxies in social philosophy. "Today's papers tell us the England will start in upon new expenditure for ironclads, devoting forty or more millions of dollars to that object. Who pays the war bills? This is barbaric. The shadows of the wilderness are not yet escaped.

424. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, 14 Dec 1893. Wallace's letters are too apologetic. Traubel supports Cleveland over the matter of Hawaii, although this is probably not the majority view. He receives the *Truth* from his neighbour Laurenson, from Lancs.

425. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15 Dec 1893. If Wallace cannot read the papers Traubel sends please pass them on to Johnston, Sixsmith or any other. Or else please say if it seems pointless for Traubel to send them. "I desire you to get some living notion of our public feeling. I notice that the English papers only cursorily allude to us – indeed, often do so in a weak & unsatisfactory spirit… You must not judge my political views by any of the papers I send. I am independent of all…".

426. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 16 Dec 1893. "Burroughs says of Chadwick's review of *In Re*: "It is very clever, – & spunkey. [?] I have written to him inquiring whether he agreed with J W C. I think he does – sorry's the day. Chadwick remembers his fight with me & the historic lampooning which O'Connor once inflicted upon him. The matter is clear in itself, perhaps – but as a picture, in review, "of the volume I see no sign of cleverness." [quote from review?] Will send Chadwick's review.

427. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17 Dec 1893. Is sending a copy of the *Sunday Press* containing an article on Whittier in which Walt receives considerable mention. Frank Williams had the notion that after Walt's death he would for a period "fall to disuse" – eventually issuing into light again for permanent & transcendent fame. But it is evident that the world's interest in him does not in the least sleep or decrease." Has received another copy of Hardie's paper, either from Wallace or Sixsmith. Ingersoll writes from New England where he has been lecturing.

428. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 18 Dec 1893. "Burroughs writes: "I think Chadwick was right from the Chadwickian point of view. You must admit his notice was cleverly done. To those not initiated into the mysteries of the Whitman cult, W W
is open to that kind of criticism. He seemed inordinately fond of praise. His self-advertising was a shock to many people. I myself would have had him above that sort of thing; tho' I see how it all came about. When he retired into himself & wrote his poems he was a god; when in his idle moments he faced the indifference of the public he was often a child. Printer's ink had infected his blood. His foibles were those of a great man. I am re-vising & re-shaping my ms about him – mostly burning it up Symonds has gone much deeper into some parts of the poem than I can. Mostly burning it up! well – that much for what was probably the best part of his ms – why should a man fear his enthusiasms? " & 'This protests against Chadwick so weakly that it becomes an endorsement".


431. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 21 Dec 1893. "The Dial (Chicago) is reputed [?] to sue [send?] our printer an adverse notice of our book. We are in a fair way to the achievement of universal condemnation. I am always on unpopular sides and would hardly know what it meant to receive plaudits. I do not feel that we are understood…".

432. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 22 Dec 1893. Walt always felt himself to be embattled. When told "All opposition is now dead", he would respond, "The opposition is only commenced. … Do not be deceived – do not let yourself be over-persuaded or quieted. You know our object & you must not stop short of them. This is not the last stage but the first. You fellows who will do the human work must stand apart from professional men, who engage for quite other occupation. … This is for long & long – perhaps a hundred years yet."

433. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 23 Dec 1893. Has been on the streets "watching the thousands interested in Christmas." Mostly inspiring, but has also witnessed poverty. Has decided not to write to Burroughs specially re his criticism – will do so casually on another occasion. "I hope you will not think I am heartless if I ask that you send me such money as you have already collected on the books. Our printer is generous – but we should pay him."

434. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 24 Dec 1893. Had intended to visit the Innes's as a family, but trip postponed till tomorrow. "It is hard to get the children ready." Has received money order from Charlie [Sixsmith] for The Conservator. Thanks also for the Guardian. "The Dial's notice of In Re in reported to me as severe. I have not yet seen it."

435. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 25 Dec 1893. Has heard from Charlie. Bucke has had the flu for two weeks but is now recovered. The carriage is waiting to take the family to Philadelphia. Will stay with Inness's till tomorrow, then on to Tioga. May not get back to Camden till the end of the week. Reeder is dangerously ill with typhoid fever.
436. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 26 Dec 1893. Thanks for Christmas greetings. Grieves for Hodgkinson's loss. Thanks to all for financial aid to The Conservator. Will remain at Tioga & enjoy a long visit with his mother, not unwell at present. Has received a "loving & lovely" letter from Mrs Fairchild.

437. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 27 Dec 1893. Fears for Reeder's life. Longaker also is "much exercised". Enjoying another issue of the Guardian. Ingersoll not to lecture in Philadelphia. Traubel remarks on down town's being "a conservative holding & our academy treated him shamefully." Any new purchasers of In Re? Johnston's daughter May has typhoid fever. She is in London.


439. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 29 Dec 1893. "Reeder loved Walt & was faithfully my friend through thick & thin." Will be buried in the Quaker burial ground "far north in the hills, up the Delaware. … I have lost a real friend. Longaker says: 'He has gone ahead – that is all' –".

440. H L Traubel, "At the Bank" [i.e. Philadelphia?], to J W Wallace, 30 Dec 1893. "Closing up day" at the bank – probably won't get home until midnight. Longaker very much broken up by Reeder's death. The Dial takes care of (?) Burroughs far what he had to say of Walt – e.g. the phrase "whoever he be" carried a sting. Notes Gladstone's birthday. "What are Carpenter's relations with William Morris? Tell me."

441. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 31 Dec 1893. Thanks for letter with sketch of Hardie. "I shall quote this in The Conservator, not using your name in connection with it … You should pay your members of Parliament. Meanwhile, constituencies should take care of their representatives [sic] incomes where members are poor … I call the book a success. We have done what we started out to do."

441A. Envelope, printed Horace L Traubel, Camden, New Jersey.

442. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 1 Jan 1894. Eulogy for Reeder and description of his burial, close to the house in which he was born.

443. H L Traubel to J W Wallace (?), 10 Jan 1894. Traubel is to attend Judge Pancoart's office on the following morning with all the papers relating to the Whitman case. [Note that "Judge" Pancoart is in fact the defense lawyer.] The trial [in which Mrs Davis, Whitman's housekeeper, sues for non-payment of rent] is imminent. Worries about the health of his children, who have had or will get "the grip" [sic].

443A. H L Traubel to [George Whitman]? [Anne Traubel?] p2 re the prospect of the trial, and especially Warren Fritzinger's perfidy. Greetings from Dalmas. Bucke is well.

444. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11 Jan 1894. The trial is to take place early next week, so Traubel will call at Judge Pancourt's house today with accounts and memorandas. Both Pancourt and [Thomas] Harned have been unwell, but both want to resolve the dispute as soon as possible.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

445. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12 Jan 1894. Wallace Traubel is ill, but Gertrude is convalescent. There is no further news of the Davis suit, but George Whitman's lawyer (i.e. defence lawyer) seems to expect defeat. Mrs Davis's lawyer, on the other hand, may succeed in working "the widow racket".

446. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 13 Jan 1894. Asks for the money that Wallace has collected for the subscription to In Re, including $10 from Edward Carpenter. The printer and others are yet to be paid, but overall a loss is not expected. Is sending a copy of "The Present Duty".

447. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15 Jan 1894. Describes an early-morning fire on the third storey of the house where the Traubels inhabit the second and third stories. The fire threatened all the Whitman papers, but, alerted by Anne, Traubel and a maid managed to keep it under control until the firemen arrived. A sketch of the layout of the threatened room accompanies the letter.

448. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17 Jan 1894. Looking forward to meeting on 27 Jan. Remarks on Walt's mysticism. Traubel has had no long note from Wallace recently and only brief notes from Fels. The family is now well.

449. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 18 Jan 1894. The trial is expected to begin before the end of the month. Irrespective of the Davis camp's winning or losing the case, their gain will be as nothing compared with the privilege of caring for Whitman of which they are unconscious. Traubel fears that "Warry" [Warren Fritzinger, Whitman's nurse] will be put on the stand with a fabricated story. Traubel would rather George Whitman had met Mrs Davis and come to an amicable agreement.

450. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19 Jan 1894. Gestetnered invitation to Reisser's, South Fifth Street, Phila. 27 Jan 6pm to hear Francis Howard Williams read a paper on Walt Whitman before the Walt Whitman Re-Union (sic), the first of the series of meetings scheduled for the winter.

451. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19 Jan 1894. Feb issue of Poet Lore to contain an article on Whitman by Burroughs and a review of In Re by the editors; Traubel will send a copy. Symonds' book does not sell in America. In Re will certainly sell in the end. Traubel's aim is to meet his costs.

452. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 20 Jan 1894. Letter to accompany the photograph of Wallace Traubel sent by Anne. Traubel has been anxious about his papers since the fire, especially about his diary which he plans to publish in time.

453. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 21 Jan 1894. Arrangements to have [Sidney] Morse in Philadelphia to lecture on Whitman will probably fall through. The contents of In Re contain little English matter other than a poem by John Addington Symonds, Anne Gilchrist's essay, and Wallace's compilation of letters made especially for the volume.

454. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 22 Jan 1894. R M Bucke is having great difficulty translating and editing the writings of Rudolf Schmidt without incurring that author's displeasure. Traubel has faith that the dispute will be resolved.
455. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 23 Jan 1894. Traubel is sending a bundle of *Conservators*, including an article by himself about Reeder. He comments that Wallace's notes on Keir Hardie "have been much admired".

456. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 24 Jan 1894. Traubel is going to New York. *The Conservator* is struggling financially, as is Traubel, but he is grateful for an apparent gift of money to the journal from the Bolton Fellowship. Has heard again from Fels, who has not yet visited Wallace. [This letter is possibly unfinished.]

457. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 25 June 1894. Went to court in the morning. Judge Garrison will be the presiding judge. Traubel feels he is both "our friend & Walt's friend" and "an impartial judge". Mrs Davis testified first. None of the plaintiff's witness were close to Walt "& yet they swear to confidences that he hardly gave his closest friends."

458. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 26 Jan 1894. The case is still at court. Harned has spoken powerfully for the defense. "Warry" gave false evidence that Whitman's last regrets included not having made proper provision for Mrs. Davis. According to Traubel, Walt only agreed that he would waive rent for the house and Mrs Davis would waive charges for board.

459. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 27 Jan 1894. Twenty-five to thirty guests are expected at the Whitman dinner that night. Traubel anticipates publishing Williams' paper. Suggests that the Whitman brotherhood should be called "Calamus". A Londoner named Beville has visited. Harned is unwell.

460. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28 Jan 1894. Both the dinner and Williams' paper went well. The Whitman brotherhood has been launched on an international basis. Traubel is counting on Wallace to "work up" the English branches. Wallace's "branch" was toasted at the dinner.

461. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 29 Jan 1894. Traubel is expecting Joseph Fels, who has previously visited Wallace. The court case resumes tomorrow. Traubel marvels at the perversity that decides so much human action.

462. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30 Jan 1894. The case is closed and gone to the jury. Harned's final plea was impressive and heartfelt. George [Whitman] is convinced that they will lose, although Judge Garrison seemed sympathetic.

463. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 31 Jan 1894. The court awards Mrs Davis $500, according to Traubel a defeat for her, after paying her lawyer $250, plus expenses. The jury, in "giving a slight verdict against" the defendants, has made an appeal impossible. The costs to Whitman's estate will only be about a thousand dollars.

464. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 1 Feb 1894. Traubel is sending some Camden newspapers with accounts of the trial; the Philadelphia papers have paid it little attention. Some reports of Traubel's examination in court are "ridiculous in some of their particulars", but Bonsall's account is accurate. The *Courier* is unsympathetic to Whitman.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

465. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 2 Feb 1894. Traubel is shortly to visit Orillia, despite being "still far from well". He is worried about Bucke's illness which has lasted three or four months. Burroughs has also been ill but is now convalescent.

466. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 7 Feb 1894 [dated 7 Jan, but correctly amended in pencil]. *Poet Lore* contains an essay from Burroughs and a favourable review of *In Re*, which Traubel will send. [Robert] Ingersoll is lecturing in Chicago. Childs' funeral has taken place. Thanks for the newspapers Wallace has sent. Traubel is meeting Fels and his wife and Dalmas with his mother and sister at the theatre. Traubel's own mother's convalescence is slow.

467. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 Feb 1894. Reports on the failure of the *New Nation*, which Traubel thought was deserved. Nor did he like Bellamy's novel, which was apparently originally offered as a satire rather than its author's philosophy, but misapprehended by the public. Traubel himself prefers to read the political economists themselves, and compares Bellamy to Morris, Carpenter and Ruskin. He has read the *Chronicle* report of [Keir] Hardie's speech on Ruskin & Carlyle that Wallace sent, but the packet for the children has not yet arrived.

468. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9 Feb 1894. Reports on the Browning Society's debate on whether any literature not in the poetic form was entitled to be called poetry. Traubel was invited to address the gathering but declined.

469. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10 Feb 1894. Thanks to Wallace and Charles [Sixsmith] for journals, esp the *Chronicle*. Traubel sees England as being in the mist of a great struggle, unbeknownst to itself.

470. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11 Feb 1894. Traubel suggests Wallace write more to Anne. Has had a visit from the Innes family with news of son Ed, now at sea. Fels has visited with news of Charley [Sixsmith]. Keir Hardie never sent his paper. Wants Wallace to write an article on Whitman's cosmic powers for *The Conservator*; Wallace's bad eyesight is no excuse. Traubel to send Chadwick's article on *In Re*, which evinces resentment of him.

471. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 12 Feb 1894. Planning another Committee meeting and dinner, although dubious about lasting arrangements. Hoping that "Calamus" will become a global society. Remarks on the sympathy of the Theosophists to Whitman.

472. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 13 Feb 1894. Met Morris at the Contemporary Club. He said that Williams' address to the Reunion was "a talk to the galleries" later admitted to be insincere. Williams has denied the charge. Traubel thinks Morris has cooled toward Walt and friends, especially Burroughs. Thinks he is jealous of Williams, who is a close friend, and that Morris himself tends to be conventional, limited and materialistic.

473. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14 Feb 1894. Williams still brooding over charge made by Morris, and will face him with it. Meeting tonight, with Williams' paper again. Anne to reply to Wallace's letter to her. Traubel does not think Unwin owns the entire copyright to the Gilchrist letters. Suggests Wallace etc. introduce the volume. Important to communicate with publishers and sellers. Bucke, who is
much better, is to reach London [Ontario] tomorrow. Met Mrs Reeder (Reeder's widow) recently; comments on grief.

474. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 15 Feb 1894. Encloses letter from Anne. Fifty-six people at the dinner. Will send a copy of Williams' address which is to be the first issue of "Calamus". Wallace and company are expected to contribute a chapter.

475. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 16 Feb 1894. Accompanying Chadwick article. Harned's mother is ill again. Traubel busy with the Feb Conservator. Innes and Traubel have written to Ed at St Kitts. The past week has brought much snow.

476. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17-18 Feb 1894. Much preoccupied with The Conservator. Kettle, a Whitman enthusiast, has been unable to help much since he came to Camden due to illness. Gilbert and his wife have visited to discuss permissions. Traubel's mother is better but physically diminished. Comments on The Chronicle, The Sun and the New Weekly sent by Wallace and Sixsmith. The next Committee meeting is in Harned's office in Philadelphia. Burroughs has been asked to address the next Reunion. Gertrude is enjoying her new doll. Anne will write.

477. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19 Feb 1894. Bucke is back in London; his health has much improved. Traubel is still poorly, but better than he was. His greatest fear is always not to be able to complete his work on Whitman.

478. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 20 Feb 1894. Traubel is sending some Ethical pamphlets. The Committee meeting took place today with Harned, Platt, Williams and himself present. Afterwards, he and Platt went to Fiske's American History lecture. Platt is to lecture on Whitman to the Brooklyn Ethical Association, a potentially oppositional audience. Burroughs cannot attend the next Whitman meeting on 9 March but has sent a chapter of his book.

479. H L Traubel, probably to J W Wallace, 21 Feb 1894. Traubel read a short paper on "Anonymous Journalism" at the meeting on Sunday. Ingersoll is still in the West, lecturing on Lincoln and Shakespeare. Anne is sending pamphlets on the Chicago Fair. George Whitman seems unlikely to donate the Mickle Street house.

480. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 22 Feb 1894. Traubel is at home for the Washington Day holiday. Fels and his wife came to tea. Fels remembers his welcome in Bolton. Traubel hopes that the end of the English House of Lords is near.

481. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 23 Feb 1894. Traubel has apparently published in The Conservator excerpts from a letter from Wallace in which he gives a "frank portrait" of Keir Hardie. Traubel thinks he is comparable to Lincoln.

482. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 24 Feb 1894. The extreme cold has probably dissuaded Anne and Gertrude from coming to Philadelphia go to the theatre with Traubel. He tries to go every Saturday afternoon once he is released from the bank. He saw Irving and Terry when they performed in Philadelphia.
483. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 25 Feb 1894. Written to accompany an article from Foss. Comments on Whitman's enduring reputation and his ability to attract followers.

484. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 26 Feb 1894. Refers to Rome's death and notes that first generation of Whitman's friends are dying. He is still concerned about Bucke, despite assurances. Eldridge writes from California to say that he has resigned his government position and gone back to practise law, so as to enable him to write his reminiscences of Walt.

485. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 27 Feb 1894. Notes that George Smalley, the son-in-law of Wendell Phillips, writes in the NY Tribune about the New Radicalism in London. Traubel is pleased to be able to follow their progress through The Chronicle.

486. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28 Feb 1894. Brinton only missed the Committee meeting due to the Oriental Club's holding its annual election on the same night. Traubel feels beset by difficulties in fixing the date of the next, very important meeting.

487. H L Traubel, probably to J W Wallace, 1 March 1894. Asks Wallace and the College to form a branch connected with the US Whitman League, and organise British Whitmanites on the League's behalf.

488. H L Traubel, probably to J W Wallace, nd. Page 2 only. Traubel hopes Wallace will visit them in the spring, as he cannot himself come to England. No firm date set for next meeting; Wallace to send a letter on "organization" to read if it comes in time. Asks again if Wallace is willing to take charge of the British organization.

489. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 2 March 1894. Is working night and day to get the organization in shape and wants Wallace to write expressing his views before the next, decisive meeting. The League will adopt no creed, but will serve as a rallying point. There will be a publication and set dues (probably two dollars per annum), and an international list of Vice Presidents.

490. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 3 March 1894. Is sending a copy of Poet Lore. Editors are sympathetic to Whitman and will print Traubel's Whitman-Murger article, which mainly consists of "quotations of talk with Walt upon death." Platt is working at Lakewood on "Shelley and Whitman". Bucke had not known of Rome's death.

491. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4 March 1894. Reflections on the anniversary of Cleveland's inauguration. Traubel's sympathies are with the Democrats. He believes that "The course of history is devious, [but] The blessed light always comes in the end". He is "sick of party politics", notes that Gladstone's career is over and despises the House of Lords.

492. H L Traubel, probably to J W Wallace, 5 March 1894. Thanks to Sixsmith and himself for copies of The Chronicle. Political reflections and a difference between himself and Salter (in The Chronicle) about motive and method; Traubel allows that the motive for violent acts such as bomb-throwing can be good, although he
abhors the method. Traubel's article in reply to Salter has created some controversy.


494. H L Traubel, probably to J W Wallace, 7 March 1894. Is sending a copy of The Dial, which is the only paper comparable to the Criterion and the Literary World. Anne has a bad cold but Traubel himself is well.

495. H L Traubel, probably to J W Wallace, p2 of letter, nd. Reference to need for caution in dealing with some equivocal situation. Anne is no better. Wallace, a wakeful child, disturbs the family at night as Gertrude never did. Owes Charley [Sixsmith] a letter. Gertrude was recently taken to the theatre and behaved so well that she can go "again and again".

496. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 March 1894. Fels thinks Traubel should go with him to Europe next summer and has offered to pay his way, but Traubel cannot go (he does not say why). Whitman dinner to be held 23 March (Good Friday). Traubel will see Willard in "The Middleman" tomorrow. He hears that Fels has taken greatly to [Fred] Wild, but "I am stupid and it will be best for your men if they think little of me."

497. H L Traubel, probably to J W Wallace, 10 March 1894. Discussion with Salter in The Conservator has caused so much contention that it may break up the [Ethical] Society. Thanks for the further papers, from which he deduces that "Your people have a latent love for the aristocracy after all – fear to strike the blow which they know is deserved."

498. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 March 1894. Longaker is supporting The Conservator in its fight for survival. Traubel takes heart from the thought that "the real Whitman fellows apprehend me without an exception." Innes and his father may collude in some business. Reports from Ed Innes are good.

499. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9 March 1894. George Whitman seems very unlikely to give or even sell Walt's house to the Committee that will form the Whitman League. Traubel considers this "very shabby" of him and wonders that "all the light and grace of the clan seems to have run only into Walt".

500. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11 March 1894. Comments on Carpenter's Sex and Love as "noble – pure in touch, high, absolutely right in motive & general solidity of statement", although "A few of his details seem dubious". Saw Willard in "A Fool's Paradise" yesterday; comments on his ongoing love of drama. Fels has written a long letter to Sixsmith which he has forwarded. It shows a new consciousness of what Whitman stood for although he has "little spiritual comprehension of Walt". Has had a long talk with Loag [?] about the Davis suit. Loag was inclining to approve of Mrs Davis's course, but now sees her errors.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

501. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12 March 1894. Henry Irving has acknowledged his gift of the little graveside volume which Traubel sent him. He is sailing for England on 17th. "Irving is a great man. He loved Walt and frequently sent him money. I also have a letter from Ellen Terry – an old letter – full of expressions of love for Walt". Note commenting on Rosebery's speech re the House of Lords.

502. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 13 March 1894. Has not heard from Wallace for days. The children are well but his mother is ill. Notes that Wallace is "in a great stir" about Rosebery.

503. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 14 March 1894. Mrs Fairchild, whom Traubel has never met but whom he loves dearly, has written with news of her daughter's marriage. Charles Eldridge has sent a copy of the San Francisco Chronicle with a report on an excellent address on Walt by someone completely unknown to Traubel. Comments on the Labour vote in England as the beginning of the end for the Lords.

504. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15 March 1894. Enclosing notice of latest meeting (not encl.). The Independent reviewed In Re roughly. He has received another order for 10 copies from Gay & Bird. Thanks for the copy of The Chronicle and The Guardian with Gladstone's speech. Doubts that Rosebery will "stand the racket" for any length of time and wonders "What will he drag down with him?"

505. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 16 March 1894. Anne was taken ill last night and the doctor was called, but she is now resting easily. The children are well but Traubel's mother is "not herself" and "steadily losing ground". "The Bolton Herald rather acrimoniously notices In Re, and the Independent rides over Burroughs without mercy." Bucke is well, but not altogether satisfied with his condition. Traubel is busy sending out notices for the Whitman dinner.

506. H L Traubel, probably to J W Wallace, 17 March 1894. Fels tells Traubel that "Johnston's wife does not take o'er well to J's Whitmania. That would not be surprising but I have hoped it was not true. Mrs Bucke is in about the same frame of mind. Mrs Burroughs is actively aggressive. They only succeed in denying themselves a good deal of happiness." The Committee meets on Monday. Thanks for the Clarion and the Workman's Times. Asks somewhat wistfully about Hardie's paper, which he never received. Asks Wallace's opinion of Rosebery; "I don't like his sporting proclivities."

507. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 18 March 1894. Pleased to see that Rosebery is attempting to "set himself right" and that English "politics are getting decidedly interesting", but notes that the Lords are not yet dismissed. Gertrude is out with the Harneds for a few hours. It is painful to see his mother unwell. The weather has been mild all winter. Has received fifteen or twenty acceptances for the dinner.

508. H L Traubel, probably to J W Wallace, 19 March 1894. Salter's lecture yesterday was on the sweating system. Traubel thinks he scarcely touches the surface of the subject, and that evil systems are not easily eliminated.
H L Traubel, probably to J W Wallace, 20 March 1894. Has had approximately thirty acceptances for the dinner thus far. Meanwhile, "we have drawn up a mild sort of constitution – rather, a set of practical rules for government."

H L Traubel, probably to J W Wallace, 22 March 1894. Johnston is to come over from New York for the dinner. [Ellen] Terry is a noble woman, who loved Walt.

H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 23 March 1894. Traubel is about to go to Philadelphia for the second time today, for the dinner at 6. No sign of Johnston or Platt yet. Two of Dalmas's sisters are visiting Anne. Dalmas is to visit Wallace in the spring.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 24 March 1894. Thirty people attended the dinner. Burroughs' chapter was thoroughly appreciated. Speeches were made by Brinton, Platt, Harned, Garrison, Bonsall and others, including Traubel. The Committee's report was submitted but its formal adoption was deferred until 31 May. Traubel is calling for suggestions from friends of the movement and will send copies of the report to Wallace within a week, "and when you receive them you must be perfectly frank in your Expression of dissent." The name of the association is still being debated. F Baker came up from Washington, with lots of good stories about Walt. He is confident that a group of Whitman lovers can be formed in Washington. The dinner was at Reisser's and Traubel was repeatedly reminded of the historic dinner of 1890.

H L Traubel, probably to J W Wallace, 25 March 1894. "Send me names & addresses of all Whitman people you know, in Bolton or elsewhere in England. Do this immediately. Charlie will help you – I shall need them now. All are well / Traubel" Verso: Traubel met Mead, who edits the New England Magazine, and who knows Mrs Fairchild.

H L Traubel, probably to J W Wallace, 26 March 1894. The Ethical lecturers are scheming to wreck The Conservator. Fels may think that the dinner was a failure, but "He has no spiritual comprehension of W and was like a fish out of water Friday. We had a great ev'g, in fact."

H L Traubel, probably to J W Wallace, 27 March 1894. Has been reading Rosebery's earlier speeches after his assumption of the Premiership. The tone of English political speeches seems superior often to that of American politicians, who are less concerned with high principles. The wisest contemporary politicians are probably in the English House of Commons.

H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 28 March 1894. It looks as though Fels will desert The Conservator, which is "fighting for its life" against "the Ethical 'authorities'". "My own satisfaction, whatever appears, is in this – at I have done honestly what has been done and that I have given both labor and money to the Cause." Anticipates that "A week or two will decide the fate of our little paper." Wishes for Wallace's company; both he and Anne "marvel" at not hearing from him for many days.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 29 March 1894. Wants to know what Johnston thinks of Edward Carpenter's Sex and Love. Longaker, whom he quotes at length, greatly
disapproves of it, but Traubel calls his criticism "stupid", and attributes it to a doctor's professional pride, which will "permit no unholy questions from the laity". He asks Wallace to show Longaker's note to Johnston and let Traubel know what he thinks.

518. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 30 March 1894. Glad to hear that Wallace has started his branch of the League/Society/Union and offers the following in reply to Wallace's questions. Membership in the general society is required. Slight dues are fixed. The organization is democratic rather than federal. Every individual, whatever his geographical point, is equally a member, with the right to vote for officers and measures by proxy. Any group of persons already members of the league can organize a branch without further authority. A better introduction will accompany his printed slip.

519. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 31 March 1894. Is going to Lakewood, in the pines (65 miles northeast of Camden, a winter health resort) for some days. The clientele is aristocratic; Cleveland has/had a cottage there. The family is debating whether to leave Camden, but money, as ever, is problematic.

520. H L Traubel, Lakewood, to J W Wallace, 1 April 1894. Has met friends and admirers of Whitman in the Platt family, Mr and Mrs Platt and their three boys. Their house is associated with Whitman and with things unconventional. Traubel admires Platt tremendously.


522. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 3 April 1894. Quotes from Bucke's letter re the Carpenter pamphlet: "I have carefully read it, like it, and agree pretty thoroughly with all of it." Platt has requested extra copies for 'missionary purposes'.

523. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 4 April 1894. Is sending the Tribune notice of *In Re*, which he thought he had sent long ago. Complains of hearing from Wallace "scantily" now and wonders why. Asks for Margaret Symonds' address.

524. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 5 April 1894. To accompany a poem by Foss [not encl.], who has published a volume of poems. The Whitman Committee meets at Harned's office tomorrow, after which Traubel will print a draft of the constitution and send Wallace copies. He would appreciate suggestions from Wallace and others for the Committee to consider. *The Conservator* will probably survive.

525. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 6 April 1894. Traubel can see why some of the Whitman fellows should object to the organization, which he defends by emphasising the central aim of bringing Whitman lovers into contact with one another and by denying anything like a creed is being aimed for. Complains again about Wallace's letters being few and scant. Hope Johnston is enjoying Italy. J H Johnston is sick again.
526. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 7 April 1894. Thanks for the London papers he has sent and for *The Chronicle* from Charles Sixsmith. He has seen in the Adlington paper that Wallace presided at a labour meeting and wants to know if he spoke himself. Fels says to me – "Wallace reads Whitman better than any other person I ever heard". The Committee met recently, with two of the five invitees absent. Wallace [Traubel] is not very well due to his cutting teeth. Conflict in The Ethical Society threatens to split the organisation.

527. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9 April 1894. Reminding Wallace that they do not propose to have a Whitman creed but a "simple union of comrades" to spread the good word for generations to come. Has Wallace heard anything recently from the Symonds? Is Rosebury to go under?

528. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10 April 1894. George [?] to speak on free trade. Traubel's group in The Ethical Society (Fels, Gilbert, Smith, Traubel), will probably leave The Society after a vote against them. Only Mrs Innes was absent.

529. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11 April 1894. Thanks for papers received. Cites a letter from Miss/ Mrs Porter praising Traubel's course in pursuing the conservative faction of The Ethical Movement via *The Conservator*.

530. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 13 April 1894. A meeting at Fels's house tonight to discuss the strategy for The Ethical Society's next meeting; "I see that the principle in this movement has already died in denominational feeling."

531. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14 April 1894. Comments on [Edmund?] Gosse's unreliable account of his visit to Whitman, and the cooling of his early admiration.

532. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15 April 1894. Huge free trade meeting at the Philadelphia academy last night with 3,000 people present. This morning George is to speak for the Ethical Society. The single tax measure is making great headway. Already has six representatives in Congress. Impressed with Tom L. Johnson, who spoke last night, who is a millionaire, but whose egalitarian principles outweigh the desire for exclusive wealth.


534. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17 April 1894. Meeting of the Ethical Society tonight. Traubel's faction is outnumbered: "Our one purpose is to make our statement and then withdraw." Has received Wallace's letter discussing Salter's income tax lecture, which Traubel thinks was weak. Has Wallace received the copies of the pamphlet with pictures of the world's fair?

535. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 18 April 1894. Traubel's party did not manage to get themselves heard at the meeting last night, before they withdrew, outvoted by 85 to 31 or 32. Traubel is contented to have left. Wallace's letter was "noble", and Traubel wanted to read it aloud, but was prevented.

536. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19 April 1894. Ingersoll is lecturing in Philadelphia tonight and has send tickets for himself and Anne. Fels is in Boston. Traubel
resigned from the Chairmanship and from his section of The Ethical Club. He agrees with Wallace's criticism of Salter than he never gets below the surface. Johnston has written him from Italy. Traubel wants to know what he thinks of *Sex and Love*. Platt has written an article for *The Conservator* on the subject.

537. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 20 April 1894. Ingersoll lectured last night. Anne and Traubel sat with his wife in the box. About 2100 were present. Bucke hopes to arrive by 15 May and stay till after the birthday.

538. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 21 April 1894. Wallace's note, with its recognition for Carpenter, arrived today. Traubel does not think they will use the name *League*. Regrets that there is little hope of their meeting soon if ever. Spoke himself last night before the Theosophical Society.

539. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 21 April 1894. Writes of his and Wallace's sense of connectedness through common revelation, of Anne's devotion and Gertrude's recognition of his handwriting. Is now practically out of the Ethical Society and is putting all his energy into continuing *The Conservator*. He is impoverished but happy.

540. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 23 April 1894. Has resigned from the Ethical Society. Anticipates that at least fifteen others will resign as a consequence of the recent reactionary policy entered upon. Now feels free to devote himself wholly to "our Whitman brotherhood".

541. H L Traubel to J W Wallace and J. Johnston, 24 April 1894. Will send a galley proof of the proposed constitution for the Whitman society so that the Bolton group can suggest emendations. Fully agrees with Carpenter that a sect is to be avoided. Postscript note of greetings to Johnston. When will Johnston return to America? Who will represent the College on May 31st?

542. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 9 May 1894. Anne has had a letter from Wallace, but Traubel has had no word for nearly ten days. Urges Wallace to exert his influence for the good.

543. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10 May, 1894. Reports from Miss Porter, who has also resigned from the Ethical Society. The "Fellowship for Ethical Research" had its first meeting, with Dalmas and others providing fine music, including his three Whitman songs. There are thirty to forty supporters already. It is a completely free society, to which nobody will be refused admittance.

544. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 11 May 1894. The Ethical Society is holding a conference over the week-end in Philadelphia. Traubel has been invited to attend but has refused. Wants Wallace to check the last issue of *The Conservator* in order to understand Traubel's exact position.

545. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12 May 1894. Is going to Lakewood this evening. Has been working on Walt's papers. Bucke will reach Philadelphia on Monday evening and stay until the end of the week; then he is going to North Jersey and elsewhere, returning by 31 May. Traubel wants him to speak to the Theosophical Society on Friday night, either about *Cosmic Consciousness* or about Walt. Has
been following Rosebery's fate in the papers, and the debate on the eight-hours bill in *The Chronicle*.

546. H L Traubel, Lakewood, to J W Wallace, 13 May 1894. Traubel is the guest of the Platts. Platt is to lecture in New York next Friday. Traubel will go to Philadelphia to dine with Bucke and others at the Art Club. Is working to make the Constitution democratic. "I really expect to hear from you to the same effect." Thanks for Sixsmith's goodness to him [probably in continuing to send the British papers].

547. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 14 May 1894. Looking forward to seeing Bucke, who is due to arrive that evening, and will stay with Thomas Harned. Traubel is dining with him and others at Reisser's tomorrow evening. Gertrude recognizes Wallace's handwriting, and asks to kiss the letter.

548. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15 May 1894. Bucke has been to visit and seems fully recovered. He is a delegate for the Canadian Government for the Psycho-Medical Association meeting, where he will read a new paper on Cosmic Consciousness. He will leave on Saturday (i.e. in 5 days' time) for Telford where he will stay with Ingram; thence he will proceed to Orange, NJ, returning to Philadelphia toward the end of the month. Mrs Bucke is travelling with her husband.

549. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 16 May 1894. Party at Reisser's consisted of Harned, Platt, MacIntire, Williams (F H [Frank]), Smith (W H) and Traubel. Bucke read them his essay on *Cosmic Consciousness*, which in some ways resembles his piece in *In Re*. Bucke left early, with Harned; the rest went to the University, where they stayed until midnight.

550. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17 May 1894. "Platt and Longaker have been corresponding about Carpenter's *Sex and Love*, which Platt has thought of sending to Carpenter. Platt's notice of the pamphlet in *The Conservator* will carry additional weight since he is a doctor. Both Traubels have also been impressed by *Woman*, but especially Anne. Traubel is to rejoin Bucke a week after he leaves, at Lakewood; then Bucke will accompany Traubel to Camden and stay until after 31 May.

551. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 18 May 1894. Bucke to read his paper to the doctors today and to the Theosophical Society that evening. Traubel will publish it in *The Conservator*, over the course of two issues. Frank Williams met Burroughs in New York, at the Author's Club, and Bucke hopes that he might attend on 31 May. Quotes from Platt's letter about a story his boys have about a "land of the people of one dimension. Do you not believe that Longaker has somehow escaped from that country?" This was elicited by the Longaker's use of a clip from a medical journal calling upon doctors to protest against the claims that the exercise of the sexual nature is essential. Bucke agrees that this is "damned stupid."

552. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 19 May 1894. Bucke's lecture to the Theosophical Club went well, but the audience was small (sixty to seventy people) due to bad weather. Discussion afterward, however, was stronger. Traubel had three to four hours of uninterrupted talk with Bucke yesterday, during which time Traubel read him some free verses which he will publish in *The Conservator* along
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

with Bucke's *Cosmic Consciousness* paper. Bucke's paper was also well received by the doctors, who, "wiseliest", did not discuss it.

553. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 20 May 1894. Letter of 12 May reached Traubel today. Brocklehurst's speech arrived yesterday. "Hardie is always admirable but lacks often in pitch & directness – in effective epigram. But he is a noble & interesting character." Traubel follows his progress as far as he can. Notes that [William Havelock] Ellis has also been writing for *Woman*. But Traubel is far more impressed by Carpenter, who "gets to the marrow". Also impressed by Miss Motions [?], and her study of Whitman. Fels has told Traubel that he has a letter from Wild, which he would not show him, but said he was "pleasantly alluded to."

554. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 21 May 1894. Received bundle of papers, including Hardie's *Labor Leader*, from Charles [Sixsmith] and Wallace this morning. Traubel to quote Carpenter's article in *Labor Prophet* in *The Conservator*: "It is wonderfully svelte [?] and delicate on his part that he says what he does say and then leaves his readers to follow the trail for themselves if they can. I have so thoroughly realized that same experience myself that every word written there went to my heart."

555. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 25 May 1894. Is going to Lakewood tomorrow. No mail from Bucke since he left the city. Acceptances of dinner invitations arriving steadily; anticipates fifty. Has not heard from Burroughs yet and fears a waning of his enthusiasm.

556. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 26 May 1894. Leaving for Lakewood and Dr Bucke on the 4.10 train Camden. Later, from Lakewood: Bucke is "handsome and well". Lakewood is now deserted by the fashionables but is still green, beautiful and comfortable.

557. H L Traubel, from Lakewood, to J W Wallace, 27 May 1894. Is travelling and writing as he goes. Will print a portion of Carpenter's article and half of Bucke's *Cosmic Consciousness*, with the second half to appear in June. Bucke in best form and Traubel is very happy in his vision of the world as progressing toward the achievement of justice.

558. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 28 May 1894, but given as 1891. Traubel is back at work. Platt and Bucke to follow around noon. Committee meeting at Harned's office at 5 o'clock. Platt to leave Philadelphia at midnight for Washington to attend a medical congress. Much on his happy day before, talking and reading *Leaves of Grass*, viewing the countryside and playing with Platt's three little boys on the lake shore.

559. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 29 May 1894. Ingersoll, who has had a long conversation with Bucke, is to come to the dinner. The *Literary World* (Boston) reviews *In Re* "with great vigor of condemnation". In response, Traubel affirms his belief in Walt's elemental greatness, rather than his being a mere "literary gentleman", and recalls the closing paragraph of one of his own reviews of *Leaves of Grass* in which he spoke of the immensity of his claims. Traubel went to the Art Club last night with Bucke, Harned, W H Smith, Tom White and three others.
H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30 May 1894. [William] Ingram to sail soon and will visit Bolton. Bucke's message to Wallace is that he should note carefully the significance of his letter of introduction, which concerns Ingram's siding with Mrs Davis during the trial. Traubel asserts that Ingram is "totally in the dark" about *Leaves of Grass*.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 31 May 1894. Has over fifty acceptances for the dinner, but not Burroughs'. Ingersoll has telegraphed Traubel to hold two seats for him. Bucke and Traubel have worked on Walt's papers together and Traubel is grieved that he must leave tomorrow. Bucke, Smith and Traubel took a long drive in the park yesterday. Today is Walt's birthday and Traubel is happy.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 1 June 1894. Forty-nine people were present at the dinner, eighteen of them women. Wallace's letter was read by Brinton at the dinner. Will send today's *Inquirer*, which notes the occasion. Then a full account will appear in *The Conservator*. Johnston, leaving from New York, and Dalmas, leaving Philadelphia, are both to visit Wallace as delegates or representatives.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12 June 1894. Instructs Wallace to write to Alfred W Beville in London, with a view to setting up the English branch of the League. Beville has visited Traubel and the Committee and also Carpenter. Traubel wants members names immediately. Traubel to print names and addresses of the first 100, and a revised list every three or six months. Enquires whether Wallace has sold any more copies of *In Re*. The new price is three dollars. The full text of Wallace's speech is to appear in the next issue of *The Conservator*.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 13 June 1894. Enclosure for Annie Besant. Wants Wallace to forward it.

H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 14 June 1894. Burroughs's reservations about the "Fellowship" reported via Bucke, and Traubel's defense repeated.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15 June 1894. Asks for as many women's names as possible for membership in the Fellowship. The family's planned holiday at Lakewood has proved impossible; Anne and the children will probably go to London for the middle of July. Anne has wanted to write but has not had time. Remarks that "Wallace grows into the likeness of your spirit" and that Gertrude often speaks of Wallace.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 16 June 1894. Has received letter detailing Wallace's eye trouble; Wallace is not to write when that causes pain. Anne and Wallace suffering from the heat. Recommends Dalmas to Wallace.

H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 17 June 1894. Sixsmith's long letter of the 9th arrived today. Sixsmith does not appear to think much of Jeffries' book [?] but Bucke is very much taken with it. Praises Wallace's speech (to be published in the next issue of *The Conservator*). Mentions enjoyment of yachting (without any practical experience); also the "Chicago" banquet which tended to bring to the two nations nearer together. Traubel feels certain that the federation of workers will occur once they discover their solidarity; "I wish that Hardie, Miss Conway,
Blatchford and such men might come into the Fellowship. Will you press it upon them?"

569. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 18 June 1894. Is working hard for the Fellowship, despite this being a bad season of the year to try to reach people. Recommends article on "Succession" in the new *Conservator*.

570. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 19 June 1894. Platt will be in town tomorrow to hear the Society's discussion of the topic: "Should the State Interfere in the Marriage Relation?" Carpenter's pamphlet is of special interest in this matter. Traubel has had numerous inquiries concerning *Sex and Love* and *Woman* from readers of *The Conservator*. Traubel thinks Sixsmith's criticisms of Jefferies' book are too severe; he is "delighted with the book" which "discloses a rare spirit".

571. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 20 June 1894. Has arranged to send 20-25 copies of the latest issue of *The Conservator*. Has published Bucke's *Cosmic Consciousness* in pamphlet form and will send copies. Has received many letters about it.

REEL 6:

572. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 21 June 1894. Walt Whitman Paper no. 1 is out and Traubel has sent Wallace 100 copies. Dalmas has arrived in England. He has a package from Traubel for Wallace. At last night's meeting of the (US) Fellowship, Platt, White and Garrison made good speeches, as did an "eloquent anarchist", Whittick. White is an anarchist; Platt is an individualist whose belief in the State resembles Spencer's.

573. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 22 June 1894. Traubel wishes that Keir Hardie, Mrs [?] Macmillan, Miss Conway, Trevor, Blatchford and "such men and women" would enter the Fellowship, and wants Wallace to represent the matter fairly to them. Fellowship paper no 2 will be out early next week and copies sent to Wallace. Rhapsody on communion with Wallace across the sea.

574. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 23 June 1894. Triggs has joined the Fellowship. He has just delivered a two-week course of lectures on Walt to students at the University of Chicago. McKay is about to embark on a month-long book-selling trip. Traubel hopes *In Re* will sell well.

575. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 24 June 1894. Traubel is well, despite the hot weather. He is sending a big bundle of (US) Labor pamphlets. Received Wallace's cable yesterday afternoon and his letter of 17 June; also Johnston's.

576. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 25 June 1894. Speaks of "the fire of the inner spirit" glowing through Wallace's letters, which have the effect of diminishing the space that separates them, and of his sense of mankind's common destiny.

577. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 26 June 1894. Enclosing 100 copies of a sheet. The *New York Sun* printed an account of Traubel's Whitman Fellowship plans and Wallace's letter in full.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

578. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 July 1894. Carpenter has written objecting to the idea of the Fellowship, and Traubel has replied at some length. "His reply to my reply was to the effect that I wasted much ink with little result", so that all Traubel could do was write to him again regretfully "and assure him that I would afflict him to further."

579. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9 July 1894. Did Wallace receive a bundle of membership cards? Did he receive Walt Whitman Fellowship papers, 1, 2 and 3? Traubel has received papers from Sixsmith, and is to print a speech of Keir Hardie in The Conservator.

580. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10 July 1894. Urges Wallace to write to Anne, who is very busy with the children and household work.

581. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11 July 1894. Acknowledges he must weary Wallace with attention to practical affairs. Did he read "Succession"? Pledges of love and feelings of connectedness.

582. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12 July 1894. Ingersoll sends material about Debs [?], to be printed in The Conservator. Debs is much maligned in the States by the "upper classes", so Ingersoll's words are precious. "I see little good in the strike method, and yet I see its unmistakable importance, too."

583. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 13 July 1894. Anne has left for London (Ont.) with the children. Has Johnston's note describing J Johnston's visit. Appended note: "Not a member of the Fellowship from Bolton. What's the matter?"

584. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14 July 1894. Has Wallace's letter of 4 July; also Johnston's second letter describing J.H. Johnston's reception and indicating that Wallace has some suggestions to send Traubel concerning the Fellowship Traubel wants these immediately, and also wants to know why no Fellowship membership cards have been returned from Bolton; Brinton has also enquired about this matter. Membership in the States is now fifty-nine. Traubel wants to print a list of a hundred soon, and wants Wallace's help in recruiting further members.

585. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15 July 1894. Requests that Wallace send any further subscriptions for In Re to Traubel, as the printer has not yet been paid; Harned is culpable in this matter. The English price should match the U.S. price of $3. Anne and the children have arrived safely in London.

586. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 16 July 1894. Traubel is to spend a short time with Fels in Tioga [Mary Fels' address given on Fellowship for Ethical Research letterhead as 2100 Tioga St.]. Brinton is to speak at the next meeting on "Crime and its Causes". He is to travel in late Aug/early Sept to a gathering of philologists or Orientalists on the Continent. He has only surface ideas on the labor question.

587. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17 July 1894. Has Wallace's loving note of 7 July and is sending the letter on to Anne. Bucke leaves London tomorrow for Gloucester Pool, where he will stay five weeks.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

588. H L Traubel, to J W Wallace [?], nd.; on verso of Fellowship for Ethical Research letterhead, which dates formation of the Fellowship as May 1894. Emphasises freedom of the new Movement and that everything follows from this. Wants all members of the society to "grow into some loftier notions of social right".

589. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28 July 1894 [listed as 28 Aug but amended in pencil]. Is going to Dobbs Ferry this afternoon. It is "fearfully hot". Burroughs cannot join them tomorrow, as Mrs Burroughs has taken him to the mountains. News from London is good.

590. H L Traubel, Dobbs Ferry, to J W Wallace, 29 July 1894. Is with Ingersoll, whom he calls "this giant man", and an unnamed high-caste Brahmin, who has been talking all afternoon. Looking up the Hudson toward the Catskills, and imagining himself floating over to Anne and the children one way, and to Wallace another way.

591. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 30 July 1894. Glad to hear that Dalmas has arrived. Traubel and Ingersoll stayed up late on Saturday and spent all of Sunday together. Ingersoll read for Traubel, among other things, Keats's ode "To a Grecian Urn". Traubel wishes Ingersoll "saw more deeply into the Orient – to its mysticism and its confident speculation and insight".

592. H L Traubel, Tioga, to J W Wallace, 31 July 1894. Speaks of his admiration for Dalmas's songs. Smith to speak on Thoreau at the meeting tomorrow. Traubel's mother is not well, and seems beyond recuperation. Mrs O'Connor also has been very ill; she and her husband have joined the Fellowship.

593. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 1 Aug 1894. J H Johnston is back in New York. He has sent a long letter detailing the warm welcome he met in Bolton, and Traubel feels he has had the experience vicariously. "That is what our Fellowship stand for. I sorrow that you feel that you cannot come in. We are getting together such a lot of big fellows here…".

594. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 2 Aug 1894. Smith's paper was very good and Traubel will print a part of it in The Conservator. Brinton delivered "a gem of a speech". Traubel himself spoke on Walt's view of Thoreau, and on Wahl's reminiscences of Thoreau's several visits to him. A Doctor Doucet, whom Traubel had not previously met, also spoke about the Brook Farm Community, "of which he appears to have been a member". At the close of the meeting, one General Fry, of the "California contingent of the Industrial Army" addressed those remaining until nearly midnight: "He spoke colloquially and his spirit was thoroughly rational and pacifying. He deplored violence and declared for "intellectual propaganda", as he said, without compromise." He was invited to speak at length at the Fellowship on Wednesday following.

595. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 3 Aug 1894. Has received bundles of papers from Charles Sixsmith. Speaks of his love for those separated by the sea. Has received two letters from Bucke, who is happy on his land, but is about to return to London.
596. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4 Aug 1894. Traubel quotes Brinton on Carpenter's Vivisection pamphlet. Brinton thinks Carpenter's is a general attack on medical science is "a foolish piece of work" and his arguments very weak. Traubel, however, agrees more or less with Carpenter. Traubel has invited Brinton to address the Fellowship for Ethical Research on the subject.

597. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5 Aug 1894. There will be a Council meeting at Fels' house tomorrow, to which J H Johnston will come from New York and Platt will come from Lakewood. Brinton, Williams and Smith are also expected. Anne sends good news from Canada; Traubel is glad she and the children were spared an oppressive summer. Yesterday he went out to Primos and met "the Dalmas people".

598. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 6 Aug 1894. Frank Williams' essay, "Walt Whitman as Deliverer", which is Fellowship Paper #4, is now typeset. It is an expensive item to print as it can only be sent out to members of the Fellowship "We are all sorry that you object to the Fellowship". Traubel is to read Sixsmith's letter to the Council tonight, but he would rather have heard from Wallace on the subject.

599. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9 Aug 1894. Thanks again to Sixsmith for sending the papers, which Traubel enjoys and appreciates the remembrance; however, he wants to protest against "any further indulgence". Traubel does not want to tax his friends or assume claims or obligations; the same is true in respect to Wallace.

600. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10 Aug 1894. Has received Wallace's letter of 31 July. Again, he repudiates any sense of obligation on Wallace's part. Gives some details about three new members of the Fellowship, but fears Wallace will not be interested. Gilbert is very ill with typhoid fever. Traubel exhorts Wallace not to think of him, but not to forget him.

601. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11 Aug 1894. The New York World has printed a letter from Ingersoll on "Suicide", which Traubel will reprint in The Conservator. "Ingersoll does not see immortality at all, although he does not deny it. Walt half opened the door for him, as he confesses in the graveside speech, but Ingersoll has never pushed the door further for himself."

602. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12 Aug 1894. Traubel to read Ingersoll's letter on "Suicide" to the Fellowship for Ethical Research at their next meeting. It has been much commented upon in the New York and Philadelphia papers. Is staying with Fels until the family leaves for England next month; then he will spend some time with the Inness's.

603. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 13 Aug 1894. Thanks to Sixsmith for copies of the Chronicle; but wants Wallace to advise him not to send any more as they increase Traubel's sense of obligation. Platt is "rather put out" that Wallace has not sent a bill or memo for what he owes him. Johnston, on his visit, told Fels and Traubel a great deal about Bolton, including the message that Traubel should visit it. Traubel reiterates that that is impossible; besides he feels "quite sure my visit would be a bitter disappointment to you".
604. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14 Aug 1894. Will send copies of the latest *Conservator* and Frank Williams' pamphlet. Fellowship Paper No 5 will be a list of members; No 6 is "Memories" from Bucke and the "document read by Johnston from you". Is enclosing an article from the *Telegraph* about Fry. Traubel is to go to Lakewood on Saturday. The family in Canada is well; Bucke is not yet home. Postscript reminding Wallace to send money (possibly subscription money) to Carpenter.

605. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15 Aug 1894. Read Ingersoll's letter on suicide at the meeting this evening. Is perturbed by the "assertive dogmatism" of the many labour reformers who were present. Fears his letters may be boring Wallace; Wild has intimated this to Fels.

606. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 16 Aug 1894. Traubel will read Wallace's letters with regard to the Whitman Fellowship to the Council when it meets in Sept. The position on dues is unalterable. Dalmas and Johnston, in representing Wallace's views to the Council, present a case that differs from the attitude expressed in Wallace's letters.

607. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17 Aug 1894. Has heard from Ingersoll and Morse. Ingersoll is lecturing at the summer resorts. Morse has been ill and his magazine is in difficulty. Traubel thinks it might be possible to modify the dues system in the Constitution. Fears that he is "a nuisance".


609. H L Traubel, Lakewood, to J W Wallace, 19 Aug 1894. Platt is unconvinced by Wallace's views on the Fellowship Traubel himself does not wish to persuade people to join.

610. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 20 Aug 1894. Has left Wallace's letters concerning the Fellowship with Platt. Has received Miss Martyn's letter and Wallace's letter with the enclosure from Hardie. Both intend to come to America.

611. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 21 Aug 1894. Is sending one of Wallace's letters with regard to the Fellowship to Anne in Canada. Traubel agrees with Platt about Wallace's views of the Fellowship (see 612 above). The Council meets Monday week. Fels and his wife sail for England shortly afterward.

612. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 22 Aug 1894. Has had a welcome letter from Mrs Fairchild, whom he had hoped to visit at Newport. Has been offered a trip to New England as Platt's guest.

614. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28 Aug 1894. Is going with Platt to Newport and Boston on Saturday. Hopes to organise a branch of the Fellowship in Boston. Maynard, who has recently published a book of sonnets, is promoting the movement energetically. Harned is visiting Bucke in Canada. Sixsmith has sent two more copies of the Chronicle.

615. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 29 Aug 1894. Fels is to accompany Platt and Traubel to Boston. Mrs Platt, a devotee of Whitman, cannot go.

616. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30 Aug 1894. Refers to forthcoming English edition of Leaves of Grass as being outside copyright law. Bucke has decided not to write to Wallace re his views on the Fellowship. Traubel wants to keep a separate fund to support publications by the Fellowship. Denies Wallace's charge that subscription money contributes to rent of venue and "banquets".


618. H L Traubel, Newport, to J W Wallace, 1 Sept 1894. Left Philadelphia yesterday afternoon and travelled all night. Met Platt in New York and went to supper and the theatre, before catching the midnight train and then another boat at 4am. Is about to visit Mrs Fairchild, then will proceed to Boston.

619. H L Traubel, Adam House, Boston, to J W Wallace, 2 Sept 1894. Has travelled from Newport to Boston and roamed the city until midnight with Platt and Maynard. Fels is also in Boston. Met Small, who is interested in Whitman, in the Herald office. Is about to visit Nantucket.

620. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, 3 Sept 1894. Travelled back from Boston with Fels. Set up a Fellowship Branch in Boston with Mrs Fairchild as President and Maynard as temporary Secretary and Treasurer. Meeting Mrs Fairchild was the highlight of the trip.

621. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4 Sept 1894. Traubel's article on "Whitman and Murger" will appear in Poet Lore. Misses Porter and Blake attended the meeting in Boston. Bucke's "Memories of Walt Whitman" is about to be published in the Fellowship series.

622. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5 Sept 1894. Brinton will address the meeting that night on "The Use of Alcoholic Beverages". Traubel spoke of Wallace's views on the Fellowship to the Boston members, who have agreed to the reduction of dues outside Canada and the U.S., but voted unanimously to continue the Papers.

623. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 6 Sept 1894. Mrs Fairchild has declined the Presidency of the Boston branch and Traubel has recommended Miss Porter; notes the capability of women in Boston. Further consoling remarks on Wallace's father's death.
624. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 7 Sept 1894. Traubel intends to send a message to Mrs Fairchild via Miss Martyn who is to visit America. Hopes Miss Martyn will not be persuaded to represent the interests of a particular clique.

625. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 Sept 1894. Letter from Beville mentions copyrights as though Traubel et al had the power to interdict publication. Traubel argues that he holds no English copyrights, although he is not clear about copyright law. He guesses that Rossetti's and Rhys's publications are copyright, but sees this as a matter of courtesy rather than legality.

626. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9 Sept 1894. Is enclosing some newspaper clippings, including one from the Sun, which is conservative and often bitter. [George] Smalley is a conservative correspondent, although an able one. Will send a copy of the Arena tomorrow.

627. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 18 Sept 1894. Has sent a brief note on Carpenter's new pamphlet, which will appear in The Conservator. Fears that Wallace and Carpenter must think him "ludicrous".

628. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19 Sept 1894. Fels to leave for Europe on Saturday. Traubel is busy meeting the deadline for the next issue of The Conservator. Assures Wallace of his love. PS re premonitory dream of Mrs Fairchild's face before his visit to Newport.

629. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 20 Sept 1894. Is writing from the Fels' home on the eve of their departing for Europe. Marshall Smith and family will take over the house during their absence and Traubel is to stay for a time and then proceed to London (Ont.). Long disquisition on the value of keeping silent in the face of the greatest mysteries. The next issue of The Conservator is to go to print tomorrow.

630. H L Traubel, Tioga, to J W Wallace, 21 Sept 1894. The Fels' have left for London. [Joseph] Fels expects to hear from Wallace. Traubel is sending Wallace some work by him. He is going to a Theosophical Meeting to meet Smith.

631. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 22 Sept 1894. Both Traubel children in London (Ont.) show signs of whooping cough. Traubel has received papers from Sixsmith that day.

632. H L Traubel, Tioga, to J W Wallace, 23 Sept 1894. Had planned to send a letter with Fels to read to the College but decided against it. Anne and the children may return early but Traubel will stay at Fels's house. He spoke briefly at the Theosophical Meeting on Friday.

633. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 25 Sept 1894. Has Wallace's letter of 15 Sept, with its black border. Questions people's gloomy attitude to death. Claims that Wallace does not understand Platt or the purposes of the Fellowship, which will not be modified except as previously suggested.

634. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 26 Sept 1894. Brinton agrees with the suggestion to reduce the dues of the Fellowship for members outside the U.S. and Canada, but
ratification will have to wait until the annual meeting in May. Has Wallace read the issue of *Arena* with the article on Walt? News from Canada is "not bright".

635. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 27 Sept 1894. Fels is approaching England or already there. Traubel thinks that the children will soon rally and has decided not to go to London this year.

636. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28 Sept 1894. Fels has arrived in England. Is forwarding Wallace's note to Anne. Derogatory remarks on George Smalley's comments on Hardie and others in his recent letters.

637. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 29 Sept 1894. Ingersoll has written a second controversial letter on suicide; Traubel is sending a copy and asks Wallace to show it to Sixsmith. Offers his sympathy to all in the time of mourning and recommends Emerson's "Brahma".

638. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30 Sept 1894. The children's health is much improved. Notes an increased nobility of tone in Wallace's own recent letters and re-presents his view that death is not evil.

639. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 1 Oct 1894. Is expecting a small but convivial meeting that evening, including Brinton. Is working on *The Conservator*. Fellowship paper #8 is ready for printing. Anne and the children may return next week.

640. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 2 Oct 1894. Brinton will write an article on *Cosmic Consciousness* for *The Conservator* that is critical of Bucke's statement. Brinton is proposing an excursion to Long Island, including Huntingdon. Traubel recommends "Some of the Pros & Cons of Socialism" by Miss Porter in the October *Conservator*.

641. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 3 Oct 1894. Marshall Smith was run over by a carriage whilst out on his bicycle; he is not seriously hurt but in much pain. Praise of Smith for his sanity, calm and penetration.

642. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4 Oct 1894. Has not yet heard from Fels. The Gilberts have left Tioga. Traubel cannot establish any correspondence with the English labour papers as he has done with the American ones.

643. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5 Oct 1894. Brinton will meet Traubel in Jersey City, whence they will set off for Huntingdon. Platt will accompany them. Thanks to Sixsmith for the Papers.

644. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 6 Oct 1894. Is going to New York that day, and looking forward to seeing West Hills. Perfect Oct days, as when Wallace visited. Traubel "did not enjoy" Wallace's brief allusion to Platt. Charges Wallace with "class-making" by referring to the socialists as the "real friends of Walt".

645. H L Traubel, New York, to J W Wallace, 7 Oct 1894. Brinton, Platt and Traubel are to travel to Huntingdon by train. Anne has not yet decided when to return.
Details of Platt's and Traubel's entertainment, plus Traubel's feeling impecunious. Brinton will go on to Boston.

646. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 8 Oct 1894. Traubel will write up his trip to West Hills to include reminiscences of old inhabitants. Inquires whether Wallace drove to the [Long Island] Sound during his visit. Traubel is now very busy. Visit from Innes. Liked and may reprint what Wallace wrote about Miss Martyn. Wants to know if Wallace has read [Du Maurier's] *Trilby*. Holmes has died. Traubel is missing Anne and the children.

647. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9 Oct 1894. Fels and his wife will bring news of Traubel, who still thinks of Wallace fondly.

648. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10 Oct 1894. Has had papers from Sixsmith and Johnston. Johnston seems "very American" in the breadth of his interests. Anne and the children will arrive home on Sunday. Welcomes the news that Dalmas is to return from England around 1 Nov.


650. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12 Oct 1894. Remarks on psychic communication between absent friends and even beyond death. Recommends Du Maurier's *Trilby*, which has shocked the puritanical and been condemned by the religious papers.

651. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28 & 30 Oct 1894. Enjoying life and feeling well after his holiday. Wonders what became of Wiccroft, who left for English with letters for Wallace and others. Burroughs, recently visited by Ingram, thinks he is growing weak childish, and considers his affection for Whitman "rather ludicrous". Remarks on Burroughs' healthy looks, warmth and commendable lifestyle.

652. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30 Oct-1 Nov 1894. Fels's father has also died. Thanks for papers from Sixsmith. Inquired about Rosebery's call for the reform of the House of Lords. The States are in the middle of an exacting campaign. There is a severe depression in trade. Miss Smith's health is improving. Has heard little from Fels. Wants Wallace's help to construct an English exchange list of literary and reform people.

653. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 2-3 Nov 1894. Burroughs has published a new book, *Riverly*. Much in praise of Du Maurier, whom he will sound about Whitman. Comments that Wallace's "old familiar letters are now almost far lost in history." Expects to meet Burroughs at Lakewood soon; Burroughs will lecture there and at Lawrenceville and perhaps write an article about the countryside for the *Century*.

654. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4-6 Nov 1894. William and Edward Innes are visiting. Ed has changed much during his time at sea, being "newborn", with spiritual gifts. Traubel will accompany them to Tioga that evening. Has visited Emma Smith in hospital. Cites compliment from Ingersoll re his poem in the last *Conservator*. 6 Nov is Election day, the result of which will be debated by the
Ethical Fellowship Traubel calls it "a Republican day". Demands free trade as the beginning of reform.

655. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 7-8 Nov 1894. At the last Council meeting there were inquiries about Bolton. Burroughs' book about Walt appears to be more of less finished. It will be bid for by McKay and Burroughs' Boston publishers. Inaugural meeting of the Boston Branch of the Fellowship tomorrow. Kennedy and Jackson are to debate Tolstoy and Whitman and their reactions to democracy. The election result is "a Republican flood". Will place a small paragraph on Miss Martyn's *Whitman* in The Conservator. Salter has given two lectures on Whitman. The first was apparently favourable and the second critical.

656. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9 Nov 1894. Fels has sent word that [H Buxton] Forman will join the Fellowship Hopes to have something on Whitman in the next Conservator from Brinton and Burroughs. Traubel is not despondent over the Election; "the pendulum will swing back".

657. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10-11 Nov 1894. Is enjoying an Indian Summer. Hopes that Fels will bring Wallace back with him for a six-month visit. Misses Dalmas and his songs, both his own and Grieg's. Traubel's mother continues poorly.

658. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12-13 Nov 1894. Ingersoll is lecturing on the bible to vast audiences in the West. Much praise of Ingersoll's being against creeds and institutions but thinks he misses some "inner meanings". Traubel is generally happy. Burroughs' chapter on "Whitman's Self-Reliance" is praiseworthy. Wants to know whether Wallace has received the copy of The Arena. Savage has apparently completely changed his views on Whitman, whom he used to disparage.

659. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14-16 Nov 1894. Feels certain that Fels will visit Bolton. Traubel wants to write "something" on the Czar.

660. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17-19 Nov 1894. Wonders whether Witcroft, recently returned to the States, had a falling out with Wallace, since neither mentions the other. Wants Wallace to send him a list of English labour papers. Inquires as to his views on Miss Martyn's proposed trip Traubel doubts that there is much to be learned from Labour organisations in the States. Has written a poem entitled "The Dead Czar: 1894". Traubel considers the Czar to have been subject to the same accident of birth as any other. Platt is to lecture on *Trilby*. Praise for Henry D Lloyd and his new book.

661. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 20-21 Nov 1894. Fels has apparently not yet reached Bolton. The Depression in the US continues, and is causing much suffering. "It is all for good, but the good is not within the common vision. Walt's influence grows but has not yet taken any real hold on workingmen." Is sending copies of Belgrave's book on Money. Traubel admires him greatly.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 24-26 Nov 1894. More on his sense of joy and on others' testimonies of confidence in him and the power of his words. Tucker, Forman and Savage have joined the Fellowship. By 31 May the Fellowship will have 200 members as he predicted. The Boston circle is thriving.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 27-29 Nov 1894. Fels writes that he has met [Fred] Wild and will visit Anderton. Is pleased a day away from the bank tomorrow will enable to work on the "dozen tasks" that await him at home. The Ethical Fellowship will discuss "The French Revolution in Romance" that evening, the speaker being Dwight McLawry, a Philadelphia lawyer. Has had letters from Wallace, Fels, Mrs Fels, William Clarke, Platt and others. Fels reports that Wallace remains opposed to joining the Fellowship.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28-29 Dec 1894. Stanford University has ordered forty copies of the Webster *Leaves of Grass*, which means that Whitman has become part of the syllabus. Professor Hudson, an eminent scientist there, is "devoted to Walt." Inquires whether Wallace has read Stevenson who was a great friend of Mrs Fairchild. Traubel doubts that Stevenson will enter the canon of English literature.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30 Dec 1894. Trevor has an article in the *Forum* on his Labor Church. Traubel likes his *Prophet* better than Hardie's *Leader*. Comments on Hardie's limitations, and wonders how far read "in Walt". Burns will speak tomorrow evening, although Traubel cannot go, being detained in the bank until towards midnight.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 31 Dec 1894-1 Jan 1895. Ruminations on the new year. Is very busy. Burns' address to "several thousand people" recommended Whitman.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 2-3 Jan 1895. Mysterious reference to "the precious books". Jaffries and Henry S Salt. Jaffries described as being on the threshold of understanding Whitman. Copies of the *Chronicle* from Sixsmith have arrived. Anne says Wallace will know why she has not written and hears what she does not say. Fels has been ill, but is cheerful; he is generally subject to depression.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4 Jan 1895. Acknowledges a Christmas card from Johnston. Traubel has delayed sending letters, since he had a misgiving that Wallace would rather not continue the correspondence.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30 Jan 1895. Fels is looking better than he has for years, after having adjusted from his trip.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 31 Jan 1895. Is glad to have Wallace's notes and indirect messages. Dr Johnston has sent his poem on Burns, which Traubel thinks is among the best things he has done. The children are ill: Wallace has a slight attack of pneumonia; Gertrude is better.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 1 Feb 1895. Has been to see his mother, who has been kept in bed with a cold. She is becoming physically frailer though mentally and emotionally undiminished.
673. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 2 Feb 1895. Description of his different views from Wallace on English politics. Traubel is an individualist and a gradualist and welcomes any step "which makes for freedom and solidarity by whomsoever made or by whatever instrument accomplished". He is a Liberal in sympathy, but "would not give fealty to any party". The individual and "the over-soul, in which all differences meet & are no more", take precedence over all. He deeply mistrusts state power. The children are causing concern during this severe winter and Anne must stay indoors with them.

674. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 3 Feb 1895. The Boston members of the Fellowship propose to set up a Concordance. Traubel expresses surprise that Wallace and the Bolton Whitmanites do not countenance the idea of publishing their papers with the American Fellowship, and in fact never mention them to Traubel. Sixsmith has written, saying: "I hope something will soon be done to make an alliance of our forces possible", but Traubel thinks this unlikely.

675. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4 Feb 1895. Attended a Council meeting that evening in which Fels and his wife explained Wallace's objections to the American Fellowship There is nothing to be done on either side at present. Traubel sends greetings and assurances of honour and respect.

676. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5 Feb 1895. Has not yet received the new Carpenter pamphlet. Thinks the first of the series, *Sex & Love*, is the best and most original. Complains that he could have sold a lot of Carpenter's pamphlets in America "but he never honored my order for them."

677. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 6-7 Feb 1895. In the midst of a great snowstorm. The children, who have colds, must stay indoors, due to rapid and severe changes of weather. Wallace has lost a lot of weight. They are snowed in – that is, all except Traubel, who "only with great struggle succeeded in crossing the river to my work". Traubel fears for his mother.

678. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 Feb 1895. Announces his mother's death, of pneumonia, an indirect victim of the great snowstorm. Traubel, who could not get to her, will miss "the rich exaltation which especially of late years has passed from her to me when we met".

679. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9 Feb 1895. His father is coping with his loss, although he has grown quite thin from constantly caring for his wife. Feels the presence of his mother beyond death.

680. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10-11 Feb 1895. Has spent a part of the day at Wayne Junction, where his mother will be lie until spring, when she can be placed with her mother in Camden, in a cemetery not far from Harleigh.

681. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12-13 Feb 1895. Fels insists that Traubel go to Europe with him in the summer, but he has declined. Expresses fear of his reception in Bolton. Maynard might visit soon. Several of his sonnets are very fine.

682. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14-15 Feb 1895. Is expecting Maynard. Has secured Young a copy of 1st edition of *Leaves of Grass* for $25, and has heard of another
copy at the same price. Hopes to know eventually where most of the existing copies are. Fels to help entertain Maynard. Will spend time in Camden and visit Harleigh, where the cemetery is packed with snow. It is difficult to make trips outside the cities away from the railway lines. Thanks to Sixsmith for the paper. Thinks Annie Besant is not being fairly treated and will print her letter. Glad the Parnellites have not been able to upset the government.

683. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 16 Feb 1895. Quotes from Burroughs' letter of condolence, and mentions Bucke's letter also. Maynard has arrived and is as "full of boyish enthusiasm as ever".

684. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 17 Feb 1895. Went with Maynard to tea at Fels', then returned to the city together. Pointed out local spots associated with Walt. Maynard stayed in town, then rejoined Traubel for a visit to Harleigh cemetery. Sunny weather, but damp underfoot.

685. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 18 Feb 1895. Spent last evening with Maynard, Smith, Marie Smith, Dalmas, Fels, Dr Abbey, Mrs Fels and L.J. [?] at the Fels'. Maynard has now gone back to Baltimore.

686. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19 Feb 1895. Will Innes is ill. The Traubels will possibly leave Camden in the spring, depending on money; it is cheaper to live in Camden than in or near Philadelphia.

687. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 20-21 Feb 1895. Grateful to Sixsmith for his letter and sends him a message from Innes to expect a letter. Bucke writes often. Thanks to Wallace for his letter with its warm words, received today. Traubel is waiting for [Hamelin] Garland, the famous writer on Western life, to come east.


689. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 24-25 Feb 1895. Platt insists that he owes Wallace money for books and wishes he would send a bill. Traubel again laments Carpenter's failure to send pamphlets he had ordered. Would like to make The Conservator weekly, were that at all possible.

690. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 26-27 Feb 1895. Is sending the Feb issue of Poet Lore, which contains a letter from Whitman to Kennedy. Anne is not well. Johnston has influenced Charles Dana to print Whitman's poems in groups (selected by Johnston) in Sunday issues of The Sun. Tucker, who has written sarcastically in Liberty that Dana has just discovered Whitman, was always a loyal supporter of Leaves of Grass.

691. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28 Feb-2 March 1895. Is printing Miss Clarke's paper on "Passage to India" in The Conservator. "I do not think L of G will be profoundly appreciated until we have a race of men enjoying Cosmic Consciousness." Is going to Lakewood on 2 March. Anne has recovered from her "grip".


694. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 6-7 March 1895. Has received a print of a portrait photograph of himself taken by Maynard, whose pictures of Whitman's tomb at Harleigh are also excellent. Maynard will give Traubel the plate so he can have copies printed and he will send one to Wallace. Maynard is in West Virginia. Has now received letters from Wallace, Sixsmith and Johnston about his mother.

695. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 March 1895. Feels overwhelmed by tasks undone, but enjoys all tasks which all have a bearing on the spirit.

696. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9 March 1895. Last night saw Julia Marlow in *Romeo and Juliet* and today saw her as Lady Teazle. She has invited Traubel to call on her.

697. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10 March 1895. Has received a thick packet of letters from Wallace. Has just taken Gertrude to the river, which she calls "the big water".

698. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11 March 1895. Has heard from Wallace's letter of 28 Feb of Marion Coates's probable trip to America.

699. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12-13 March 1895. Recognises Dr Johnston's prominence in Bolton, but thinks him less interested in the labour question than Wallace. Has had a letter from Ingersoll. Miss Clarke's article on *Passage to India*, which treats Whitman's anthropomorphism, occasioned much discussion when it was presented at the Boston branch of the Fellowship Traubel does not assent to her views.

700. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14-15 March 1895. Bucke expects to visit in April, when the Whitman mss be divided. Harned is impatient for this to be done. Traubel feels equivocal about the proposed division, which will spare him some work, but which raises questions about security. "The mss valuable but mainly not new. The letters (… 3000 of them) are generally of little value." Spring approaches; the children play outside. Frank Williams' wife has been very ill for most of the winter.

701. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 16-17 March 1895. Has had letters from Wallace and Sixsmith. The Traubels are ready to receive Miss Coates but she is the guest of the Fels' and Traubel does not expect to see her much. Hopes to meet her on 26 March (third anniversary of Walt's death). Charlie inquires about Ed Innes, who will eventually write himself.

702. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 18 March 1895. Notes that the third anniversary of Whitman's death is approaching. Commentary on the passage of time and its relation to eternity. Regrets for Fels' sake that he has no children.
703. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19-20 March 1895. Wonders if his notes at the time of Whitman's death will ever be published. Is looking forward to Marion Coates's arrival, but doubts he will be able to have a truly intimate conversation with her in Fels' much visited house.

704. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 21 March 1895. Is looking forward to Bucke's visit. Platt has three fine boys whose image is still strong in Traubel's mind after his last visit to Lakewood. Mrs Platt was a student of Wyatt Eaton, but for several years she has suffered with severe lameness in the left arm, which has made painting impossible.

705. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 22 March 1895. Received papers from Wallace and Charlie today. Is much interested in Jeffries. Who is Jebb, who writes of him and Burroughs in "Great Thoughts"? Has sent copies of The Conservator. Thinks Whitman's vision was larger than mere anthropomorphism, but finds himself in general agreement with Miss Clarke.

706. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 24 March 1895. Is to go to Tioga this evening, and Anne will, if possible, go with him. Fels has been to see the Traubels. He brought Marion over from New York that morning. She is tired but well, although "not vigorously moved to engage in conversation". Writes again having returned with Anne from Tioga.

707. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 25-26 March 1895. Tomorrow is the day of dinner and celebration, at which thirty guests are anticipated. Expects Brinton to speak. Traubel himself has yet had no satisfactory talk with Marion. Maynard insists that Kennedy's book will never be published.

708. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 27-28 March 1895. The dinner was successful – twenty-eight guests present, half of whom were women. In some ways the most "social" meeting since Walt's death. Encloses a copy of the Ledger containing a list of guests. Traubel to print Brinton's speech on "Walt Whitman and Science" in The Conservator. J H Johnston "spoke finely" and read from the Leaves.

709. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 29 March 1895. Reiterates his view that Leaves of Grass will never be generally appreciated until a sufficient number of people enjoy Cosmic Consciousness.

710. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30-31 March 1895. Marion is staying with Traubel's family in Camden. The English actor 'Tree' cannot, in Traubel's view, play Hamlet. Traubel expresses his passion for the theatre.

711. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 1 April 1895. Miss Clarke, now visiting Brinton, will return toward the end of the month. Traubel is planning a welcoming meeting at which it is hoped she will speak. Poet Lore remains loyal to Walt.

712. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 2-3 April 1895. Has the manuscript of "Whitman and Science" – not Brinton's best piece, but still "high and satisfying". Asks Wallace to check Brown's volumes on Symonds and confirm his complete omission of Whitman.
713. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4-6 April 1895. Bucke to postpone his trip until May. Harned seems to have dropped completely out of all Whitman movements, and Traubel sees little of him. Frank Williams is extremely ill. Recommends the article "Undercurrents" in the April Conservator. Fels has gone north, to New York and New Jersey, and may get to St Louis.

714. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 7-8 April 1895. Quashes Wallace's hopes that he might visit England that year; has neither the time nor the money. Deplores what has happened to Oscar Wilde. Wilde met Brinton often in Philadelphia.

715. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9-10 April 1895. Will write in his Collect about Brown's partial editing of the Symonds book, in which he relations with Whitman are never mentioned. The book itself is too expensive for Traubel to buy but he will see a copy of it. A meeting for Miss Clarke has been scheduled for 29th April. The annual Whitman dinner is to be held in Philadelphia; next year it will probably be in Boston. The Traubels see little of Marion.

716. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11-12 April 1895. Has heard from Frank Williams' son that he is critically ill. Has been to a meeting at the Academy of Music addressed by Henry George and others. Marion did not especially enjoy it and thinks English meetings better. Reflects on her reaction to "the peculiarities of the American character", which she thinks too nonchalant.

717. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 13 April 1895. Is sending "an indifferent newspaper report" of last night's meeting. Demands to know how much of "the socialistic program" Wallace accepts. Traubel has argued with Marion, who thinks Traubel's group is superficial because they are unwilling to support state power.

718. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14 April 1895. Glad to get his letter of 10 April, but sorry to learn that he has been unwell. Is expecting Marion to dinner today; if she comes they will go to Harleigh in the afternoon. Anne will write. Is sending today's New York Sun. Mysterious reference to "That Whitman matter … managed by Johnston and really well done, and with tact."

719. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15 April 1895. Horace, Anne and Marion have walked to Harleigh and back, a trip of about three hours. Feels that for once he seemed nearer the true Marion. In the evening, they all went to Tioga together. Ed Innes joined them at tea, plus Longaker with two of his children.

720. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 16 April 1895. Reiterates that he cannot go to Europe that summer. "Yet my heart asks to see you, & all, face to face." Heard a lecture this evening by G Hudson Shaw about the reception of Blatchford's book Merrie England. Part of the audience was shocked, but the rest applauded.

721. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17 April 1895. Is sending a notice of the meeting of the 29th. Many more women are becoming interested in Whitman. "I think it must be different with you in Bolton if I may quote from what I am told." Miss Clarke is to speak at the meeting and Traubel expects she will perform well. He hopes Marion can go. She fell down the stairs at Fels' yesterday evening.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

722. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19 April 1895. Everyone likes Marion, but Traubel is not sure of her interest in Americans. "She very evidently has not come to us from a city. A flower of the field, an English daisy." He advises Wallace not to postpone his second trip indefinitely. Family is well and happy and enjoying being out-of-doors.

723. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 20-21 April 1895. Is touched by Wallace's kind words in his last letter, but thinks that Marion, disillusioned herself, will disillusion him on his return. Wishes that Fels would send bulk copies of Blatchford's *Merrie England* for distribution in America. Traubel will write to Blatchford, whom he thinks more gifted than Hardie.

724. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 22 April 1895. Is reading [Henry S] Salt's book (sent to him to review), especially enjoying his sketch of Thoreau. "Animal Rights" has a big circulation in America and has become something of a credo for anti-vivisection and related groups.

725. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 23-25 April 1895. Reassures Wallace that he is well – Marion has apparently reported otherwise. Smith is to visit England.

726. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 26 April 1895. Complains of being sent apologies when what he wants are letters.

727. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 27 April 1895. Marion and he disagree about the means to freedom, she favouring the law and he the individual.

728. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28 April 1895. The meeting for Miss Clarke is tomorrow. Traubel thinks she sees many things "not disclosed to average scholars". Plus desultory comments on Thoreau.

729. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 29 April 1895. Meeting for Miss Clarke this evening is not expected to be large. Platt is about to visit. Wants Wallace to ask Smith, when he arrives in Bolton, about Platt.

730. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30 April 1895. Miss Clarke's paper was well received and will be published in *The Conservator*. Brinton was somewhat antagonistic "but was rather bravely met and … defeated in all his contentions". Twenty-seven present, many of whom were women.

731. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 1 May 1895. Hopes for a message from Wallace for 31 May, and wishes that Bolton would send its representative. The Boston Branch is active; Johnston is about to launch one in New York, and Garland is planning to inaugurate one in Chicago. Assures Wallace that "We do nothing exterior to push the membership".

732. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 2-3 May 1895. Bucke writes "flatteringly" of Traubel's "undercurrents". Dalmas will soon be in England again. Traubel fears "this will be the last of him as an American musician." Reference to Smith's brother, Marshall, "a far more ample character – far – reaching, careful, poised."

733. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4 May 1895. Has a meeting on Monday, then will prepare for the meeting on 31st. Wants to know the result of the experiment of the
College in renting a room for its meetings. Many American members prefer to meet in a public place where they pay their own bills than in private houses.

734. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5-6 May 1895. Marion has been staying in Camden. "She comes and goes, in her own free way." But Traubel senses her distrust. John Lane, the London publisher, has been to see Traubel. He is to publish *Leaves of Grass* as edited by Le Gallienne, and wants Traubel's co-operation. "It is to be a handsome book, two volumes, to cost about four dollars." A second edition on thin paper will follow later.

735. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 7 May 1895. Has been discussing socialism with Marion. No fundamental differences, but they differ with regard to methods. "It is idle for socialists to speak of this as an age of individual liberty and to charge failure to it. This is an age of privilege. Remove the privilege. We will then win a just reward for every worker."

736. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8-9 May 1895. Gertrude speaks of Marion as "Uncle Wallace's girl", as if she were his child. Fels is ordering 500 copies of *Merrie England* which Traubel will distribute.

737. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10-11 May 1895. Will Innes is recovering from his serious illness. Frank Williams is also said to be slowly mending. Smith is to sail next Tuesday.

738. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12 May 1895. Nordan's book is being much discussed in Europe and America. Traubel thinks him 'a sensationalist, without manners, superficial, the victim of a theory. Burroughs thinks him a blackguard.'


740. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15-16 May 1895. "A Negro [sic] professor" from Howard University in Washington, will speak on the 31st on "Walt's importance to the negro [sic] and the part which *L of G* will play in the future history of his race."

741. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17 May 1895. Tom White, a lawyer, is to speak tonight at the Ethical Fellowship (in Philadelphia) on Nordan. White is "a pretty fair critic", especially of men like Ibsen and Whitman, "disciple[s] of liberty" like himself.

742. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17 May 1895. Bucke to arrive next week en route to a trial in Massachusetts. While he is there they will divide the Whitman literary effects. But he will probably not stay until 31st May, which is disappointing.

743. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 18-19 May 1895. Traubel urges Wallace not to let Marion alarm him with concerns for his health. He is perfectly well and contented with life. Acknowledges Wallace's note re Hardie's picture, which arrived today, as did Wallace's note for Anne. Anne will write soon. Her love for Wallace remains unabated. Went to the theatre yesterday to see *The Manxman* played by Wilson Barret's company.
744. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 20 May 1895. Thanks again for the picture of Hardie. Hardie's moral nature is excellent but he seems to Traubel to lack balance. Blatchford, on the other hand, "is so gifted in imagination & poise that all the other leaders (except, of course, Morris & Carpenter) pale before him."

745. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 21 May 1895. Is sending Wallace a copy of the birthday circular. Platt will leave for Lakewood, via New York, this evening. They are preparing for 31st. Asks if Hardie published any books or pamphlets giving his philosophy in connected shape, which Traubel would wish to read, so as not to do him an injustice.

746. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 22 May 1895. Expects a fair-sized celebration on 31st. Triggs to celebrate in Chicago. Predicts that before long Walt's birthday will be celebrated in fifty places.

747. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 23 May 1895. Refers to Wallace's letter defining his ideas about socialism. Contests the personal charges that are apparently levelled at him. Traubel only prefers "free to coercive reform"; being in favour of individualism does not mean he lacks a sense of solidarity, nor is there only one path to equality.

748. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 24 May 1895. Traubel continues to defend the views outlined above.

749. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 25-26 May 1895. Thanks to Charley [sic], to whom he has not written for a long time, for the papers. Expects Maynard will arrive from Boston on the 31st and that Baker will arrive from Washington. Brinton has withdrawn from the Presidency and possibly the Fellowship Smith will probably report to Wallace on this.

750. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 27-28 May 1895. Sorry to see Bucke leave yesterday evening. Left a paper, 'Was Walt Whitman Mad?', which Harned will read at the meeting on Friday. Mrs Caldwell of Oil City [PA] has contributed a chapter to Bucke's *Cosmic Consciousness*. Bucke has gone to see her, and will travel from there direct to London (Ont.).

751. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 29-30 May 1895. Wallace's letter for 31st has arrived. Traubel thinks it an excellent letter and he will read it at the evening meeting.

752. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 31 May 1895. Encloses a programme of the day's meetings. Maynard has arrived. Brinton will not be present, nor has he taken any part in the preliminary work. Harned will preside. Traubel always enjoys the day itself, but, having arranged the entire programme himself, is anxious that it prove all that it ought to be.

753. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 1-2 June 1895. Mrs Davis appeared at the dinner. Traubel had sent her a notice. Cauffman's song was masterly and should be published. Regretted Dalmas's absence, "but he was stubbornly opposed, even refusing to attend".

754. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 3-4 June 1895. Traubel is just back from Lakewood and a day at the sea with some of the guests from the 31st, including Maynard and
Mrs Talmage, of New York. Is determined to make the June Conservator, a Whitman number. Was especially impressed by Miller, the African American.

755. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5-6 June 1895. Garland writes about lecturing in the three-week lecture series on Whitman inaugurated by Triggs. The Boston Branch of the Fellowship held a successful meeting on Gloucester beach.

756. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 7-8 June 1895. John Henry MacKay has joined the Fellowship Harrison Morris is to travel to Europe, but will not visit Bolton. He appears to have lost his interest in Whitman, and also his radicalism.

757. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9-10 June 1895. Discussed the ideals of state socialism and individualism at the Ethical Fellowship on Friday. Regrets Marion missed the evening.

758. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11-12 June 1895. Platt and Traubel to visit Williams this evening at his home in Germantown. Bucke is urging Traubel to contribute a chapter to his book. Platt’s travel plans. Williams still looks weak but seems otherwise almost well. Morris is to marry a daughter of Joseph Wharton, "about twenty times a millionaire and a monopolist of the first stripe".

759. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 13 June 1895. Bucke writes of Carpenter's Homogenic Love that some readers have claimed he "endorses Sodomistic practices and that Walt himself is to be construed in the same sense". Marion has heard likewise. Bucke says the charge is impossible to justify. Traubel has never seen the pamphlet in question, but asks Wallace either to send a copy or to give him "the substance of some passage that may have given rise to the nasty suspicion."

760. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14 June 1895. Brinton's suspicion of Whitman is the same as that mentioned by Bucke. Traubel thinks this "dannable". He has Walt's original draft of the letter he wrote to Symonds plainly refuting that charge. Is spreading Blatchford's books.

761. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15 June 1895. While Traubel writes Wallace every day, Wallace writes only rarely. But Traubel gets news of him through Marion and the Fels's. Speaks of his increasing love for Bucke.

762. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 16 June 1895. Marion has returned from Telford. The Conservator, a Whitman issue, to come out next week. Hears indirectly that Smith is profiting by his travels. Is printing Dr Thurnam's work. Platt read aloud at the evening meeting; Traubel read from Wallace's letter. Family is well.

763. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17 June 1895. Is to publish Burroughs' article, "Emerson's and Lowell's Views of Whitman". Triggs has written on "Degeneracy". Has heard from Garland. The celebration at the University of Chicago on 31 May was a great success. The Chronicle treats Wilde "brutally". Traubel laments its Jingoism, which is also prevalent in America.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19 June 1895. Is still wondering why Beville and others have put "so evil an interpretation" on Carpenter's arguments in his new pamphlet. Carpenter's later work does not seem to Traubel as fine as *Sex-Love*.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 20 June 1895. Is reading Carpenter's *Homogenic Love*, which Bucke has lent him. Concludes that the mistaken assumption that Walt did not have strong feelings against physical same-sex relations is not Carpenter's but Beville's. Appreciates Carpenter's "general spiritual attitude".

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 21 June 1895. Comments on Wallace's not writing, and his feeling shut out from him. Marion and others are to speak at the meeting tonight. While he and Marion disagree politically. Repeats that he hardly ever sees her by herself. Bucke, who writes often, keeps Traubel's spirits up.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 22 June 1895. Marion read from her speech. Traubel agreed with most of it. Believes that Wallace has sent him a book of poems by Dowden. Awaiting Wallace's next letter, but in the mean time his heart is engaged with others.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 23 June 1895. Complains that he hears nothing from Wallace, although his friends do. Traubel is working hard. Marion spent most of the day with the Traubels.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 24 June 1895. Last night Traubel had the best talk with Marion thus far. Finds her political sense somewhat lacking.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 25 June 1895. Has discovered Carpenter's pamphlet is for private circulation and does not therefore want Wallace to send one. Asks again for articles for *The Conservator* describing the condition of labour agitation in England.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 26 June 1895. Is posting a letter from Anne, who is perturbed by Carpenter's pamphlet. Traubel looks forward to idealised social relations far above all passions. Asks again for Wallace to write.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 27 June 1895. Has achieved a good response to his Whitman number of *The Conservator*. A large number of people are becoming acquainted with Whitman's work. Anne and the children to go to Lakewood. Traubel is sending a big bundle of World's Fair books to complete the set sent a year ago.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28-29 June 1895. Impatient to hear from Wallace. His own interest in life intensifies daily. Intends to publish a book of his poems within the next two years. Hears that Dalmas reached England. Believes he will not now "sing out of America's heart".
H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30 June 1895. Marion has told Traubel of Wallace's visit to Ireland. Johnston has sent his reflections on cycling. Traubel has not written to him for a long time, or to Charlie who continues to send the papers.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 1 July 1895. A Whitman Branch is to be formed in Knoxville, Tennessee. Reflections on the slowness of the movement toward freedom in the South. Young, who comes from an old Southern family, is not altogether free of racism. Bucke insists that Carpenter does not mean anything more than intensified friendship in the relations he speaks of.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 2-3 July 1895. Smith has written from Florence. He will soon be in England and will visit Wallace. Traubel is engrossed in Walt's papers.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4 July 1895. Received letters from Wallace today, the first for over a month, and feels satisfied. Has sent a big package of the Columbian Fair pamphlets on Anne's behalf.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5 July 1895. Is going to Lakewood tomorrow, but not with the family as expected. Is reviewing *The Coming Revolution* by Henry L Call, whose thinking Traubel sees as resembling Wallace's. Traubel likes the book but disagrees with Call's conclusions.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 6-7 July 1895. Is going to Lakewood at four o'clock. Is studying England's political affairs and wants all copies of *The Guardian* and *The Chronicle* when Wallace has finished reading them. Is wondering whether Blatchford would write for *The Conservator*. Then, early morning in Lakewood, waiting to visit the sea, ten miles east. Mrs Platt, Platt and Miss Glover all send regards. Platt insists that he owes Wallace more and that Wallace will not let him pay.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 July 1895. Lequick, "one of Walt's friends in San Francisco has blown his brains out". Traubel recalls his kindness to Whitman during his illness, and so "see[s] through the tragic exit to the immortal issue". Very hot at Lakewood. Enjoyed his visit to the seaside. Walt spent several weeks with Burroughs there and wrote "With Husky-Haughty Lips, O Sea."

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9-10 July 1895. Is looking forward to the English election. Wonders whether the Socialists will defeat the Liberals or abstain from voting where they have no candidates. Claims he is not a Socialist but sympathetic to "the forces at work in the socialistic philosophy". Marion would like to see the election. English electoral battles seem short and sharp in comparison to American ones, which cover months. Thanks for papers from Charlie.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11-12 July 1895. Next issue of *The Conservator* to be printed in five days. Smith [?] is now in England, perhaps with Wallace. Has not heard from Dalmas. Anne's trip to Lakewood postponed for another week. Thinks the English Liberals will be thoroughly whipped, but that "Labor will yet get much through that party".
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

784. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 13 July 1895. Enjoys Johnston's own enjoyment of his cycling. Traubel's desire to see the Bolton group increases, but he has no hope of making the trip. There is much interest in America in the English election. Traubel thinks England "very slow to grant obvious rights to Ireland".

785. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14 July 1895. Has gratefully received a copy of *Homogenic Love* from Carpenter. Platt has written to Carpenter. No letters from Wallace, but continues to receive papers from Sixsmith. Hears that Smith left England yesterday – possibly without seeing Wallace.

786. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15-16 July 1895. Bucke is to go on holiday for the summer. Burroughs is away from West Point. Sudden news of the death of Marion's father has meant that she will sail for home immediately. She seems sustained by faith and "visited by a strange and beautiful calm".

787. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17-18 July 1895. Is sorry for Hardie's defeat. "In punishing the Liberals the socialists have also destroyed their own." Is optimistic about the long run and fascinated by the devious paths by which that end is reached. Anne and the children are to go to Lakewood on Saturday. Smith is expected to arrive at the end of the week. Traubel thinks he cannot have reached Bolton.

788. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19-20 July 1895. John Swinton, one of America's earlier labor leaders and now an editor on *The Sun*, New York, has joined the Fellowship. He was also one of Walt's companions in New York. Eldridge has also joined the Fellowship. His book of reminiscences of Walt is still in manuscript. Wants to write an article for Traubel, explaining how it came about that Walt publicly used the Emerson letter.

789. H L Traubel, Lakewood, to J W Wallace, 21-22 July 1895. Arrived yesterday afternoon with Anne and the children. Traubel goes sailing with Platt. Anne overcome by the heat. Traubel goes back town in the morning but the rest are staying for the week. Carpenter sent a second copy of *Homogenic Love*, evidently intended for Anne. Anne says Wallace did not answer her questions.

790. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 23 July 1895. Is sleeping in Tioga this week in Anne's absence. Smith is back, looking well. In love with the French and with Paris, but did not like England. Traubel regrets that he failed to meet Wallace. Tried unsuccessfully to find Carpenter. Salt was away and Forman was not accessible.

791. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 24-25 July 1895. Sarrazin, who has just joined the Fellowship, has written Traubel a fine letter. Traubel will ask Berenger to write an article on him, which will be published in a Parisian magazine and translated for *The Conservator*. Is closely following the Socialists' battle against British conventions.

793. H L Traubel, Lakewood, to J W Wallace, 28 July 1895. Everybody going to the shore today. Traubel brought Wallace's latest note to Anne which arrived in Camden today. Wanted some explication of Carpenter's pamphlet.

794. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5-6 Aug 1895. Complains of rarely hearing from Wallace. Thinks Smith's failure to meet Carpenter was Dalmas' fault. Burroughs has an article in the next issue of The Conservator on Stedman and Gosse as critics of Whitman.

795. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 7-8 Aug 1895. Is glad that Hardie has decided to come to America. He will need to succeed as a speaker. Charley has sent the papers, The Labour Leader seems "dull" and The Clarion "strong". Asks whether the Labour party has almost dropped out of the new parliament. The socialists got in their blow. It was what in baseball we here call a "sacrifice" hit.

796. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9-10 Aug 1895. Anne and the children are now in Tioga with the Fels for a brief stay. Traubel remains busy and happy. Loves Fels as a brother. Is preparing the next issue of The Conservator. Harned has sent a "good note" on Walt by Corning, now a Consul. Garland writes that he has gone prospecting through the Western mountains.

797. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11 Aug 1895. Bucke expects Calamus to be published in the Fall or winter. He will use any written interview with Peter Doyle as a part of the introduction. Doyle now lives in Philadelphia and Traubel encounters him occasionally. His love for Walt is undiminished. "Symonds could not have divined the sort of man Pete is, else his description would have been impossible."

798. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12-14 Aug 1895. The family misses Marcon, whom Traubel believes to have benefited from her trip. Weather still sultry, but Traubel is well and working ceaselessly. Harland to publish a volume of "Conversations" on Walt; "He is stupid, if not a rascal." Hears of Dalmas through his mother. Thinks Fels has also lost faith in Dalmas.

799. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15-16 Aug 1895. The Conservator almost typeset. The paper is acquiring some standing in America and this increases the number of manuscripts submitted and adds to the volume of Traubel's correspondence. "I look forward to having it made semi-monthly and then weekly."

800. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17-19 Aug 1895. Wishes they were physically closer and doubts that they will ever meet again. Anne and the children are staying in the country as much as possible. Traubel is not given a holiday until Oct. Thinks The Chronicle markedly provincial, particularly in its mean-spirited allusion to America. Even The Clarion, in spite of "solidarity", manifests something of the same temper."

801. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 20-21 Aug 1895. Recommends Wallace visit America and come and stay with the Traubels. More on Smith's impressions of his visit.
802. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 22-24 Aug 1895. Garland has taken his mule to the Rockies, where he will spend the summer. He remains faithful to Walt. Bucke is still at Gloucester Pool. His daughter Clare is seriously ill with typhoid fever. Traubel hears nothing from Dalmas, only reports of him now and then.

803. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 25-27 Aug 1895. Is glad Marion will return to America. Has heard that a "W W book" has been published in Australia, and seeks information. Wishes Charley would keep him informed about publications concerning Walt, and offers to pay for anything purchased on his behalf. Hopes still to enlarge the scope of the Fellowship Papers. Hot weather continues.


805. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 31 Aug 1895. Charlie has written, criticising the American papers for their ignorance in their discussion of English affairs. Traubel thinks the same is true of English papers discussing American affairs. Repeats his criticism of *The Chronicle* and *The Clarion*.

806. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 1-4 Sept 1895. Traubel may go over to New York with Platt next Saturday to watch the first boat race [of the Americas Cup]. Bucke is confident that Kegan Paul and Co will publish his Doyle letters, but Traubel is sceptical. Is hearing from Sarrazin again after long silence. Asks Wallace to procure a good picture of Carpenter.

807. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5-7 Sept 1895. Williams is very sick again after going back to business too soon. Has Wallace read Brown's *Symonds* volume? Wonders how much credit is given to Walt for Symonds' "latter-day philosophy" and whether "the biographer suppress[es] him". Is concerned to hear that Wallace is not well. Bucke's children are mending. Morris has been down with a fever in British Columbia.

808. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8-10 Sept 1895. Comments on the Americas Cup, which "has not turned your way". Traubel is just back from Lakewood and the shore. Imagines Wallace would like the New Jersey countryside. Sarrazin has sent a paper describing his work, which Traubel may translate for *The Conservator*. Is aware that he has not mailed Wallace a letter for a long time.

809. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11-12 Sept 1895. Speaks of his happiness and hopes Wallace feels the same. Is filled with great love "but my lips will not speak".

810. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 13-24 Sept 1895. Marion's father has died. Traubel calls for a breaking of ice between Wallace and himself in the light of their discipleship of Whitman as prophet.

811. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15-18 Sept 1895. Williams still very ill. Bucke has sent the manuscript to Kegan Paul. When Traubel submitted some of the Washington letters from Whitman to his mother to Houghton Mifflin and Co., they thought them 'too personal'. Comments on his constant trouble in making ends meet. His holiday approaches.
H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19-21 Sept 1895. More on Dunraven's lack of sportsmanship on losing the Americas Cup Traubel hopes at last to have been included in Trevor's exchange list for *The Chronicle*. Has found it hard to persuade the labour papers to exchange with *The Conservator*. Is sent *The Islamic World*, from Liverpool, and *The Harbinger* from Lahore.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 22-23 Sept 1895. Is proposing to issue in the Fall a paperback edition of *Leaves of Grass*, priced at fifty cents, something Walt was always in favour of, but McKay, who sells about a thousand copies of prose and verse each year, opposed. Clare and Morris Bucke are recovered from their illness. Did Wallace meet Morris when he was in London? None of Bucke's boys seems literary.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 24-26 Sept 1895. Receives papers from Charley regularly. His *Arena* article is brief, informal and rather personal; Traubel thinks Wallace will like some of it. The Whitman movement in America shows steady growth and the Fellowship seems secure.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 27-28 Sept 1895. Reference to "Fawcett's criticism" which has "considerably aroused Burroughs". Fawcett described as "a writer of rare skill" and a personal friend of the Ingersolls. Assures Wallace he knows he is too busy to write, but that his place is always set at the table and his picture hangs on the wall.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 29-30 Sept 1895. Bucke has taken many of Walt's manuscripts to Canada. Harned has some in Philadelphia and Traubel, some in Camden. They will publish as they can. Traubel has Walt's two very interesting journals. Also the complete original manuscript of *Specimen Days* and *Collect*. Has had the papers from Charley and Dr Johnston has sent the "Wheelman". Traubel owes Johnston for many favours. Wonders if it will ever be possible for him to visit Bolton.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 1-3 Oct 1895. Gertrude calls Wallace "our dear Uncle Wallace over the Water", which has, to Traubel's ear, an Indian sound, recalling Longfellow's poem, "The Revenge of Rain in the Face".


REEL 7:

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 6-8 Sept 1895. Traubel to visit New York to help set up a new branch of the Fellowship Assurances of his love for Wallace.

H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 9-11 Oct 1895. Sarrazin has sent a magazine containing a sketch of his work by Berenger, which Traubel is to have translated for *The Conservator*. Is enjoying his "furlough" from the Bank.
821. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12-14 Oct 1895. Pleads with Wallace to come to America and proposes to "pool a little money to bring [him] over". Is thinking of modifying the Fellowship to make dues voluntary or unnecessary by funding it through publications. *The Conservator* is in need of funds. Wonders whether Charley would canvas for the journal, as he did once before.

822. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15-18 Oct 1895. Has seen much of Triggs of late. Triggs is English by birth but has lived most of his life in America. Fels is "pressed and hopeless" this Fall. Traubel is busy with *The Conservator*. Hardie, who is busy, speaking every night, will be Philadelphia next month. Traubel hopes to meet him.

823. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19-21 Oct 1895. Assurances of the family's continuing love for Wallace. Has received another of Johnston's cycling sketches. Pleads that he is too poor to go cycling.


825. H L Traubel, Lakewood, to J W Wallace, 25-27 Oct 1895. Is returning to Camden this afternoon, having much enjoyed himself. Platt sends love. 26 Oct, Camden: is much engaged with Innes in proofreading *The Conservator* and preparing it for press. Asks Wallace to read especially, "The Visiter" [sic], as he is one of the few who will understand its full significance.

826. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28-29 Oct 1895. Received a short note from Wallace before he went to Lakewood, but nothing since. Assures Wallace he understands him well and that his love is undiminished. *The Spectator* includes an editorial, "Why is England Unpopular?" a subject he has been thinking about since Smith's return. Regrets Wallace did not meet him.

827. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30-1 Nov 1895. Young, up from Tennessee, surprised Traubel with a visit. He intends to visit Europe in the spring and may visit Wallace in Bolton. Marion met Young at the Fels' last night. *Mimsey's* [?] will contain an illustrated article on Walt. Young to go to Lakewood this afternoon [1st Nov]. He tells Traubel that Brown, in his life of Symonds, does not discount his admiration for Walt. Traubel is relieved, since he had heard otherwise.

828. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 2 Nov 1895. Missed the train to Lakewood, where he would have joined Platt and Young. Instead, he went to hear Hardie talk this evening. Much impressed by his speech. No chance to meet him. Could not stay to the end. He speaks to the Ethical Society tomorrow morning and in the afternoon will address another labor union.

829. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 3 Nov 1895. Hardie came to visit, with Fels and several others, and stayed about an hour. Then they all, including Anne, went to Tioga and had supper there. In the evening he spoke again. All present enjoyed the speech. Traubel finds his personal traits endearing. Found that they had a lot
in common. Treated the children like a father and [his son] Wallace, at least, responded.

830. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 4-5 Nov 1895. Hardie left Philadelphia today. Hardie publicly chastised Salter for his apologetic introduction of him. Hardie wishes to exchange with *The Conservator*, although Traubel thinks his paper is "dull". Hardie says his visit to America has opened his eyes and that he will return. The man exceeds Traubel's expectations of him.

831. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 7-9 Nov 1895. Has been having wonderful mental experiences. People ask about the secret of his joy, but he cannot impart it.

832. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 10-12 Nov 1895. Wonders if Wallace will change his mind and write an occasional letter for *The Conservator* on the labour movement in England, or whether Trevor might do so. Traubel now received his paper regularly. Reflections on the role of law in structuring human relations. "In a socialist state (I do not criticise voluntary socialism), who is to prescribe the limits, for the general power to restrain and constrain?"

833. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 13-14 Nov 1895. Further reflections on the role of law, plus reflections on the wonder his children are full of.

834. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15-18 Sept 1895. Mention of Fels's misery. The family sees nothing of Marion. Is preparing for a Whitman meeting in December. Harned will read the Spood [*?] Whitman correspondence in ms. Asks Wallace to send him all papers and monthlies which treat Walt at length, for which he will gladly pay. Platt still asserts that he owes Wallace money.

835. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19-21 Nov 1895. Reassurances of his love for Wallace. Is interested in the recent issues of *The Chronicle* that have arrived that week from Charlie. Is determined to make a long visit to England "some day". Will print the Spood [*?] – Whitman correspondence in *The Conservator*. Is going to New York today to help set up the Fellowship there.

836. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 22-23 Nov 1895. Back from New York on the early train. Burroughs and Triggs spoke at the dinner last night, at which where were about 100 people. Traubel read letters from Symonds and Ingersoll sent to him and to Walt. Objects to Burroughs' reference to Walt's power "to fasten friends to him" or his assertion that his influence was "primarily personal rather than literary". Traubel wants Wallace to order American books and periodicals so as to be able to repay him for his generosity.

837. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 24-26 Nov 1895. Sarrazin has sent Traubel a copy of *L'Ermitage*, containing a fine study of his work written by Henri Berenger, one of the more brilliant of the younger French poets. This is the essay to be translated for *The Conservator*. Sarrazin thinks he would have a natural readership in America if his work were translated. Traubel is reading Walt's "Notes Left Over" in *Specimen Days* – especially "Freedom" – with "great exaltation".

838. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 27-29 Nov 1895. These days, Traubel is up at dawn and full of joy. "I swear that the old law that would set a limit upon love in order
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

to have it immortal is false to the root...". Is sending Frank Williams' *The Flute Player and Other Poems*.

839. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30 Nov-2 Dec 1895. Flower is to print two Whitman portraits in *The Arena*, which will appear in January. Traubel is writing articles for other periodicals. His reputation is growing. Is expecting Irving and Terry this month. Is thinking of writing some chapters for a book on the stage.

840. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 6-7 Dec 1895. Refers to Spencer, who is supposed to stand for freedom but who is being accused of wanting human sympathy. Is dipping into Matthew Arnold's poems. Considers Arnold sang "nobly" of "this side of death", but "death was to him veiled."

841. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8-10 Dec 1895. Considers the prospect of his coming birthday. Reads Stoddart's New York journal *Information*, "a world-history of current events". Le Gallienne seems to have abandoned his American trip, and perhaps also the idea of an English edition of the *Leaves*.

842. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11-13 Dec 1895. His meeting with Hardie was revelatory. Thinks him a speaker rather than a writer. Hardie was surprised that *The Labour Leader* and *The Conservator* had never exchanged. William Gay, of Melbourne [later given as Bendigo], has sent his address on Walt delivered to a group of Australian scientists.


844. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17-19 Dec 1895. "I have heard from Dalmas – rather fiercely, as if in a suspicion of having been wronged." More musings on his birthday.

845. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 20-23 Dec 1895. Is working on the December *Conservator*. The children are weathering this winter better than last. Is looking forward to seeing Irving and particularly Terry. Actually thinks the American (English-born) Mansfield is equal to Irving. Wants to write a book on the higher spiritual influence of the stage.

846. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 24-25 Dec 1895. Railway strike declared off yesterday. The men have been deceived. Sends Charlie many papers, often the labor papers, only some of which are populist and/or purely socialist. The family has had a plate set out for Wallace at the Christmas table.

847. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 26-28 Dec 1895. Refers to the *Collect*, in which he read of the 'big strike' and has sent Charlie the American reports of it. Sent a copy of *In Re* to Terry, who is "fond of Walt". Report of Terry's health complaints. Has enjoyed Julia Marlowe's performance and has had some correspondence with her and has printed an address in the December *Conservator*.

848. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 29-30 Dec 1895. Will send a copy of the *Arena* with its two portraits of Walt. Walt had an odd experience with Homer [?] once which
rather disappointed him in the magazine, but Flower is human. Musings on the 
year gone by and on his happiness.

849. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30 Dec 1895. Triggs will probably publish a College 
Leaves, perhaps consisting of prose and verse, with bibliographical notes. "If he 
will make a representative volume – by which we mean a volume excepting no 
department of Leaves from standing – we will consent." Kennedy's book is being 
typeset at last.

850. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 31 Dec 1895-1 Jan 1896. Musings on the end of 
year, and the beginning of the next.

851. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 2-4 Jan 1896. The strike may have been largely 
inffectual in terms of immediate gain but their case will be "more firmly quoted." 
William Gay, a young man and an invalid, of Bendigo, has sent his "able" 
pamphlet on Walt. Traubel will print "a few lines" of his verse.

The fifty-cent paperback edition of Leaves to be printed probably this month. 
Same plates as the cloth edition.

853. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8-10 Jan 1896. Is sending the Arena, with love. Did 
Johnston send the novel of Mimsey's? If not, Traubel would like to send it. 
Continues to experience "hours of supreme and unbroken joy".

854. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 11-13 Jan 1896. Has received many congratulations 
for his notes in Arena. Is sure all dues will be abolished in the Fellowship, which 
will then depend on voluntary donations. The Conservator is nearly out.

855. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14-17 Jan 1896. Wants Wallace to read "Optimos" 
in the January Conservator, which will be the title-poem of his forthcoming 
volume. Quotes from Triggs praising his article on Walt in Arena, then Bucke on 
the same.

856. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 18-21 Jan 1896. Is sending a bundle of the January 
Conservator. Wants Wallace's feedback on the Osgood correspondence with 
Whitman. The second [last] cluster is particularly moving. Has received an 
enjoyable pamphlet from Johnston with reflections by him and Wild. Continues to 
feel ecstatic about life.

857. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 29-31 Jan 1896. Carpenter writes Bucke that the 
Fellowship should do something. But Carpenter knows nothing about the 
Fellowship The fifty-cent Whitman will be out in a few weeks. Hopes that McKay 
will make an arrangement with an English bookseller. One of Traubel's 
contributors to The Conservator wonders if Traubel has seen Homogenic Love.

858. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 1-2 Feb 1896. Has not had reassuring news from 
Bucke about his health, although he remains "cheerful and sweet". Walker Coates 
is the more ductile member of the family. He comprehends the Traubels' way of 
life as Marion does not. Walt would have enjoyed his American characteristics.
859. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 3-4 Feb 1896. Cannot understand why some would-be reforming spirits berate the universe. Assurances of his love for Wallace.

860. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5-7 Feb 1896. Platt's father is likely to die soon after many years of ill health. Complains that Wallace's short note to Traubel contains no "news", but he is glad to get it. Johnston (NY) tells him that Curwen is in America. Johnston proposes a dinner in New York for him, but Traubel, who does not have even the carfare, will not go. Thinks Triggs' Whitman will be 350-400 pages with an introduction and bibliographical notes. Macmillan's has evinced some interest, but Traubel doubts they will publish. "We" [the literary executors?] will not consent to a censored edition. McKay, on the other hand, is willing to print without making conditions.

861. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8-11 Feb 1896. Has sent a card to today's Fellowship meeting. Garrison to give an address. Talcott Williams declined to speak. From what Charley has written, it would seem that The Conservator can expect no support from Bolton. For financial reasons, Traubel can no longer send unpaid-for copies. Fine meeting last night, with about sixty people. Harned read "Come up from the Fields". There was some criticism of Gay's essay, which is not complete, but is written in "friendly and lucid" English. The Conservator with the translation of Berenger's essay is being printed. Bucke's trouble with his leg continues. He does not write and says he has not worked on "CC" [Cosmic Consciousness] for a year.

862. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12-14 Feb 1896. Always prints The Conservator at a loss but believes a peaceful heart is more important than financial solvency. Traubel remains faithful to Wallace; the sea that physically separates them is no true boundary.

863. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15-16 Feb 1896. Marian is to go back to England. Had hoped that she and Anne would have become well acquainted, but it is hard to know how well they know each other. Traubel will ask her to send The Conservator the occasional letter on English labour which he has always vainly asked of Wallace. Has had several letters from Wallace, but has not heard from Bucke. Charley sends good advice, but Traubel will not necessarily take it.

864. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 17-19 Feb 1896. Traubel will send a copy of Salter's book, Anarchy of Government, which he thinks "contradictory, but written in good heart". Re-iterates his differences with Wallace on state socialism, but is inwardly "socialist, communist, solidarist – I don't know what." Would like to hear Wallace speak at public labour meetings. Spent the evening at the Fels' and Marion has been in Camden with Anne and the children.

865. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 20 Feb 1896. Anne has gone to the Opera to see Tristan and Isolde, and Traubel is at home with the children and the cat. Has got Wallace's notes from Wigan and Bolton. Bucke still does not write; Traubel wonders if he is ill. "Your postal order seems too much", but it makes him feel as though his work is worthwhile. Did Wallace get the Fellowship frontispiece portrait Traubel sent? Is sending a full set of Fellowship papers for 1895-6. Also Contents for next year.
866. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 8 June 1896. Returned yesterday from his Boston trip. Has sent Wallace some cards with the programme prepared. Bucke was there, also Harned, whose "Oratory", the best piece, was really Walt's, pieced together from old manuscript notes and revealing profound acquaintance with the history of oratory. It will be published as a Fellowship Paper in the New Year. The Fellowship has abolished dues, which Traubel hopes will enhance relations with the Bolton group. Platt sailing for England on 27th. Thinks Wallace will see him. Children well but Anne not so.

867. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 14 July 1896, small postcard. Does Wallace know William W Young of Liverpool, who has written warmly to Traubel? He is evidently a socialist and a lover of W W.

868. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 25 July 1896. Imagines Wallace will have met with Platt before receiving this letter. Traubel urges Anne to write but she is too bound up with the children to do so. "She believes you never doubt her." Fels has practically withdrawn from the paper altogether, and Traubel is working hard to keep the costs down. Popular subscription promises to be successful along with "my other resources".

869. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19 March 1897. Wallace has not written for a long time. Traubel has not heard even indirectly of him. Owes Wallace's acknowledgment for the Review recounting Carpenter's description of visit to Walt. Is longing more than ever to meet the Whitmanites in England, but this seems unlikely. Some expectation of trouble with the Bank because of his course of action during the last political campaign. No trouble has occurred, but Traubel's advancement in the Bank is now unlikely. The labour question deepens its impress in America. The Journal consistently champions the people. Asks for some word of Wallace. The children have been well all winter, but Anne has not. Burroughs does not apprehend the Walt's mysticism. Traubel is speaking on Walt on Wednesday week.

870. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15 May 1897. Postcard. Has sent a copy of Kennedy's book with its long dedication, but did not take a copy of it. Could Wallace have one made for Traubel?

871. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 27 Aug 1897. Anne was just about to take the children to NE when they contracted whooping cough, which lasted all summer. She hopes to get away in Sept. Both children are now on the mend. Traubel's father, who is still with the Harneds, contracted malignant diphtheria and was near death for several days, then rallied. With these increased demands, Traubel does not expect to escape town until Oct. Fels expected home tomorrow. New Whitman editions about to come out.

872. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 18 Feb 1898. Gertrude has scarlet fever but Wallace is well. Anne is in quarantine and very busy, but has a nurse to assist her. Wants to know if Bucke has sent him a copy of the [Wounded Soldier?]. Asks Wallace to write. Has had a letter from Platt in Florence. Ingersoll is to visit and lecture in England in 1899.
873. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 25 Feb 1898. Gertrude is convalescent but Wallace was stricken with a more violent form of the disease. He is still in danger but Longaker thinks he will survive. Anne herself has been in bed for several days.

874. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 27 Feb 1898 with an incomplete note from Anne Traubel. Announces Wallace's death at four o'clock that morning.

875. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 March 1898. Description of Wallace's death and of their grief.

876. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 12 March 1898. Is attending a dinner in New York that evening in Walt's honour. Le Gallienne is to speak. Has received Wallace's cablegram. Has been almost sick with grief, but has also experienced a visionary calm. The thought that Wallace never met him or even saw a portrait of him is distressing.

877. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 13 March 1898. During the meeting, Traubel had talked with Le Gallienne, who is still uncertain about what he expects to accomplish in America. Feels accompanied by little Wallace. Is in deep grief, but not despair. "I do not even need to wait for the morrow. The … spirit has rechristened me in its … life streams."

878. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15 March 1898. Received the day before yesterday several comforting letters written before Wallace heard of his namesake's death. Traubel asserts their common belief that "in death nothing is dead"; still, he wishes J W Wallace and he were not physically separated at this moment. The family is flooded with memories and longings, but at the same time feel that "new relations have been entered into". Appended note: Kennedy will take a trip abroad and will probably visit Wallace. Platt complains of homesickness. Thanks for Temple Bar [?]. Traubel thinks Grace intended veracity, but some of the things she reports in W W's speech seem highly improbable.

879. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5 April 1898. "We have letters from you that are like the falling rain to the parched earth." Anne is unable to resume her place in life and Traubel finds every relation changed. Has sent a copy of the National Magazine, containing a paper on Walt from Dr Bucke.

880. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 15 April 1898. Anne received a letter from Wallace this morning, which has helped her. Gertrude is out again, pale and weak but full of her usual spirits, although grieving for Wallace. Spring is slow in arriving; Anne had thought to take Gertrude to the shore, but cannot do so. Platt expects to arrive home at the end of Aug. Traubel still expects him to visit Wallace. Traubel is writing to the actor John Hare, who has been a good friend. Is cheerful and working hard.

881. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 24 June 1898. Refers to the picture of Wallace that has arrived. Many thanks for fine letters. Would Wallace write The Conservator some observations on 'the Anglosaxon alliance'? Wishes Carpenter might also write something for the journal occasionally, but cannot ask him since he cannot pay contributors. Speaks of Carpenter's American constituency which rarely sees the fugitive things he writes. Traubel did not find Carpenter's rhymed poem sent by
Wallace moving: much prefers his free verse. Anne and Gertrude will go to the mountains for the whole summer.

882. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 19 July 1898. Accompanies a photograph of Traubel taken by Will Innes. Asks how Wallace is. Anne and Gertrude to go to the mountains tomorrow to stay until Sept (gives Anne's address there.) "She is in pretty bad shape, not yet by any means recovered." Wishes Wallace would visit.

883. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 23 Dec 1898. Has sent pictures of Gertrude and Anne. This morning the book Wallace sent Gertrude for Christmas arrived. The Eastern seaboard is now undergoing an epidemic of "grip". Anne and Gertrude are both ill with it, but Traubel seems immune. Has received the Carpenter volume Wallace sent. Feels little Wallace's absence more as the months pass, and especially this Christmas. Wants to know which of the new Whitman editions Wallace has, so he can send the others.

884. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 25 Dec 1898. Has again received a letter that has given him a vision of communion with the writer. Feels bleak this Christmas. Refers to Wallace's "acts of blessedness" to friends and to his "gracious thought which needs no voice to transact its will". Anne and Gertrude are improved. The family is going tomorrow to the Innes' house. Traubel has not yet decided whether to resettle in Boston.

885. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 3 Nov 1899. Has not heard from Wallace, but feels his affection. Ingersoll, Brinton, Donaldson, Edelheim and Warry have died since he last wrote. Soon, the people who knew Walt personally will be rare. Platt was very ill in the summer, but is now back to normal – i.e. "indifferently good". Traubel keeps well. Anne and Gertrude were in the mountains all summer, but Traubel had to stay in town. Is putting together a volume of his Collect Finale, which M[ackay] & Co will bring out in the spring. In another year he hopes to produce the first quota of his notes on Walt. Regrets his continuing poverty only because he cannot visit Wallace in England. [Unsigned, possibly unfinished.]

886. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28 Feb 1902. Bucke's death has left Traubel speechless. Acknowledges "something in the touch of the flesh for which nothing this side can be substituted."In the past few months, Swinton, Hinton, Geo Whitman and Bucke have all died. All of Bucke's recent letters have been full of plans and suggestions. His Bacon book was to be brought out next. His faith remains unabated. "Yet I loved that man and felt that he belonged particularly to me."Will print a few notes from Bucke's friends in the March Conservator, and hopes Wallace will send something.

887. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 4 Jan 1903. Refers to their continuing correspondence without actual letters. Refers to his 'crack [sic] with the bank' and consequent financial challenge. More than usually difficult to keep The Conservator going now but hopes friends will tide it over the break in his personal income. He has always had to subsidise it out of his salary. Much affirmation of his faith and his determination to win through the current siege, as he feels Wallace did long ago. Still believes that Wallace will come to them some day again.
888. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 5 Feb 1903. Is glad to have Wallace's letters. Gertrude still awaits a reply from Wallace. Is going on with *The Conservator*, despite Wallace's advice. Denies Wallace's claim that it would be easy for him to find a market for his work. Moreover, he has confidence in the project. As expected, his wealthy and influential friends have reneged on him, but he refuses to despair. Notwithstanding, "the creature hungers...bother [him]."

889. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 20 Feb 1903. Letter accompanies a portrait of Traubel made in Boston in the Fall. No regular work yet. Still being refused by editors and publishers, but remains unafraid of the future. Thinks of Wallace constantly. Gertrude looks for Wallace's letter every day. Invites Wallace as a brother to come to the family.

890. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 13 April 1903. Has just received Wallace's letter of 3rd. Traubel is "getting along" but not thriving. Is always kept busy but never earns much money. Remains contented with Anne's and Gertrude's love, and Wallace's and others' friendship. Is sending the papers. Believes America is leading Britain in social reform these days.

891. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 25 Dec 1903. Continues to joy in Wallace's occasional letters. Fels is back after his long sojourn in England. He said some of members of the American fellowship who have recently visited Lancashire have acted "strangely". Has an invitation to go to England next Summer, but is not sure of his reception there. Anne held Wallace's letter back until Traubel's birthday, along with his picture, which is now on the wall. Gertrude asks a lot about Wallace and has sent him a calendar bought out of her own money.

892. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 18 Feb 1904. Has sent Wallace a portrait [photograph] of himself. Is hoping to get a picture of Gertrude to send. While he wishes he could go to England this summer, his work 'anchors' him in America. Would like to be working harder on his Whitman work – editing the notes, &c. Only a few of the original Whitman crowd remain. Is enjoying his correspondence with a Parisian, Léon Bazalgette, who is about to translate the *Leaves* in full and write a life of Walt. He promises to visit when the work is done. Moving assurance of the family's enduring love for Wallace.

893. H L Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 24 July 1904. Likes the newest picture of Wallace. Is still deciding on whether to go to England next month. Has just returned from Boston. Has three books coming out this autumn and winter. One to be called *Communal Chants*. Also the first volume of Traubel's Whitman diary. Then a little volume containing Walt's *America Primer*. Has been working harder than he thought possible. Is sending picture just taken of Gertrude, who is nearly as tall as he. Reassures Wallace that he is part of the household. Anne especially has a vivid sense of him. "Sometimes she cries about things. There are two Wallaces and they fill her heart."

894. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 2 Aug 1904. Is taking the photograph of Gertrude to Camden to have her sign it before sending it to Wallace. Traubel grew up with Cook, the photographer, and they have remained friends. His sister, whom Wallace may have met when he was in America, wrote some Whitman songs. Will be relieved to hear when the picture arrives.
895. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 8 Jan 1905. Thanks for Carpenter's book, which arrived precisely on the 19th. Enjoys the book and finds Carpenter companionable. Sent him a copy of the *Chants* but he did not even acknowledge it. Surmises that Carpenter thinks his work "useless". Gertrude and Anne have also received books from Wallace for Christmas. Traubel has sent Wallace a copy of the *American Primer*. Is working hard on the first volume of the diary, which will be out this year. Working on it means reliving the old life of the eighties, a time that Wallace, too, shared. Is full of nostalgia for that time.


897. H L Traubel, from Boston, to J W Wallace, 14 Aug 1909. Speaks of Wallace's physical presence as part of his own being.


899. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 15 Oct 1909. Is glad that Wallace still loves him. All the family's endeavours are coloured by his presence. "You belong to us body & soul & spirit. You belong to us for all the todays & for the infinite hereafter". Is still hoping to be able to visit Wallace, "if only for a few days [?]", but has neither time nor money. "And yet I hope. I will not believe I am not someday going to accomplish my long desire."

900. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 6 Nov 1909. Things are about the same – short on money, "run over on love". They think of Wallace every day and still hope to see him again. Refers again to the ferry boat collision in July and his lasting suffering. He seems to have been "nervously damaged".

901. H L Traubel, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace. Reflections on his birthday and his place in the stream of time. Feels the immortality of all.


903. H L Traubel, Montreal, to J W Wallace, 17 Aug 1914. Mrs Harned, who was ill for some time, has died. Received a note from Wallace that came via Camden. Notes the war in England. "Canada's sick with war when she might have been well with peace. England's playing cat's paw for Russia again." Is not interested in battles, no matter who wins. Only searching for "the revelation" of it all. "Our fight is not the fight of the kinds and the plutocrats but the fight of the people".

904. H L Traubel, Brantford (Ontario?) to J W Wallace, 29 Aug 1916. Is again with the Bains, but will probably be on his way back by the time Wallace receives this note. Cannot say all the things he wants to about Wallace's "J&J" address. Mildred Bain read Traubel Wallace's letter to her re Walling's book. Wallace's reply to Walling's statements are probably deserved, but thinks that he "on the whole has done a noble
piece of work". His study of Walt's verse is "profound". Really only wants to ask whether the selection established between us [Wallace and Traubel?] is workable. More on spirituality and the necessity for it in the light of physical frailty and the world news.

905. H L Traubel, Hamilton, Ontario, to J W Wallace, 28 Aug 1918. Transcribed in ink above each word, probably by Wallace. "Dear old Wallace, Don't worry. Nothing's the matter. At least nothing to be concerned about. I don't half see. But I believe in sight. I'm a bit lame. But I don't believe in lameness." Sent Harned Wallace's missive concerning the Gilchrist letters that he is publishing. Remembers them as "wonderful and beautiful". A copy of Traubel's letter from Grace Gilchrist [Frend] was sent with Wallace's to Harned. Does not know whether any of the Gilchrist family remain or whether they are co-operating with the book.

906. H L Traubel, Norwich, Connecticut to J W Wallace, 22 Nov 1918. Transcribed in pencil above each word. Is staying with the Leslies "trying to get stronger but so far without much avail. I'm not hopeless, but I'm not running over with hope. With much to do, with no money, with other physical botherations I'm a fitter subject for death than for life." Thinks always of Wallace and is glad to feel his presence. Hears from Johnston now and then and recently had a letter from Sixsmith. Encloses two copies of a couple of recent Debs letters.

907. H L Traubel, Norwich, to J W Wallace, 3 Jan 1919. Transcribed in pencil above each word, probably by Wallace. Assures Wallace that he is not despondent about himself. Believes no harm can come to him, dead or alive. Is certain that the world is moving "our way". Anne is well. Gertrude is "gorgeous". Is still essentially himself and all love Wallace.

908. H L Traubel, Norwich, to J W Wallace, 21 Jan 1919. "Wallace dear boy: I'm still kicking though not vociferously." Got his note today via Gertrude in which he speaks of Carpenter. Wish they lived closer and that he could spent time with Wallace and Minnie alone. Refers to Gertrude's baby, who is a twenty-five-pound giant now and "magnificently beautiful". Does not write much due to his "desultory eyes and shameless legs" which make him weak. Enormous correspondence complicated at present by his finances. Encloses a circular not intended as an appeal, but only as an explanation.

909. Typed ts of above.


911. H L Traubel, Norwich, to J W Wallace, 5 Feb 1919. Assures Wallace his eyes are better. Does not write because he has to concentrate on his debt and producing The Conservator every month. Greetings also to Minnie.

912. H L Traubel, Norwich, to J W Wallace, 7 Feb 1919. Reference to the Gilchrist letters [difficult to read]. Traubel agrees they should "suspend judgment" about them. Thinks any child of Mrs. Gilchrist, who is ill, would be proud of her love for Walt. Walt's feeling for Mrs. Gilchrist was "an exaltation". Sends Minnie his love and is pleased to get hers.

914. H L Traubel, Norwich, to J W Wallace, 17 Feb [?] 1919. First few words transcribed in pencil. Got his note of Jan 23rd via Gertrude. Believes the world is "moving our way". No door is closed against England, or against anybody. Is sending things, possibly including a volume of his poetry. Love to Wallace and Minnie.

915. H L Traubel, Norwich, to J W Wallace, 23 Feb 1919. [Difficult to read.] Has mailed a special copy of the January [edition of The Conservator] containing Traubel's "Collect". The week has been a hard one: "Creak. Creak." But he gets "constant inspiration and tonic from [Wallace's] fervent love". Love to Wallace and Minnie.

916. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28 March [?] 1919. Transcribed in pencil. Got a bad cold in Feb which set him back. Send any further letters care of Gertrude. They are going to NY on Sunday. Asks whether Wallace received the January paper [i.e. The Conservator] and read the "Collect". Is writing a "W W Collect" for March. "I'm a sort of a puzzle but have hopes. Your letters are like additions to the beatitudes." Love to himself and Minnie. [Note also printed statement of the deficit of The Conservator for 1918-19 on verso].

917. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 30 March 1919. Transcribed in pencil. Is sending a portrait of himself taken last spring by Heier [?] who came from NY to see him in Camden while he was sick. Got to New York on Tuesday.

918. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 31 March 1919. Transcribed in pencil. Has just received him "memorable 17th of March letter". Advises him not to take Fred's note too seriously. Is in better physical health than when he saw him. Has recovered from his Feb cold, and although still "unspeakably weak, [he] suffer[s] no pain". "Now somehow I feel as if I was being drawn up high into some surer [transcription says "saner"] altitudes of experience." Praise of Heier, who would now write a very different letter. Glad Wallace got the January paper at last. The March Collect will tell the story of his early years with Walt.

919. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 31 March 1919 (second letter). Transcribed in pencil. Traubel rolled the portrait in three copies of the January Conservator, so Wallace should open the packet carefully. The Traubels go to NY tomorrow. He dreads the trip and will be glad when it is over. It is four hours away in snowy weather.

920. H L Traubel, New York, to J W Wallace, 21 April 1919. Feels cold. Still weak and "can work but little". Tries to look beyond his present situation. Debs is cheerful, although physically unwell. Includes love to Minnie.

921. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 22 April 1919. Refers to Wallace as an "unfailing presence" from whom he derives "health of life and love" in this "devastating week".

922. H L Traubel, New York, to J W Wallace, 20 May [?] 1919. Anne and he are with the Karsners. Untermeyer [?] gets back at Karsner: see enclosed. The Letter [?] in [Feb's ?] note will explain. Reference to his health. "There's no Bright's disease in it or paralysis." The February "bother" was a heart attack, from which he is assured that he is recovering.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

923. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 28 June 1919. Addresses Wallace as the source of support, consolation and blessedness.

924. H L Traubel, Bon Echo, to J W Wallace, 2 Aug 1919. Wallace or Minnie's ts of Traubel's letter. Still hopeful although weak. Describes the "forest by an Island, all wonder and beauty and strength". Feels the world and Walt are worthy of each other. Anne is well but overworked trying to keep him from overworking. He can hardly hold the pen to write and can hardly see the page to write on. What becomes of the world matters more than what becomes of him. Feels Wallace as close as the beat of his heart.

925. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 26 Aug 1919. Ts by Wallace. Had a heart attack last night. Today is weak but "still wholly hopeful". Yearns to be with Wallace. Love to Minnie also.

926. H L Traubel to J W Wallace, 1 Sept 1919. Ts. "Dear Wallace. Can't write today. Eyes are too bad. I've been passing though days of dismal [ts says "damnable"] disinclination. Untold love always. Helpless. / Horace."

927. H L Traubel to Dr Johnston, 30 March 1894. "There is an abandon about your letters which I always like." "The centre of my league will be here and members will be received from all parts of the world."


930. H L Traubel to J Johnston, 6 April 1919. "The book is here and is a treasure to me".


932. H L Traubel to Fred Wild, 30 May 1894. "Had I the years doubled I might do good by my friends. Wallace tells me that you are able to establish a Bolton branch of the Whitman League".

933. Printed menu from Reisser's Cafe, 31 May 1894, signed and dedicated to Charles Sixsmith by Horace Traubel, with identical menu dedicated to J W Wallace.

934. Eugene V Debs to H L Traubel, 18 Oct 1918. "It was just like you to send me that sweet, soulful, inspiring, characteristic message.""It is the joy of joys to think of the Traubels... and sweet kindred souls."

935. H L Traubel to John Ormrod, 12 Feb 1919. Printed end of year card for 19 Dec 1918; "We'll all be counted in the fraternal conclusion."
2. **Anne Montgomerie Traubel**

1. A M Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, nd. Dictated to H L Traubel. Thanks for magazine via Dr Bucke, and for other items, also for enquiries about Gertrude's progress. Will help to introduce Miss Conway to the work and friends of Walt, especially in view of her bitterness "induced by her struggle to make a place for woman." Is dictating this as her hand is disabled. Grieves for Wallace's recurrent eye trouble. Will send photograph of Gertrude if Dr Longaker takes a good one.


4. A M Traubel to J W Wallace, 22 March 1897. Comments on her reading of *The Clarion*, esp Robert Blatchford's articles, and her enthusiasm for Dickens. The Ibsen debate; disparagement of George Bernard Shaw. Enquires about Margaret McMillan. Reflections upon the virtues of various ages; the limited value of books as compared with experience; her belated understanding of Whitman's total project. Thanks for *Lilith* and *Aince Furniss*. Notes that Katherine Conway seems to be engaged in rescue work only; is she also interested in individual liberation?

5. A M Traubel to J W Wallace, 5 Jan 1898. Thanks for letter arriving New Year's Day, with mentions of his holiday. Is grateful for the resumption of the correspondence. Has begun work in the business department of *The Conservator*, soliciting subscriptions. Wants Katherine's address to say how happy she is about the child.


10. Carbon copy of above text, with an inscription by Anne in ink.

11. A M Traubel, Camden, to H S Saunders, 10 Sept 1921. Ts copy. Deplores Guillaume Apollinaire's description of what occurred at Whitman's funeral. See instead Horace Traubel's statement in the Graveside Chronicle. There was no desire for parade or ceremonial. Gives her own account of walking to Whitman's funeral.
12. A M Traubel, Camden, to J W Wallace, 2 May 1922. Carbon of ts. Has seen first performances of "Salut au Monde" at the Neighborhood Playhouse, 22 and 23 April, 1922. Whitman's poem presented as a pageant accompanied by music and dancing, performed by Miss Irene and Miss Alice Lewisohn. Music composed by Charles T Griffes, and then, after his death, orchestrated by Edmund Rickett. There follows a detailed description of the pageant, which she hopes will be made an annual event.

13. Second copy of above, with the letter preceding the description of the production.

14. William Sloane Kennedy to A M Traubel, 12 Jan 1923. Copy. Claims he hardly knows O'Connor, so could not write anything new. Has heard from Thomas Harned. Herbert seems a noble soul. He is still in Belmont, where they built their house forty years ago.


17. A M Traubel, to J W Wallace, 28 Feb, 1923. With newspaper cutting attached, Camden Post-Telegraph, 7 Feb 1923: "Mrs. Traubel Gives Walt Whitman Talk". Clipping refers to her as being formerly of Camden and now living at 6362 McCallum Street, Germantown, Philadelphia, and reports her address to the Junior Shakespeare Club of Philadelphia on "The Personality of Walt Whitman". Letter thanks Wallace for his of 12 Feb with his account of Bucke's Cosmic Consciousness. Description of her room, the house and its situation. Amusing account of her address to the women of the Club. Is enclosing a letter from Kennedy, along with her reply, which Kennedy has not answered. Recounts difficulties in finding the money to pay for her and Gertrude's attendance at the annual Whitman dinners (begun by Horace Traubel). Then follows a disquisition on the curative properties of bacon, according to Oppenheimer, Traubel's doctor. Gertrude's impatience with her mother's enthusiasm for beauty. Malcolm [Gertrude's young son], plus Gertrude together offer little opportunity to write letters.

18. A M Traubel to J W Wallace, 13 Oct 1923. Asks him to write his name in John [Burroughs'] books that she has sent him. Reference to unspecified "devastation", and "this bad place in our affairs". Gertrude to go to law with regard to Aaholm [her husband]. Plus note to Minnie, and a further a note re John's books, a complete set: "The verse on the title page of the first volume should be signed by Walt." Interested to read about a production of Shaw's Methuselah.

19. A M Traubel, nd. Cover from "Christ Church Chimes", Lenten Number (newsletter from Christ Church Parish, Germantown, Philadelphia), with streets (including McCallum St) and church entrance identified in Anne's hand.

21. James Waldo Fawcett, Brooklyn, NY, to A M Traubel, 15 May, 1924. Copy, possibly in Wallace's hand. Announcing Whitman evening, June 2, in the Community Church. Lists speakers and requests a message to be read in Anne's name, as last year's was much appreciated. Has been ill intermittently since Christmas, but is better now.

22. A M Traubel, Germantown, to J W Wallace, 30 Sept, 1924. Requesting that Wallace write his name, with the date May 31, 1916, on a piece of paper to be stuck on to the back of a postcard of himself, which is being framed. Notes that the landscape in the photograph, resembles in a qualified way the country above Stroudsburg, Pa., where she and Malcolm spent three weeks in June. Gertrude went to Watch [?] Hill for a week and remained a month.

23. A M Traubel to J W Wallace, 3 Dec 1924. Seeks to comfort Wallace in his distress over Dr Johnston's illness.

24. A M Traubel to J W Wallace, 23 June 1925. With note referring to "this messy letter". Met a bunch of friends and acquaintances, all going to Walt's house, and thence to his tomb. A long conversation at Horace Traubel's grave, with details thereof. Anne has suffered from the heatwave between 31 May and 6 June. Jean Simpson, from Toronto, has been staying. Letter refers to "an impressive Philadelphia vista" consisting of "the imperturbable calm of that Roman edifice seen through the towering American business buildings", probably referring to postcard, below.

25. A M Traubel, nd., but see above. Postcard of Broad and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, from an etching by Joseph Pennell. With note: "Joseph Pennell is Philadelphia Quaker and became a noted American etcher."


28. A M Traubel to Dr J Johnston, nd. Copy, possibly in Minnie Whiteside's hand. Thanks for greeting received in her new home "and the renewed Adventure". Reflections on the centrality of Wallace's letters to her life.


30. A M Traubel, Sarnia, Ontario, to Minnie Whiteside, 4 Jan 1927. Commiserating with Minnie on her having to give up her home. Anne, too, must economize and move house, which is the house she was born in.

31. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 18 Sept 1929. [Incomplete.] Thanks for the mementos of Wallace, the photographs of the Eagle Street College men, and the enlarged photo portrait of Wallace – all sent via Elsie. Desires a
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

continued correspondence as she is genuinely concerned for Minnie's wellbeing. Refers to hard times of high unemployment and the difficulty of collecting money owed. Speaks of her own hardship "and a long and unpicturesque poverty" and the difficulty of talking of it. Her life and Gertrude's have been "unspeakably difficult", with illness and poverty and her own inability to earn enough to save in times of rampant inflation.

32. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, 10 March 1931. Thanks for comments about the Sidney Morse portrait of Whitman and the "Aspirations" which Wallace "copied out". Did Wallace compose them too? Explains that the movement to preserve Whitman's house goes back to 1892. Reflections on the extraordinary longevity of the Eagle Street College. Hopes that Bolton will continue as a centre of Whitman's influence. Reflections on the appropriateness of a library over Whitman's Camden house as a way of disseminating the poet's ideas. Mrs Johnston has recently sent a lacquered box Walt used for tea, and a framed lock of his long white hair. (With envelope and ts of same).

33. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, 11 March 1931. Re clipping from the Bolton Evening News, 24 Feb, sent by Minnie, in which it is stated that J H Johnston's connection with the College is unknown. See Horace's Diary, "With Walt Whitman in Camden". John H Johnson, jeweller, of New York, was an early advocate of Walt's work and a loyal friend and adherent until his death. Will ask Bertha Johnston, his daughter, to write to Minnie. See quote from vol. II, page 302 under date of Sept 11, 1888.

34. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 15 Nov 1932. Is grateful for Minnie's letter during her despair at not being able to get work. Reasons for this include references to "public work", probably secretarial, and nursing. Remarks on Gertrude's illness and partial recovery. Gertrude had to take a paycut when all salaries at her school were reduced. Anne has always supported herself and the children, "except for a couple of years about 1898-99 – and after my breakdown in 1916". Speaks of Minnie's "inspiring" letter and of Wallace's particular gifts as a correspondent. [Editor's note: There is no other mention of this breakdown in Anne's correspondence or in that of Horace Traubel. A portion of the letter has been cut out.]

35. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, 13 Jan 1933. When Minnie sent some personal souvenirs of Wallace soon after his death Anne put them away. This Christmas, however, she has sensed a return of his presence in her life – as, for example, in this moment of writing. Thanks for the book and calendar sent.

36. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 20 Jan 1933. Has been kept in the house since mid Nov by illness. Thanks for magazine, "The Science of Thought Review", which cheered her. Encloses a drawn portrait of herself. Also a letter from Belle [Mabelle] Brooks, who shared her apartment with Anne's family for a summer at Arden, in 1928. Christmas and New Year's mail is slow to arrive. Sometimes letters are lost, as was the last letter sent to Wallace.

37. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, 21 July 1933. While Anne thinks of Wallace every day, she has set aside [his birthday] 11 Aug as a "Gathering Day" dedicated to his memory. That memory – particularly his faith in what a person was capable
of becoming – has helped her through years of difficulty. Her task as a witness is to record the meaning he gave to their lives.

38. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 21 April 1934. Apologises for long silence, due to financial and physical worries – both hers and Malcolm's. She has not yet been able to get to Wallace's letters in the attic, but hopes this Spring to submit a number to Miss [Caroline] Eccles [q.v.] for use in her book. Anne wants to know whether Minnie met Edward Carpenter, and whether Carpenter ever visited Wallace.

39. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, 11 Sept 1934. Anne is feeling much better after visiting her osteopath. Minnie has not replied to Anne's offer of copies of Wallace's letters for her friend's proposed volume. Is there a publisher, and does she have all the letter she wants? Anne has neglected the "mass of material" in her possession, as earning a living has been the first imperative.

40. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 2 Aug 1935. Has not heard from Minnie since Christmas. Describes radio broadcasts of the opening of the King's Jubilee, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the King's speech. Also comments on her reading, and on Bernard Shaw's talk on freedom. Hopes Minnie will share their "little ritual" on Aug 11th. Confesses that her mobility has been impaired for the last year and a half. She hopes soon to be able to afford to "get it fixed up". Greetings to Maria Todd, Annie Forshaw and Caroline Eccles.

41. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, nd. A brief note of enquiry re a letter of Wallace's of March 1922. He wrote about the house he had lived in for 32 years, one of a row of six. For some years prior to 1922 this row had been offered for sale. Wonders whether they had to leave the house before Wallace's death. Comments on her reading.

42. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, 11 Dec 1935. Opens with a meditation on their shared past. Inquires about Minnie's shop on Brooklyn Street, about the friend who lived with her for a time but has left to be married, and about Mrs [Katherine Bruce] Glasier. Malcolm has begun his university studies and is living at home. Gertrude is battling the reduction in teaching fees and increase in prices of food and coal. Anne is feeling younger due to spiritual progress made. Greetings to Maria Todd and Annie Forshaw.

43. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, nd. Is relieved to hear that Minnie is selling the shop and will live at Jim Wallace's house. Many thanks for his greeting, which cheered her through her distress over her family's financial situation.

44. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, Bolton, nd. Has received Minnie's letter written on Boxing Day. Assumes she has not yet moved house. Received a letter on Twelfth Night from the Ormrods, but with no satisfying news about anyone – Ormrods, Minnie, or Charles Sixsmith.

45. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 5 June 1936. Refers to the benefits of Minnie's stay with Cousin Jim at Monkseaton. Praises the Bolton Group for their continuing friendship over forty years. Sends greetings to the Ormrods. Last heard from John Ormrod, who had sciatica, in early December. She
herself has endured "indescribable pain" since a fall in January. Many thanks to Minnie and Jim for the "squander money", also for the photograph of Minnie and Jim at the front gate of 22 Melbourne Crescent. Refers to Charles Holden's University Honour [DLitt] mentioned in the *Manchester Guardian*, 21 May.

46. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 9 June 1936. Cannot use the money order Minnie sent, since it was "British Domestic". Recalls her first meeting with Wallace in Camden in 1891. Thanks for Minnie's supportive letters "during this very difficult time."

47. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, 5 Aug 1936. Thanks for "the golden pound". Is much recovered from her sciatica and shoulder pain. Minnie's letter on her return from Bolton was very hurried; Anne wants the news and gossip. Reflections on returning to places visited long ago and the importance of people to one's sense of place.

48. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 15 Dec 1936. On parchment notepaper. Christmas greetings. Has heard some fine comments on Miss Eccles' book. Records some lines by Oscar Goodale, a young disciple of Horace Traubel, in praise of J W Wallace. Is returning a letter from Minnie from 1933, when Caroline Eccles first proposed writing a life of Wallace. Anne enjoyed the quotation by [cousin] James Wallace, and responds with a passage from one of J W Wallace's letters re the eternal radiance of our lives. She complains of lack of peace of mind in her own life, especially her lack of proximity to James Wallace, who appears to have had a stroke.


50. A M Traubel, from Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 16 March 1937. Relieved to hear that Cousin Jim is improved and will be out in the garden by spring. Has received a greeting in his own hand. Will write to Miss Eccles to say that the Whitman house in Camden would be glad to have a copy of her memoir of J W Wallace. Would like her to sign the presentation copy. Minnie is about to leave Melbourne Crescent. Anne must write to Katherine Glasier re the death of her son, which she had not known about earlier. Birthday wishes to Minnie and greetings to Mary and to Cousin Jim.

51. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, 26 July 1937, with note to "Jim" on verso of second sheet). Very pleased to receive Minnie's letter. Gertrude is assistant for music at a camp in Maine, Malcolm is on maintenance staff at another in Pennsylvania. Elsie Ormrod [John Ormrod's daughter] recently wrote a long letter to Malcolm. Asks for copies of *Visits to Walt Whitman of Two Lancashire Friends* to deposit them in the library of Abington High School, near her home, where the Dean of Girls encourages an interest in Whitman. Note of thanks to Jim with a promise to send seeds from her garden for his friendship border.

52. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 31 Aug 1937. Thanks for the pictures of herself and the girls and Cousin Jim. Is comforted to see Minnie looking well. Mentions Minnie's imminent visit to the dentist, and her visit to friends in Bolton. Inquires about Caroline Eccles' wellbeing.
53. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 6 Dec 1937. Reproach to Minnie for not writing for three months. Wants to know whether she received the collar and whether Jim received the seeds. She will understand if he decides not to plant them. Her neuritis is now only intermittent, a decided improvement.

54. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 31 Dec 1937. Thanks for Christmas letter from Cousin Jim and the handkerchiefs from herself. Birthday greetings to Jim for 14 Jan. Indirect reference to "that other precious day" [26 Jan, the day of J W Wallace's death]. Anne is unused to handkerchiefs, so has given them to Gertrude Moffatt, who came in during the summer to help Anne dress herself.

55. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 26 Feb 1938. Doesn't want a birthday present, just loving thoughts of every day. Thanks for the copy of the Visits, but wants Minnie to send the bill. Will report what the Dean of English says about the book.

56. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 28 March 1938. Mail delayed by fog in Southampton. Frank Bain may be visiting Bolton. Anne remembers that Mildred Bain (his wife) went to visit J W Wallace in Bolton. Has received some leaflets from Minnie or Miss Eccles or "Mr Daniel's publication office". Mentions Minnie's reference to the 118th Psalm and their relationship with each other. Would like the words and music of "My Faithful Johnnie", so that Gertrude and Malcolm can sing it for her. Is anxious to learn whether Minnie has sold all her Whitman material. Is sending a copy of a selection she made from [Robert Ingersoll, as well as 1 copy of Optimos by Horace Traubel, 1 copy Chants by Horace Traubel, 1 copy Whitman & Traubel, "English Walking", 1 copy Horace Traubel by Mildred Bain. Emphatic that these are gifts. Oblique reference to "the Glen book" [Katherine Bruce Glasier's book about her son].

57. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 28 July 1938. Explains long gap is due to neuritis, the result of an undetected broken collar bone. It is mending, but has resulted in a lopsided stance. Reminds Minnie of their 11 Aug ritual.

58. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, 21 Sept 1938. Has just heard "Faithful Johnnie" on the radio (Pittsfield, Mass), for which Minnie sent the music. The same announcer recently broadcast one of Horace's poems.


60. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 8 Feb 1939. Has been ill intermittently and hopes to last until 20 Feb, her 75th birthday. Reflections on her habit of early rising and details of her early life. Thanks for Alexander Irvine's book, My lady of the Chimney Corner. Horace knew the author and Gertrude also met him.

62. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, 10 Aug [probably 1939]. Greetings for Wallace's birthday, with a recipe [not enclosed] for cooking English gooseberries. Greetings also to Jim Wallace, and an explanation of her decision not to send the promised seeds for his garden. Prospects for Gertrude and Malcolm are better. Greetings also to J W Wallace.


64. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 5 May 1941. Assures Minnie of her constant thought, despite not having written for a long time. Thanks for the Christmas gift of a book by Francis Gay. Has enjoyed the recollections of A E Housman by his brother Laurence, and quotes a verse. Malcolm is training for the Coast Guard Anti-aircraft Artillery near Savannah, Georgia. Anne is assembling the remaining portion of Horace's diary of his visits to Walt.

65. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, Hexham, 17 June 1941. Has just received her letter announcing Jim's death. Draws comfort from Minnie's near-family relation to Jim during his last illness. Reiterates her own difficulty with the cold last winter. Recounts details of Malcolm's A B, Master's degree, military training, and induction into the New York Seventh Regiment of the National Guard. Greetings to Katharine Bruce Glasier and her sister, and to all the Bolton friends.

66. A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 9 July 1942. Apologises for the long gap between her penning the letter and sending it. Wants confirmation of 16 Jan as the date of J W Wallace's death. Thanks for pictures of Lytham. Anne, Gertrude, and Malcolm have had a visit from Dr Wiksell, now 62 and greatly resembling Walt, on route to Boston.

67. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, 16 Jan 1946. Thanks for Christmas token, but still awaits a letter. Inquires about Minnie's health and her sister's family. Malcolm has been wounded twice and was in hospital in England last spring. During his sick leave he went to California to be married, then returned to hospital at Fort Dix, NJ. Mysterious feelings of Wallace's continued benign presence.

68. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, 16 Aug 1946. Commemorated Wallace's birthday alone. Inquires whether she has received the postal order sent by Gertrude. Thanks for letter of 2 Aug and the photograph, which was damaged in transit. Requests not to send the photograph of Gertrude.

A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 26 Aug 1950. Thanks for photograph portrait of Rudolph Schmidt. There has been some confusion over Minnie's address. Anne will return the photographs of Minnie and Wallace when she has finished making decisions re illustrations for the fourth volume of Horace Traubel's diary. Thanks for news clipping about Minnie's Whitman "collection". Hopes that some friend shares Minnie's flat, so that she is not alone in precarious health.

A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, 5 July 1953. Writing to renew the sense of friendship reflections on the Whitman meetings, which continued for sixty years. Thoughts of reissuing *The Visits of two Lancashire Friends*, with an addition to indicate the steadfastness of the Bolton Fellowship Asks whether Minnie sees Wallace's friends, and whether she possesses the volumes of Horace's conversations with Whitman, the fourth of which has just been published.

A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, nd. Tells Minnie to write when she can. Is sending her love for the New Year. Greetings to Annie Forshaw, Maria Todd and Miss [Caroline] Eccles, and enquiries about Miss Eccles' health. No date

A M Traubel, Germantown, to Minnie Whiteside, nd. Enquires about M Ferguson, while looking at a snapshot taken by Minnie of him and Uncle Wallace at Lytham nearly 10 years ago. Speaks of depressing winter. "The long internal of silence on both sides of our correspondence has been unhealthy, too." She has been concerned for Minnie's wellbeing. "Do tell me how Cousin Jim is. I treasure his letters". Enquires about Miss Eccles, whose address she doesn't have. Celebrated her birthday yesterday by giving Malcolm a silk handkerchief which Minnie sent for Christmas in 1931. Love to Minnie, Cousin Jim and Mary.

A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, nd, (beginning part missing). Intrigued to hear Stanley Baldwin on the radio, showing his character is "strong, high and narrow". "The narrowness is in preseynit each idea as if it is complete in itself. As I have come to understand things – nothing stands alone or is complete in itself. By fusing, each thought is modified a little, and the result is something a little different from what we had before we saw them merging together."

A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, final sheet from incomplete letter, nd. Hopes this letter will reach her for Uncle Wallace's Birthday, "and we will share the cup of remembrance again, pledging faith and courage today, to mingle with the deep happiness and love his life planted and cultivated in ours".

A M Traubel to Dr Johnston, no date. Thanks for greeting in the new house. Writes of Johnston’s and her own long friendship with Wallace over 30 years; asks about orchestra concerts and operas in Bolton; asks for his views on Dr Vercoe’s theory, written about by Herbert Quick.

Shgetake Naganuma to Mrs Horace Traubel (typed copy) 8 July 1920. Gives a report on his visit on 4 July to Huntingdon and other vicinities associated with Whitman, including his birthplace.

Rosetta Hurwitz, Los Angeles, to A M Traubel, Aug 1922, (typed copy). Seeing "dear Horace’s name" in her copy of *Leaves of Grass* brought "fond memories and
feelings". Describes travelling to Niagara Falls, "the calm Pacific" and Yellowstone Park. Will be back in New York in September. Sends love to Gertrude and the baby. With feint copy of above.


80. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, nd [after Jan 1926]. Asks permission to reproduce the G T (Gertrude Traubel) Correspondence to Uncle Wallace, which was found in his wallet at his death. (See letter ZWN 5/3/4).

81. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside (?), nd. Asks whether Labour Press might print Chant’s Communal Mercury Magazine is going to print selections from Horace's diary. (With envelope from A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, 15 Dec 1938.)

82. A M Traubel to Minnie Whiteside, 16 Jan 1946 (typed). Malcolm has been wounded and Gertrude is teaching music. Writes of "our friend who filled the earth and sky with benefaction".

3. **Gertrude Traubel**

1. Gertrude Traubel to Uncle Wallace 19 Dec 1897. Written by A M Traubel and signed by Gertrude. Has "not broken the doll" which she describes. Writes of her bubble pipe and coffee mill.

2. Gertrude Traubel, Camden, to Uncle Wallace, 30 Dec 1898. Printed invitation card to "come and play".

3. Gertrude Traubel to Uncle Wallace, 7 Feb 1903. Asks him to write soon, she is lonely because two girls on the street have moved away.

4. Gertrude Traubel, Camden, to Uncle Wallace, 28 Dec 1904. Thanks him for the three books, which she liked very much. Apologies for not writing sooner.

5. Gertrude Traubel, Camden, to Uncle Wallace, 4 June 1914. Thanks for your birthday letter. Papa has been very ill but is now improving. Went to the Whitman Day Dinner, which Papa missed for the first time.

6. Gertrude Traubel, New York City, to Uncle Wallace, 6 Nov 1918. "Malcolm Wallace is the biggest, hansomest and most charming infant ever." Their apartment is very small but is on the ground floor.

7. Gertrude Traubel, Camden, to Uncle Wallace, 6 July 1920. Postcard. In Camden visiting mother for the rest of the summer. Malcolm is with her and he is bonny. "I think of you ever and always even though my pen is dumb."

8. Gertrude Traubel to Uncle Wallace, 22 Aug 1920. Mother is now really well after illness. She "enjoys Malcolm beyond all words".
9. Small photograph with young child (Malcolm) on steps of house looking out, c1920.

10. Gertrude Traubel, Philadelphia, to Minnie Whiteside, 6 March 1959. Was too tired to send Christmas cards and was "mad at myself about the exhibits". Encloses the Library of Congress Bulletin "for your eyes" only. Thanks for your wedding day photograph.

REEL 8:

ZWN 6:  J W Wallace Correspondence and Associated Items

1. Correspondence

1-49. Wallace Family Correspondence

1. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Cousin, 17 July 1895. Has been unable to undertake much work or writing because of weariness and eye trouble. Is President of the small ILP in the village but "I am in fact a very idle and useless sort of fellow". Invites his cousin to visit him, "cultivate good cheer". Feelings of insignificance are "all illusion … we travel an endless and ascending road". "Willie Wilson and all others like him will mount and mount… amid all circumstances then let us possess the deep and underlying Joy and Peace which come to all wise souls".

2. J Bruce Wallace, London, to Friend, 23 July 1902. Returns letter from Wm Ingram "intended for you". Refers to Allen Clarke's "Eternal Question" as describing *Cosmic Consciousness* similar to Dr Bucke's.

3. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 12 Oct 1903. Copy. "I have missed you a good deal since you left but I am very thankful for the time we have had together."Has taken Sam (a dog?) for a walk to "the Street".

4. James Wallace, Newcastle on Tyne, to Minnie Whiteside, 15 July 1905. Sending "deep sympathy and love in the hour of your bereavement … you will be richer and wiser for such a wonderful experience, for a love that transcends Death … Thank the Great Spirit for being associated with such a loving, patient, devoted happy being ... still He is leading you to a Land of Light".

5. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 14 Jan 1906. Sending "Love and Sympathy on this one of your sacred days", hopes that "past experiences will be transfigured making your life deeper and richer in the knowledge that He has and is leading you ... Home".

6. Jim (Wallace), Nun's Park, to Minnie Whiteside, 30 June 1907. Copy. Hopes she will soon recover, is coming to visit the first week in Sept. "I love my cousin with a love which knows no separation … Love and serve my cousin to the best of your ability … you will be drawn up to a realm where the owl-winged faculty of calculation never dared to soar … I wish I had your opportunities of serving a man, what! a King of Men". His wife Bella and Family are going to Howtell for 3 weeks.
7. J W Wallace, Rivington Park, to Captain (Jim Wallace), 8 Sept 1907. Copy. "Here we sit – the kiddie and I – in Rivington Park". Describes the peace and beauty of the scene, "alone with the Gracious Presence". "It endures – in the busy street and workshops and offices as here and its love and care surround us". "We send our love to you – knowing that we shall continue to meet again and again". With added note from Minnie to Uncle Jim – "this is Perfect Bliss, we are only short of you and little Mary … we have our books out with us and shall have our lesson soon". Hopes they had a pleasant journey home.

8. J W Wallace to Coz, 18 June 1909. Copy. "I keep in the old grooves and seem to be as deeply stuck in them as ever". Misses his Friend Tom Shorrocks who "was the only one amongst us who fully lived a man's life, in unceasing service and love, manly tender and true", since his death on the 27th "I have felt a constant exultation at his home-coming, he had told me how strongly he had – during absence – felt my spiritual presence. I know our relationship and love are immortal".

9. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Uncle, 15 June 1909. Apologises for not coming with George to visit "but if I were with you, I could hardly feel it much more vividly than I do just now". Visualises "the old familiar place there" and "past years come back again and I am once more a boy and you are in your prime … I am old enough to know that time and separation are illusions … it is worthwhile to grow old to find out what a cheat old age is". Apologises for not writing for his Uncle's birthday, but belatedly sends a book and encloses "a trifle".

10. J W Wallace to Brother, 11 Aug 1909. Copy. "This is my birthday" – describes presents including a waterproof overcoat and coal from Frank Bain and handkerchiefs from the Ormrords. Thanks his brother for the cake but "you need all the money I send you". "All that is not a God (good) is only shadow and dream". "I have learned much … through disillusionment and pain – all of it precious and worth the cost".

11. J W Wallace to Brother, 12 Dec 1909. Incomplete copy. Passes on short letter from John and is very disappointed by "the absence of any reference to you". Had written on Friday "a long letter to John, as kind and as tenderly eloquent as I could make it" despite suffering painful eyes which kept him from going to the office.

12. J W Wallace to Coz, 3 April 1910. Copy. Describes Robert's death and funeral, misses "the dear companionship … it is as if something within me has travelled with him … and something within me speaks to my soul in a language I do not understand".

13. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Aunt, 7 Aug 1910. Copy. Unable to visit her because of a cold and lack of money but "Love travels more quickly than the lightning and all true nearness is in the Soul … you and I are akin not only in body but in character and disposition … in God there is no separation nor evil nor loss".

14. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 22 Feb 1911. Advises his cousin to rest his ruptured leg for a month as Dr Johnston suggests, will the Railway Company give sick pay? "Sail forth – steer for the deep waters only", enjoy the enforced rest "whole-heartedly and acquaint thyself with God and be at peace".

16. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 18 Aug 1912. Nellie Whittle from Canada visited and played and sang "Star of the East". The eye problem is only "slightly better", very busy at the office which is "understaffed because of the holidays". (Enclosing 15 above)

17. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 26 Sept 1912. Enjoying a break from work but will have to take on the clerk of work's duties temporarily. Eyes still troublesome, wished his cousin could be there enjoying autumn rambles, "the wind sounds the dirge of the departed summer … surely the coming death of the year is proclaimed to be no more than its mergence into an inner sphere of glory … autumn so pensive and so lovely appeals to the deepest soul more than any other season".

18. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 28 Sept 1913. "The house here has seemed rather empty since you left". Has enjoyed his cousin's visit, describes the deep links between them and likens his cousin's annual week at Anderton to "the Retreats some Catholics are fond of", an escape from 51 weeks of "over-strenuous work and battle". Dr Johnston has just called.

19. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 5 Aug 1914. Describes a motor trip he took to Annan and Ayr. Has "been too much overwhelmed by the dreadful outbreak of war to settle to work". "It is a horrible business, utterly disgraceful to British diplomacy and statesmanship in which we have everything to lose and nothing to gain". Also blames the "base and ignorant clamour of much of our press (the Clarion guilty with the rest), anticipates terrible experiences, but describes "the inner region of Beauty and Peace and Love" and "the eternal Realities (compared with which this hideous war is only a brief dream of the night)".

20. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 18 Sept 1914. Suffering from a sense of paralysis and helplessness caused by the war. His articles sent to the *Labour Leader* and *Daily News* have not been published. George is working to relieve distress in Farnworth. The mills are working less than half time and over 100 young men volunteered in Adlington in a week. The footpaths in Rivington are closed. "The spectacle of the workers of Europe, who support all the rest and have no quarrel with each other ... marching in millions to murder each other, at the bidding of crazy diplomats and plutocrats, is a colossal object lesson ... when the war is over these lessons will be pressed home in every country in Europe, and then – God speed the Revolution! God Save the People!"

21. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 25 May 1915. Describes the lovely weather and a visit to the Ormrods on Sunday. The forthcoming College group Birthday Meeting will be at Fred Wild's. George has been very busy, refers to the birthday of his cousin's late father and relates Whitman's views on death "sweet, peaceful, welcome death".

22. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 12 Nov 1915. Condemns the "insidious and deceitful methods" by which the Government has introduced Conscription for
unmarried men, asks how Tom and Jimmy are affected, Maria is finding her position at Thompsons difficult.

23. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 18 Jan 1916. Hopes that Tom's troubles with the war are at an end. Hopes and expects that the Trade Unionists "will remain firm in their opposition to Conscription, which marks a definite break between the forces of Democracy and Reaction". Recommends reading Tagore. Unable to advise about Jack Leak.

24. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 5 May 1916. Mentions the recent air raids. Maria has left Thompsons and is going to Ormrod. Whitman was "like a God" even in his everyday activities, the news about the war and the Irish outbreak makes "painful reading". "Broadhurst knew Roger Casement pretty well" and speaks highly of him "as he knew him then".

25. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 3 Jan 1917. Reports that Fred Nightingale says Cousin Jim's letter about mad shepherds is worth framing. Nightingale is busy as executor of Thomas Wilkinson's will, although himself a Baptist Nightingale attends a Wesleyan Chapel nearer home – "he is a devout soul, hard working and thoroughly good, though clinging to the old paths".

26. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 9 Jan 1917. Encloses letters from Nightingale and Jacks about "Mad Shepherds" and comments on them. Is seeking to promote sales of his Whitman book in America and is setting up "a movement for the collection and preservation of all Whitman letters, mss, etc", with H S Saunders in Canada and "some one in US". (Enclosing 27-31 below)

27. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Fred Nightingale, 27 Dec 1916. Copy. Quotes extracts from a letter by Cousin Jim describing how much he enjoys "Mad Shepherds". Smarley Bob's lament "I only hold a pint" is used by Jim and Wallace "to illustrate the limitations of our emotional capacity". (Enclosed with 26 above.)

28. Fred Nightingale, Bolton, to L P Jacks, 1 Jan 1917. Copy. Another copy of ZWN 8/3/1 above. (Enclosed with 26 above)

29. Typed copy of 27 above. (Enclosed with 26 above)

30. L P Jacks, Oxford, to Fred Nightingale, 5 Jan 1917. "Found the pleasure my book has given you and your friends most gratifying". Has just finished the Life of Stopford Brooke, "who was a Mad Shepherd indeed". (Enclosed with 26 above).

31. Copy of 29 above, in J W Wallace's hand.

32. Amy Wallace, George Carpenter Memorial Library, Columbia University, New York, to J W Wallace, 15 Dec 1917. Sends bookplate he requested and also sketch on Carpenter's life. Agrees that "it would be well to let genealogies alone", but gives details of her immediate ancestors and their Lancashire origins, doubts whether she and J W Wallace are related, "one thing the Huns have done ... they have brought the English speaking nations together".
33. Amy Wallace, George Carpenter Memorial Library, Columbia University, New York, to J W Wallace, 1 March 1918. Sends delayed money order, has not yet had time to read "your book".

34. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 10 Oct 1919. Copy. Looks back to Cousin Jim's recent stay during a strike week at Rivington and Moses Gate, "our annual Ramadan together", "Rivington will still speak to you of the everlasting beauty and peace of the soul". Has visited Blakeman's and is going to Ormrods.

35. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 23 Dec 1919. Describes the arrangements for J W Wallace's Christmas visit to the Ormrod family and remembers past years at Howtel, quotes a poem beginning "You will look into my face".

36. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 2 Jan 1920. Refers to Bella's recent experience and relates a friend's encounter with his dead father, "the dead are not dead but alive and they are not far away from us … at bottom there is no separation anywhere, we live in the whole and not its parts". The Ormrods have brought Maria for a short stay.

37. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Coz, 23 Jan 1920. Refers to Cousin Jim's visit to York and describes some antiquities near Rivington, notably the Drudical Circle at Turton. "Go or stand where we will, are there not Immensities around us, Eternities within us?". Miss Farrington has come for a visit.

38. J W Wallace, Newcastle on Tyne, to Coz, 25 April 1923. Describes a walk and a picnic lunch near the Lead Mines on a perfect day, "the stream is more eloquent than all the books ever written … I was drunk!" (with enjoyment of the scene).

39. James Wallace (?) to J W Wallace, nd [before 1913]. Copy extract from letter. "I think you would be wise to retire now ... you are entitled to a few years of quiet rest before passing into the mist". Compares the age of retirement with the beauty of autumn or the gold of the sunset. Describes a lovely field of buttercups and daisies nearby.

40. George Wallace, Junior, Sharples, to Minnie Whiteside, 3 Aug 1926. Encloses reply from Dobell. Suggests they come over to see the Whitman Collection, thinks the offer is "fairly good". George's typist is typing up his list of the Collection.

41. Jim Wallace, Monkseaton, to Minnie Whiteside, 4 Oct 1929. Thanks her for the Whittier book which he returns. Has suffered from lumbago since his wife's death, reminiscences about past Autumn days. Quotes J W Wallace's view that all experiences, including the bad ones, are necessary and suggests this is the same for Minnie. Describes a visit to his late wife's grave.

42. Jim Wallace, Monkseaton, to Minnie Whiteside, 30 Dec 1931. Reminiscences about happy days. "Anderton is one of the most beautiful memories in my life … externally the years have left their mark but deep down in our inner being we are the same". His life is lonely, some days only seeing the milk and bread boys. Mary has recovered from illness.

44. Jim Wallace, Monkseaton, to Minnie Whiteside, 19 Aug 1934. Has "so deep, so sacred" feelings about his recent "memorable visit to you … we can only see the wrong side of the pattern ... Love is the weaver … kind hearts are more than Coronets and simple faith more than Norman blood". Stresses the importance of "that inner realm".

45. Jim Wallace, Monkseaton, to Minnie Whiteside, 1 Oct 1934. Shocked to hear of Minnie's accident but "it will soon be a memory". "We carry the gold in our hearts and memories … how I look forward to the "Waking" … the "Great Dawn" after Life's fitful fever". Suggests Minnie makes provision for the books, pictures and manuscripts she has in the event of her death.

46. Jim Wallace, Monkseaton, to Minnie Whiteside, 17 Feb 1936. Is suffering from stomach trouble. Reminiscences about Emily who has recently died and their times at Anderton. "The Law of spiritual affinity will draw us together again just as we have been drawn together in our present Incarnation … we are pilgrims of Eternity on our way to a Land of Light and Love".

47. Jim Wallace, Howtule, to Minnie Whiteside, 24 June 1936. Sends thanks for "Musa Medica", is enjoying the "sweet morning air and some lovely guitar music". Has passed his 70th year and his "course is set to the Land of Sun-set". Quotes a short verse "Is it a Dream?" and describes the flowers and vegetables in the garden and his work there. Misses Minnie and looks forward to her return.

48. Jim Wallace, Howtule, to Minnie Whiteside, 10 March 1939. Wishes he could be with Minnie to kiss "the tears from your cheeks … you ought not to brood with heartache over days that are gone but to be thankful for the inestimable privilege of being permitted to enjoy the rare and never-to-be forgotten companionship of a man who was one in 10,000". Sends thanks for the extract by Stopford Brooke, has been reading his biography by L P Jacks. "I feel sure we shall meet again ... I would like to be with you alone ... we were always happiest when alone you, Jim and me". Has no one to talk to "except poor blind and paralysed Sillen". "Never doubt that the Jim you knew is still the same big, loving child".

49. File of envelopes addressed to James Wallace in Newcastle on Tyne.

50-92. Correspondence with Dr John Johnston

50. J W Wallace, Haulgh, to Dr Johnston, 28 May 1886. "Fred Wild, Pimblett and Dixon have been in the habit of coming to our house on Monday evenings for reading and discussion." Invites Johnston to read a paper for the Whitman Birthday evening next Monday.

52. J W Wallace, 14 Eagle Street, to Dr Johnston, 7 Sept 1889. Describes how he has just written his first verse in rhyme "Twilight Reveries", which he encloses. (See 53 and 54 below.)

53. Poem by J W Wallace, 6 Sept 1889, "Twilight Reveries". (Enclosed with 52 above.)

54. Poem by J W Wallace, Nov 1885, "Sonnet". (Enclosed with 52 above.)

55. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Dr Johnston, 1 July 1890. Copy. Sends good wishes on the eve of Johnston's departure on his pilgrimage to visit Whitman. Has been prevented by "manifest duties" from accompanying him, "since the death of my dear mother, my greatest privilege has been to enter into direct communication with Walt Whitman" and has "resolved to do what in me lay to extend his influence".

56. Envelope with grass, inscribed "Leaves of Grass from Westhills NJ (New Jersey) J J". (John Johnston), 1890.

57. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Dr Johnston, 12 Oct 1890. Copy. "Did you tell Shorrock about my ordering L of G (Leaves of Grass) for him?" (With copy of postcard from Walt Whitman to J W Wallace 30 Sept 1890).

58. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Dr Johnston, 3 May 1891. Photocopy. Stresses the honour given to both of them by Whitman's postcard to Johnston referring to "our dear friend J W W". Exhorts Johnston and other College Members to provide original personal readings and to widen their interests beyond Whitman, "always quoting someone else is the cause of the miserable attendance at College nowadays and to talk about W (Whitman) as though there were no one else in the world makes everyone nauseated and sick of his name".

59. R K G (R K Greenhalgh?), to Dr Johnston, 20 June 1891. Found Wallace at Talbot's having tea after trying to track him down all week, delayed him with College business from having a hair cut.

60. J W Wallace, Bolton, to Dr Johnston, 3 July 1891. Memorandum. Quibbles about who should have the books and photos which Whitman sent to them jointly, hopes Johnston will visit tomorrow.

61. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Dr Johnston, 9 July 1891. Apologises for his recent "ungracious" manner, caused by the "devils of nervous depression". Regards Bucke's forthcoming visit as "a celestial and priceless message of benison and cheer and hope from the Highest" but fears that the excitement will worsen his poor health, escapes home early every night because he feels weary.


63. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Dr Johnston, 11 July 1891. Disappointed Johnston could not visit, declares that the College will not pose as "literary swells" when
Bucke comes, they will sing songs and show Bucke "a band of comrades … if he wants to talk Shakespeare and poetry much we'll choke him with tobacco smoke".

64. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Dr Johnston, 15 July 1891. Sends copy of latest postcard from Whitman. Has asked Mrs Jones to help Mrs Johnston with the hospitality for Bucke, confides that one reason he is not going to America is that Mrs Jones doesn't like his father and won't stay with him if Wallace goes away, believes Bucke will be more impressed by "cordiality and kindness" than by "any genius and brilliant talk".

65. J W Wallace, London, Ontario, to Dr Johnston, 26 Sept 1891. Copy. Went to Forest and was received hospitably by Johnston's relation Frank, who recently lost his daughter, and Andrew Steele, Johnston's aunt was too ill to be visited, is moving on to Toronto and New York.

66. J W Wallace, Charlotte, Rochester, and Albany, to Dr Johnston, 7-8 Oct 1891. Describes his travels including a train delay and being almost sea sick on the "Blue Ontario". Feels inadequate for his forthcoming visit to Whitman at Camden.

67. J W Wallace, Bolton, to Dr Johnston, nd [March 1892]. Memorandum. "Have to write to W W (Walt Whitman) and Traubel" tonight ... "entertain yourself and we may manage so".

68. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Ian (John Johnston), 13 June 1898. "Very painful to read of your father's condition … I do not wonder that awful thoughts of rebellion and doubt are assailing your faith … hold fast, therefore, to your belief that your present experience must ultimately be good … for it is true and it is the only comfort".

69. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Ian (John Johnston), 20 June 1898. "It is both pathetic and very beautiful that craving the dying have for the Mother's presence … beautiful and sacred is death and equally beautiful and sacred is life … in bereavement one sees how they fuse and blend and all things grow radiant with the sacred light of eternity".

70. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Ian (John Johnston), 18 Sept 1900. Thanks for birthday greetings, sends sympathy for the death of Johnston's father, "that invisible world in which are those we call the dead grows more real to me every year". Has enjoyed a "divine" holiday rambling about the Anglezarke moors with Robert and cousin Jim.


72. Notes (incomplete) by Dr John Johnston, 16 June 1904. Reports on "a fine paper on the Ethical teaching of Browning" by George Wallace at J W Wallace's house, with arguments about the nature of Browning and Whitman's writings. Wallace declares that "one reason why I don't go to church is that I can't contradict the parson".
73. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Ian (Johnston), 6 April 1915. Sends thanks for the postcard from Colwyn Bay. Objects to his address of two weeks before being printed by an Evening News reporter, as he made a "hash" of it and intends to improve on it.

74. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Ian (Johnston), 10 April 1915. Objects to the publication of his recent address to the League, which was incomplete and may form the basis of a later publication. Sorry he missed Johnston's address to the League and advises Johnston to conserve his energy, quoting the verse "Rest is not quitting the busy career".

75. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Ian (Johnston), 11 May 1915. Sorry to hear of Jean's illness at Annan, suggests potassium salts as remedy for cancer. Returns the report of his address to the League and lists the faults with his talk which led to the reporter making it "unrecognisable", has now "straightened" it up.

76. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Ian (Johnston), 5 June 1915. Asks for minor corrections to be made to his "Address" before copies are distributed, is going with Minnie to Broadhurst's.

77. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Ian (Johnston), 24 June 1915. Enjoyed his visit to the Broadhursts "the more fully one knows him the better one likes him".

78. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Ian (Johnston), 9 July 1915. Encloses Broadhurst's praise of his "Notes" which he regards as "extravagant" but it has removed his doubts about "the advisability of the general scheme of the narrative". Reports on a visit to Mrs Shorrocks and reminiscences about the late Tom Shorrocks whom he first knew as a boy of ten.

79. Ian (Johnston), Townley's Hospital, Farnworth, to J W Wallace, 16-17 April 1917. Has discarded his khaki uniform as his job is now non-military, since the replacement of Dr Buck by a military officer. Disappointed at no longer treating wounded soldiers and finds the new job depressing. Describes the extreme misery and deprivation of the senile, destitute and terminally ill patients "dumped here as a last resort", often by relatives seeking to avoid the expense of a death and funeral at home.

80. J W Wallace to Ian (Johnston), 17 April 1917. Regards Johnston as better off at Townley's than still tending the wounded at Whalley, "these broken wrecks of humanity ... are still our brothers and sisters despite the way the churches have so misused and stultified the name of Christ ... it is true that Christ died for every one of your patients and to realise this would make your work seem sacred and precious to you".

81. Copy of most of above.

82. Ian (Johnston) to J W Wallace, 20 June 1917. Postcard of Dr Johnston's room at Townley's, "something of a token".

83. J Johnston, Townley's Hospital, Farnworth, to Jim (Wallace), 5 Sept 1917. Suggests arrangements for meeting Jim while he is staying with George and later
with J W Wallace. J W Wallace's summary of Walt's personality is a "masterly piece of work", one day the book will "be prized among the most precious of Whitman treasures".

84. Ian (Johnston) Townleys Hospital, Farnworth, to Wallace, 9 Dec 1918. Copy. Thanks Wallace for the birthday greetings and celebrates their 40 years of valuable friendship, "we are growing old together – and the best is yet to be". Describes his birthday celebrations. Complains that the Guardians are trying to deprive him of the leave he is due at Christmas. Expresses concern at Horace Traubel's illness and has a "poor opinion" of American doctors, gives instances of poor diagnosis of patients sent to Townleys by their doctors.

85. J W Wallace to Dr Johnston, 4 June 1920. Postcard. Reports on the last hours and death of Bruce Glasier, promises to pass on the death-bed photograph on Sunday (kept with 86 below).

86. Photograph of J Bruce Glasier on his death-bed, 3 June 1920. Inscribed "sent to me (J Johnston) by Mrs Glasier". (Kept with 85 above.)


88. J Johnston, c/o Dr Rigby, Adlington, to Jim (Wallace), 10 June 1921. Has been acting as locum for Dr Rigby for 6 weeks, which has given him the good fortune to see J W Wallace every day, "my dearest and best friend, who for 40 years has held topmost place in my admiration". Describes the beauty of the walks they have shared in the charming Rivington area. (Kept with 89 below.)

89. J W Wallace to Dr John Johnston, 9 June 1921. Copy of inscription on a copy of Visits to Walt Whitman. "For 40 years my dear friend always close at hand and unfailingly constant and kind." With covering note by J Johnston. (Kept with 88 above.)

90. Ian (J Johnston), c/o Dr Barnes, Blackpool, to J W Wallace, 12 Aug 1921. "It was a great occasion and I am proud and glad to have been permitted to take part". Thanks Minnie, who is "a marvel", returns a sheaf of letters and sends some articles.

91. Ian (J Johnston), Bispham, Blackpool, to J W Wallace, 28 Aug 1924. "Enjoyed Minnie's visit and yours". Is sending the umbrella which was left behind.

92. File of envelopes addressed to Dr Johnston, 20 Moncrieffe Street, Bolton.

93-102. Other correspondence not primarily related to Walt Whitman

93. Job application by J W Wallace for the post of Clerk of Works, Library and Museum, with testimonials, 31 Jan 1877.

94. J W Wallace, 14 Eagle Street, Haulgh, to John Ruskin, 7 Feb 1886. Draft. Sends birthday greetings and "love and gratitude … though a total stranger is coming with growing force to recognise you as my master".
95. J W Wallace, Anderton, to a group of friends in America. Copy of Address to be read on 5 Jan 1893, 22 Dec 1892. Recalls his visit to them and the hospitality he received, "the leaven" of Whitman's influence will work with "the tendency of the actively aggressive Democracy of England" towards realising "Walt Whitman's place as its inspiring prophet". "Divine Love makes me its focaliser and distributor … I am no longer the slave of negative conditions … by the alchemy of my awakened spiritual nature I have learned to transmute every lower form of energy into a higher".

96. J W Wallace, Anderton, to George Whiteside, 2 July 1905. Gives his views of Communion, "it is the *inward and spiritual grace* which is alone important and precious ... you need no priest but may receive it hourly from God Himself". Quotes short verse "The Holy Supper is Shared indeed". Sends love to Minnie and hopes to see George again "when I can".

97. File of 28 letters and 2 receipts addressed to Mr Mason, 13 Dec 1912-8 March 1913. Good wishes and subscriptions to J W Wallace's retirement present and autograph.

98. Unnamed American correspondent to J W Wallace, 18 Dec 1917. Copy. "A real joy to know your book is on the way". "Horace ... has grown such a radical in his socialism" and "the Fellowship that I helped to form so many years ago ... seemed to me a nest of anarchistic Russian Jews" now, "you and I have lived to see Walt rise from opprobrium into extreme eminence".

99. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Mr Wightman, 8 June 1919. Enclosing draft of article on Bertrand Russell's *Roads to Freedom*. (Enclosing 100 below.)

100. Draft article by J W Wallace, "Roads to Freedom". (Enclosed with 99 above.)

101. Wallace to unnamed correspondent, nd. Incomplete copy. "That which is at the heart of the universe is not far off and alien ... but an ever intimate human Presence" with a love compared to which "your own Mother love ... is only a faint shadow ... he who would do all things must do one thing only and that is to centre mind and heart and will in that union with God".

102. J W Wallace to unknown correspondent, nd. Incomplete letter. "I share with you your disappointment and pain ... I offer you – in the name of Christ, the Truth – compensation … be content to love and love ever (whatever the present and apparent return)".

103-164. **Correspondence relating to the death of J W Wallace, Jan 1926**

103. List for notification of J W Wallace's Death, 17 Jan 1926

104-158. Letters of condolence to Minnie Whiteside and the Wallace Family from the following:-

104. Alice

105. Atkinson, Will
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106. Barlow, W
107. Barrus, Clara
108. Braithwaite, M A
109. Bromley, John E
110. Carr, Marion
111. Clarke, Allen
112. Crompton, M L
113. Darwell, Edith and Cartwright, B
114. Dodds, Isabel
115. Dora and Nellie
116-118. Eccles, Caroline (Carina)
119. Edith
120. Emily
121. Fernihough, W H
122. Gass (telegram)
123. Gina
124-127. Glasier, Katherine Bruce and Tiny
128. Greenhalgh, G H
129. Harker, Clara
130. Herdman, Winnie T
131-132. Hughes, Gertrude E & Lily D
133-134. Johnston, M
135. Johnston, William J
136. Jones, Meg
137. Lancaster, Joseph
138. Leah
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139. Louise
140. Marie
141. Mary
142. Moncrieff, E J Scott-
143. Morris, William B
144. Ransome, Arthur E
145-146. Rose
147. Sallie
148. Sixsmith, Chas
149. Taylor, Alice A
150. Traubel, Anne (extract)
151. Tubbs, G
152. Twiss, Chrissie S
153. Wallace, Jim
154. Wallace, William
155. Watson, Minnie
156. Watt, Cephas
157. Williams, J E
158. Woods, Emily
159. Telegram: Ormrod to Glasier, notification of funeral arrangements, 19 Jan 1926. Copy.
161. Circular thank you card: Minnie Whiteside and home friends of the late J W Wallace to all who sent messages of sympathy – thanks and quotation, "so he passed over and all the trumpets sounded on the other side", June 1926
162-164. Further copies of 161 above.
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2. **Writings and Publications by J W Wallace**

1-18. **Diaries, Notebooks and Drawings**

(For publication of *Visits to Walt Whitman* see ZWN 2/45-59 below.)

1. Notebook: Letters from Walt Whitman to Peter Doyle, 1870-1873, copied by J W Wallace, nd.


3. Diary of Voyage to America by J W Wallace, 26 Aug-8 Sept 1891.

4. Diary of Visits to Walt Whitman in Camden, by J W Wallace, Vol 1, 8-17 Sept 1891.

**REEL 9:**

5. As above, Vol 2, 18 Sept-12 Oct 1891.


8. Drawing: table plan for dinner honouring Whitman, drawn by J W Wallace (?), nd (kept with 9 below.)

9. Diary note by J Johnston (?), 14 March 1892 (kept with 8 above.)


12. Ts copy of 11 above, inscribed "To J W Wallace with best wishes from J Johnston", nd.


14. Notebook: "Table Talk" by J W Wallace, nd.

15. Rough notes by J Johnston about 14 above, 1904-5.

16. Notebook by J W Wallace, extracts from William Sharp visit to Walt Whitman and notes on literature and poetry, 1913.

17. Plan of gravestone: drawn by J W Wallace for his own gravestone at Tonge Cemetery, 1 Dec 1886.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

18. Photocopy of above.


REEL 10:

21. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Greenhalgh, 3 Dec 1890. Copy. To be read aloud at the next College meeting which Wallace cannot attend. Complains of the poor attendance for meetings at Dixon's house, stresses the great value of the friendships in the College, "we cannot afford to lose each other … let us make our little College a church!", proposes that meetings should again be held at Eagle Street and also at Dearden's.

22. Lecture notes: Whitmanic Vignettes: Talk re Whitman's Friends in Camden and Phila(delphia) – Prof Bruton, Thomas Harned, Frank Williams, Harrison Morris, Buckwalter, Mrs Harned, Henry Bonsall, Talcott Williams, Charlotte Porter and Neidlinger, 26 Oct 1891.


24. Draft version of above (kept with 25 and 26 below).

25. Gertrude Traubel, Germantown, to Mr Ashworth, 26 Oct 1966. Sends the manuscript (24 above) which she made "a slight effort to clean up". Letters from J W Wallace, Dr Johnston and other Eagle Street College members will eventually be deposited in the Traubel Collection at the Library of Congress in Washington, "I think they represent a most significant addition to the Transatlantic Friendships generated by Walt Whitman". (On Walt Whitman Fellowship International notepaper 1902/3).


27. Lecture notes: Walt Whitman, a lecture by J W Wallace delivered at Farnworth Literary Society, 18 Jan 1899.


29. Another copy of above, inscribed "to Wentworth Dixon from J Johnston" and with M Hood's name and address.


31. Draft notes for 30 above.


34. Draft article: Whitman's Personality by J W Wallace for an article in the Bookman, Whitman Centenary Number, 15 April 1919.


36. Carbon copy of 35 above.

37. Copy of article: Horace Traubel's Birthday 19 Dec 1921 by J W Wallace, 30 Nov 1921.

38. As above.

39. Draft copy of above.

40. Copy of article: The Renewal of Youth by A E, article by J W Wallace, 4 Dec 1923.

41. Incomplete draft article: Biography of Dr R M Bucke, by J W Wallace, nd.

42. Notes: Extracts from Christus Futurus, copied by J W Wallace, nd.


44. Lecture notes: Walt Whitman by J W Wallace, a paper read to "The College", nd.

45-59. The Publication of *Visits to Walt Whitman*

45. William Broadhurst to Dr Johnston, 16 July 1915. Criticism of "Notes of Visit to Walt Whitman in 1890" by J Johnston.


47. William Broadhurst to Dr Johnston, 26 July 1915. Further comments on 45 and 46 above.

48. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Ian (Johnston), 30 July 1915. Asks Johnston to burn the suggested improvements sent with 47 above, "it is of the utmost importance that the book should be entirely your own".

49. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Ian (Johnston), 1 Oct 1915. Criticism of Johnston's proposed revisions to "Notes of Visit to Walt Whitman".

Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

51. As 50 above. Whitman's Last Illness and Final Messages, by J W Wallace, nd.

52. As 50 above. General Impressions of Whitman, by J W Wallace (?), nd.

53. List of illustrations for *Visits to Walt Whitman*, nd.

54. Draft version of 53 above.

55. J W Wallace, Anderton to Messrs J M Dent & Sons Ltd, 16 April 1917. Regrets the publisher's decision to delay publication of *Visits to Walt Whitman* until the war is over, sends the manuscript by registered post.

56. Publisher's publicity: *Visits to Walt Whitman* published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd "ready in Oct" with positive advance reviews, 1917.

57. File of book reviews and extracts copied from book reviews of *Visits to Walt Whitman*, Dec 1917-May 1918.

58. Lists by J W Wallace: British subscribers to book (*Visits to Walt Whitman*), foreign subscribers, autographed and presentation copies, persons who have not paid, Dec 1917.

59. Notebook by J W Wallace: names and addressed of those to whom circulars will be sent, accounts for receipts from sale of the book, March 1917-March 1918.

60-82. Other Publications by J W Wallace


63. As above.


66. Revised version of above, May 1919.

67. A later revision of 65 above, 10 May 1919.

68. As 67 above, 17 May 1919.

69. As 67 above, 19 May 1919.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

70. Galley proofs of 65 above for 71 below, May 1919.


72-74. Reprints of 71 above, from The Labour Leader (3 copies)


76. Another version of 75 above, 16 Oct 1919.

REEL 11:

77. Another version of 75 above, 31 Oct 1919.


80-82. "An Easter-Tide Allegory, Joseph Fels, His Life-Work", by J W Wallace. Reprint from The Labour Leader, 1 April 1920 (3 copies).

3. Biographical Articles about J W Wallace

1-2. Published Biographies


3-6. Unpublished Biographies


4. As above, initialled 'FN' (Fred Nightingale).

5. As above, initialled 'JO' (John Ormrod).


7-11. 70th Birthday Tributes

8-10. Ts copies of 7 above.


12-21. **Obituaries**


13. As 12 above.


4. **Books and Articles Collected by J W Wallace**

1-4. **Catalogues**


2. Incomplete copy of above.


4. Ts version of above, Mrs M Whiteside, Bolton, 1926.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

5-7. **News Cuttings Kept By J W Wallace**

5. "A Whitman Enthusiast" (Dr Johnston), *Radical Review*, 16 April 1892.


8-12. **Newspapers sent by Walt Whitman to J W Wallace**

(For the address labels see ZWN 4.)


13-27. **Books and Pamphlets Kept By J W Wallace**


18. "Life of Dante Gabriel Rossetti", by Joseph Knight, inscribed "Maria Hood, Aug 1925 with love from Pa (J W Wallace)", 1887.

19. "The Buried Temple", by Maurice Maeterlinck, inscribed "Maria Hood, June 1924 with the love of Pa (J W Wallace) and Minnie (Whiteside)", c1902.


22. As above, Fifth Series No 1, "Polarised Light, A Lecture" by Wm Spottiswoode, 1873-4.

23. As above, Sixth Series No 3, "The Approaching Transit of Venus", by Wm Huggins, 1874.

24. As above, Sixth Series No 5, "The Geographical Distribution of Mammals", by P L Sclater, 1874

25. As above, Ninth Series No 6, "Modern Discoveries in Sound, A Lecture", by Thomas H Cork, 1877.


27. "Flame" (Second Lecture), by T E Thorpe, 1877.

REEL 12:

ZWN 7:  Ormrod Correspondence and Associated Items

1-4.  Correspondence relating to John Ormrod's visit to Mrs Traubel and John Burroughs, 1920.

1. Pa (J W Wallace), Anderton, to John (Ormrod), Camden, 11 Sept 1920. Describing his eternal relationship with Walt Whitman and the Traubels and his mysterious relationship with his deputy, J Ormrod. Sending greetings and messages to those at Camden and mentioning a letter from Harned and the possibility of Ormrod meeting him.

2. John Ormrod, Philadelphia, to Pa (J W Wallace), 23 Sept 1920. Recording his visit to Mrs Traubel at Camden and to Horace Traubel's grave (see photographs 89-92 below).

3. Typed copy of above.


5-24.  Clara Barrus Correspondence with John and Nellie Ormrod

5. Clara Barrus, West Park, New York, to Mr Ormrod, 19 Nov 1920. Sending a print of the fireside portrait of John Burroughs, reporting that her new book on John Burroughs is out and stating how much they enjoyed Ormrod's visit to Woodchuck Lodge (enclosing 6 below).

6. Photograph: fireside portrait of John Burroughs at the Nest at Riverby, 25 Nov 1917. (Enclosed with 5 above.)
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

7. Clara Barrus, West Park, New York, to John Ormrod, 17 May 1921. The death of John Burroughs, comfort given by Harriet, Clara's plans to publish the Life and Letters of J B and thanks to Ormrod for a Manchester Guardian news cutting; enclosing 7/1/8-14 below.

8. News cutting: "Mr John Burroughs' Obituary", Manchester Guardian, 30 March 1921. (Referred to in 7 above.)

9. News cutting: "Markham pens poem paying last tribute to John Burroughs", 30 March 1921, Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau. (Enclosed with 7 above.)

10. News cutting: "Forest nod's o'er bier of Burroughs", 3 April 1921, Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau. (Enclosed with 7 above.)


15. Postcard with portrait of John Burroughs at Slabsides: Clara Barrus, Roxbury, to John Ormrod, sending goodwill and good wishes, 16 Dec 1922.

16. Clara Barrus, Roxbury, to Mr Ormrod, 28 Aug 1925. Reporting on the near completion of her work and the crowds visiting Roxbury, promising to show her slides if she ever gets to England and commenting on Dr Johnston's painful decline in health and the improvement in Mr Wallace's eyes.

17. Clara Barrus, New York, to Mr Ormrod, 17 Feb 1926. Sending condolences for the death of J W Wallace and paying tribute to him. Reporting on the reviews of her book and her lantern slide shows and lectures on Burroughs and planning her visit to the Ormrods, sailing for Liverpool on 20 March.

18. Doubleday, Page & Company, New York, to Clara Barrus, 23 March 1926. Ingersoll letters to be included in Mr Roger's book, with added manuscript letter, Clara Barrus to John Ormrod. Passing on copies of the Ingersoll letters and giving brief information about Robert Ingersoll. (Enclosing 19-22 below.)

19. John Burroughs, West Park, New York, to Colonel Ingersoll, 23 June 1892. Copy. Promising to telegraph if he can visit and commenting on his grape crop coming on apace (enclosed with 18 above).

20. John Burroughs, West Park, to Colonel Ingersoll, 22 Sept 1892. Copy. Describing the variety of grapes he is sending. (Enclosed with 18 above.)
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

21. As above, 4 Jan 1896. Copy. Asking to include Ingersoll's positive comment in the advert for Burrough's new book and suggesting restorers for Ingersoll's nerve exhaustion. (Enclosed with 18 above.)


23. Margaret Holden to Nellie Ormrod, Sept 1926. Typed extract. Re visit to Edward Carpenter, Carpenter's bad memory and his greetings and compliments to Clara Barrus.

24. Elsie (Ormrod), Woodchuck Lodge, Roxbury to Mrs Whiteside, 23 Aug 1929. Postcard of Woodchuck Lodge. "Greetings from the USA, having a wonderful time ... staying here with Dr Barrus". Lists the rest of her itinerary (with note from Clara Barrus "we have enjoyed Elsie's visit").

25-26. Lectures by Clara Barrus

25. Notice: Lantern Lecture on "The Homes and Haunts of John Burroughs" and "The Wild Flowers and Birds of America" by Dr Clara Barrus at Congregational Lecture Hall, St Georges Road, Bolton at 7.45pm, 9 April 1926.


27-31. Memorial Publications for John Burroughs and Clara Barrus sent to John Ormrod

27. John Burroughs, In Remembrance – Order of Service at the Nest at Riverby, West Park, 2 April 1921

28. "John Burroughs, Dedication of Memorial Field", 3 April 1922, with manuscript entry sending Clara Barrus's regards. (Enclosing 29 & 30 below)

29. Invitation card: John Burroughs Memorial Association invitation to Dedication of the Memorial Field, 3 April 1922. (Enclosed with 28 above)

30. Ts of note: Programme for the Dedication of the Burroughs Homestead Farm, Roxbury, 3 April 1922. (Enclosed with 28 above)


32-36. Publicity Leaflets Associated with Clara Barrus sent to John Ormrod

32. "John Burroughs Boy and Man", by Clara Barrus, nd.

33. "The Life and Letters of John Burroughs", by Clara Barrus, nd. (See original photograph, 45 below).
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

34. "Our Friend John Burroughs", by Clara Barrus, nd.

35. "John Burroughs Illustrated Lectures", by Clara Barrus, nd.


37-49. **Photographs of John Burroughs and Clara Barrus**

37. Small portrait of John Burroughs, with J Johnston, Bolton, written on back, July 1890.

38. Wider version of 37 above.


40. John Burroughs as he now is, the naturalist snapped in Washington, Philadelphia Public Ledger, 22 Feb 1914.

41. Portrait of John Burroughs, nd.

42. John Burroughs in rocking chair at Woodchuck Lodge, by Clyde Fisher, for Mr Ormrod written on back, nd.

43. John Burroughs seated with Prof Dellar Lore Sharp and Prof R J H de Loach. (See also photograph folder 89 below), 29 Sept 1920.

44. John Burroughs writing, by Orlando Rouland at the Ehrich Galleries, nd.

45. John Burroughs and Clara Barrus by the fireside at the Nest at Riverby, the original for the leaflet, 33 above.

46. John Burroughs and Clara Barrus on the porch of the Nest at Riverby, West Park, New York, "to my dear friends Mr & Mrs John Ormrod from Clara Barrus" written on back, 27 May 1917.

47. John Burroughs and Clara Barrus, John Burroughs half, nd.

48. Clara Barrus half of 47 above, nd.

49. Portrait of Dr Clara Barrus, credited to the American Museum of Natural History, nd.

50-85. **Postcards of John Burroughs and Places Associated with him**

50-65. 16 postcards of John Burroughs and places associated with him, sent to John Ormrod by Clara Barrus, nd.

66-74. Incomplete set of 9 duplicate postcards from the above set.
75. John Burroughs, poet and naturalist at his birthplace, Roxbury, NY, nd.

76. As above, signed by John Burroughs, 29 Sept 1920.


78. Living Room in Woodchuck Lodge, Roxbury-in-the-Catskills (No 94), nd.

79. John Burroughs, poet and naturalist at Woodchuck Lodge, Roxbury, NY (No 106), nd.

80. Another version of above, nd.

81. John Burroughs, the Poet and Naturalist at Woodchuck Lodge, Roxbury, NY, nd.

82. Main Street, looking North, Roxbury-in-the-Catskills, NY, nd.


84. John Burroughs's Grave, Roxbury, Catskill Mts., NY, nd.

85. The Famous Kaaterskill Clove from top of Haines Falls, Catskill Mts., NY, nd.

86-88. **Photographs of Places Associated with John Burroughs**

86. Woodchuck Lodge, Roxbury-in-the-Catskills, "for Mrs Ormrod" written on back, nd.

87. The first school John Burroughs attended, nd.

88. Woodland, nd.

89-92. **Photographs of Visit to United States and Canada, by John Ormrod, 1920**

89. Album of John Ormrod's visit to USA and Canada, Sept-Oct 1920.


91. Selection of 5 photographs from 90 above, enclosed with 92 below.

92. Covering note: John Ormrod to Charlie sending the photos as 91 above, 8 Nov 1920.

93-105. **News Cuttings about John Burroughs and Clara Barrus**

93. "Burroughs back to visit school", *Chicago Tribune*, 25 April 1918.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship


95. Second page of 91 above.


98. "The Literary Lobby, with tribute to John Burroughs", New York Evening Post, 2 April 1921

99. John Burroughs portrait, unidentified source, possibly from 98 above.


102. "John Burroughs' Will filed in NY", newspaper unknown, 29 April 1921.


106. Other Items Associated with John Burroughs and Clara Barrus


106A. Sprig of Everlasting Flower sent by Clara Barrus to J W Wallace – see 7/3/6 below.

2. Proposed Memoir on J W Wallace

1-29. Correspondence, 1932/3

1. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, East Yorks, to Mr Ormrod, 5 June 1932. Disclaiming the intention of writing about Wallace at present, enquiring what support and assistance would be available from the Bolton group and lamenting Wallace's "tragic" failure to write about Whitman himself.

2. John Ormrod, Glasgow, to Miss C A Eccles, 10 June 1932. Describing how the idea of the memoir was discussed at Walker Fold, offering to forward her letter to Mr Broadhurst, relating fruitless efforts to persuade Wallace to set down his interpretation of Whitman and mentioning Mrs Herdman's funeral at Edinburgh.
3. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, to Mr Ormrod, 12 June 1932. Describes memoir as "impractical" due to Whitman's current lack of popularity and the "mass of material" left by Wallace, mentions her "respect and affection" for Mrs Herdman.

4. John Ormrod to Miss Eccles, 15 June 1932. Agreeing with her "summing up of the situation" re the memoir, expenses would have to be guaranteed before publication.


6. Wm Broadhurst, Culcheth to Mr Ormrod, 16 June 1932. Claiming that, with the help of his surviving friends, writing the memoir would be "relatively easy" and the "money barrier surely can be surmounted". Mrs Bruce Glasier's "alleged relationship" with Wallace and her "romanticism" make her unsuitable; the ideal candidate is Ormrod's daughter, Elsie, who needs employment to improve her health. Disagrees with Miss Eccles by claiming greatness for Wallace, independent of his association with Whitman.

7. John Ormrod, Walker Fold, to Mr Broadhurst, 21 June 1932. Copy. Although "she has aptitudes for literary work", Elsie lacks "full sympathetic understanding" of Wallace; encloses a copy of Miss Eccles's article in the Epoch, March 1926 for loan.

8. Wm Broadhurst, Culcheth, to Mr Ormrod, 22 June 1932. Jokes about the use of "esquire", criticises Miss Eccles's article for "too much stress on his devotion to Whitman" and stresses Wallace's independent "illumination", "Who but Wallace could see in Whitman all that Wallace found?" Settles on Ormrod himself as Wallace's Elisha and best memoir writer.

9. John Ormrod, Walker Fold, to Mr Broadhurst, 24 June 1932. Copy. "Only on occasions of high stimulation can I become satisfactorily articulate – so let my name be eliminated" as proposed memoir writer. Carries on the joke about "esquire".

10. Jim Wallace, Monkseaton, to John Ormrod, 8 July 1932. Regards the memoir to be "a very desirable thin in the interests of very many people". Explains that "the most illuminated class of men are no doubt superior to literary fame". Regards Miss Eccles as "eminently qualified" but agrees with Broadhurst's view that Walt was "as an elder brother" to Wallace, agrees that Elsie Ormrod is not suitable but could help with selecting material. The growing awareness of the common man should make the venture more popular. Congratulates Ormrod on becoming a grandfather and gives news on the Wallace family.

11. John Ormrod, Walker Fold, to Fred Wild, 13 July 1932. Sending on the correspondence about the Wallace memoir, reporting that Broadhurst's suggestions have been dropped (see letters 1-9 above) and that Ormrod has read the correspondence to Charlie and Margaret Holden (on Vantona Company headed paper).
12. Fred Wild, Beauchil, to Sir, 15 July 1932. "Was kept awake till 4 this morning thinking who is best to tell the life of old Billy … I only knew Wallace for over 60 years and there are some things about him I never knew". Offers, despite his difficulty in writing, to record his time at Grammar School with Wallace and the early days of the College "where his friends were my friends and nearly all parish Church folk" until "his removal to Adlington where his friends were mostly strangers to me and all in the Labour movement". Thinks Wallace "got Nervana about his mother's death". Remembers a meeting at his own house, Broadhurst could use it.

13. Fred Nightingale to Mr Ormrod, 1 Aug 1932. Copy. Reports early visits to Eagle Street with "climax on 20 Jan 1890 when Wallace had prepared ... a sketch of his life, culminating in his mother's illness and death" 5 years before. Proposes that William Broadhurst with "that wonderful brain of his" could produce "a book of lasting value", refers to Wallace's "selflessness" and "Christ-like character".


15. Fred Nightingale, Bolton, to John Ormrod, 3 Aug 1932. Covering note returning the other letters, including 16 below enclosed.

16. Another copy of 2 above, enclosed with 15 above.

17. Fred Nightingale, Bolton, to John Ormrod. Covering note enclosing 18 & 19 below, for return "without comment".

18. George Wallace, Bromley Cross, to John Ormrod, 13 Oct 1932. His "lasting opinion" of J W Wallace "remains unshaken that he deserves damnation, just as all of us do, for sins of omission". "He did many people incalculable harm … his diagnosis of most of the people he tried to help was faulty … he lacked critical acumen … the light which Walt threw on his path got in his eyes … he never became a strong swimmer" and was too afraid of criticism to follow Whitman's advice to "blow grit into your scarfed chops", "did you ever know a more selfishly unselfish person?". Agrees with Miss Eccles that Wallace's correspondence "is full of platitudes and spiritual commonplaces" but regards her as unfitted in many ways to write the memoir. "Broadhurst should certainly not attempt it" because of his "windy, sentimental platitudes". Dates Wallace's first reading of Whitman to about 1881 after Ruskin. Concludes about Wallace "Let him rest in peace John" and reports his last words as "George, John's been good to me". (Enclosed with 17 above.)

19. John Ormrod, Walker Fold, to George Wallace, 15 Oct 1932. "You won't expect me to agree with you", with your gift for "debunking". Claims to take "a central position" on Wallace. (Enclosed with 17 above)

20. Charles Holden to John Ormrod, cMay 1933. Respects George Wallace for his courage but agrees there is too much "debunking". Claims that Wallace was wise enough to know his limitations and expresses "gratitude and love and respect" for Wallace's help at "probably the most critical moment in my life" giving "point and direction to my life and work". (Enclosing 21 below.)


24. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, to Mr Ormrod, 27 April 1933. Reports proposal from Rev Will Hayes for her to write a short memoir on Wallace in one edition of Calamus, that the publisher C W Daniel has confirmed her view that there would be little interest in a book on Whitman or his associates and asks Ormrod to send any manuscripts or information, as she intends to rely on quotes from Wallace himself. (Enclosed with 23 above.)

25. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, to Mr Ormrod, 19 May 1933. Sends thanks for his positive reply to 24 above and reports sending it on to Will Hayes. The proposed memoir should be 20,000 words and she asks especially for letters where Wallace refers to himself. She was impressed by Wallace's "vision of the Cross" and wants to get at his inner life, as his "greatness did not come to him only through Whitman". (Enclosed with 23 above.)

26. John Ormrod, Walker Fold, to Miss Eccles, 30 May 1933. Report on the Whitman gathering with only 8 present, where her recent letters were read and offers of help with the proposed memoir were given. Wallace's correspondence with the Traubels and Mrs Bruce Glasier are recommended as important. Ormrod has some of Wallace's correspondence with Johnston but it is only on "everyday affairs". (Enclosed with 23 above.)

27. Caroline Eccles, Hampstead, to Mr Ormrod, 6 June 1933. Hasty thanks for 26 above. Will ask Minnie Whiteside to put her in touch with Anne Traubel and will correspond again with Mrs Bruce Glasier. Hopes to see Will Hayes while in London and then visits Mr & Mrs Tyssel Davis in Bristol. (Enclosed with 23 above.)

28. J O to Miss Eccles, 21 June 1933. Copy. Sends Anne Traubel's address, he corresponds with her "once or twice a year" since his visit to Camden.

29. Note from M J H, nd. Suggests that "no one person should undertake this life" but that it should involve all his old friends to produce a "sympathetic mosaic of remembrance", along the lines of that produced for Carpenter; expects that Alice (Mortley?) would like to contribute but "it would be better for me not to appear".

30-70. **Correspondence, 1936/7**

30. Alice Collinge, Harwood, to Mr Ormrod, 20 Oct 1936. "Pleased to have Wallace's memoir" which made her feel that "Wallace for the time was at my side". "Bolton indeed has been my spiritual home" and "I would like to be able to render some service to Bolton … perhaps the Poetry Society is showing me the way".
31. Charles Holden, Hampstead Way, to John Ormrod, 21 Oct 1936. Caroline Eccles' "has made a good job" of the memoir "as far as she was able with her rather limited knowledge". Of his personality; "the very human and humorous side" of Wallace was not brought out but likes "the way she did not allow Wallace to be overshadowed by Whitman".

32. George Wallace, Bromley Cross, to John Ormrod, 22 Oct 1936. Sends thanks for the memoir which he did not expect. Jim (Wallace) "known by many friends as the Fat Angel" has been ill in bed since a seizure on 5 Oct, "he sleeps all day long" which "I think is ominous". Refers to his own enclosed list of Essays from A-Z. (Enclosing 33 below).

33. List of Essays from A-Z. (Enclosed with 32 above.)

34. George T Vine, Southport, to Mr Ormrod, 22 Oct 1936. Sends thanks for the booklet about Wallace who "stands very high in my subconscious picture gallery", it is "redolent of his sweet humble and high character" and the extracts of letters are "revelatory and confirmatory". Asks for further copies, one to be signed by Ormrod, and for the addresses of present members of the Bolton Fellowship.

35. Arthur Hope, Bolton, to Mr Ormrod, 22 Oct 1936. Sends thanks for the J W Wallace booklet and sending Mr Lancaster's address. Claims his own recollection of Wallace is "still very vivid and real".

36. Arthur J Hoyland, Manchester, to Mr Ormrod, 23 Oct 1936. Thanks for the booklet, last saw Wallace 40 years ago but "have not ceased to love his generous and unselfish character". Has "kept and read many times" the letters Wallace wrote "when I lost my baby daughter".

37. Charles Sixsmith, Anderton, to John Ormrod, 25 Oct 1936. Thanks for the memoir. Reports that he is going to Sheffield with Gilbert Beith "to arrange a bust of Carpenter in the Art Gallery" and to "see about his library now in the Sheffield City Library". Asks for further copies of the memoir.


39. J Foy, Bolton, to Mr Ormrod, 26 Oct 1936. Thanks for the memoir, "James William Wallace will ever remain my ideal".

40. George Vine, Southport, to Mr Ormrod, 28 Oct 1936. Thanks for the signed copy of the memoir, asks for 12 more copies. Reports on a visit from Fred Nightingale "who says he is going to retire" and on the benefits of his own "more than worthwhile" early retirement.

41. As 40 above, 30 Oct 1936. Postcard. Thanks for the booklets requested in 40 above.
42. Wm Broadhurst, Culcheth, to John Ormrod, 31 Oct 1936. Thanks for 3 copies of the memoir on which "I think it best to refrain from comment". Takes "Minnie Whiteside to be the harnesser of Miss Eccles in the present venture". Reports on a meeting at Tillotson's with Mr Edwards who did not seem impressed by the memoir, "a still-birth" and suggested that Broadhurst write a better one. Explains that this is not possible because Minnie Whiteside owns the copyright of Wallace's letters for another 40 years and he could not "overcome this obstacle", the world ought to know Wallace "neither as a milksop nor a parasite" or "a mere sexless dreamer … as a man integral, upright".

43. Nell Dixon, Brighton, to Mr Ormrod, 1 Nov 1936. Thanks for the memoir, apologises for delay in replying because of "charity concerts, rehearsals and Myra's accident tumbling down the stairs".

44. John B Gass, Bromley Cross, to John Ormrod, 1 Nov 1936. Thanks for the brochure which "gives a true picture" of Wallace, who "had a genius for friendship greater than any one I have ever known … he lived in the lives of his friends including Whitman".

45. J Sedgwick, Chorley, 1 Nov 1936. Thanks for the little book on Wallace which will give them pleasure, "I count myself blessed to have had so many opportunities of spiritual development in his company during the many years I lived in Adlington".

46. Charles Sixsmith, Anderton, to John Ormrod, 1 Nov 1936. Asks for further copies of the Wallace Memoir, which is a "well written account of the spiritual side of his nature" but "doesn't portray a living flesh and blood human being", giving "no concrete facts" and "several inaccuracies".

47. George Henderson, Bolton, to John Ormrod, 3 Nov 1936. The Wallace memoir "is expressed with beauty and understanding and does full justice to a nature, which to me, was rare and stimulating".

48. Mary Lever, Fallowfield, Manchester, to Mr Ormrod, 3 Nov 1936. Thanks for the Wallace memoir "written with great sympathy and understanding". Wallace would have been able "to unravel the good for us" in the world now. "Henry is a great deal better and Donald grows apace".

49. John Ormrod to Mr Broadhurst, 5 Nov 1936. Agrees that the Wallace memoir is "very restricted in scope" but it is wrong to "belittle" it. Quotes three very positive appraisals. Regards Sixsmith as unsuitable to write an extended memoir because of his "estrangement for the last 20 years or so of Wallace's life". Reiterates his own "sheer inability" and again proposes Broadhurst as best suited for the task because of his understanding, sympathy and "detached position away from that inner family".

50. C Sixsmith, Anderton, to John Ormrod, 5 Nov 1936. Thanks for the 6 copies of the memoir, encloses payment, "it seems a pity not to have had a more complete memoir".

52. Frank Bain, Toronto, 6 Nov 1936. Thanks for the memoir which "brings out vividly our essential Wallace". Discusses holidays and Indian Summers.

53. Typed extract from above.

54. Stanley Dixon, Grassington, Yorks, to Mr Ormrod, 9 Nov 1936. Thanks for the memoir which "Leah has enjoyed", talks of his own "conversion or illumination" 2½ years ago.

55. Anne Traubel, Germantown, Philadelphia, to John Ormrod, 12 Nov 1936. Thanks for the memoir which she commends for attaining "anything so satisfying in so small a space". Has sent a copy to Clifton Joseph Furness, who writes and broadcasts about Whitman and teaches classes on the work of Rudolph Steiner.

56. Typed extract quoting section about the Wallace memoir from 55 above.

57. Georgina H Saunders, Toronto, to John Ormrod, 12 Nov 1936. Thanks for the memoir, "J W W lived in that consciousness where we are all trying reach", quotes from Tagore.

58. Ts of most of 57 above.

59. O Lancaster, Junior, Bolton, 13 Nov 1936. Thanks for the "well written" memoir, received from his father.

60. Henry S Saunders, Toronto, to Mr Ormrod, 14 Nov 1936. Thanks for 2 copies of the memoir about Wallace who "had a great grasp of things spiritual". Will send 1 copy to Brown University, Providence, hopes for a visit from Ormrod or Elsie.

61. Typed extract from 60 above.


63. George Wallace to John Ormrod, 25 Nov 1936. Thanks for the book. Gives details of Jim Wallace's illness, "I have thought him little likely to get up again" but "Tom and the rest don't seem to understand his trouble". George found him a food chart "but it was repudiated", Jim says the mind is his "main stay" but "the whole body thinks, the brain is only the exchange". Reminiscences about J W Wallace reading from Browning and his dialogue with old Robert, extensive quotes from Browning, "men being mortal should think mortal like".

64. Wm Broadhurst, Culcheth, to John Ormrod, 27 Nov 1936. Apologises for delay in responding to the suggestion that he should write a fuller memoir on Wallace. Regards Minnie Whiteside's "mistrust" of him since Wallace's death as a major problem since her consent would be needed. Accepts that Miss Eccles's booklet has some merits but claims that it has "queered the pitch" for any successor and
will fail to interest "a stranger" in Wallace, despite its popularity with those "who knew Wallace in his lifetime".

65. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, East Yorks, to Mr Ormrod, 9 Dec 1936. Expresses interest in Ormrod's information about Mr Gass. Sends "The Science of Thought Review" and the "Theistic Church Calendar". Mentions that Tyssel Davies has also written about JW Wallace. Has received a card from Minnie to say Jim Wallace is much better. Wants to know if Ormrod hears from Mrs Traubel.

66. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, East Yorks, to Mr Ormrod, 15 Dec 1936. Thanks for the transcripts copied from letters from America, which she has sent on to Mr Daniels, the publisher. Sales of the memoir so far "very poor", "I try not to be downcast by the cold reception from the general public" but these days "even Whitman himself seems to be ignored or forgotten". Suggests sending a copy of the memoir to Wallace's acquaintance Robert Blatchford. Thanks Ormrod for his help. Has not yet seen Mrs Glasier's proposed notice in "The Friend".

67. John Ormrod to Broadhurst, 13 Jan 1937. "Miss Eccles' memoir is chiefly a reminder of Wallace for those who knew him but it also does appeal to others ... of the same type of spiritual outlook". Accepts Broadhurst's offer to talk on Whitman, Wallace and Carpenter at the May gathering. Mentions Fred Nightingale's retirement and his 79th birthday. Thinks that "Minnie Whiteside's acquiescence might be obtained, following Wallace's death, Minnie's attitude towards many of his old friends was decidedly cool (or was it hot)" but she has "mellowed" recently.

68. JW Lloyd, Roscoe, California, to W Atkinson, 5 June 1937. Copy transcribed by W Atkinson (with brief note about Lloyd, 21 Jan 1937). The Eccles memoir is "a fine tribute". Wallace was "so gentle, modest, saintlike". Fears there is no other group in England to replace "the almost extinct Eagle Street College". Talks of Whitman's likeness expressing his duality from "animal joy and life ... to Cosmic Conscious rhapsody".

69. Robert Blatchford, Horsham, Sussex, to Miss C A Eccles, 4 Feb 1937. Thanks for "copy of your book", Wallace's "face seems familiar. He must have been a remarkable man and lovable ... To me mysticism spells mist and fog ... No doubt Mr Wallace was happy in his faith as I am without it ... He was assuredly blest in his possession of such loyal friends".

70. Another copy of above.

71-75. **Publications by Caroline Eccles**


3. **Other Correspondence and Associated Items**

1-36. **Other Correspondence**


3. As 1 above, 18 Jan 1918.


5. Uncle Wallace, Anderton, to John, 20 April 1922. Enclosing 6 below and two sprigs of juniper from Whitman's tomb. Sending good wishes for Ormrod's wedding anniversary and reporting a meeting with James Barlow of the Street.

6. Sprig of California Everlasting Flower sent by Clara Barrus to J W Wallace and passed on to T Ormrod. (Enclosed with 5 above.)

7. Katherine Bruce Glasier, Earby, to Mr & Mrs Ormrod, 10 Aug 1923. Sending 70th birthday greetings to Wallace and admiring his spiritual development and helpfulness to his friends.

8. John Ormrod to James Mullally, Dublin, 9 Jan 1923. Copy. Asking to purchase the first 6 numbers of the *Irish Statesman*, edited by A E (George Russell) and sending New Year greetings.

9. J Mullally, Dublin, to Mr Ormrod, 11 Jan 1924. Reciprocating the New Year greetings. Sending the first 6 numbers of the *Irish Statesman* and reporting on his first meeting with the editor, A E.

10. Uncle Wallace, Anderton, to John Ormrod, 16 Jan 1924. Sending thanks for the 6 copies of the *Irish Statesman* and asking to pay for them.

11. Uncle Wallace, Lytham, to John Ormrod, 27 Aug 1924. Sending thanks for photographs, offering to pay for them and arranging distribution of copies to friends. Reports that he is "glad to be with Ferguson", enjoying "a restful time" and visiting the Johnstons for tea.
12. Uncle Wallace, Anderton, to John Ormrod, 31 May 1925. Asking him to edit, type and distribute to a list of friends, Wallace's manuscript address for Miss Rothwell, "If Walt Whitman came to Walker Fold".

13. Uncle Wallace, Anderton, to John Ormrod, 17 Nov 1925. Sending birthday greetings from himself and Minnie and enclosing as presents "Passage to India" and Ingersoll's Lectures, both inscribed by Whitman, plus Minnie's original illustrated Whitman booklet and "The Danes in Lancashire".

14. Minnie Whiteside, Anderton, Jan 1926. Printed card. Sending thanks to all who "sent messages of sympathy following the passing of a great friend" (JW Wallace).

15. Will S Monroe, Authors' Club, London, to Mr Ormrod, 9 Dec 1930. Thanking him for his hospitality, praising "the spirit of the Good Gray Poet" in the meeting of the good friends at Bolton. Inviting the Ormrods to his home at Couching Lion Farm and reporting his own departure for the Continent and his sadness at the death of his dog "Scottie". (Kept with items 16-18 below.)


17. Typed notes on Monroe, Will Seymour (born 1863) brief biographical details, 6 Dec 1930. (Kept with 15 above.)


19. Chas Sixsmith, Anderton, to John Ormrod, 29 May 1932. Agreeing that the paper recently read by Ormrod was the best written by Wallace, but disagreeing with Broadhurst's underestimate of Whitman, particularly the tenderness in his writing. Reminiscing about the birthday celebrations 1891-1908, hoping that Ormrod can help keep the tradition going and thanking the Ormrod family for their hospitality.

20. W Atkinson, Bepton, to John Ormrod, 9 May 1933. Responding to the news about Ormrod having a grandchild. Reporting on his own 80th birthday, recalling his first memories. Quotes from birthday greetings in letters from Charles and Margaret Holden. Questions the value of "giving people of notoriety the freedom of cities when they are aged". Sends greetings to the survivors among the Bolton group and looks forward to again "meeting with great joy those who have died". Sends greetings from wife Margaret, who "is wonderful for her age" and encloses his own poem "Meditation", written in 1928.

21. W Atkinson, Bepton, to John Ormrod, 25 May 1933. Sending sprigs and flowers for Whitman Birthday celebrations and lilies of the valley for Nellie and Elsie. (Kept with 22 below.)

22. W Atkinson, Bepton, to John Ormrod, 25 May 1933. To "those friends gathered to celebrate Walt Whitman's Birthday – surely the spirits of those departed friends will be with you and probably the spirit of Walt himself". Quotes from Whitman's "When lilacs last in the dooryard bloomed" and sends lilac and other decorative blooms and plants for the celebration. (Kept with 21 above.)
Wm Broadhurst, Culcheth, Warrington, to Mr Ormrod, 6 May 1934. Declining with "very real grief" an invitation to the annual birthday celebrations. Describing Wallace as "so completely unswayed by any material influence and so completely merged into the Eternal Force", the "grandeur" of Whitman, the world "travelling in the opposite direction" and himself as tainted by the world.

John Ormrod to Broadhurst, May 1934. Rough draft. Stating that the Broadhursts will be missed at the birthday celebrations and refuting Broadhurst's suggestion that the group meet as "disciples".

Wm Broadhurst, Culcheth, to Mr Ormrod, 22 May 1934. Sending greetings for the birthday celebration guests, lamenting that "life is slipping away from me" and that his youth "was spent in the fat, smug, prissy and vulgar Victorian Era" instead of now when "great things are ahead".

John Ormrod to Broadhurst, 27 May 1934. Rough draft. Stating that Broadhurst was missed at the celebrations and his reasons for absence were found puzzling. Reporting on the celebrations, Fred Wild's improved health and Miss Eccles's letter to say that her Wallace Memoir will be published in October.

W Atkinson, Bepton, to John Ormrod, 20 Nov 1936. Giving details about the enclosed J W Wallace Specimen Handwriting Book and identifying the boys in the photograph on the cover. Comments on the superiority of handwriting in his youth compared to now. Describes how "I never knew Wallace to play any games with any other of us boys" but remembers him "standing watching us … with a number of books under his arm". (Enclosing 28 below.)

Specimen handwriting book: J W Wallace at Bolton Grammar School, with photograph of boys playing in the playground on the cover, 1867. (Enclosed with 27 above.)


Earle A Bronson, Evanston, Illinois, to John Ormrod, 14 June 1937. Sending thanks for the recent letter and cable, describing the meetings in Chicago and Laurel Springs and Dr Lychenheim's friends' remark that the New Deal is following the way pointed out by Whitman "the originator of the sit-down strike". (Enclosing items 31-33 below.)

Publicity leaflet: Walt Whitman Fellowship of Chicago Annual Dinner, 31 May 1937. With annotated guest list. (Enclosed with 30 above.)

Typed report: Chicago's 32nd Annual Dinner on the birthday of Walt Whitman, 31 May 1937. Listing speakers and readers. (Enclosed with 30 above.)

Notice: Walt Whitman Birthday Celebrations, Laurel Springs, New Jersey, 31 May 1937. (Enclosed with 30 above.)
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

34. John Ormrod to The Organizers, Walt Whitman Exhibition, US Embassy, London, 16 March 1954. Sending a copy of *Visits to Walt Whitman* and mentioning the Bolton group and Mrs Traubel's 90th birthday.


36. Ralph Wesley Westcott, Walt Whitman Foundation, Camden, to John Ormrod, 9 May 1955. Westcott's damaged heart at 72 years, "younger lads should have entered the Bolton Circle" but it should be "spontaneous" otherwise it would become an "institution", which "old Walt weighed against". Westcott's involvement in the preservation of Whitman's house in Camden. Enclosing a copy of the centennial number of the newsletter and a news cutting about Whitman week in Camden, asking for W O Roy's address.

37-44. Photographs Kept by John Ormrod

(For John Burroughs and Clara Barrus photographs, see ZWN 7/1 above.)

37. Dr R M Bucke, 1891.

38. Horace Traubel, signed, nd.

39. J W Wallace in his study, postcard, nd.

40. J W Wallace and Frank Bain of Toronto, postcard, c1917.

41. Fred Wild, dedicated to John Ormrod, postcard, Oct 1912.

42. Fred Wild, with greetings to John Ormrod from Fred Wild, postcard, 31 May 1924.

43. Dr J Johnston in uniform, postcard, 20 March 1916. With greeting to John Ormrod from his friend J Johnston Queen Mary's Military Hospital, Whalley.


45-46. Publications Kept by John Ormrod

(For publications relating to John Burroughs and Clara Barrus see ZWN 7/1 above. For publications by Caroline Eccles, see ZWN 2 above.)


46. As 44 above, Book Reviews in *The Rally*, No 78, June 1921.

Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

48-57. News Cuttings about the Bolton Whitman Fellowship


50. As 49 above.


55. "Every Street has its Story, Eagle St was the home of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship", by B F Davies, Bolton Journal, 15 April 1954.

56. As above.


58-60. Other News Cuttings relating to Walt Whitman


60. "The Will of Walt Whitman has been sold", The Times, 8 April 1936.

61. Envelopes

61. File of 38 envelopes from John Ormrod's Correspondence.

REEL 13:

ZWN 8: Nightingale Correspondence and Associated Items

1. Correspondence: J W Wallace to Fred Nightingale

1. 25 May 1913. Enquires after Nightingale's health and invites him to the Whitman Birthday celebrations.
2. 1 June 1913. Reports on the Birthday celebrations entertained by Mr Thompson at Chapel House Rivington, with Lloyd as a speaker and Allen Clarke among the 12 present.

3. 30 March 1916. Expressing concern and sympathy at reports of Mrs Nightingale's serious illness.

4. 1 April 1916. Making arrangements to return Nightingale's umbrella which he took away by accident after a visit.

5. 3 April 1916. Sends thanks for the offer to lend a book about Ruskin and recommends A C Benson's book on Ruskin; suggests a meeting at Mealhouse Lane, preferably for just the 2 of them.


7. 10 April 1916. Unable to find his book "The house of Peace". Treasures his brief talk with Mrs Nightingale with "her brightness and serenity.

8. 11 April 1916. Recommends the mislaid book which he has now found.

9. 17 April 1916. "The things which the man of the world considers solid and actual seem to us phantasmal and unreal, and the things which seem to him empty and visionary dreams become to us the sole realities".

10. 20 April 1916. Compares the different biographies of Ruskin, who was "a loveable fascinating fellow" and "almost seems to belong to a higher race", compares him with Whitman, "the Word made flesh and dwelling among us", who was "by far the greater – but how precious and dear were both".

11. 7 May 1916. Praises Cook's book on Ruskin (with added brief shorthand note.)

12. 15 May 1916. Looks forward to Nightingale's forthcoming visit to Anderton.

13. 4 June 1916. Draft. Defends description of Whitman as "like a god" by explaining the hierarchy of intelligence from plants and insects below mankind to mythical gods and angels above, relating this theory to Ruskin's works, "W W did suggest something a long way in advance of the men and women of our present stage of evolution" and there is therefore "no blasphemy or irreverence" in the term used.

14. 11 June 1916. Reiterates the vast difference between "gods" and "God himself" who "alone is" and without whom "all created beings ... have no life or reality", referring to Longfellow's verse and Ruskin's work.

15. 23 June 1916. Relates how Minnie's late husband, George Whiteside, was inspired by the hymn verse "Christ is its life and Christ is love", so that the 10 months he survived after breaking his back were a period of spiritual growth. Also quotes from George MacDonald's favourite "Castle Warlock".
16. 2 Aug 1916. Draft. Sympathises with Nightingale who is also suffering from eye trouble, describes the lovely scene as he is writing outdoors; "vast and terrible as the war is it will pass like an ugly dream, while the spirit which animates all nature will endure …".

17. 16 Aug 1916. Hopes that Mrs Nightingale will improve, "all strength comes from within", relying "solely on the Divine Life & Power within me", "life is one with love and freely offered", "I am the Resurrection and the Life".

18. 30 Aug 1916. Sorry to hear from Wright Unsworth that Mrs Nightingale is worse, "though we are separated from you by space, there is a deeper nearness in which we come close to you".

19. 8 Sept 1916. Recommends a little book "Christ in You" which he is sending.


21. 7 Oct 1916. Hopes that Nightingale's short holiday has done him good and thanks him for the copy of The Spectator.

22. 12 Oct 1916. Hopes Nightingale will enjoy his visit to London, quotes from Spenser, "The soul is form and doth the body make".

23. 20 Oct 1916. Late birthday greetings to Nightingale.

24. 26 Oct 1916. Congratulates Nightingale on becoming a grandfather, refers to Fred Wild's and Victor Hugo's views on this subject, the event gives Mrs Nightingale "another object to live for". Relates meeting Mr Popplewell.

25. 6 Nov 1916. Thanks for the "beautiful picture" and reports about Nightingale's grand-daughter.

26. 17 Nov 1916. Copy. J W Wallace, Anderton to Mrs Nightingale. Sorry to hear her health has been worse.

27. 20 Nov 1916. Very sorry to hear latest report on Mrs Nightingale's health.

28. 25 Nov 1916. "I do not doubt that loving thoughts reach their object independently of spoken words or letters". "Think of her (Mrs Nightingale) as you have known her when she was at her best – and then remember that the soul itself is far greater."

29. 27 Nov 1916. "My sympathy and love are with you all the time," in passing "a dark tremendous sea of cloud ... it may be that a sudden glory will envelope you."

30. 28 Nov 1916. "My heart goes out to you" at the news of Mrs Nightingale's death, "for her what have we but congratulations and sacred joy? ... in my own life my worst bereavement was converted in a moment to an illumination ... now that your earthly home is forever linked with the Heavenly Home your life will be blessed by daily influences from the latter."
31. 29 Nov 1916. "I will come on Friday at the time you say."

32. 5 Dec 1916. "I do not doubt that you are sustained by the calm unshaken faith which has been your support all along." Thanks for the loan of "Mad Shepherds" which "I enjoyed reading very much."

33. 9 Dec 1916. "Deeply sorry to hear of Florence's breakdown."

34. 12 Dec 1916. Hopes to see Nightingale soon but is very busy with Minnie's birthday (16 Dec) and proposed visits for Christmas from Maria Hood and cousin George Wallace. "Fortunately, however, physical distance is no barrier to spiritual communion (no, nor death itself)"

35. 15 Dec 1916. Suggesting alternative arrangements to visit Nightingale over Christmas when "you will need the support of your friends most of all."


37. 19 Dec 1916. Confirms visiting arrangements and the loan of "Mad Shepherds" to Jim Wallace, very glad to hear of Florence's improvement.

38. 22 Dec 1916. Confirms that he is unable to go with Nightingale to Blair Hospital on Christmas morning, "as the sun now begins his assent again ... so I hope the Light of the World may also rise within you."

39. 27 Dec 1917. Thanks for Nightingale's hospitality on Christmas Day, confesses that he found Nightingale's home "desolate" without his wife and with "Florence's condition of isolation". Relates how George Whiteside, Minnie's late husband, was inspired after his back was broken by the hymn "Cast care aside". Has become convinced that Florence needs "spiritual treatment". Sends regards to Mrs Stuart and Nurse Farrell, mentions J Johnston's visit that day.

40. 27 Dec 1917. Quotes extensively from a newly arrived letter from cousin Jim Wallace relating how very much he appreciated "Mad Shepherds".

41. 28 Dec 1916. Relates Mrs Boole's theory on hysteria that sufferers are "mediumistic", the same susceptibility which has filled Florence with harmful illusions "will make her exceptionally responsive to the spiritual truths which will set her free forever". Recommends Nightingale to undertake "spiritual treatment" by affirming in all his thoughts of Florence the presence of Christ as "Saviour, Healer, Redeemer, the very truth of the Soul itself."

42. 4 Jan 1917. Expresses concern at extra work given to Nightingale by Mr Wilkinson's death. "Health, joy and cheerfulness are normal conditions" and "the things that conflict with them are, as compared with spiritual realities, illusions". Asks for any comment by Professor Jacks on Jim's letter on Smarley Bob; unable to find the book by Mrs Boole.

43. 9 Jan 1917. Sends thanks for Nightingale's latest letter and the enclosed copies of letters to and from L P Jacks (see ZWN 8/3/1 below). Discusses Jacks' comparison
of Stopford Brooke with Smarley Bob. Thanks Mrs Stuart for ordering Irvine's book. Glad to hear of Florence's improvement, offers to visit Nightingale if required and advises him to get more sleep.

44. 10 Jan 1917. Thanks for postcard just received. Minnie will probably go to Bolton again on Wednesday. Will send "Margaret Ogilvy" by J M Barrie to Mrs Stuart. "Best wishes for Florence's continued and speedy recovery."

45. 14 Jan 1917. Thanks for postcard and the copy of "Mad Shepherds" for Jim to keep. Hopes Florence will benefit from the stay at Southport. Mentions visit by Dr Johnston in an ambulance van. Is "thankful that you have kept as well as you have … in sleep the soul is partly liberated from the limitations of waking consciousness."

46. 23 Jan 1917. Conveys fulsome thanks from Jim for the copy of "Mad Shepherds", arranges to visit Nightingale on Saturday.

47. 25 Jan 1917. Confirming arrangements for visit to Nightingale on Saturday.

48. 29 Jan 1917. Relates a story by L P Jacks about a man who after a long search became "conscious of conversion" at 55-60 years of age, realising that his prayers had been answered all along but in an unexpected way. Thanks Nightingale for his hospitality and describes his own visit to Mr Miller.

49. 6 Feb 1917. Advises Nightingale against taking on further "public functions" and recommends that "he turn inwards to abandon the self which suffers" from bereavement, "the more deeply you penetrate into the sacred plane of your own nature, he more you will realise her (Mrs Nightingale's) eternal presence in that unity where God is all in all". Mentions his own recent lecture on "Isaiah".

50. 15 Feb 1917. Expresses concern about Florence's "arrested progress" and asks permission to write to her directly. Mentions attending a Field Naturalists talk in Bolton and also Wentworth Dixon's forthcoming talk to the Theosophical Society.

51. 5 March 1917. "Pleased to have your good report of Florence … as her mind becomes more and more directed to that (indwelling Divine Spirit) she will gain in health (the Divine Health) and Spiritual Power". Mentions Wentworth Dixon's visit to Adlington and the death of Will Hargreaves.

52. 9 May 1917. Arranging visit by Nightingale on Tuesday and apologising "for my long silence" with being "in arrears lately with my correspondence."

53. 3 June 1917. Reports on the Whitman Birthday reunion when 6 attended, and was sorry that Nightingale could not come. "You seem to be pursued by the illnesses of those who are specially dear to you."

54. 24 June 1917. Trusts that Nightingale will benefit from his holiday, shocked at Mr Owen's death. Needs to go out more himself. Minnie is occupied "in looking after sick folks."
6 Aug 1917. Invites Nightingale for a visit on Saturday when the Dixons are also coming.

23 Aug 1917. Attempting to arrange a visit to Pimblett.

25 Aug 1917. As above.

17 Sept 1917. The "Mad Shepherd" (Jim Wallace) is visiting, invites Nightingale to come and see him, suggesting that he telephones Dr Johnston at Townleys Hospital.


13 Nov 1917. Copy. Apologises for his and Minnie's absence when Nightingale visits and details arrangements for their neighbour Mrs Clayton to light the fire and provide a hot drink. The Ormrods have also enjoyed "Mad Shepherds". Passes on a suggestion from Wright Unsworth that Nightingale should install a new kitchen range at Shaw Place and increase the farmer's rent by 5%.

31 Dec 1917. Apologises for failing to write, due to eye trouble and a longer stay than expected at Levenshulme, sends seasonal greetings.

4 Jan 1918. Glad "that Ernest was so interested in our book". Suggests that Nightingale can obtain a copy from Dr Johnston and that the publishers will assist in sending copies to America and Sydney.

9 Jan 1918. Arrangements for the publisher to send a copy for Nightingale's brother-in-law.

16 Jan 1918. Is sending Mr Walker's copy on for despatch to USA.

19 Jan 1918. Hopes Nightingale will enjoy his visit to Ernest, Lilas and the baby and that his eyes are better. The reception of our book "has been quite as good as we could hope for."

6 March 1918. Sending on some bookmarks sent to the College by the Librarian of William Jewell College, Liberty, Missouri.

15-16 March 1918. Unable to accept invitation for the 24th. Delighted to hear that Florence is so much better and at home again.

29 March 1918. Went with Dr Johnston to the Dixons. "Extremely sorry to hear of Florence's recent relapse … hope deferred maketh the heart sick, a Divine Purpose underlines all our experiences."

14 May 1918. Return Horton's book on the "Minor Prophets". "Happy in the memories of our walk and talk together this afternoon."

16 May 1918. Thanks for the book "Christ in You", which he offers to return as it was Nightingale's after all, encloses a reprint of Bruce Glasier's review of our book.
1 June 1918. Hopes Nightingale enjoyed the symposium which was interesting but "much too formal".

18 June 1918. Sends best wishes for a good holiday.

25 June 1918. Thanks for the letter from the Shap area. Reminiscences about his own holidays with his mother on the Lowther estate and his ecstasy at "reciting some of Wordsworth's lines to myself" at Knipe Scaur limestone cliffs. Enjoyed yesterday's walk at Rivington with "corresponding ecstasy, which is just as good and better informed". "The Lord calls you nearer to Himself, you will find your wife as she is in reality and you will know her better".

6 July 1918. Condolences on the death of Nightingale's sister, "God doeth all things well".

17 Oct 1918. Sends birthday greetings. "There has been a long silence between us but I have often thought of you all."

9 Nov 1918. Thanks for the holiday letter from Ilkley, concern for Mrs Stuart's illness. Hoping for a visit from Nightingale on the 12th.

16 Nov 1918. "Our talk yesterday hardly went below the surface of things but when one meets an old friend there is a deeper though silent communion". Thanks for the kind gift to Mrs Clayton. Refers to Nightingale as always being a good man.

27 Nov 1918. On the anniversary of Mrs Nightingale's death "I know that you will be sustained by the religious faith which is your strength and comfort."

4 Dec 1918. Encloses a letter to Mrs Stuart, for Nightingale to pass on if he judges it to be wise. (Enclosing 80 below.)

5 Dec 1918. J W Wallace to Mrs Stuart. Sends sympathy and love, explains how his mother's suffering brought him pain and enlightenment, "May God reveal his Face to you and bless you, as he assuredly will."(Enclosed with 79 above.)

13 Dec 1918. Condolences for the death of Mrs Stuart, quotes from Carlyle's "Divine Depths of Sorrow".

18 Dec 1918. Gives thanks for the present passed on to Mrs Clayton, "all these again are only a part of the continual service to others to which your life is devoted". "They are the true – and the only true – evidence of a genuinely religious or Christian life". "Love underlies life and death alike".

31 Dec 1918. Sends New Year greetings, "there is such a thing as newness of life and the putting on of the New Man."

3 March 1919. Compares Mrs Clayton to Mrs Nightingale "dainty and clean of soul", condemns her husband as "brainless and heartless" and the eldest son as "a liar and a thief" but praises her 3 younger children.
85. 8 March 1919. Reports that he is confined at home with a cold, objects to the idea of outsiders being invited on 31 May, as this creates "an alien atmosphere of intellectual differences".

86. 20 March 1919. Invites Nightingale and Wentworth and Myra Dixon to visit on 5 April.

87. 7 April 1919. Sends thanks for the generosity to Mrs Clayton. Reports on her visit to the dentist and describes her marriage as "a tragic union of opposites, in which the weakest suffers no mercy".

88. 10 April 1919. Suggests the remedy for Nightingale's sleeplessness, "take off all the mental clothes", and "rest from consciousness, waking or asleep, in the Almighty Goodness, indifferent to everything else".

89. 22 April 1919. Apologises for being absent when Nightingale and Florence visited unexpectedly, sends thanks for Grayson's book.

90. 24 April 1919. "Physical rest is necessary but one's healing and life come from within". Grayson's book "surpassed my expectations".

91. 2 May 1919. Mrs Clayton sends thanks for the 10 shillings, the rest of her teeth have been extracted, "just the art of being kind is all the sad world needs".

92. 23 May 1919. Has been busy writing an article on Whitman for the *Labour Leader*, passes on a letter from Mrs Clayton's second son Frank referring to Nightingale's kindness.

93. 28 May 1919. Setting out on a visit to Tom Shorrock's widow at Bolton.

94. 7 June 1919. Writing before his and Minnie's fortnight's holiday with Mr & Mrs Tubbs near Stroud, "my aim would be to strengthen your own faith in the ever present Comforter". Quotes the homily "The Secret of a Happy Day", in "finding all we let him bear changed to blessing" we strengthen ourselves and have a positive influence on others.

95. 10 June 1919. Sends his holiday address at Pitchcombe near Stroud, refers to Pimblett being "much run-down".

96. 28 June 1919. Declares that their lodgings are "as nearly ideal as can be expected", they are extending their stay until 9 July. Requests Nightingale to fix an appointment for Mrs Clayton with a lady doctor at Bolton Infirmary to confirm whether she needs an operation on her uterus.

97. 30 June 1919. "I don't like the slow progress T O is making and wish I knew how to expedite it". Thanks for the copy of Wentworth Dixon's poem.

98. 10 July 1919. Confirming arrangements for Nightingale's visit.

99. 17 July 1919. Quotes from Albert Hodkinson's letter thanking Wallace and Nightingale for their advice which had helped secure a place as a trainee...
accountant for his son with Capt. Parker. Hopes that now Florence "has actually
visited us will come again soon". "There is no bit of country near Bolton so
delightful as Rivington is to ramble on a fine Day!"

100. 29 July 1919. Expressing concern at Lilian going into hospital, suggesting days for
a visit by Nightingale. Mrs Clayton's son Frank, "a very nice boy", is visiting her.

101. 8 Aug 1919. Thanks for the 3 copies of "The Christian World Pulpit". "We were
very pleased to see you and Ernest last Sunday". "Our schemes for her
(Mrs Clayton's) benefit are continually being baffled by Mr C's behaviour."

102. 12 Aug 1919. Thanks for birthday greeting, describes the picnic on his birthday
with Minnie. Mrs Clayton and her two youngest children at Anglezarke.
Expresses concern about Pimblett's condition.

103. 4 Sept 1919. Confirms arrangements for a visit by Nightingale and Lilian on
Sunday, encloses a sermon.

104. 9 Oct 1919. Promises to send a copy of Visits to Walt Whitman, asks whether
Nightingale requires the expensive, authorised version of Leaves of Grass or the
cheap Cassells edition.

105. 30 Oct 1919. Sends on a letter from Ernest, who also sent a booklet of poems
"Two Fishes". "More satisfied" about Pimblett after having had tea with him.

106. 10 March 1920. Asks for confirmation of a report from Fred Wild via Dr Johnston
that Pimblett was very ill.

107. 28 March 1920. "Pimblett is my oldest friend and I am grieved" at his illness,
sends "heartfelt good wishes" and trusts that Nightingale and Miss Hargreaves
"will have a happy home together … the best is yet to be".

108. 30 March 1920. Expresses "painful surprise" at worse news about Pimblett, trusts
that Lilas soon recovers from the operation.

109. 7 April 1920. Sends a reprint of the Labour Leader article. "Was pleased to see
you in the cemetery on Saturday".

110. 13 April 1920. Sends "heartfelt good wishes" for Nightingale's marriage
tomorrow, "our friendship is not a mushroom growth but has been spreading its
roots deeper and wider into the soil and (I believe) growing higher towards
heaven".

111. 23 April 1920. Likes the Roman Catholic view of marriage, "what can I wish you
both better than a deepening sense of the Sacramental nature of your union?"
Sends "blessings and love" to Nightingale and his new wife.

112. 29 April 1920. Uncle Wallace, Anderton to Florence. Minnie and Maria send
thanks for their visit to Florence. The kind offer of the loan of a copy of
Shakespeare to Frank Clayton is declined, because he might be too generous and
lend it to someone else. The return of two swallows (Mr & Mrs Nightingale?)
from Torquay is anticipated.
113. 12 May 1920. Asks Nightingale to bring his copy of "Mad Shepherds" on Friday. Dr Johnston and 4 girl friends came last evening.

114. 28 June 1920. To Mrs Nightingale. Apologises for detaining the Nightingales on their visit so that they got wet on the way home. "I feel now that I know you and I believe we are already good friends".

115. 17 Oct 1920. Sends birthday greetings, birthdays nowadays bring solemnity with looking forward to "the approaching goal of our journey". Though it is a long time since I saw you last ... all the reports have been good".

116. 3 Dec 1920. Accepts Nightingale's invitation to visit them over Christmas, subject to Wallace and Minnie being able to also fit in their regular Christmas day visit to the Ormrods.

117. 22 Dec 1920. Proposes coming to dinner with Nightingale on Sunday after visits to the Ormrods and McWilliams.

118. 31 Dec 1920. Sends New Year greetings and thanks for the hospitality at Christmastide.

119. 11 Jan 1921. Returns the Lincoln Book by Lord Charnwood via Minnie. Sends a copy of Ernest's letter which enclosed a copy of Two Foemen by K E Palmer. Wishes Nightingale "could have more of the rest and recreation you seem to me to need".

120. 5 Dec 1923. Accepts invitation for the 13th and reports that he is "practically free from neuritis".

121. 19 Oct 1925. Sends birthday greetings. "It's a very long time since I last had the please pleasure of seeing you". Reports on his own good health apart from problems with his eyes.

2. Correspondence and other items relating to W S Monroe

(For other W S Monroe correspondence, see ZWN 9.)

1-42. Correspondence, 1930-31

1. Atkinson, Bepton, Midhurst, to Fred, 19 Jan 1930. Quotes appeal for Whitman letters and contacts with Bolton Whitman Fellowship from Will S Monroe in the Sunday Observer. Has given Monroe Fred's name and address and would have also given Fred Wild's if he had known it. Lists some Bolton College items he has sent to Monroe, whom he has told that "Dr Johnston and J W Wallace sent all their Whitman letters to the Washington Library of Congress in 1923".

2. W S Monroe, Waterbury, Vermont, to Mr Nightingale, 31 Jan 1930. Preparing a work on Walt Whitman and his contemporaries, was given your name by W Atkinson. Has Johnston and Wallace's book but wants additional details and recent information about the Whitman Fellowship at Bolton.
3. F N (Fred Nightingale) to Mr Monroe, nd. Draft. Has already heard of his request from Will Atkinson and from the *Times Literary Supplement* letter passed on by A Sparke (Chief Librarian). Lists items Atkinson has already sent and items relating to the Bolton group which he has himself including personal letters from J W Wallace. "I joined the group about 1888" and was referred to as an "accountant", "Wallace, an assistant architect ... was head and shoulders above the rest in intellect". "I was too commercialised to be of any help to the fellowship but contact was a great help to myself". "All except Fred Wild ... and myself have passed on."

4. W S Monroe, Waterbury, Vermont, to the Editor of the *London Mercury*, Feb 1930. Requests copies of Whitman letters to British correspondents and contact with surviving members of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship (addressed to F Nightingale with the compliments of I Edwards, Editor of the *Bolton Evening News*).

5. W S Monroe, Waterbury, to Mr Nightingale, 25 April 1930. Acknowledges receipt of information about the Bolton Fellowship, which he is sharing with Dr Harold Blodgett of Dartmouth College. At least 6 books in the US and 1 in Denmark are in preparation about Whitman "so the spirit of the Good Gray Poet is marching on".

6. W S Monroe, Waterbury, to Mr Nightingale, 6 Oct 1930. "I am sailing by a slow steamer for London (on) the 18th ... I plan to visit Bolton and hope to meet you after research in the Library of the British Museum."

7. Copy of above.

8. (F Nightingale to W S Monroe?), 23 Oct 1930. Draft. "Fred Wild and I are the only survivors of the Whitman Fellowship, he is 77 years and confined at home after a stroke but would be delighted to meet you". "My son has just donated me for a birthday gift German Lucking's Lincoln, a marvellous book." (plus further notes in shorthand).


11. As above, 31 Oct 1930. Sends thanks for the information about Monroe and hopes that Sparke will get in touch with Monroe on his visit to Bolton, as the Library's Whitman Collection will be of great assistance to him.

12. W S Monroe, Author's Club, London, to Mr Nightingale, 17 Nov 1930. Sends thanks for information received about the Bolton Whitman Fellowship and apologises if he has not already sent acknowledgement. Hopes to be in Bolton in about 2 weeks time and to meet the surviving Whitmanites there.
13. W S Monroe, Author's Club, London, to Mr Nightingale, 29 Nov 1930. Has met Mr & Mrs Charles Sixsmith in London and will be staying with them before visiting Bolton. Thanks Nightingale for the invitation to stay with him, but as he is recovering from a cold he has decided to stay at the Swan. Hoping to meet the Bolton group on Saturday or Sunday 6-7 December.

14. Archibald Sparke, Chief Librarian, Central Library, Bolton, to F Nightingale, 1 Dec 1930. Postcard. Just off to London but will keep Saturday free and hope to be with you then. Would like W S Monroe "to see the collection if he has time".

15. F Nightingale to Mr Monroe, 1 Dec 1930. Encloses copy of a circular letter inviting friends to meet Monroe, advises asking for a quiet room at the Swan Hotel. (Enclosing 15 below.)

16. Copy of circular letter from F Nightingale, 1 Dec 1930. Introducing Will S Monroe and extending an invitation to meet him for high tea at the Swan Hotel, this arrangement to be confirmed on Thursday.

17. Wm Broadhurst to Mr Nightingale, 2 Dec 1930. Accepting the invitation in 15 above.


20. Charles Sixsmith, Anderton, to Mr Nightingale, 2 Dec 1930. Accepting the invitation in 15 above. Will postpone his proposed visit with Mr Monroe to Fred Wild and Mrs Johnston until the Sunday.


22. W S Monroe, Author's Club, London, to Fred Nightingale, 2 Dec 1930. Confirms that he will arrive at The Swan by noon on Saturday after staying with the Holdens and then the Sixsmiths.

23. Copy of circular letter from F Nightingale, 4 Dec 1930. Acknowledges the acceptance of the invitation in 15 above and confirms the time as 6 o'clock on 6 Dec at The Swan Hotel.

24. Another copy of above.

25. Elsie Ormrod, Pendleton, to Mr Nightingale, 4 Dec 1930. Accepting the invitation in 15 above.


28. F Nightingale to Miss Collinge, 5 Dec 1930. Belated invitation to meet Professor Monroe, as he has only just found her address.

29. A Blackburn, Bolton, to Mr & Mrs Nightingale, 6 Dec 1930. Accepting the invitation to The Swan Hotel this evening.

30. W S Monroe, Author's Club, London, to Fred Nightingale, 9 Dec 1930. Sends greetings and "gratitude for the hospitality and fellowship … I will carry back to my farm precious memories of my Bolton visit.

31. W S Monroe, Author's Club, London, to Fred Nightingale, Tues (9 Dec) 1930, Postcard. Sends thanks for Bolton Evening News report and asks for further copies to send to America.

32. W S Monroe, Author's Club, London, to Fred Nightingale, 11 Dec 1930. Copy. Thought that Bolton Evening News article was by Mr Broadhurst but now asks for the name and address of the writer.

33. As 32 above.

34. Another copy of 30 above, 12 Dec 1930. (To Mr Alfred Blackburn, Chief Reporter, Bolton Evening News).

35. As 30 above, 12 Dec 1930. Postcard. Thanks for further copies of the papers.

36. Fred Wild, Ansdell, to Fred (Nightingale), 16 Dec 1930. Enclosing list of names of Eagle Street College Members. (Enclosing 37-38 below.)

37. List of names and occupations of Eagle Street College Members by Fred Wild, 16 Dec 1930. (Enclosed with 36 above.)

38. List of names and occupations of Eagle Street College Members, amended by Fred Wild, nd. (Enclosed with 36 above.)

39. W S Monroe, Montpellier, to Mr Nightingale, 9 Jan 1931. Thanks for the copy of Broadhurst's address. Sends condolences to Mr Blackburn for the death of his wife. Invites Nightingale to visit him at his farm.

40. W S Monroe, Montpellier, to Mr Nightingale, 19 Jan 1931. Sends congratulations on the anniversary of Nightingale's 60 years in public service. After visits to Paris and London he will be sailing for America on 21 March.

41. W S Monroe, Paris, to Mr Nightingale, 27 Feb 1931. Written on back of the article "Scottie Monroe Passes Away" by R H Torrey. Has "a heap of work before me at the British Museum … accomplished a lot" on his trip despite ill health. "Unearthed a surprisingly large number" of Whitman items in the Bibliotheque Nationale and met a number of French men of letters influenced by Whitman, "the influence here was very much greater than I had supposed".
42. W S Monroe, Waterbury, Vermont, to Mr Nightingale, 27 April 1931. "The little Labrador pup and I reached home safely" in deep snow, "winter is lingering". "No work can be done on my Whitman book before next winter". Dr Clara Barrus passed away. My new servant is from Bolton and has shown me a Bolton Journal article about your son, to whom I extend congratulations.

43-59. Other Items, 1930-31

43. Pamphlet: "Scottie Monroe Passes Away", by Raymond H Torrey, with covering note from Ernest Nightingale, 583 Chorley Old Road, "for Mr Hamer", nd.

44. Biographical note: Monroe, Will Seymour (1863-), nd.

45. As above.


47. Menu card for meal at Swan Hotel, 6 Dec 1930.

48. Outline notes by Fred Nightingale. Draft Programme for the event at The Swan Hotel on 6 Dec 1930.

49. Draft by William Broadhurst. Notes of an address delivered before the Whitman Fellowship at the Swan Hotel 6 Dec 1930. Initialled "to be revised FN".

50. As 49 above. Ts draft with corrections. "An address in memory of the late J W Wallace, Wentworth Dixon and Dr J Johnston", initialled "FN's copy".

51. News cutting, "Valuable Possessions", referring to Prof Monroe's visit, newspaper unknown, Dec 1930.

52. As above.


57. Postcard, W S Monroe with dog in a boat (initialled "Monroe's Portrait FN), nd.

58. Postcard, view of farm (Monroe's home?) with insets of W S Monroe and his dog, nd.

59. Blotter and Year Book, Park Street Circuit, Wesleyan Methodist Church (kept with Nightingale's letters and items about W S Monroe), 1925.
3. **Correspondence and other items relating to Donations to Bolton Library**

1. Margaret Johnston, Bispham, to Mr Nightingale, 12 Dec 1930. Sends thanks for the *Bolton Evening News* copy of 8 Dec. "Was pleased to see Professor Monroe and very glad that he made the Librarian, Mr Sparke, fully understand how valuable was the Whitman Collection". "Very proud of my dear husband's gift of such a valuable collection to my native town Bolton". Asks advice on whether to send the College Loving Cup to The Mickle Street House, Camden.

2. Ts copy of above.

3. Another copy of above, initialled "FN's complete".

4. Archibald Sparke, Chief Librarian, Central Library Bolton, to Mr Nightingale, 16 Dec 1930. Copy. Asks for the Loving Cup to be deposited on permanent loan with the Whitman Collection of Books at the Library.

5. As above.

6. Fred Nightingale to Mrs Johnston, 18 Dec 1930. Copy. John Ormrod and I suggest that instead of leaving this country for America, the best place for it is the Bolton Library, encloses copy of a letter from Mr Sparke (4 above)

7. As above.

8. Margaret Johnston, Bispham, to Mr Nightingale, 19 Dec 1930. Agrees that Bolton Library is the best place for the Loving Cup. "The Americans are now very anxious to get all they can and have already got a good deal", offers to deposit the Whitman oil painting by Sidney Morse (1890) in Bolton Reference Library.

9. Ts copy of above.

10. As above, initialled "Jno O".

11. Fred Nightingale to Mrs Johnston, 30 Dec 1930. Copy. "Mr Sparke is anxious to know if you have any letters written by the late Walt Whitman" which could be added to the Library Collection. Hopes to arrange collection of the loving cup and portrait soon.

12. M Johnston, Bispham, to Mr Nightingale, 1 Jan 1931. "I have nothing of Walt Whitman's letters and mementoes now". Two years ago Dr Clara Barrus took away Whitman's inkstand and tea caddy and other things for Mickle Street House, Camden. "I have been approached about the portrait, wishing it could go to America" and "I shall be glad when it is out of my custody". Hopes to see Nightingale and Sparke "when I come to Bolton".

13. M Johnston, Bispham, to Mr Nightingale, 17 Feb 1931. "Glad to hear you arrived safely with your treasures.""Shed a few tears" when the portrait was taken down. "I only hope the Bolton people will understand and appreciate what a valuable gift has been given to the town." Wishes Mr & Mrs Nightingale were nearer.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

14. M Johnston, Bispham, to Mr Nightingale, 25 Feb 1931. Thanks for the Bolton Evening News report. Fears that "folks will think we are crowing over the Americans too much … you will have Mrs Whiteside down on you, for I think it will be a great disappointment to her to know that Bolton has gained what the Americans would have valued … they are determined to get all they can" now that "Walt Whitman has come into his own".


16. Copy Resolution, Samuel Parker, Town Clerk, Town Hall, Bolton to Frederic Nightingale, 5 March 1931. "The best thanks of this (Libraries) Committee be tendered to Mr Frederic Nightingale for his efforts in securing the above gifts" (Loving Cup and Oil Painting).


18. Draft note, F N (Fred Nightingale) to Archibald Sparke, 1931. Acknowledgement of Whitmania (above), "the painstaking effort of an enthusiast is worthy of the occasion".

4. Other Correspondence

1. Fred Nightingale, Bolton, to Rev L P Jacks, 1 Jan 1917. Copy. Sends on J W Wallace's letter about "Mad Shepherds". Describes Wallace as "interested in high class literature and something original … he is held in high esteem by a select circle who come within the sphere of his influence" and "is a literary man of no mean reputation". Refers to Wallace and Johnston's visit to Camden and the book about it "to be published after the war".

2. Emily Fuller to Mr Nightingale, 3 Dec 1918. Expresses deep sympathy about Mrs Stuart's grave illness.

3. J Johnston, Townleys Hospital, Bolton, to Mr Nightingale, Christmas 1918. Postcard. "I have heard of the death of your good housekeeper and I want to send you a word of sympathy and condolence in your trouble".

4. Wentworth (Dixon), Bolton, to "Dear old Friend", 17 April 1920. Pleased "to know that you and your wife are happy and enjoy the beauty of Torquay". Quotes the poem "The Song of the Newly Wed" which he has composed for the occasion.

5. W Atkinson, Bepton, Midhurst, to Fred, 29 Nov 1929. Agreeably surprised to hear from Fred, their last meeting was with the Whitmanites 21 years ago,

6. W Atkinson, Bepton, Midhurst, to Fred, 18 Feb 1930. Glad to hear good news about Myra. Sorry to hear of Fred Wild "my old school chum at the Bolton Grammar School" and also of Mr Coope's death. Has received a letter of thanks from Mr Monroe, to whom he has sent a bulky parcel of Bolton College items, "I
left all the old creeds 50 years ago" and now believe "The world's need is the Love that reconciles all races, all scriptures, all religions, all prophets, all peoples ... .

7. Wm Broadhurst, c/o Tillotsons, to Mr Nightingale, 11 Dec 1930. "Thanks for the papers which I return herewith ... the gem of the three is Dixon's paper on Wallace". Encloses a perplexing note and asks if Nightingale knows the people named, sends on the "Nemesis of Froude".

8. Wm Broadhurst, c/o Tillotsons, to Mr Nightingale, 9 Jan 1931. "I have just seen the article in the Journal ... may I congratulate you on your achievement of so long and successful a career".

9. Wm Broadhurst, c/o Tillotsons, to Mr Nightingale, 9 Jan 1931. Thanks for the note from Mr Edwards, returns Dean Inge's "Church and the World".

10. Wm Broadhurst, c/o Tillotsons, to Mr Nightingale, 12 Jan 1931. Thanks for the book which is being passed on to Evelyn Pilkington, "if Wallace, Dixon etc had not seen in you an affinity of thought and goodness and culture with themselves ... the friendship would never have been struck". "I count myself unworthy to unloose Wallace's shoe latchet".

11. Elsie Austin, Derbyshire, to Mr Nightingale, 20 Jan 1931. "Mr Wallace unconsciously founded a wider Whitman Fellowship during a holiday he spent with Mrs Whiteside at Crich, Derbyshire."His correspondence with Elsie was "intimate and helpful". Objects to William Broadhurst's reference to Mrs Whiteside as a "housekeeper" in his address on 6 Dec. "She was introduced to everybody at Crich as daughter (adopted) ... I understand that she received no salary ... the record for future generations should be very carefully and truthfully prepared ... I am sure that Mr Wallace would like Mrs Whiteside's share of his work to be mentioned in association with his ... he has left her as a sacred trust to us ... felt compelled to write this letter, without Mrs Whiteside's knowledge."


13. John Ormrod, Walker Fold, Smithills, to Mr Nightingale, 30 Jan 1931. Has received "from you the letter ... sent by Mrs Austen", assumes Broadhurst has already seen it, "I wonder what Mrs Austen is wanting you or anyone to do".

14. Fred Nightingale, to Mrs Austen, 31 Jan 1931. Copy. "We who were present did not misunderstand Mr Broadhurst who thus alluded to Mrs Whiteside as "Wallace's faithful and loving attendant, she was called his adopted daughter"."Asks how Mrs Austen came by a copy of the address.

15. As 14 above, in another hand.

16. Wm Broadhurst, Culcheth, to Mr Nightingale, 2 Feb 1931. Thanks for the enclosures from Mrs Austen and Mr Ormrod, "I offer no comments on the letter ... your reply and Mr Ormrod's observation ... cover the whole ground ... I do not discover cause to alter a word" of the address. Returns with thanks Dean Inge's article.
17. Elsie Austin, Ashbourne, to Mr Nightingale, 3 Feb 1931. Realises that the friends present at the time of Broadhurst's address knew Mrs Whiteside's true position, but believes the Fellowship has the "responsibility" to leave an accurate record for "future generations". "Walt Whitman is the prophet of the new Era and already the Bolton Fellowship is known far and wide". Mrs Whiteside has continued to keep Elsie supplied with Fellowship news and put her in contact with Will Hayes.

18. John Ormrod, Walker Fold, Smithills, to Mr Nightingale, 4 Feb 1931. Thanks for copy of Nightingale's letter to Mrs Austen, it would be through Minnie Whiteside that she would see Broadhurst's address. Glad to hear that Nightingale has "arranged to take things easier at the office". Was pleased to see the newspaper article, "Ernest really has a flair for writing of things scientific".

19. Wm Broadhurst c/o Tillotsons, to Mr Nightingale, 5 May 1931. Hopes the weekend in Southport will "put you back into your normal good health". Expresses unworthiness of "the prominence your kindness is bestowing upon me." "Mrs Austin's letter which has been in my pocket for 2 months is enclosed, I would rather say nothing about it", asks for a typescript copy of the address for a friend Mr G Bunney.

20. List by F Nightingale: 9 items relating to Whitman and the College to be sent (to Bolton Library?), 27 July 1936.

21. Another copy of above.

22. W and M Atkinson, Bepton, Midhurst, to Fred, 11 Dec 1936. Encloses a gift of Caroline Eccles' booklet on Wallace plus Wallace's Sonnet on Prayer, "how is it that people are so much afraid to die? I am looking forward to the transition with great joy". Quotes a short poem "Never the spirit was born". (Enclosing 23 and 24 below.)

23. "James William Wallace; a memoir" by Caroline Eccles, inscribed: "Fred Nightingale from Uncle Will, Dec 1936". (Enclosed with 22 above.)


25. George Vine, Southport, to Mr Nightingale, 8 Aug 1937. Thanks for items sent, "how I wish I had met J W W, Fred Wild, Wentworth Dixon etc but I am indeed thankful that I have not missed Fred Nightingale, John Ormrod, Chas Sixsmith etc and all this has come about through ... Uncle Will".

26. Printed circular letter: Fred Nightingale, Bolton, to Mrs Whiteside, Oct 1937. Thanks for the congratulations received, "Kind hearts are more than Coronets and simple faith than Norman blood ... not more than others do I deserve, but God has given me more"

27. Printed card from Mrs Nightingale and Family, Bolton, 27 Feb 1943. Sending thanks to all friends for expressions of sympathy "in their great loss" at Frederic Nightingale's death.
28. **Other Item**

Ts from Edward Carpenter's "My Days and Dreams", published May 1916, p250, nd.

**REEL 14:**

**ZWN 9: Other Correspondence**

1-7. **Allen, Lily L**

1. Lily L Allen (Mrs James Allen), The Epoch and Light of Reason Office, Ilfracombe, N Devon, to Uncle Wallace, 29 Feb 1924. Expecting a visit from Wallace and Minnie. Happy recollections of her visit to Darwen.

2. Lily L Allen to Minnie (Whiteside), 19 Jan 1926. Extending her deepest sympathy (following the death of Wallace).

3. Ts copy of 2 above.


5. Ts copy of 4 above.


8-9. **Atkinson, W**


10-16. **Austin, Elsie**

10. E Austin, Ashbourne, Derbyshire, to Minnie (Whiteside), nd. Mentioning gratitude to Mr Barker and Mrs Bolton in making the holiday one of the happiest. Mentions Anne Traubel and Carina (Caroline Eccles).

11. E Austin to Minnie. Asking for permission to contact Mr N about the passage in the address.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

12. E Austin, Littleover, Derby, to Minnie, 7 Jan 1927. Discusses the sale of Uncle Wallace's books; wishes Minnie luck with her new venture.

13. E Austin to Minnie, 8 Aug 1931. Thanking her for the booklet and discussing the suggestion "that adaptation to each other as being the only one way to happy married life; mentions trip to Daganwy and letters received from Carina.

14. E Austin to Minnie, nd. (postmarked 31 March 1932). Discussing Elsie's holiday in Bolton with Minnie. Their visit to Rivington and the kindness of Mr & Mrs Ormrod. Has written to Carina (Caroline Eccles) and will write to Anne Traubel.

15. Peter Wone, Ashbourne, Derbyshire, to Minnie. Thanking her for the present of a T-Square and apologising for not knowing Minnie's full name and address. Discusses Uncle Wallace's pen and ink sketch of Bolton Hall. (With envelope addressed to Minnie Tonka c/o Brooklyn, which was forwarded by E Austin (his aunt).

16. E Austin, Chaddesden, Derby, to Minnie, 9 Dec 1940. Thanking her for her letter and enclosures. Discussing E Austin's anthology of questions and answers in *Leaves of Grass*.

17-21. Bain, Frank & Mildred


18. M Bain, Toronto, Canada, to Minnie, 31 Jan --. Thank you for the loving cards and messages. Still receives news from John Ormrod.

19. M Bain, Ingersoll? to J W Wallace, 16 June 1919. Received the copy of *Labour Leader* with the article by Wallace. Discusses Wallace's letter to Dr Barrus and the Gilchrist-Whitman Friendship. Mildred to spend summer at Bon Echo. Frank is in Havana. Horace (Traubel) is having trouble with his heart and must give up work.

20. M Bain, Havana, Cuba, to J W Wallace, 3 Nov 1919. Sends apologies for not corresponding sooner. Horace's (Traubel) physical presence leaving us. His death and the plans that Anne (Traubel's wife) has for his things.


22. Balshaw, Fred

22. Fred Balshaw, Bolton, to Dr J Johnston, 23 Jan 1916. On going to dine at the "Veg" was handed the book which was left at Christmastide by Mrs Whiteside – a book to appeal to Whitman lovers. Glad to hear that the volume is already going into its second edition. "Perhaps you will let Mr W(allace) see this as I had not read the book when I acknowledged its receipt".
Clara Barrus, New York, to Dr J Johnston, 14 May 1918. With thanks and praise for Wallace and Johnston's book, reporting John Burroughs's poor health; the death of Mrs Burroughs; the unveiling of a statue to Burrough's in Toledo. Burroughs escape to Roxbury from the crowds at his home and her own devotion to helping him with his home and work.

Clara Barrus, NY, to J W Wallace, 19 Dec 1918. The end of the war ought to put new life in all of us; Roosevelt is dead, he was Mr Burroughs friend for many years; I enjoyed the book very much. Never having met Walt, I crave everything that throws light on him; Traubel is very poorly now. (Rest of letter missing.)

Clara Barrus to J W Wallace, 2 June 1920. Your birthday letter to Mr Burroughs came. Returned from California in late March to a heap of correspondence. Mr Burroughs has not been well and is tired. Forthcoming book by Mr Burroughs "Accepting the Universe" (The Poet of the Cosmos). My book is to be published in October, Doubleday, Page & Co have persuaded me to change the title to "John Burroughs – Boy and Man".

Clara Barrus, NY, to J W Wallace, 16 May 1921. Thanks for sympathy over the loss of mutual friend (Mr Burroughs). Details of journey back from California. Two posthumous volumes to be published "Under the Maples" and "The life and letters". Will continue to rent "Nest" off Julian for another year.

Clara Barrus, NY, to J W Wallace, 16 May 1921. "Thank you for kind letter with all its appreciation of what this great loss means to us here". Description of Mr Burroughs illness and journey back from California.

Clara Barrus, NY, to J W Wallace, 17 Oct 1921. "You wrote me such a beautiful letter last June … I have been quite ill and had an operation in July … it was a sad summer, the public who invaded my home felt it their right to be shown through the house." "Under the Maples" will be out on October 28; the last posthumous volume "The Last Harvest" has been sent to Boston.

Clara Barrus, NY, to J W Wallace, 30 Dec 1921. "The love and sympathy that you and Minnie send me are very dear … I have come upon some rich material … I have just finished the Washington years, the years when he (Mr Burroughs) was seeing Walt almost daily". Details of convalescence and x-ray treatment received in New York. The publishers want "the journals" in Spring 1924. "Under the Maples" comes out in October. The last posthumous volume will be published next Fall. Julian (Burroughs' son) is to bring out an autobiography his father wrote some years ago.

Clara Barrus, NY, to Friends, 10 Feb 1922. Mr Roy has just left – he had a telephone message that his office on St James Street was burned out. Has come across many valuable jottings in early note-books about W W (Walt Whitman).
Finds comments on her personal health and mental attitude a great help. Discussion of a dream Wallace had about John Burroughs. Working on the years before her acquaintance with John Burroughs began (before 1901). "Please take this as written to you, Minnie, Dr Johnston and Mr Ormrod. This is one of the poems we are going to have at the unveiling of the bronze tablet on the rock on April 3, "Come April" by John Russell McCarthy."

32. Clara Barrus, NY, to Friends, 11 March 1922. "This is to ask your dear friends there to send a wee bunch of any wild flowers for the unveiling of the bronze tablet to be in the Baywood rock". The unveiling to be done by Ursula and John. "I saw Mr Roy on Sunday."

33. Clara Barrus, NY, to Friends, 7 April 1922. "Your message came to us out of the rolling ocean on April third … My sculptor friend (Paolo) cemented the bronze tablet to the rock … Mr Roy came up on Saturday … 350 people arrived for the services … the wild flowers had to be noted and names recorded … the grandchildren did the unveiling … A S Rutherford of Camden sent a branch of juniper and two pieces of moss from Whitman's grave … I enclose for Minnie and Mr Ormrod sprigs of a Californian Everlasting Flower."

34. Clara Barrus, NY, to Friends, 23 April 1922. Received letter of 1st April. Mr Roy expects to return to look after some of the work. The booklet sent is a booklet of the services which were held last April, "I'll enclose a rough copy of the program for this year". Copy of the poem "Come April".

35. Clara Barrus, NY, to Friends, 15 June 1922. "This will have to be a three-in-one letter to you all … the daisy roots came a day too late for Mr Roy to help me plant them … my brother-in-law Dr J D Johnston of NY has a serious heart condition … the tourists have been coming since mid-April … in July it is the 50th anniversary of my old academy … I hope Minnie is now well and happy … I wonder if each of you Dr J, Mr Wallace, Minnie and Mr Ormrod would not like one of these checks with J B's (John Burroughs) signature."

36. Clara Barrus, NY, to J W Wallace, 19 Nov 1922. Mr Roy told me about his all too hurried visit with all of you. It was so good of you to write of your impressions about "The Last Harvest"; I shall treasure the little card with a picture of your home and you and Minnie in front of it; glad to learn of Mr Ormrod's sons.

37. Clara Barrus, NY to Friends, J W Wallace and Minnie Whiteside, 28 Aug 1925. "It has been a long time since I heard from you … you will rejoice with me that my index is now with the publishers … I rather dread the reviewers, and some of the carping readers … I am sad to think of dear Dr Johnston and his poor wife … it is too sad for words. I haven't seen "Willie Roy" since last May in New York."

38. Clara Barrus, NY to Friend, 11 Oct 1925. "A message was received – Greetings from the old land … saw Wallace and Minnie in Liverpool … Mr and Mrs Stuart and Miss Robinson join in kind regards … my Life of John Burroughs will come out Nov 13 … Dear Dr Johnston, his busy life is over."

39. Clara Barrus, aboard Cunard RMS "Caronia", to Minnie Whiteside, 12 June 1926. "It is a long time since I saw you at the little house in Anderton … I met Edward Carpenter in England … I wonder how Dr Johnston is … Mr Roy wrote me to tell
you to be in no hurry to sell the library … discussing first? edition of "Notes on Walt Whitman" as poet and person by Mr Burroughs … may want to sell to the Huntington Library, California."

40. Clara Barrus, Walker Fold, to Minnie Whiteside, 6 April [1926]. Discusses the death of Wallace; Mr Dixon's tribute to him. "I am hoping you will come to the lecture and Annie Fanshaw? … I am going away enriched with new friendships … met with Dr and Mrs Johnston … caring for Mr Burroughs … many parallels to your situation and mine."

41. Clara Barrus, NY, to Minnie Whiteside, 28 Dec 1926. "Thank you for the envelope addressed to me in Wallace's well-known hand. I often think of you, sorting and distributing the books. I do not know whether you sold him (Mr Buck) the Whitman book or not. I gave Mr Roy the keepsakes you sent him. Thank you for the photograph. Its a long time since I have heard from the Ormrods. I suppose if Dr Johnston had passed on I should have heard of it."

42. Clara Barrus, NY, to Minnie Whiteside, 6 March 1928. At work on the last lap of editing the Journals of John Burroughs. Hopes to return to home in the hills at Roxbury, NY. Thanks for the photo of Wallace. Mr Roy visited. "My good wishes to you and my thoughts to the one who is gone."


45. Clara Barrus to Minnie Whiteside, Christmas card.

46-52. **Bazalgette, Leon**


50. Leon Bazalgette, Paris, to Dr J Johnston, 5 Jan 1924. Best wishes for New Year. Madam Bazalgette now 73 years old.


53. Bell, Francis


54. Besant, Annie

54. Annie Besant, London, to Sir, 10 July 1894. Sent Miss Bedell the list of books she needs. Read Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, admirer of his genius.

55. Bickerton, L M

55. Calling card from L M Bickerton, Librarian and Curator, Public Libraries, Museum and Art Gallery, Worthing Central Library, nd.

56-58. Binns, Henry Bryan


58. H B Binns, West Hampstead, to J W Wallace, 26 Jan 1905. Much interested in notes. Have made use of several items.

59-62. Blatchford, Robert


Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

63-69. **Bodgener, Rev J H**

63. Rev J H Bodgener, Lytham, to Minnie Whiteside, 20 Jan 1926. Discusses Wallace and the great shock over his death, "he was so much better than a saint."

64. Rev J H Bodgener, Harrogate, to Minnie, 27 Feb 1933. Receipt of the copy of Dr Johnston's poems. "I judge you are still at the shop – I do hope you are making a living."


67. Rev J H Bodgener, Worthing, Surrey, to Minnie, 9 Jan 1955. "Thank you for your loan of Mr Whitwell's books and papers … keep my thesis for as long as you want … our dear old Walt is not to the fore at the moment".

68. **Bridge, T R**

68. T R Bridge, Optic, New Zealand, to Wallace, 23 Oct 1923. Last met at Adlington in 1895. Heard Mrs Besant in Manchester; now in 80th year. "I shall look up Whitman and see if it is in me to become a disciple". Left Bolton in 1884; son Henry lives nearby.

69. **Brinton, D G**

69. Dr D G Brinton, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 14 April 1892. Receipt of books by Mr Carpenter; suggestive composition; out of tune with times.

70. **Broadhurst, William**

(For letters to Ormrod see ZWN 7/2 and for letters to Nightingale see ZWN 8/4.)

70. William Broadhurst, Warrington, to J W Wallace, 3 June 1918. "The meeting lacked informality, reality, spontaneity and feeling … I do wish Dr Johnston would dispense with the camera". Discusses health of Wallace; "This war time puts on us all a big strain".

71. **Brown, Horatio F**


72-77. **Bucke, Patti**

72. Patti Bucke, Sarnia, Canada, to J W Wallace, 10 Sept 1917. Thank you for sending the advertisement for "The Visits". Family news.
73. Patti Bucke, Sarnia, to J W Wallace, 14 April 1918. Thanks for kind and sympathetic letter. Asks after Wallace's health and eye problems. Discusses an explosion in Halifax Harbour and the horrors of the last 4 years (war)?

74. Patti Bucke, Sarnia, to J W Wallace, 18 June 1920. Received letter from Mr Saunders. Arthur's condition is much worse. Aunt has passed away. General news.

75. Patti Bucke, Sarnia, to J W Wallace, 1 Dec 1925. Sending Christmas greetings; "People talk of this great war as a curse, and it has in a way but man was responsible for the conditions that caused it". PS: "I have left many things unsaid". Enclosed a "vile" clipping (not with letter) "what kind of man can this be?"

76. Patti Bucke? (incomplete), nd. "Uncle felt that his life work was done when he finished CC (Cosmic Consciousness) and then the terrible flow came that took all earthly life out of him.

77. Black edged card, "Thank you for your very kind sympathy" Mrs R M Bucke.

78-122. Bucke, Dr R M

78. R M Bucke, Insane Asylum, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace, 23 Nov 1890. Receipt of "The Address". "I do not know when any reading moved me so deeply … it ought to be published".

79. R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace, 3 Jan 1891. Receipt of letter of the 13th ult. Returning the "Address" with this letter. "You are the first to see the spiritual meaning of "To the Sunset Breeze".

80. R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace, 28 March 1891. Receipt of letter of 29th Jan and Walt Whitman notes and a rejoinder. "I have at last prevailed upon him (Walt Whitman) to have a doctor see and attend to him."

81. R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace, 8 May 1891. Received from Montreal. "How do you find Walt, Traubel and Anne?"


R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace, 22 Oct 1891. Received letter of
20th October. "I am much pleased to have so good a report from you of W(alt)"; discusses the tomb that Whitman has built.

R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace, 31 Oct 1891. Received letter of
28th Oct. Discusses voyage back to England; "I do not believe you will ever regret having made this Pilgrimage". "Regards to Friends in Bolton – Mr & Mrs Hutton, Dr Johnston, Fred Wild, Dixon, Law, Greenhalgh, Thompson, Shorrock". "Love to Walt, Anne and Horace."

R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to Walt Whitman?, 7 Nov 1891. Receipt of card of 4th. "I wish I could see you – want to see how you look! I fear you feel bad most of the time".


R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace and Johnston, 10 April 1892. Thanks for letters. "The Christ (Whitman) is dead! again we have buried the Christ."

R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to Wallace, Johnston, Dixon, Wild and all, 17 April 1892. "I send you Last Days which you will read together."


R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace, 30 May 1892. Many thanks for Gentleman's Magazine containing "A Child Poet". "Walt Whitman was reborn at the age of 32".


R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace, 30 Sept 1892. Horace, Anne and the baby (Traubel) are visiting. "Horace and I have done a lot of work this week."

R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace, 12 Feb 1893. Apologies for not acknowledging letters and papers from Johnston and Wallace. Family news of five sons and two daughters. Correspondence with Traubel and work with him takes time. "Tell all the boys – Dixon, Wild, Greenhalgh, Shorrock and the rest that I do not forget them."

R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace, 24 June 1893. Received the notes on Walt Whitman's Birthday Meeting in Bolton. "My life has been dedicated for some years now to the "Great Cause"."

R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace, 16 July 1893. Thanks for "Browning & Whitman" by Triggs. Visit from Horace (Traubel) "and a young
fellow named Dalmas – he has extraordinary psychical qualities, he told me too of a woman who has cosmic consciousness. I am waiting proof of the fact."


100. R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace, 17 Dec 1893. "Give my love to all the boys." Would like criticisms of the Cosmic Consciousness piece. "Do you know Jacob Boehme and his "Amala"? "I understand JB was a good case of CC.".

101. R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace, 25 March 1894. "We have entered one of the most tremendous crises in history … the church must be disestablished everywhere – these changes will introduce the revolution … we shall have nationalisation of the mines, railways, land". Information wanted on "CC" (Cosmic Consciousness).

102. R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace, 1 Jan 1895. "My wish for you on this New Year's Day – you may be the means of advancing the great cause of the people". Enclosed (not with letter) are photos for Bolton Friends. J H Johnston and old Ingram were charmed with Bolton. Piece in the Labour Leader on Walt Whitman was excellent.


Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

110. Copy of the above.


113. Copy of the subscription form for Cosmic Consciousness; six copies ordered by J W Wallace.

114. R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to J W Wallace, 30 Sept 1901. Apologies for charging wrong price for copies of Cosmic Consciousness, asks for more money. Three hundred copies have already been sent out.

115. Copy of the above letter.

116. R M Bucke, London, Ontario, to Fred, 7 Feb 1892. Horace Traubel writes twice a day about Walt (Whitman), "I cannot fully understand it – seems as if he can't die for some mysterious reason … Glad to learn you had the plaster head in Bolton, it is one of the best things that has been done of the old man."

117. J W Wallace, Anderton, to R M Bucke, 13 Dec 1890. "Thank you for letter and kind terms in which you speak of my address." Discusses "The Sunset Breeze". Received letter from Whitman. Grieved to hear of his condition and bereavement.

118. Photocopy of the above letter.


120. Copy of above letter.

121. J W Wallace to R M Bucke, Jan 1891. Permission given to Bucke to do whatever with his copy of the "address". "You are in error supposing our "College" are all readers of Leaves of Grass, we are few in number, we represent widely different opinions."


123-133. Burroughs, John

123. John Burroughs, New York, to Dr Johnston, 2 Nov 1890. Sending thanks for photographs and describing visit to Whitman by Burroughs and Whitman's improved health and finances.

124. John Burroughs to Dr Johnston, 30 Dec 1890. Praising Johnston's sketch of Whitman and describing Burroughs' hibernation in the cold winter.
John Burroughs to Dr Johnston, 22 April 1892. Referring to hostile criticisms of Whitman in the US and to his sadness at Whitman's death and his great love and admiration for him.

John Burroughs to Dr Johnston, 14 July 1892. Sending thanks for the Clarke book on Walt Whitman, "It abounds in suggestive and penetrating things."

John Burroughs to Dr Johnston, 26 Jan 1897. His recently published book on Whitman, it’s reception and promising to send a copy.

John Burroughs to Dr Johnston, 11 July 1910. Giving thanks for a copy of Johnston's article in Fortnightly Review and praising it and referring to his own health.

John Burroughs to Dr Johnston, 9 April 1914. Thanks for remembering his birthday (77th) which was spent in New York with Clara Barrus. Hopes Edward Carpenter is well.

John Burroughs to Dr Johnston, 22 Sept 1892. Horace (Traubel) is visiting with Dr Longaker. Regrets not seeing Johnston on his visit last Fall.

John Burroughs to James Wallace, 10 April 1919. Thanks for letter. "I keep well and active".

Dr J Johnston to John Burroughs, Bispham, Blackpool, 12 Oct 1920. Received letter from Mr Ormrod telling of visit to Burroughs and Dr Barrus. Wallace to deliver a lecture on Whitman in Bolton.

John Burroughs to James Wallace, 7 April --. Thanks for letter. "Walt is coming into his own more and more each year". Hopes to see England again.

W J Calder, Aboyne, Aberdeenshire, to Minnie Whiteside, 19 Dec 1951. Thanks for the "Songs from Robert Burns" and the Xmas card. Believes Burns' songs will long outlive his poetry. Wishes "happiness in your retirement so richly deserved after a life of well doing". Has a Whitman book given by Mr Wallace. He and Mrs Calder are lonely "without our little girl".

Mabel Calder, Aboyne, Aberdeenshire, to Minnie Whiteside, 22 Feb 1952. Returns the books lent to them, "the Doctor will be writing you later".

Dr Calder to Mrs Whiteside? nd. (extract). Thanks for copy of Bolton Evening News, "announcing your generous gifts of letters and documents referring to Walt Whitman to the Bolton Reference Library". "Your great labour of love and painstaking care has contributed so much to making the Bolton Collection of the finest in the world".

Christmas card from Dr and Mrs W J Calder, Aboyne, reproduction of "The Farmstead on the Hill" by Stanley Jezzard, nd.
Edward Carpenter, Holmesfield, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 22 Dec 1891. Sends thanks for the latest news about Whitman's deteriorating health. Asks to be included in any message to him. Writes of Whitman's "strange tenacity ... to cling to life more than one might have expected". After his death they will experience "almost orphanhood" at first "but afterwards perhaps a more intimate realisation of his enduring life and presence".


Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 29 Dec 1891. Sends his temporary address in Tonbridge. Thinks Whitman "may rally for a time". Advises that artificial light will be injurious to Wallace's defective eyes.

Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 29 Dec 1891. Postcard. Sends thanks for the diaries which he will return in a few days.

Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 5 Jan [1892?]. "How strange, reading Whitman's letter to P Doyle, that he should have been suffering so much and so nigh to death for 20 years, what a life – so full of life and so full of death!" Returns the 5 little books, "your detailed touches make the scenes stand out with wonderful clearness". Heard vaguely of Pete D from Mrs Gilchrist, glad Wallace met Harry Stafford, "a great chum of Walt's when I was over in 1877".

Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 16 Jan [1892?]. Returning ms. Often "as in your case, the greatest suffering reveals the greatest joy, as if the veil of mortality was worn transparent ... you feel that with regard to your mother, that these last few weeks developed and consecrated a relation between you which is eternal ... you have suffered a good deal I believe (like me) from nerve troubles but will improve as time goes on". Recommends fresh air, sent a telegram of love to Whitman.

Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 6 April 1892. States "positively" that "none of Traubel's letters to Bolton during Walt's illness are here".

Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 9 April 1892. Cover note: "Keep these or send them on to Traubel" unable to buy a copy of the Academy article in Sheffield.

Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 13 April 1892. "Thanks for letting me see the letters". "Buxton Forman sends me on all Traubel's which I forward to Addington Symonds ... don't write ... give your spare time to Traubel". Sends love to Johnston.
Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 10 May [1892?]. Advises against publishing Bucke's notes of the Last Days of Whitman, "it will be better to wait for Traubel's full version … interest in Whitman won't culminate for a century or two". In view of the bulk of material would rather avoid "over-publication". Suggests Wallace and Johnston should visit him.

Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 13 July 1892. Invites Wallace and Johnston to visit but requires advance notice. Enquires after J A Symonds' health.

Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 19 July 1892. "TD (Towards Democracy) is only like a letter written from the land which is our common home". Suggests travel arrangements for Johnston and Wallace's visit on 13 Aug and asks if they prefer separate rooms. "I verily fear your advent lest finding me out as only the goose that I am, you slay me and discover not even a golden egg within". "Bucke is blazing away about Cosmic Consciousness like a runaway comet".

Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 10 Aug 1892. Confirms arrangements to meet Wallace and Johnston at Victoria Station, Sheffield. Congratulates Wallace on his birthday.


Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 30 Aug 1892. Thanks for the ms and the remarks "with which I partly agree". "The Fearnehoughs and Hukins are well and we all enjoyed your and J's (Johnston's) visit.

Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 10 Nov 1892. "You must really not overtax yourself – it is no use emulating the wild career of Traubel".

Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 6 Dec 1892. Expresses his views about the Walt Whitman house and how to publicise it. "The Labour Movement here and at Bradford is going on gorgeously".

Edward Carpenter, London to J W Wallace, 3 Jan 1893. Sends thanks to CS (Charles Sixsmith) for copy of Symonds' letter, impossible to write "swept down in rapids and whirlpools of people and things here".

Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 14 Sept 1893. "Olive Schrenier is staying here", "difficult to keep down the complications of life!"


Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 28 March 1894. Is speaking at Bolton on Monday and at Rochdale the previous day, would like to visit Wallace on Sunday evening and Monday morning.
159. Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 30 March 1894. Confirming arrangements for visit to Wallace, "will be pleased to see Miss McMillan and other friends".

160. Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 3 April 1894. Printed address card. "All right, any arrangement, as long as you give me rest from talking before the lecture".

161. Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 11 April [1894?]. Sends a basket of figs and explains how to stew them. Was glad to have met Charlie Sixsmith in Manchester and enjoyed visiting Wallace and Rivington. George Hukin is well. "You and C will have to consider a country settlement seriously".

162. Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 17 April 1894. Post Card. Sends thanks for the Thoreau and letters from Wallace and Charles Sixsmith. "Mr and Mrs Dixon were very friendly and pleasant".

163. Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 19 April 1894. Does not know Margaret Symonds' exact address near Davos Platz, will send copies of the 1887 portrait for Wallace and Mrs Traubel.

164. Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 22 July 1894. Postcard. Is struggling with "Hay and Rain". Would like to meet Dalmas and invites him and Wallace to visit in the next week.

165. Edward Carpenter, Holmesfield, Sheffield, to Wallace, 4 Jan 1896. Asks to see Bucke's manuscript for his "professional opinion". Discusses the difficulties of funding publication. "Philip (Dalmas) is feeling the gloom a little, no sun – no sun … he is a dear boy and really works away steadily having method in his madness … he really feels at home and safe here!" Invites Wallace, with Johnston or Sixsmith, to visit.


167. Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to R M Bucke, 16 Jan 1896. Incomplete copy (not in Carpenter's hand). "Wallace has forwarded your proposed volume of Whitman letters to Pete Doyle, there is no chance of a London publisher taking it both on account of the unheard of nature of the contents and for financial reasons, but it is lovely – most excellent and should be published. … The interview with Pete is first rate … the letters are most touching … and the work throws light on a little known period of Whitman's life." (Kept with 166 above.)

168. Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 26 March 1897. Will be arriving at Adlington by train on Monday. "George Merrill sends his remembrances".

169. Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 17 Feb 1898. "G Merrill is now established with me and Max, he keeps house for us beautifully and we get along first rate … Max is wonderful and does a little dusting and sewing almost everyday". Asks for the return of book of Inmans.
170. Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, Xmas Day, 1900. "Able to report complete convalescence … there is much in your suggestion that my thoughts have been too much fixed on the painful and uncomfortable externalities of things – though another section of my friends insists that the trouble is entirely due to want of warm underclothing … to you Dear Wallace, I owe much … George is much pleased with the Craven mixture".

171. Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, New Year, 1915. Lettercard: "Heartiest greetings and remembrance".

172. Edward Carpenter, London to J W Wallace, Good Friday, 1916. Returns the draft chapter "WW's friends in Lancashire" which is "very clear and expressive … you talk of being a tyro in literature but your style seems to me excellent". Declines to read the rest of the Notes before publication because he has too much work of that kind.

173. Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to Ian (John Johnston), 26 Dec 1916. Finds the suggestions by H S Saunders and J W Wallace about the Walt Whitman Memorial Collection to be excellent, they should be the representatives for Canada and England, with Traubel or someone else as the U.S. representative. The 3 deposit collections will need to be combined in one museum, possibly at Mickle Street, Camden. Is glad that the Bucke Collection was kept together. Mrs Frend (formerly Gilchrist) has useful material to deposit. Appends an extract from a letter by CFS (Sixsmith) re the purchase of Whitman's place of birth at West Hills and a separate note offering further suggestions about publishers for the joint Johnston and Wallace book.


175. Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 28 Sept 1918. Sends thanks for the Mildred Bain and Traubel letters. "Traubel I fear is pretty bad, he may, however, with rest largely recover". Regards Harned's behaviour over the Gilchrist letters as "very unsatisfactory". Americans tend towards "irresponsible haste and inconsiderateness".

176. Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 19 Oct 1918. Harned changing the title "makes things comparatively all right", as the letters were almost entirely those of Mrs Gilchrist. Mrs Frend was unable to meet him owing to thick fog.

177. Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 23 Nov 1918. Postcard. Mrs Frend will be glad to hear that the title of Harned's book has been changed. Sends best wishes to Traubel.


179. Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 28 Dec 1918. Returns Mrs Frend's letter, she "feels the matter very keenly".
Edward Carpenter, Sheffield, to J W Wallace, 15 April 1919. Wishes other correspondents were as legible as Wallace. Does not believe Traubel will survive long. Will write to Harned about the Whitman Centennial. Is glad that Wallace and Minnie Whiteside found Bruce Glasier "so full of spirit and gladness" despite his "tragic bodily trouble" and hopes he will survive long enough to finish the works he is engaged on.

Copy of above.

As above, 8 July --. Covering note. "Glad to send you the book, greetings to CS" (Charles Sixsmith).

E F Carpenter, Westminster Abbey, to Mrs Bull, 5 March 1960. Returns Wallace material lent to him. Wishes he had met Wallace. Glad that the Bolton link with Whitman has continued, "researching the life of Edward Carpenter is a most satisfying experience".

Postcard: view at Holmbridge, Sheffield, initialled J J (Johnston), 1913

Postcard: interior, Bank Top Cottage, Holmbridge, Sheffield, initialled J J (Johnston), 1913.

News cutting: review of "Who shall command the heart?", part 4 of "Towards Democracy" by Edward Carpenter, Manchester Guardian, Jan --.

Advert: Sandals made to order – Edward Carpenter, Millthorpe, Holmsfield and George E Adams, 22 Belgrave Square, Sheffield, nd.

Envelopes addressed to J W Wallace, Anderton, from E Carpenter.

Jean Catel, Montpelier, to J W Wallace (?), 24 Dec 1922 & 5 Jan 1923. Re-read "Visits". Thanks for the valuable documents. Has given an informal talk on Whitman and is preparing an article in Holloway's publication. Enquires about the membership and activities of the Bolton Whitman group, "here Walt W had a strong influence on a certain school of poets – my intention is to trace it and have a chapter of my thesis on "the form of L of G in Modern Verse".

Ellen Cocks, Jersey, to Minnie Whiteside, 21 May 1932. Thanks for Specimen Days and the pamphlets concerning Dr Johnston. Asks to borrow further material to know "as much as possible of such splendid men … you are blessed indeed … to be custodian of so much real treasure".

Ellen Cocks, Jersey, to Minnie Whiteside, 7 June 1932. Thanks for being able to keep the Doctor's papers. Is subscribing to the journal "Calamus". Was interested "to hear how you became Wallace's Minnie – a name you may well be proud of". Thanks for Mrs Austin's letter but is astonished at the charge that Mrs Bruce Glasier lacked earnestness. This expression of unhelpful criticism from Mrs Austin
who has been privileged to receive a spiritual experience has dispelled an illusion, "I have an immense admiration and reverence for Mrs B Glasier, her loyalty to her ideals and her deep spiritual understanding".

192. **Cook, Mabel**

192. Mabel Cook, The Lotus Library, Stroud, to J W Wallace, 18 Aug, 1919. Thanks for the book "The father of Jesus". Is staying at the shop with her dogs, the bookshop has crowds of visitors and the one copy of *Cosmic Consciousness* is "busy going from one reader to another". Surprised that Wallace managed to walk as far as the priory on his visit.

193. **Corbett, George**

193. George Corbett, Secretary of The Right Thinking Circle, Nottingham, to Madam, 14 May 1926. Asks to purchase a copy of *Visits to Walt Whitman* by Johnston & Wallace.

194. **Craig, E Gordon**

194. E Gordon Craig, Hampstead, to J W Wallace, nd [1901?]. Thanks for a copy of Dr Bucke's work.

195-196. **Crompton, M Evelyn**


196. M Evelyn Crompton, Rivington Hall, to J W Wallace, 25 Dec 1905. Wonders about "your girl invalid", went from home in September and broke her rib in a fall. The enforced holiday was a blessing in disguise, "there is so much to do, so many calls for help … we must hope and work, looking for good with thankful hearts … please tell me if you think I can serve".

197-198. **Darbyshire, John**

197. John Darbyshire, Bolton Moors, to J W Wallace, 29 March 1915. Did not wish to open discussion on Wallace's address to the League at the time as "the deep effect of what you said would be spoiled", but wants to discuss it in a smaller group, including Wallace, Mrs Whiteside and 5 or 6 others, at his "little retreat" in April.

198. J W Wallace to John Darbyshire, 31 March 1915. Draft. "Very proud to have your friendship". Accepts the proposal for selected individuals to discuss Wallace's views as there had been no time after his address. "The really deep things are known to nearly every soul and often best to those who have little gift of expression … yet it needs the intellect for its full expression and clear definition". Quotes Emerson, who abhors "the learned in his infidelities and the fool in his devotions".

199-203. **Davis, Mary C**

199. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Mrs Davis, 22 Aug 1890. As Johnston's "closest and most intimate", sends thanks for the "hospitable kindness of yourself and Warren
at once so spontaneous homely and hearty" during Johnston's visit. Whitman's "measureless ocean of love"will meet wider recognition "as time goes on".

200. M C Davis, The Portland Hotel, Portland, Oregon, to J W Wallace, 24 Sept 1892. Details the route of her holiday in the Western USA.

REEL 15:

201. M C Davis to J W Wallace, 30 Sept 1892. Postcard. "All safe at Salt Lake City but a dusty tired party, crossing the desert of Nevada once will do for me".

202. M C Davis to J W Wallace, 31 Oct 1892. Her rheumatism is very much better, enjoyed her trip, is going to a little girls Halloween Party with Mrs Doughty.

203. Walt's Mary to Mr Ingram, 15 April 1896. Encloses a book marker which was a birthday gift to Whitman, hope to see you all before you go up in the country. (Presented to J W Wallace by Wm Ingram 11 Aug 1898).

204. Debs, Theodore

204. Theodore Debs to Comrade Leslie, 26 Oct 1918. "Gene had time before leaving to see your winged messages and his heart was filled with the spirit of them ... again I see you and your beautiful sweetheart on the campaign train". "Take good care of Horace (Traubel) ... put your arms about his tired body".

205-206. Dixon, Wentworth

205. Wentworth Dixon, Bolton, to J W Wallace, 12 Sept 1889. Apology in verse for not attending College Meeting, describing qualities of the other members and the College activities.

206. Wentworth Dixon, Bolton, to Dr Johnston, 16 Jan 1891. Encloses letter from Symonds passed on by Wallace. "Mr Symonds seems a very appreciative and likeable man and you may propose him for election to the College." Also encloses 2 photographs to remind you of "pleasant memories".

207-208. Dodds, Isabel

207. Isabel Dodds, Edinburgh, to Marie Louise, 5 Jan 1921. Copy in Wallace's hand. "That beautiful book of J W Wallace has just been a coping stone of my life". Has been reading a lot of Whitman "fancy turning on the taps of self to a person brought up in the tradition of self-abasement, to create a Democracy of Aristocrats! the idea is gorgeous ... I have just begun to live".

208. Uncle Wallace, Anderton, to Friend, 6 Aug 1921. "Your letter stirred my heart deeply ... between you and me there must henceforth be no barriers". Despite being "very fortunate in my friends ... I have also felt a good deal of the loneliness" but "it is only an illusion". Quotes Whitman "what I say of myself you shall say of yourself." "Michael Samuelson (whom you will remember at Crich) called here".
209. **Dowden, E**

E Dowden, Dublin, to J W Wallace, 25 Dec 1891. Thanks for latest news of Whitman, "there is nothing to wish for but a peaceful close to a good and on the whole a happy life". Learned from "my father's last illness that extreme weakness is a state from which the sufferer really deserves release".

210-211. **Duff, Grace Shaw**

Grace Shaw Duff, Winter Harbor, Maine, to J W Wallace, 20 June --. Encloses a copy of her edition of Mrs Penny's scattered essays. Returns the payment as it "was a work of love entire". Is trying to persuade her niece, Miss Brown, to produce a fuller edition of Mrs Penny's works, "as I am sure there is to be an ever increasing interest in occult works".

211. As above, 13 Aug --. "The charm of friendship and its power is that it transcends description ... sometimes the fragrance of its flower will be gathered for the making of another body more fitting for the love to inhabit". Thanks for "Lolana (?)" a marvel of dainty bookmaking.

212-213. **Dyson, Verne**

Verne Dyson, Huntington Station, NY, to Minnie Whiteside, 14 June 1959. Enclosing clipping of re-opening of Whitman's House. "We think of you often – rich memories of the past so full of recollections."


214-231. **Eccles, Caroline (Carina)**

(For correspondence with Ormrod see ZWN 7/2.)

214. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, E Yorks, to J W Wallace, 18 April 1905. "How proud I should be if anything I could say might renew in you the old hope which indeed I think you gave up far too soon!"

215. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, to J W Wallace, 30 Dec 1925. "I am glad you have the wireless – we are going to have it too". Burton is the Medical Officer for East Riding Isolation Hospital – many cases of Typhoid Fever.

216. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, to Minnie Whiteside, 2 Feb 1926. "I am sure you will write to me again and tell me anything you can of our dear one's passing – I have no grief for him".

217. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, to Minnie Whiteside, 25 July 1926. Thanks for the package of items, "I feel great responsibility in his (Wallace) confidence in me – and often a great sense of unworthiness of it".
218. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, to Minnie Whiteside, 6 Jan 1927. Received six copies of the Epoch with account of Wallace's experiences. "Tell me of the business you hope to take."

219. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, to Minnie Whiteside, 14 Feb 1928. "I know that he (Wallace) sometimes was sad and lonely – for he said so". "Mrs Allen hoped to invite you again". "Write and let me know if you do anything more about the books."


222. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, to Minnie Whiteside, 25 June 1931. "There has been such a curious silence amongst my friends since the publication of my book on 21 May. If I had given a lecture on beauty culture, complexion beautifying, lips sticks and that sort of horror, I could have got plenty of interest."


224 Caroline Eccles, Driffield, to Minnie Whiteside, 25 Aug 1933. "Thank you for sending the letters addressed to Elsie and letting me see the letters from Anne Traubel and Wm James Wallace … I have always thought of Anne Traubel as one who was very close to the deep inner life of Wallace."

225. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, to Minnie Whiteside, 7 Jan 1934. Received copies of J W W (James William Wallace) letters to W W (Walt Whitman). Sorry to hear of accident.


227. Caroline Eccles, Royal Beckenham Hospital, Kent, to Minnie Whiteside, nd. Is feeling better. Wallace suffered for many years. With letter on reverse to Minnie from B R Eccles on Caroline's illness.

228. Copy of above.

229. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, to Minnie Whiteside, 20 Oct 1938. Forgive delay in returning the papers for the Wallace memoir. "My last few days in London were dreadfully disturbed because of the European crisis. The schoolchildren and many women were sent out of London."

230. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, to Minnie Whiteside, 22 May 1946. "Mr Ormrod tells me you were at Walker Fold at Christmas … I hear you have not been well for some time."

231. Caroline Eccles, Driffield, to Minnie Whiteside, nd. Extract from letter, "I know the immortal angel wrapped in the mantel we know as J W Wallace has drawn us close".
232-235. **Edington, Archibald M**


234. Archibald M Edington, Montreal, to Minnie Whiteside, 28 Feb 1927. Received copy of January issue of *The Epoch*. "Did you go to Ireland a year or two ago, did you meet George Russell?".

235. Photograph of Archibald Edington.

236. **Edwards, Ward H**


237. **Elliott, Charles N**


238-239. **Fausset, Hugh I’A**

238. Hugh I’A Fausset, Saffron Walden, Essex, to Caroline Eccles, nd. Thanks for sending a copy of memoir of James William Wallace, "I am glad you are finding some interest in my book".

239. As above, nd. Thanks for letter and enclosures; particularly the paper to the Lyceum Club.

240-246. **Ferguson W A**


241. W A Ferguson, Lytham, to J W Wallace, 31 May 1923. Thanks for letter and accompanying book. "Today is Whitman Day, I would gladly have heard the wise words of your address". (With envelope.)

242. W A Ferguson, Lytham, to J W Wallace, Jan 1924. "Forgive the incorrigible fits of Westhoughton fever". Visit from Fred Wild.

243. W A Ferguson, Lytham, to J W Wallace, 23 March 1924. Poem; to send a parcel of books; thanks for B Glasier's book on William Morris.

244. W A Ferguson, Lytham, to J W Wallace, 18 April 1924. Short note including words to "Canadian Boat Song."
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

245. W A Ferguson, Lytham, to J W Wallace, 12 Sept 1924. Discusses reading material.

246. W A Ferguson, Lytham, to J W Wallace and Minnie Whiteside, 19 Nov 1924. "I am still in bed where Dr Alec wishes one to remain". Thanks for prayers and thoughts. (With envelope.)

247-250. Forman, H Buxton

247. H Buxton Forman, St John's Wood, London to J W Wallace, 17 Jan 1892. Asks to be informed of latest news from Traubel about Whitman, whom he believes to be on his death bed.

248. H Buxton Forman, St John's Wood, J W Wallace, 29 Sept 1892. Thanks for the facsimile of the letter from Whitman, asks for further copies, marvels at Whitman's survival.


250. H Buxton Forman, St John's Wood, to J W Wallace, 1 April 1893. Regularly copied all the letters before passing them on to Carpenter in Derbyshire, lends the requested sheets and asks for photographs of Wallace and Johnston.

251-265. Frend, Grace Gilchrist

(See also Harned letters 297-309 below.)

251. Book review from New York Times (in J W Wallace's hand), 16 June 1918. "The Love Letters of Walt Whitman and Anne Gilchrist" is to be published in late summer by Doubleday, Page & Co, gives brief biographical information about Anne Gilchrist, who is said to have ministered at Whitman's bedside when he was paralysed and helpless.

252. Copy letters:
Grace Gilchrist Frend, Audley End, Saffron Walden, to Dr Johnston, 28 July 1918. Complains about the Weekly Dispatch article about Whitman and her mother and ask whether Traubel is the author, their friendship was wholly "exalted and tender" and her mother died in Nov 1885.

Ed Carpenter, Holmesfield, Sheffield, to Ian (Dr Johnston), 28 July 1918. Has received a letter from Mrs Frend, whose mother, Mrs Gilchrist, could not have nursed Whitman on his death bed as she had died in 1885. Doubts Traubel's responsibility for the Weekly Dispatch article, is pleased that G gained a Grade IV.

253. J W Wallace to Ed Carpenter, 4 Aug 1918. Draft. Cannot understand why Harned and Traubel have authorised publication of the Whitman-Gilchrist letters with a "damnable" title while her children are alive. Traubel privately said that Mrs Gilchrist was in love with Whitman and wanted to marry him. Speculates that Harned may have sold the letters which are now being published.
254. J W Wallace to Mrs Frend, 5 Aug 1918. Draft. "Durrant's Press Cuttings have confirmed that the Whitman-Gilchrist letters are being published, which is an outrage to yourself, it is too late to prevent publication but the offensive title might be changed". Sends Harned's address.

255. Grace Gilchrist Frend, Audley End, Saffron Walden, to J W Wallace, 5 Aug 1918. Glad that Wallace, Johnston and Carpenter have matters in hand, has written to the Weekly Dispatch and will be writing to Traubel and possibly Rossetti. Was shocked by Wallace's report in his book about Whitman's revelations over her sister's death, the family had kept this confidential and she asks for the reference to be omitted from any future edition.

256. J W Wallace to Mrs Frend, 7 Aug 1918. Draft. Has written to Harned and Traubel denouncing the projected book "in the strongest terms". Apologises for the published reference to her sister's death which he had not realised was confidential until he noted Herbert's reticence on the matter, promises to omit this passage if there is a 3rd edition; Rossetti will be sympathetic if his is like his mother.

257. J W Wallace to Mrs Frend, 10 Oct 1918. Carpenter has expressed "his disapproval of the cable message I sent to Harned on your behalf … I still think it was the best thing to do … I am entirely with you in the matter".

258. J W Wallace to Ed Carpenter, 10 Oct 1918. Draft. "There is no man whose judgement in general I respect and value so much as yours but Mrs Frend's proposed cable would have done more harm than good and the cable I sent is precisely what I would have sent myself" in Mrs Frend's place. Does not think Harned "a rogue" but he acts "like most lawyers and businessmen".

259. J W Wallace to Mrs Frend, 11 Oct 1918. Draft. Blackpool Post Office have not delivered the cable message to Harned as he is "unknown". Is attempting to ensure its delivery through an acquaintance at Bolton Post Office and apologises for the delay. Suggest that she writes to Harned.

260. J W Wallace to Mrs Frend, 15 Oct 1918. "I gather ... that you are now inclined to regret the cable I sent to Harned which at the time I understood to be endorsed both by him (Carpenter) and by you."Suggests the wording for a new cable to Harned, who is "hardly likely to do anything flagrantly dishonest" but will act "as a lawyer and a businessman."

261. J W Wallace to Mrs Frend, 16 Oct 1918. Encloses a letter from Harned, implying that Walt did not keep copies of his own letters to Mrs Gilchrist, is glad to know that the title is being changed and suggests the wording for a new cable to Harned.

262. J W Wallace to Mr Harned, 16 Oct 1918. Draft. Replying to letter of the 22nd, has not questioned Harned's integrity and agrees that the accusation of publishing the letters as a "money-making scheme is ridiculous". Deeply regrets the original title and the fact that Mrs Frend's co-operation was not secured, explains the circumstances leading to the sending of the cable from Blackpool. Despite the differences of opinion "I still feel toward you the love of comrades".

263. Grace Frend, Audley End, to J W Wallace, 2 Feb 1919. Offers to send her copy of the letters, most have been printed but there are 1 or 2 letters of Whitman's which have not been. "I do not think that any circumstances could induce me to write an
addendum to Mr Harned's book but would consider producing her own book with Fisher Unwin". Refers to Mr Burroughs and his secretary, "nothing justifies the publication of the letters which give the world a totally wrong impression of my mother, who was swept away by the lure of the spell of Leaves of Grass into a visionary and mystic love – not of the real Man".

264. Ts copy of above.

265. As above, 4 Feb [1919]. "I endorsed your cheque before I discovered it was not signed", understands the omission.

266-276. Fritzinger, F Warren

266. F Warren Fritzinger, Camden, NJ, to Dr J Johnston, 17 Feb 1891. Informing him that Whitman has been poorly since Nov (1890); details of illness and treatment.

267. F Warren Fritzinger, Camden, to Dr J Johnston, 25 March 1891. "Your letter arrived and one from J W Wallace … Horace, Mama and me put Walt on to a water bed … Mama has bad headaches".

268. F Warren Fritzinger, Camden, to Dr J Johnston, 1 April 1891. "Excuse me for not answering your letter sooner … Mr Whitman has been poorly … Horace brought Dr Longaker". Details of illness.

269. F Warren Fritzinger, Camden, to Dr J Johnston, 16 April 1891. "Mr Whitman went out for half an hour." Details of Walt's diet.

270. J W Wallace to F Warren Fritzinger, 17 April 1891. "We have never met … thank you for kind references in your letters … your devotion to Mr Whitman … regards to Mrs Davis."

271. J W Wallace to F Warren Fritzinger, 10 May 1891. "Thank you for your kind letter … griefed to hear the reports of Mr Whitman's weakness … thank you to you and Mrs Davis for your kindness". Walt's birthday.

272. F Warren Fritzinger to Dr J Johnston, 9 Sept 1891. Dr Bucke and Mr Wallace drove through Fairmount Park. Spoke to Walt Whitman. Made a visit to Niagara Falls. Walt is feeling better. (With envelope.)


274. F Warren Fritzinger, Camden, to Dr Johnston, 21 April 1892. Misses Walt Whitman very much but as Walt said "over the past not God himself has power". Describes Whitman's funeral. Is having a Whitman portrait framed to hang in place of the photograph removed by Col (Colin?) Whitman (Walt's brother). "Marnie (?) has held up bravely". Bucke is coming around 1 May. Glad that Wallace came last year in time to see Whitman, who knew he would not last another summer. Will be replying to Wallace's letter next, the number of the house has been changed from 328 to 330.
275. F Warren Fritzinger, Camden, to J W Wallace, 12 Aug 1892. Mrs Whitman is dead (wife of George Whitman, sister-in-law of Walt), she is buried with Walt.


277. **Gable, William D**

William D Gable, William F Gable Department Store, Altoona, Pennsylvania, to J W Wallace, 30 Aug 1911. Sends thanks for the autographed copy of the pamphlet "Whitman Day 1911". "Horace (Traubel) has mentioned you so often to me, in such loving terms, that I feel I know you."

278-293. **Glasier, J Bruce and Katherine (née Conway)**

278. Katherine St John Conway, Kendal, Westmorland, to Comrades, May 1893. Circular letter. "Like the disciples of old, you are meeting together after the Death of him you know as your leader." Explains Whitman's importance to her as a woman trained in the Roman Catholic School to think a carefully cultivated sense of inferiority a crowning virtue and to confound ignorance with innocence”. "Walt Whitman has led men out of the Paradise of Inexperience and willing Ignorance out again of the Desert of Doubt and painful work and terror of goodness into an eternal Heaven of perfect knowledge and perfect love".

279. J Bruce Glasier, Blackburn, to J W Wallace, 19 Feb 1894. Postcard. Katherine is much better and they plan to work in the Free Library at Bolton next day, proposing to meet Wallace at 5pm.

280. Katherine and Bruce Glasier, Inchgower by Helensburgh, to Comrade and brother Willie, nd. [July 1895?]. "You must come", they are staying with the mother and sisters, "it is just a little Paradise and will brace you splendidly". With note added by Bruce to cordially join "in all of their above remarks".

281. Katherine Glasier, Tilston to Will (her brother), 6 Dec 1897. Describes her baby daughter Jeannie's "beautiful brow" like her father and "great dark blue fearless eyes". Her life is now overflowing with joy and work. Describes childbirth. "Money, rank, power over others – how their worth fades away" compared to the strength of parental love.

282. K Bruce Glasier, Blackburn, to Friends, 15 July 1912. Expresses concern about Wallace's hacking cough and Minnie's throat which may prove cancerous. Asks for acceptance for Wallace's "latest child", the Benjamin as it were among his huge family of lame dogs, Minnie Whiteside, and surely one of the most tragically smitten by fate". Confesses to initial jealousy of Minnie but "Minnie with all her limitations deserves our utmost gratitude for she gives Wallace the hourly devotion that he needs and has made him a home as only a real daughter could have done". Asks for a subscription from all Wallace's friends "to secure him a little home and fill it with flowers and once more make it an open place of pilgrimage" to use "his spiritual powers of healing".
283. Bruce Glasier, Levenshulme, Manchester, 7 Feb 1919. Copy in Wallace's hand. Thanks for loving messages, "I walk into the new dawn gladly … as Walt sang out – so long, au revoir!"

284. Katherine Glasier, Levenshulme, to Minnie Whiteside, 23 Dec 1919. Christmas lettercard. Sends a "wee mystic token of a very perfect love and gratitude to you for all your care of our beloved Wallace … there is a place in my home for you as there would be for my own sister by blood, should ever you need."

285. Katherine Glasier, Earby, to Wallace, Minnie and Annie, 14 Jan 1926. Minnie's telegram "lit up all the depression of Glen's going (off to school) and has helped Tiny too". Hopes to visit them briefly soon, writes out "a wee Russian poem" which Wallace told to her and Glen, "his aura never gave out serener cheer" than on the last visit.

286. MPC, St Elmo, Bournemouth, to Mrs Bruce Glasier, 26 Jan 1926. Postcard. Thanks for papers and the portrait, "we will rejoice in his (Bruce's) newly found freedom, he was well prepared for Higher Spheres and will be much at home".

287. Katherine Glasier, Sheffield, to Minnie Whiteside, 1 April 1926. Is going home for Easter after "a wonderfully worthwhile fortnight's work". "Summer comes and the Wallace Angel will hover over Glen Cottage as we plan for Harriet and the bairns to have the holiday". Rose has written. Quotes from a "glorious letter of Wallace's" describing a beautiful day at Rivington, "have we not been blessed above all women to be allowed to minister to such embodied souls as were Wallace and Bruce".

288. Katherine Bruce Glasier, Carlisle, to Minnie Whiteside, 17 Dec 1928. Is lecturing in Durham and Northumberland, including to the Cumberland miners and "the mass of the misery fairly paralyses me". Sends thanks for copies of the Epoch article.

289. Katherine Glasier, c/o Mrs Anderton, Gloucester, to Minnie Whiteside, 24 Dec --. "My life has been too crowded of late". Suggests arrangements for meeting at Bolton or Accrington, "our Angel Guardian Wallace has been working for my help so marvellously … how rich one life is – hidden with the Great Companions".

290. Katherine Glasier, Earby, to Minnie Whiteside, 3 Feb 1950. Is receiving many letters and visitors, will send on a copy of "The Glen Book". Francis Johnson is hard at work on a labour of love chronicle of J Bruce Glasier's life and I am sending him your postcard and letter to copy. Invites Minnie "to come over when the sunshine takes hold". Visits Evaline, who is 75 years but only 3 years old mentally, once a month.

291. Katherine Glasier, Earby, to Minnie Whiteside, 9 Feb 1950. Postcard. Sends thanks for the photographs, glad to hear "how Uncle Wallace's Whitman College work has borne this unexpected fresh harvest of interest". Approves Jim Turner's advice, "you will of course arrange for Bolton's Reference Library to have your treasures when you have won your New Birthday!".

292. Photograph of Mrs Bruce Glasier – portrait on post card, nd.
293. Postcard addressed to Mrs Bruce Glasier, Glen Cottage, Earby, nd. – no message.

294-295. Goldshaw, Mr


295. Unsigned copy of above.

296. Hannah, Thomas

296. Thomas Hannah, St Annes-on-Sea, to Minnie Whiteside, 2 April [c1917]. Miss Lomax is critically ill and unlikely to recover. Is coming to Bolton "preaching the Ulleswater St Sermons". "Easter time always gives me a thrill". "I'm glad Mr Wallace sleeps so well and that you are comparatively safe from bombs and destruction".

297-309. Harned, Thomas B & Herbert, S

(See also Frend letters 251-265 above.)

297. Thomas B Harned, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 10 Feb 1918. Thanks for the copy of *Visits to Walt Whitman* which is "a valuable contribution to the Whitman cause". First met Walt Whitman when he moved to Camden near to Harned, looks "back to the Halcyon Camden days with joy". His wife "departed with sealed orders some 3 years ago" and his children "are all grown up and settled". "This awful war has unsettled all of my preconceived ideas and I shudder at the possible outcome".

298. Thomas B Harned, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 8 April 1918. Sends thanks for the 67th birthday greeting. Acknowledges "English traits", his mother was born in Norwich, England in 1824. Recommends separating the English Church and state and removing hereditary privilege and pernicious land laws". Supports English and American participation in World War I as necessary to prevent "human progress being set backwards for centuries". His poor background gave him "the advantage of plain living and high thinking". Acknowledges the beneficial influences of his mother, his wife and Whitman to ensure that "life to me has been an overflowing cup of joy".

299. Thomas B Harned, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 6 Nov 1918. Has not received a cable. "It is absurd to say that I am unknown". Whitman wrote few letters to Mrs Gilchrist, the book Harned is publishing proves how "beautiful and spiritual" Mrs Gilchrist's letters are. The Gilchrist letters will be added to Harned's deposit of his Whitman Collection at the Library of Congress. Did not know of the existence of Mrs Frend as a direct heir of Mrs Gilchrist, believes that the publishers would welcome an addenda. Traubel is in a "wretched" condition and he disagrees with Harned's view that this has been "a righteous war" for England, America and allies. "Continued illness, business reverses and the war" have wrecked Harned's affairs.

297-309. Harned, Thomas B & Herbert, S
300. Thomas B Harned, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 9 Jan 1919. Is sending 2 copies of his book to Dr Johnston and one to Mrs Frend. Is glad to have Bliss Perry revise the book, suggests additional letters and a short introduction by Mrs Frend for a second edition. Has heard that Horace Traubel's eyes are failing. His two son's activities. "The Junkers (Germans) handed the world an awful deal and they must pay, pay, pay".

301. Thomas B Harned, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 2 June 1919. Horace Traubel has "valvular heart trouble" and "may die any minute", although he is still active at meetings through "will power". "The recognition (of Whitman) in this country is very extensive and far more pronounced than I expected". Is tired from being "very busy speaking and writing".

302. Thomas B Harned, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 17 July 1919. Is glad the tiring W W memorials are over. The political opposition to the Peace Treaty is mainly "partisanship". Horace (Traubel) writes for The Conservator. Harned is pessimistic about the chances for Horace's survival.

303. Thomas B Harned, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, nd. [c1919]. Incomplete. Walt Whitman was never intolerant but Horace (Traubel) is. Harned's mother regarded him as "conceited". He has driven away the "literary fellows" by associating with "socialists, anarchists, cranks … the people here are for a League of Nations and I believe we will get it". Hopes that England will soon raise the blockade "the German people should not be unduly punished beyond being compelled to make every reparation within their power".

304. Thomas B Harned, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 31 May 1920. Is not participating in the Whitman birthday dinners this year. New York lacks a leader now Horace is dead, he left no will and his affairs are in a mess. He wanted his Whitman Collection to go to the Library of Congress, Horace's widow, Anne, is not very practical but her unusual and "very handsome" daughter, Gertrude, is supporting her.

305. Thomas B Harned, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 28 Aug 1920. Will be glad to meet Mr Ormrod should he call, the City of Camden has bought the Mickle Street house for a Whitman Museum. Mrs Frend has sent further Whitman-Gilchrist letters to Doubleday, Page & Co for a separate publication, but the cost of publication is now high. Defends his position over his own publication, "there can be no doubt Mrs G (Gilchrist) was in love with Whitman, which finally ripened to a sane friendship". Anne Traubel "always was queer and impossible", Horace neglected her for work and "congenial friends", his "irregular habits may have hastened his end" but his writings "will have a permanent influence". The candidates in the American election are "two rubber stamps".

306. Thomas B Harned, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 7 Dec 1920. Thanks for the letter from Wallace and Johnston. Holloway's book will be published containing Whitman books that Harned donated to the Library of Congress. Is not encouraged by the recent election, "our new President will be a Tory".

307. T B Harned (in his daughter's hand), Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 27 July 1921. Has been "a very sick man" with circulation problems, the drug "makes me so
stupid", show this letter to Johnston who has written. "I do not feel my work is finished but of course I have to take whatever comes".

308. T B Harned (in his daughter's hand), Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, nd. [c Aug 1921] Is making some progress with his illness. Is interested in Wallace's comment on Quaker influences. "Walt Whitman was a follower of Elias Hick and much of his philosophy was based on the Inner Light". Appreciates "what you are doing for me".

309. Herbert S Harned, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 21 Sept 1921. "My father, Thomas B Harned, passed quietly away … he was the last of Walt's "old Guard" here in America". As a devoted friend of Whitman, "your kind thoughts helped his psychological poise".

310-320. Hardie, J Keir

310. J Keir Hardie, Lochnorris, Cumnock, Scotland to J W Wallace, 27 Dec 1892. The pamphlet failed to arrive. Read Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* and *Democratic Vistas* 4 years ago, "save for a greater faith in democracy, due probably to good digestive organs, I found no new message other than Carlyle's". "His faith is not one whit greater nor his message other than that outlined by Burns." Will read Whitman again to see whether he can find hidden meanings which have so inspired yourself and Dr Johnston. Greatly enjoyed his Sunday evening in Bolton, "for years the work was utter weariness of body and spirit, materialism seemed to have laid firm hold of the movement" but there is now a "new spirit". Asks about obtaining a good engraving of Whitman, "for God sake don't mistake me for a hero" because that only leads to great expectations doomed to utter disappointment".

311. J Keir Hardie, Ayrshire Miners Union, Lochnorris, Cumnock, to J W Wallace, 29 Dec 1892. Prizes the John Burroughs' articles mentioned by Wallace, especially the Carlyles ones. Asks for a good edition of Whitman, "perhaps some of my first prejudice was due to the dilettante, expurgated and generally emasculated" versions he read, is busy with two articles for "True Thought" and another religious monthly.


313. Photocopy of above.

314. J Kier Hardie to J W Wallace, 2 Jan 1893. Postcard. Thanks for the books, which will be returned when read.

315. J Keir Hardie, Glasgow, to J W Wallace, 5 March 1894. "Your article is a model", the 1000 word limit compels "concentration", it can be expanded to 1200 words for the Leader if you wish.

316. J Keir Hardie, House of Commons Library, London, to J W Wallace, 24 Dec 1894. Does not show his feelings "and for that reason I am supposed to be void of them", playing with the "weans" in summer or a game of "bools" in winter is "all the tonic I need". Promises to send a photo of his wife. "Glad to hear you have given me up
as hopeless". Does not care much for *The Conservator*. Asks for other articles accurately condensing the essence of "the Mans Teachings and life work".

317. J Keir Hardie to J W Wallace, nd. *Leaves of Grass* should arrive by the next post. "I don't think your master would compliment your methods of making disciples, you forget how perverse human nature is." Recalls repugnance to people who tried to convert him to Christianity. Asks for letters of no more than 4 pages. Sends greetings to "all the warm hearted Boltonians and Scots-Boltonians".

318. J Keir Hardie to J W Wallace, nd. Is enjoying work in his garden, "the great babel is very trying … oftener than once I have been on the point of applying for the Chiltern Hundreds" but "to resign would be so much misunderstood" and "doubtless good will evolve itself somehow". "Last night I danced with the children till my wee doggie barked for very joy, Mrs Hardie had a guid greet (cry)".

319. J Keir Hardie, House of Commons, London, to Mr Hodgkinson, nd. Inviting Hodgkinson, Johnston and any other friends to come on Friday, when Mr Dobson's portrait of Hardie is to be exhibited. Mr Fletcher should know Mr Dobson, "tell the doctor (Johnston) that I changed my breeks because they got wet through ... not out of deference to House of Commons opinion".

320. J Keir Hardie to Friend, Xmas 1901. Is writing at the bedside of his daughter (Agnes) "who for 10 days has been fighting at close grips with the fell enemy"suffering from appendicitis, peritonitis and pleurisy but "some blessed sleep ... has turned the scale in her favour".

321-325. **Hayes, Rev Will**


322. Rev Will Hayes, Chatham, to Friend, 28 May 1923. "I cannot allow the 31st to go by without sending you a word of greeting". Discusses possibility of publishing a Whitman Journal.

323. Rev Will Hayes, Chatham, to Friend, 8 July 1925. Thank you for note and address; sorry about the eye trouble. (With envelope.)

324. Rev Will Hayes to Minnie Whiteside, 24 Dec 1928. "Glad to know you are settled in your little shop". Sends thanks for "The Glen Book". Asks to be introduced to Caroline Eccles.

325. Rev Will Hayes to Minnie Whiteside, 27 May 1932. Greetings to my friends please tell them Whitman's "Song of the Universal" is my first lesson on Sunday morning. Enclosing photo of himself.

326-327. **Henry, Leroy**

326. Leroy Henry, Burbank, California, to J W Wallace, 27 July 1924. Sending a book "Happy in hell" and enclosing a copy of a leaflet "The Surrendered Life".
Leroy Henry, Burbank, California, to J W Wallace, 19 July 1925. Thanks for enclosures and copy of Whitman address. Encloses papers that Jacob Beilhart printed and will send more if required.

**Herdman, Marie Louise**

Marie Louise Herdman, Auchilmore(?), Killiecranbie, Perthshire, to Minnie Whiteside, 9 Aug 1930. "I want to send you just a line of greeting for August 11 – it is a date that will always be remembered. I am glad you are well – it is splendid the success you are making of your business."

**Hier, Frederick P**

Frederick P Hier, New York, to J W Wallace, 31 March 1919. "I get the very uncomfortable idea that I may have unduly shocked you" … Just seen Horace, looking as though he had one foot in the grave and the other on a banana peel. (With envelope – opened by censor.)

**Holden, Charles**


Charles Holden, Hampstead Way, London, to Caroline Eccles, 3 Sept 1936. "I am sure all Wallace’s friends are grateful to you for your contribution to the memoir".

**Hutton, Rev F R C**

Rev F R C Hutton, Bolton, to J W Wallace, 6 Oct 1889. "It was exceedingly kind of you to think of me, but I hope in future you will forget my birthday, for such ideas are erroneous."

**Ingham, William**


**Innes, W T**

W T Innes to J W Wallace, 8 Oct 1893. This morning we had our first lecture of the Ethical Society by Dr Stanton Cail. Philip Dalmas played the piano. Horace thinks that the Ethical Congress was a flat failure.

**Irving, W H**

336-338. Johnston, John H

336. J H Johnston, Ealing, to J W Wallace, 17 July 1894. Re the "Loving Cup" sent to the College by J H Johnston. (With envelope.)

337. J W Wallace to J H Johnston, c Jan 1917 (incomplete). Recalling J W Wallace’s visit to Johnston at his shop in Union Square; memories of visit to Walt Whitman.


339-341. Karsner, David

339. David Karsner, New York, to J W Wallace, 29 Nov 1919. Thanks for the article on Traubel from the *Labour Leader*: biography of Traubel is in press.


341. Kennedy, S

341. S Kennedy to Dr J Johnston, 10 Sept 1897. Enjoyed the papers sent. Working hard on readers handbook of *Leaves of Grass*. J K Kinney, an American friend, is an admirer of Whitman.

342. Law, James D


343-348. Lloyd, J William

343. J William Lloyd, Westfield, New Jersey, to J W Wallace, 9 Feb 1917. Glad to hear from him again; it is a very poor time to publish books; contact Traubel for a list of subscribers.

344. J William Lloyd to J W Wallace, 4 April 1917. Enclosing a list of names to send circulars; the world is in too much trouble for such gentle works to get much notice.

345. J William Lloyd to J W Wallace, 26 Dec 1919. Discusses appreciation of Traubel (by Wallace); Charles Austin Needham has received an order for a bronze bust of Traubel.


347. J William Lloyd, Burbank, California, to J W Wallace, 29 June 1923. Holding a meeting on cosmic consciousness: asking him to write something about his experiences.
349-350. **Lomax, E**


351. **Longaker, Daniel**

351. Dr Daniel Longaker, NY, to J W Wallace, 22 Sept 1892. With Burroughs and Traubel; visit to the Catskills.

352. **Lynd, Sara P**

352. Sara P Lynd, Alsager, Cheshire, to J W Wallace, nd. Thanks for kind note; hopes he is feeling better for his holiday.

353. **MacDonald, Isabel**

353. Isabel MacDonald, Hampstead, to Minnie Whiteside, 5 Dec 1937. Sending many thanks for sympathy. (With envelope.)

354-359. **MacDonald, James Ramsay**

354. Ramsay MacDonald, Hampstead, to J W Wallace, 10 Oct 1916. Giving details of publishers and giving advice not to publish at present.

355. Ramsay MacDonald, 10 Downing Street, London, to J W Wallace, 2 April 1924. Asking for further information on a Mr Law of Lossiemouth and details of an aunt living near Philadelphia. (With envelope.)


357. Ramsay MacDonald, House of Commons, London, to Minnie Whiteside, 15 Feb 1926. Sending condolences on the death of James W Wallace; "What do you propose to do with his books?"


359. Ramsay MacDonald, Privy Council Office, London, to Minnie Whiteside, 26 Nov 1936. Sends thanks for the little book on J W Wallace; "I have one or two things that he gave me, including Whitman’s own copy of *Leaves of Grass*. Sorry Mr Wallace’s cousin is ill."
360-363. **McMillan, Margaret**


361. Margaret McMillan, to J W Wallace, 23 July 1923. Thanks for letter; received another from Katherine (Glasier), Myra (Wentworth) and Dr Johnston.

362. Margaret McMillan, Bromley, Kent, to J W Wallace, 28 May [?]. Thanks for news on Myra.

363. Margaret McMillan, nd (incomplete). "Katherine is much more lovable, but I like Enid too".

364. **Masefield, John**


365. **Mendelssohn, Nathan**

365. Nathan Mendelssohn, Custom House Brokers and Shipping Agents, Montreal, to Dr John Johnston, 28 Oct 1924. Asking for donation to purchase a headstone for Horace Traubel’s grave.

366-387. **Monroe, Will S**


367. Will S Monroe, Waterbury, Vermont, to Minnie Whiteside, 21 Jan [1933?]. No publisher could be found in America for ms of Mrs Austin: publishers shy from mss that will not sell.

368. Will S Monroe to Minnie Whiteside, 25 Jan [?]."Your letter arrived, our letters mused have passed on the Atlantic."

369. Will S Monroe, Waterbury, Vermont, to Minnie Whiteside, 26 Feb [?]. Preparing a book on Walt Whitman and his contemporaries. Interested in any books left by Mr Wallace, by or about Walt Whitman.


371. Will S Monroe, Authors’ Club, London, to Minnie Whiteside, 6 Nov [1930?]. Thanks or the packet and pamphlet by Dr Johnston. Details of visits to Manchester, Bolton, London and Ireland.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship


373. Will S Monroe, Anderton, to Minnie Whiteside, 5 Dec [1930?]. Staying at The Swan, Bolton on Saturday evening; will visit on Sunday morning.


375. Will S Monroe, California, to Friend, 9 Jan [1939?]. "Your letter and card were forwarded to me here". Now in 75th year. Details of ill health.


381. News cutting re Will S Monroe and his visit to Bolton 8-9 Nov 1930, nd.

382. News cutting re J W Wallace’s talk about Walt Whitman, nd.


384. Book review Visits to Walt Whitman in 1890-91, 3 Jan 1918.

385. News cutting re death of Mr J W Wallace, Feb 1926.

386. Book review of The Letters of Anne Gilchrist and Walt Whitman, nd.


388-389. Morris, Harrison S

388. Harrison S Morris, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 18 Dec 1917. Remembers visit to Camden. May publish a book in Italian on Walt Whitman. "Harned’s daughter is very handsome and sings like a bird, but with greater human charm".

390-391. Myers, Henry


392. Naganuma, Shigetaka

392. Greetings card with a quotation by Walt Whitman, New Year, 1922.

393. Peveret, George


394. Pimblett, M

394. M Pimblett, Bolton, to Will, 28 Jan 1885. Accept my heartiest thanks for your remembrance of me.

395. Pink, Caleb

395. Caleb Pink, London, to J W Wallace, 22 Dec 1897. Despite some improvement, he is still lame and in pain but is comforted by faith in the Eternal Spirit, with poem (incomplete) to be read at the College Christmas Meeting.

396. Quinn, Roger

396. Roger Quinn, Moorhead’s Hospital, Dumfries, to J W Wallace, 19 Nov 1922. Sends thanks for the excellent booklet. Dr Johnston is giving a description of Dumfries and the Old Tramp Poet to the Blackpool Scottish Association. Quinn himself is talking on "The Psychology of the Tramp" in Dumfries. In his 76th year.

397-399. Ransome, Arthur H

397. Arthur H Ramsome, Maresfield, Sussex, 6 Sept 1931. Note. Dedication to Mrs Minnie Whiteside, "esteemed "daughter adopted" of Walt Whitman’s friend".

399. Arthur H Ransome, Penrith, Cumberland, to Minnie Whiteside, 17 Dec 1942. Thanks for Christmas presents. His sister has died. Has been ill. Has lost sight of Michael Samuelson now in Australia. How fearful if the news from Poland is true.

400-401. Rhys, Ernest

400. Ernest Rhys, Dublin, to J W Wallace(?), 26 Dec 1891. Thanks for telegrams, has passed them to other friends of Whitman, promises to send 2 copies of "S A Review".

401. Ernest Rhys, Dublin, to J W Wallace, 30 Dec 1891. Thanks for telegrams, last news (on Whitman) is "decidedly reassuring".

402. “Rose”

402. Rose, The Co-operative News, Manchester, to Minnie Whiteside, 26 April 1932. Has been working very hard at the office standing in for a secretary. Minnie is “a pillar of help and support to others” as Wallace’s spirit “lives on through you and in you”. Invites Minnie to visit. Makes arrangements to distribute Optimist Calendars and to pass interesting literature on to Minnie.

403-404. Rothwell, Fred

403. Fred Rothwell, Paris, to J W Wallace, Christmas 1903. Is sending a Venus de Milo by way of friends as a Christmas greeting "from one who owes you far more than I can ever hope to repay".


405-410. Roy, Ormiston (Willie)

405. John Johnston, Whalley, to Roy Ormiston, 2 Feb 1916. Sends condolences for the death of Ormiston’s brother George and reminiscences about school days at Annan with Walter Hawkins and George Wright and about George’s studio in Ednam Street and "his gentle spirit".


408. Willie (Ormiston) Roy, Montreal, Canada, to Minnie Whiteside, 3 March 1926. Sends condolences for the death of Wallace and extensive tributes to him. Reminiscences about his first and last meetings with Wallace at Lytham and Liverpool and about a trip to Ireland. Expresses sadness that Archie Edington and Dr Barrus who introduced him to Wallace did not meet Wallace themselves.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship


410. Willie Ormiston Roy, Hawthorn Dale, to Minnie Whiteside, 4 Jan 1953. Apologies for delay in writing. Is now 78 years. Recalls first visit to England. Wife who died recently. Asks for the names of college members he has forgotten and for news of those still living. Dr Barrus has died and he is the sole survivor of the original directors of the John Burroughs Association.

REEL 16:

411-422. Russell, G W ("A E")

411. A E (G W Russell), The Irish Statesman, Dublin, to J W Wallace, 29 April 1919. Declines the offer of an 1861 edition of Whitman, prefers the last to the first edition if the last has the best poetry, unlike a friend who is expert in tracking down rare editions on the Dublin Quays. Recommends "Crock of Gold" and "Demigods" by James Stephens.


413. A E, c/o Sir Horace Plunkett, Kilteragh, Foxrock, to J W Wallace, 12 April 1921. Has been ill and is recuperating in the sunshine with Sir Horace. Will read his Whitman essay. Gives opinions on the Irish political situation.


415. A E, Dublin, to J W Wallace, 11 April 1922. Deplores the violence of the young nation which "likes a real revolver". His book on politics is progressing very slowly and with great difficulty.

416. A E, Dublin, to J W Wallace, 4 Jan 1923. Is glad Wallace likes his book "The Interpreters". Does not know whether the open letter will have any effect, has not lost faith in the Irish genius but it has to be educated which will take about 25 years.

417. Poem: "The Renewal of Youth" by A E, with notes by J W W (Wallace), 4 Dec 1923

418. Another version of above, typed differently.

419. A E, Dublin, to J W Wallace, 12 April 1924. Thanks for birthday greetings, feeling "elderly in the body" but has retained "some kind of youth in my mind". Has taken on the editorship of the journal which had delayed work on his current book.

A E, Dublin, to J W Wallace, 11 April 1925. Sends thanks for birthday greetings. Feels younger than when at 18 years. MacMillan are publishing another volume of lyrics of his.


W M Salter, Philadelphia, to J W Wallace, 8 March 1892. Copy. Sends thanks for the Whitman facsimile. Is now beginning to study Whitman and agrees with him about "the sacredness of body" but is troubled by p94 of the Complete Works which seeks to endorse "licentiousness and free love".

J W Wallace, Anderton, to W M Salter, 21 March 1892. A detailed defence of Whitman from the charge of licentiousness with several quotations from Whitman. "The purpose of "Native Moments" is the redemption of humanity from licentiousness by giving health and sanity to the natural instincts." Whitman admits his own "coarse rank instincts" and identifies with the "shunned classes" in "once I passed through a populous city". Whitman admits to a lapse when he dallied with a woman but he overcame his weakness and moved on. Whitman was no saint but his sins were "venial" and his humanity makes him greater.

Margaret Sanger, American Birth Control League Inc, New York, to Minnie Whiteside, 6 April 1926. Was impressed with the variety of Wallace’s books when she visited him and would like the opportunity to buy some. Is to let Minnie know she comes over.

Henry S Saunders, Toronto, to J W Wallace, 17 June 1913. Asks for a copy of notes on Wallace’s visit to Walt Whitman and for a second copy of a Bolton Whitman dinner report. Saunders had the first copy printed in the Toronto World. Has been visited by Chas Holden and hopes to visit Wallace on his first trip across the water next year.

Henry S Saunders, Toronto, to J W Wallace, 14 Oct 1916. Lists Mitchell’s plays and other publications. He has insight into Whitman but has not finished the article. Asks about Wallace and Johnston’s forthcoming book, has been visited by Horace (Traubel) and Frank.

Henry S Saunders, Toronto, to J W Wallace, 3 Dec 1916. Quotes extensively from Wallace’s letter proposing various steps to preserve Whitman manuscripts and correspondence before they are all dispersed and lost. Despite Wallace’s misgivings the Bucke family still retain most of Bucke’s collection. Action is being taken on Wallace’s suggestion to purchase Mickle Street house and New
Jersey has set up a committee. Agrees that the matter is urgent as Carpenter for one has already lost some valuable material. A central repository could be established or Saunders proposes one representative each for US, Canada and England. He lists the extent of his own reference collection and lists the other 8 being circulated.

429. Henry S Saunders, Toronto, to J W Wallace, 4 Dec 1916. Used Wallace’s comments in his circular letter as they were an ideal introduction. Lists others he is sending a further 8 circular letters to. Mitchell approves Saunders’s "three centre" plan. The "Seeds for Anne" is more posed than the other pictures Saunders took. Asks for Dr Johnston to send W H Hawkin’s poems. Has corresponded with Miss Pattie Bucke of Sarnia, niece of Dr Bucke, once a partner of Saunders in the drugs business. Pattie remembers Wallace’s visit to Bucke. The Bucke collection is with Dr Seaborn, an in-law, at London, Ontario. Will keep Wallace informed as to replies to the circular.

430. Henry S Saunders, Toronto, to J W Wallace, 1-2 Feb 1917. Reports enclosing list from the Canadian Whitman Fellowship. Recommends Dent’s as publishers for the Wallace and Johnston book. Dr Johnston has written sending Hawkin’s poems and other items. The main benefit of the circular letters may be to get the 3 literary executors’ collections willed to some public institution.

431. Henry S Saunders, Toronto, to Friends, 5 Feb 1917. Harned proposes the Library of Congress as the main Whitman repository with New York Public Library as second choice, not Boston as Whitman protested against "New England conventionalism". As a timber framed building the Mickle Street house is too much of a fire risk. Details some of his own collection. Burroughs has no Whitman material to contribute. Dr Johnston and Carpenter agree with 3 secretaries for now but want one central repository at Mickle Street in the long run. Saunders summarises other responses and concludes that the drafting of a codicil for the wills of Harned and others is a priority. There are no funds for new buildings and he therefore recommends the Library of Congress, British Museum and either London Library Ontario or Toronto University for 3 centres.

432. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Saunders, 27 Feb 1917. Has passed copies of the circular on to Dr Johnston and Carpenter. Endorses Saunders’ summary and Harned’s proposals with the proviso that deposits to existing institutions should stipulate the right of removal to a central specially built repository when funds become available. In order to ensure preservation collections should be bequeathed to a special Whitman preservation committee in the short run.

433. Henry S Saunders, Toronto, to J W Wallace, 14 March 1917. Has talked with Dent’s Manager in Toronto and suggests the Wallace/Johnston manuscript is sent to Dent’s in London, as Mr Dent is interested in publishing Whitman material. Harned has written recently in a more friendly way but there has still been no reply from Traubel. The Librarian at London Ontario is enthusiastic about the proposals and there have been assurances that the Bucke family have no plans to dispose of their collection. Repositories might not agree to re-location at a later date. Saunders is keen to obtain a photograph of the Morse portrait of Whitman from Dr Johnston. He has been busy indexing the Conservator.

435. Henry S Saunders, Toronto, to J W Wallace, 14 July 1917. Thanks for the Dr Bucke letter. Saunders declares himself an extremely selfish person but derives pleasure from helping the Whitman cause. Harned’s financial losses may not have been that bad and he is about to donate his material to the Library of Congress. Saunders is sorry that negotiations with Dent were not more satisfactory but is glad the publication is going ahead. Mitchell’s delayed book on Shakespeare is now going to the publishers and Saunders’ own bibliography is nearly finished.

436. Henry S Saunders, Toronto, to J W Wallace, 17 July 1917. Postcard with Whitman portrait. Glad that Wallace appreciated the enlargement of the picture, knowing "the undertone beneath the surface" adds to the interest.

437. Henry S Saunders, Toronto, to J W Wallace, 14 Oct 1917. Postcard with Whitman portrait. Thanks for Wallace’s Labour Leader article which will be added to the proofs for Saunders’ bibliography.

438. Henry S Saunders, Toronto, to Dr Johnston, 21 Jan [?]. He does his own binding and found the Traubel letters most difficult. Advises Johnston to take his Whitman letters to a good bindery and to attach the post cards to heavy sheets.

439. Henry S Saunders, Toronto, to Dr Johnston, 20 Sept 1924. Thanks for £3 for binding and the list of books given to Bolton Library. The lock of Whitman’s hair will be mounted and returned, is enclosing a photograph of himself and the Bains taken on 18 July, has been busy with the family reunion which is held every 2 years.

440. Henry S Saunders, Toronto, J W Wallace, 10 Oct 1925. Pattie Bucke has reported on her inspirational letter from Wallace and the Bains on their visit to him. Saunders is contributing to a Whitman exhibition at New York Public Library organised by Holloway. Will Hayes has published "The Larger Bible" on Fundamentalism. Bains and Saunders were disappointed with St Loe Stockey’s lecture. Saunders’ Whitman Collection is now 2185 items and he binds 2 or 3 volumes per year. Suggests that Wallace writes to him less often. News from Naganuma, whose wife is ill.

441. Henry S Saunders, Toronto, to J W Wallace, 11 Dec 1925. Note. Is very busy with music, and a paper on "Music". Mildred (Bain) is writing an article about Saunders. His next publishing venture will be the long delayed reprint of the "Good Gray Poet". Hopes Dr Johnston’s condition has improved.

442. G Helen & Henry Saunders, Toronto, to J W Wallace, 14 Jan 1926. Sends thanks for Christmas greetings. They were impressed at how "Glasier met the change called death" and were glad that Wallace met Mildred Bain. The first time written to him but feel they have many things in common.

443. Henry & Helen Saunders, Toronto, to Minnie Whiteside, 15 March 1938. Christmas card sent to Minnie was returned because of her change of address.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

Mildred and Frank Bain visited on Sunday. The Whitman bibliography is slow work.

444. Henry & Helen Saunders to Minnie Whiteside, 1940. Postcard with printed quotation "I said to the man who stood at the gate of the year". "Greetings and deep sympathy in your great trouble."

445. Helen & Henry Saunders, Toronto, 28 Dec 1941. Thanks for the Friendship Book sent as a Christmas present. Their grandson is somewhere in the Pacific. Describes their Christmas celebrations and quotes the sermon: "There are some things never can be shaken".

446. Helen Saunders, Toronto, to Minnie Whiteside, 26 Jan 1942. Thanks for the Friendship Book of Francis Gay, the calendar and the Derek Neville poem received as Christmas presents. Henry joins in sending greetings.

447. Henry S Saunders, Toronto, to Minnie Whiteside, 26 Dec 1947. Helen passed away on 27 Oct. He is selling the house and will move to live with his son in California. Encloses letter about his Whitman work.

448. Henry S Saunders, Toronto, to Minnie Whiteside, 22 Dec 1949. Thanks for the card and booklet. Sold his cello 5 years ago but has now borrowed a friend’s and is playing in a small orchestra. Thankful to be busy, bookbinding has taken over from his flower paintings at present.

449. Christmas card with Whitman portrait from Henry & Helen Saunders. 1919

450. Christmas card with picture "By Blue Ontario’s Shore" from Henry & Helen Saunders. 1922


452. Greeting card with wildflower illustration from Henry & Helen Saunders to Minnie Whiteside. 1934

453. Greeting card with illustration of roses from Georgina H Saunders & Henry S Saunders. 1935/6

454. Christmas & New Year card, with Canadian lake scene & evening on a Canadian lake pictures, from Henry & Helen Saunders. 1937/8

455. Christmas card, with illustration of Barberry plant by Henry S Saunders, from Henry & Helen Saunders. 1941.

456. Christmas card, with watercolour of a lake scene: from Henry & Helen Saunders, Dec 1946
457. **Scott, A L**

A L Scott, Wimbledon, to Madam (Minnie Whiteside?), 22 Jan 1926. Saw "your" name in the *Daily Herald* report of the death of the founder of the Walt Whitman Fellowship. Asks for the name of the secretary of the Fellowship or of anyone in London familiar with the group.

458. **Scott, Matthew R**

Matthew R Scott, Chester, to J W Wallace, 25 Sept 1914. Thanks for the Whitman Day Celebration report, which was the first he heard of the death of the poet Hawkins. As Whitman taught, death is "as truly our Friend as birth". The doctors have suggested removal of a Thyroid Gland, during his enforced rest he has read Davies’ "Autobiography of a Super Tramp", Francis Thompson poetry and John Muir (Burrough’s friend). Describes the peace and quiet of his convalescent residence in the Delamere Forest. Will describe his visit to America and Canada later. Dora has developed into a fine lassie but doubts she has the temperament to be a nurse.

459-467. **Seaborn, Edwin & Ina M**

459. Edwin Seaborn, London, Ontario, to Minnie Whiteside, 22 Dec 1948. Thanks for the information passed on by Mrs Ormrod. Asks for a photostat of R M Bucke’s reaction to the death of his son Maurice, which Seaborn wants to include in his "Life of R M Bucke". Has seen the Bucke photographs mentioned by Minnie. Thanks to Mr Elliot. A copy of this letter will go to Mr Ormrod. Asks about the stuffed canary. Dr Ivan Smith at the Cancer Clinic and Mrs Seaborn’s nephew have both been to Bolton.

460. Ina M Seaborn, London, Ontario, to Minnie Whiteside, 26 Jan 1949. Dr Seaborn is ill. Thanks for letter and also the package of letters from Mr Wallace. Many extracts will appear in "The Life of Richard Maurice Bucke" and copies will be sent back with the originals. Requests photographs of the canary, Walt Whitman cup and saucer and the broken pen. Mr Ormrod’s letter arrived today.

461. Edwin Seaborn, London, Ontario, to Minnie Whiteside, 8 March 1949. He will be sending back the letters and clippings at once. Has received an invitation to the Whitman Fellowship meeting at Camden and to write for the Bulletin. His health is improving but his wife has had a broken hip pinned.

462. Edwin Seaborn, London, Ontario, to Minnie Whiteside, 1 June 1949. Photograph of Minnie and father have been delivered from the photographers. Was unable to attend the Whitman Foundation meeting. If they secure all the Bucke family’s permission, the Gilchrist drawing of Whitman and the 2 busts of him by Morse will be presented to the Whitman Foundation. Asks again for a photo of the canary.

463. Edwin Seaborn, London, Ontario, to Minnie Whiteside, 2 June 1949. Confirming that the photos of Minnie and her father have been found and will be sent on.
Edwin Seaborn, London, Ontario, to Minnie Whiteside, 20 June 1949. Had intended to use the photograph of Minnie and Wallace in the Bucke "Life". Caroline Eccles who was referred to anonymously in *Cosmic Consciousness* has agreed to her name being mentioned in the biography. Is anxious to receive photos of the canary and the cup and saucer.

Edwin Seaborn, London, Ontario, to Minnie Whiteside, 6 Sept 1949. Thanks for the excellent photos of the canary and the cup and saucer, which will appear in the *Life* of Dr Bucke. Is sending the 15 shillings for Mr Walmsley for the photograph.

Edwin Seaborn, London, Ontario, to Minnie Whiteside, 2 Dec 1949. Thanks for the group photographs of the College with the names given. Bertha Johnston is assisting in reproducing them. Hopes Minnie has recovered from injury.

Ina M Seaborn, Hepworth, Ontario, 10 Sept 1952. Thanks for the clippings. Has been at the summer cottage at a beautiful beach since June. Dr Seaborn did a great deal of his writing there.

**Shorrock, Mrs**

Funeral invitation card from Mrs Shorrock, Cleveleys Park, for the interment of Thomas Shorrock, 31 May 1909.

**Sixsmith, C H**

C H Sixsmith, Brownlow, Anderton, to Minnie Whiteside, 29 Sept 1941. Has received articles from Mrs Sprague, which he asks her to take to Bolton Library for their collection, John Ormrod gave him Mrs Whiteside’s address.

Ts of above.

**Sprague, Harriet**

Advert from "*The Science of Thought Review*, Vol 6, No 5, May 1927: Monthly notices with offer of sale by "a niece of the late Mr Wallace" for £200 of his Whitman relics, including the *Leaves of Grass* first edition and the canary.

As above.

Ts of above.

Mabel Irwin, Pittsburgh, to Henry Thomas Hamblin, Editor, "*The Science of Thought Review*, 24 May 1927. Asks to be put in touch with the niece direct, as she has a friend interested in purchase, this friend already has 54 Anne Gilchrist letters among her valuable Whitman collection. Disagrees with his magazine’s treatment of sin. Asks to purchase a copy of "The Fellowship of the kingdom".

Harriet C Sprague, New York City, to Mr Hamblin, Editor, "*The Science of Thought Review*, 26 May 1927. Asks for details of the Whitman material for sale, which she is anxious to buy; she already has probably the largest collection of Whitman autograph letters in private hands. Asks particularly for details of the
1855 edition of *Leaves of Grass*. Asks for an early reply and gives the cable address of her husband’s electrical engineering firm.

476. Harriet C Sprague, New York City, to Minnie Whiteside, 20 Jan 1928. A financial improvement in Mr Sprague’s business has finally allowed her to make an offer of £190 for the Whitman Material, which she intends to leave to a Library or Museum eventually. Asks for details of any further Whitman items which might be for sale.

477. Harriet C Sprague, New York City, to Minnie Whiteside, 20 March 1928. Gives detailed instructions about the packing and shipment to her of the Whitman items, particularly the fragile bust, plaque, canary and framed photograph. Suggests paying the final £40 out of the full £190 in April. Asks whether Fritzinger letters to Wallace have been published and is grateful for agreement to have first offer of any further Whitman material.

478. Harriet C Sprague, The Walt Whitman Hotel, Camden, to Minnie Whiteside, 20 Sept 1928. Thanks for the arrival of the 3 packages, including Burroughs and the Wallace photograph. Asks again about disposal of any further letters from Burroughs, Fritzinger and Mrs Davis. Will keep her promise to send copies of inscriptions from the books when she is able.

479. Harriet C Sprague to Minnie Whiteside, 14 Dec 1928. Sends Christmas greetings. She has sent the chest which is being restored to the Curator of the Whitman House, which is now beautifully and affectionately cared for. Dr Clara Barrus has written to say she sails on 22 Dec and hopes to visit Mrs Whiteside. Mabel Irwin died recently.

480-492. Symonds, John Addington

480. J W Wallace, Anderton, to J A Symonds, 1 March 1890 (should be 1891). Draft. Introduces himself as a friend of Dr Johnston. Passes on information about Whitman’s current lapse in health. Reports that Dr Johnston presented a copy Symonds’ "Dante" to Whitman. Wants to support Symonds in his "winter seclusion and broken health". Has noted the great influence Whitman has had on the "Essays" and other works by Symonds.

481. John Addington Symonds, Switzerland, to Dr Johnston, 22 Dec 1890. Copy. Sends thanks for the copy of "Notes of a Visit to Walt Whitman" and is touched that Dr Johnston gave Whitman "my humble essay on Dante". Describes himself as "a broken and ageing man of letters up here among the Alpine snows". "Whitman’s work had influenced me more than anything in literature, except the Bible and Plato". Would have visited Whitman but for his consumption. Asks to see Johnston’s photograph of Whitman and Warry (Fritzinger). Whitman has sent a sheaf of portraits of himself.

482. As above.

483. J A Symonds, Switzerland, to Dr Johnston, 12 Jan 1891. Copy. Thanks for the photographs which will be added to the Whitman archive including a first edition and many photographs. Johnston’s pictures show "the really grand old man as he is
in 1890" and also his surroundings. "Our Master Walt has the power of bringing
folk together by a common kinship of kind feeling – I suppose this is the meaning
of "Calamus", the essence of doctrine of Comradeship".

for the long and friendly letter which he has copied for Whitman, "to show the
comradeship among those sealed of his tribe". Looks forward to the publication of
Symonds autobiography, which will serve "as a stimulus and incentive to worthy
endeavour and the higher life". Sends copies of two cards from Whitman, it is "my
custom to make as careful a facsimile as I could of each card or letter" from
Whitman.

Thanks for the 3 telegraphic messages. "We must look forward to a restful ending"
to Whitman’s life, as Traubel indicated 6 weeks earlier. "My thoughts are
continually with him … taking shape in verse as I wander across the snowfields …
I wish it were possible to express anything adequate to the man’s real greatness …
I feel serious rather than sad, for has not Whitman taught us to be unterrified by
death".

487. As above.

488. Another copy of the above with copy letter: John Addington Symonds, Stratford-
upon-Avon to J Johnston, 4 Aug 1892. Asks for Edward Carpenter’s address to be
sent to him c/o the Earl of Carlisle, Castle Howard.

489. J A Symonds, Switzerland, to Dr Johnston, 11 April 1892. Copy. When he
returned the Traubel letters he was too overwhelmed with work to write. The end
of Whitman’s life cannot be regretted but the last weeks must have been painful
for his friends "especially to the excellent and highly emotional Traubel". Will be
staying at Venice and hopes to write about Whitman while sailing and floating on
the lagoons, feels the task to be "of gigantic difficulty". Dismisses Watts as "not
worth attending to".

490. Ts copy of above.

Asks for permission to publish some photographs taken in 1890 in a study of
Whitman to be published by Mr Nimmo. Sends thanks for the permission and
specifies the photographs required. Found Carpenter a strong personality though
faddy in their brief meeting. In good health … but overtaxed with deluges of
literary work.

492. J A Symonds, Switzerland, to Dr Johnston, 3 Feb 1893. Copy. Sends thanks for
the photographs and permission to publish and also for the Liverpool Daily Post.
Reveals the financial arrangements for his Michaelangelo book. There are
avalanches of snow 60 feet deep, 3 men have died and a carter friend was rescued
after 14 hours trapped. Congestion of the left lung has been worse.
493. **Taersdley (?), Lola**

Lola Taersdley, Charlottenburg, to J W Wallace, 3 July 1924. Thanks for the encouraging letter and the wonderful book. "Mary has so often told me about you". Expresses her admiration for Whitman. She first learnt the love and presence of God through the Society of Friends. Wants to be a teacher in the country showing about 12 children how to learn the simple truths by self exploration. Sends love to Minnie Whiteside.

494. **Theobald, Minnie B**

Minnie B Theobald, to J W Wallace, 12 Nov 1913. Often heard of him through their mutual friend Miss Eccles. Sends thanks for the appreciative comments on E R Innes and sends the volume ordered plus publishers notices. After her holiday in Egypt she hopes Bell & Sons will have published another volume.

495. Minnie B Theobald, to J W Wallace, 22 Nov 1914. Carrie Eccles has showed her letter from Wallace about Minnie Theobald’s work. Hopes to meet Wallace some day.

496-498. **Tubbs, George**

496. G Tubbs, Egham, to J W Wallace, 2 Nov 1897. Thanks for sending the related experiences of Mrs Carson. Quotes from Whitman and describes him "as a huge rock", but is "a little surprised that … he did not triumph over the weakness and infirmities of the body." "A lady friend of ours was controlled by him (Whitman) in a séance." Whitman’s work continues in more favourable conditions without the limitation of "a diseased and paralysed body". Wallace’s "hunger and thirst for righteousness will be fulfilled as Christ promised". He has not read the story of Dr Lawler, "this Earth Life is but an incident in Eternity".

497. G Tubbs, Edgbaston, Birmingham, to J W Wallace, 10 May 1923. Thanks for letter card. Visualises himself by the sea with Wallace and Minnie. Tagore says "When I feel I live in another more than in myself I am glad". George MacDonald says "The first things a kindness deserves is acceptance, the next transmission". "Minnie has done nobly, her heart of service has gone forth in pure sacrifice to God the indweller in those she has nursed and loved."

498. George and Mary Tubbs, Edgbaston, Birmingham, to J W Wallace, 13 Jan 1924. Quotes from Whitman "Objects gross and the unseen soul are one". Remembers their first meeting in the Isle of Man.

499-501. **Unwin, Stanley**

499. Stanley Unwin, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, to J W Wallace, 30 Oct 1916. Thanks for sending 2 pamphlets. Has the one on Marriage. Asks to buy collection of 5 pamphlets and is interested in the booklet of short poems, which is not mentioned in the bibliography of Carpenter’s works.

500. Stanley Unwin, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, to J W Wallace, 1 Nov 1916. Sends the promised 20/- payment. The fifth pamphlet referred to was the duplicate
copy of "Woman" wanted by a fellow collector. Asks about the Walt Whitman celebrations and Mr C Sixsmith. Has replied to Dr Johnston asking to see the manuscript of their joint book but now is by no means a propitious moment in which to launch new books.

501. Stanley Unwin, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, to Dr Johnston and the Whitman Circle, 29 May 1918. As a message for Whitman’s birthday, he paraphrases from the poem "Vigil strange I kept on the field one night" – "You faithfully loved him and cared for him living, I think you shall surely meet again".

502-507. Wedgwood, Mrs.

502. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Mrs Wedgwood, 4 April 1922. Copy. Briefly reviews the biographies of Whitman by Dr Bucke, Henry Bryan Binns and Prof Carpenter of Columbia University. He prefers the third and is sending a copy of it. Whitman claimed "natural children" in a letter to Symonds "but nothing is really known about them". "Whitman would be the first to deny he was a perfect man and his common humanity makes the revelation of his books the more wonderful and significant."

503. As above.

504. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Mrs Wedgwood, 7 May 1922. Copy. Thanks her for the photograph. Responds to her frank comments on Whitman’s biography. "Whitman himself welcomed the most searching criticism." "Leaves of Grass is avowedly the presentation of himself as an example for future Democracy" and "in it he sets himself to inaugurate a religion". Believes Whitman's life does "exhibit a righteousness which exceeds – and by a long way – the righteousness of the ordinary people of his time". Wallace strongly refutes the accusations that Whitman lacked a sense of duty and was lazy. He reiterates that no facts are known about Whitman’s alleged illegitimate children or their mother or mothers.

505. As above.

506. J W Wallace, Anderton, to Mrs Wedgwood, 16 May 1922. Delighted by her good humoured references to what may appear "rather wild" things he wrote and glad they can debate without rancour, he used to try to convert others to Whitman but now he refers people "to the judgement of their own souls". Agrees that "the whole value of any book depends on the character and personality of the author".

507. As above.

508-529. White, Douglas

508. Douglas White, Tottenham, London, to Friends, 4 Dec 1921. Refers to the powerful influence of Leaves of Grass on him despite his ethical prejudices. Reading Cosmic Consciousness by Dr Bucke. "I feel my work … would be the position of Utopian-Missionary to the Materialists" but "unfortunately it is hard for the young go-ahead socialist to spare time to read poetry". 
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

509. Douglas White, London, to Minnie Whiteside, 25 March 1922. "There is no such thing as failure really, just illusion". Thanks for the picture postcards which show how "Uncle Wallace has wisely modelled his home life on that of the Master".

510. Douglas White, London, to Friends, 6 May 1922. Thanks for the copy of *Cosmic Consciousness*. Offers to obtain "The Varieties of Religious Experience" by William James. Criticises "Robert Falconer" which he has been reading. Thanks for the lesson from Hamblin and Minnie's letter.

511. Douglas White, London, to Uncle Wallace, 14 Oct 1922. Thanks for the offer to lend "Varieties" and the "Philosophy of Mysticism", now he may buy Tagore instead. Encloses Crosby's poems "The Friar and the Devil". "My trouble was in regard to my continual changing of temperament ...that the soul determines the environment". Agrees with Wallace's explanation of BEING. Mentions James Thomson’s book on Whitman and cheap books he has bought.

Poem: "The Friar and the Devil" by Ernest Crosby, enclosed with letter above.

512. Douglas White, London, to Uncle Wallace, n.d. Sends thanks for encouragement in regard to the future. Whitman is right that "All forces steadily employed to complete and delight" but White struggles to make intellectual truths real in his life. Thanks for hints re leather work. Has a friend at Whiteway engaged on sandal making but does not feel there is sufficient demand so he is training himself in artistic leather work, which leaves little time for reading. Sends a paper he read at the Adult school. Enquires how Minnie and her girlfriends are enjoying her party.

513. Douglas White, London, to Friends, Uncle Wallace & Minnie, nd. Thanks for the books sent. Will send a bundle of Stafford High’s letters and "A Book of Prayers". Has started reading a book on Raysbroek, the Dutch contemplative. Discusses at length the works of Jack London. Admires Traubel’s "collects" and his courage writing during the war in the face of economic pressure, from which the League of Peace and Freedom in London also suffered. Also admires Thoreau and disagrees with the view that he was neurotic. Hopes they had a happy time with Mrs Glasier and that she will keep alive the "Bruce idealism" in the Independent Labour Party which is "blessed" because of its stand during the war.

514. Douglas White, London, to Friend, nd. Thanks for letters from you, Gine and Leah. Remembers time together at Crich. Has read a paper at Holloway Adult School and is slowly getting on with his leather work while continuing at the old job. Is returning 2 books. Asks about the *New Leader* and sends thanks for the Hamblin lesson. Asks about wireless reaching Anderton.

515. Douglas White, London, to Friend, nd. Thanks for letters and photographs. "I have profited as much as you from our visit to Briers". Thanks for the copies of the Weekly Unity, "I am … very much in sympathy with their general aspect of Faith".

516. Douglas White, London, to Friend (Minnie), nd (Tues). Glad that Gine Levy had a happy week which "is in reality part of the preparation for her Higher Service". People "do not meet by accident (as we all did last summer) – it was all arranged by the Elder Brothers – the Great Comrades of Whitman, who are awaiting our
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

... attainment". Admires Hamblin and "The Science of Thought Review". Disapproves of what Minnie told him about the chicken, "I regard this subject of diet from a spiritual point of view and great soul damage might result". Relates an absurd dream he had last night.


519. Douglas White, London, to Friends (J W Wallace & Minnie), nd (Sun). Thanks for the information for his paper on Humour. Has been reading Thoreau, Emerson & Carlyle’s "Sartor Resartus". Has been to the League of Peace & Freedom’s lectures on Creative Art, including dancing. Speculates as to why very beautiful souls have physically poor bodies. Hopes to attend a Conference for Religious Thinkers. Passes on the address of Fred T Parsons who lectures on Whitman. Is a vegetarian and wants to write to J W Wallace. Mentions Thomas Dent’s lecture to be held on 11 Dec. Has bought Turgenev’s "Fathers & Sons". Admires Mrs Glasier for giving up her old life for the Socialist Movement.

520. Douglas White, Stroud, Glos, to Minnie, 17 Dec [1925/26]. Thanks for the booklet "Where ‘er you Walk" Has enclosed a present and if you like it you may like to write to Mrs Heriot.

521. Douglas White, Stroud, Glos, to Uncle Wallace, 19 July 1925. Hopes to see Wallace at Birmingham. "Convey to Mr Tubbs my love and admiration, it is just wonderful how he survives his many physical disabilities." Sends news of Annie and Maria and about an Indian native and a Theosophist who are visiting. Has been re-reading Compensation by Emerson and also Leaves of Grass. Still working at the bakery.

522. Douglas White, Stroud, Glos, to Uncle Wallace, 8 Sept 1925. Thanks for the birthday present of Bruce Glasier’s poems including one on Rivington. Discusses James Stephens' books and poems. Tomorrow a party from the Colony go to Gloucester for the Three Choirs Festival. Will write to thank Minnie and Maria later.

523. Douglas White, Stroud, Glos, to Minnie, 13 Sept 1925. Alternates between black moods and experiences of inward sun. Tries to imagine them at Anderton as he saw them last year. "I have learned many unpleasant things about myself during my stay here … by faith must we live". His little hut has been sold and he is moving again to live with a family.

524. Brother John (Douglas White), London, to Minnie, 4 Feb 1926. Sends deep sympathy. "I wander about London waiting and wondering what it is I am to do". Has a small annuity for 5 years for his bungalow at Whiteway, considers moving...
to Anderton if he could get a part time job. Suggests Minnie lives on in the house at Anderton gaining an income from paying guests. Describes his own bedsit as a "retreat".

525. Brother John (Douglas White), London, to Minnie, 16 Feb 1926. Is impressed by "The Science of Thought Review" and Hamblin’s more pronounced Christian touch, also by Jean Silverlock’s article on Faith healing. "It is fear that prevents us from seeing troubles just as lessons … look to the future “you have great power for the upliftment of humanity in may ways and this will bring you joy.”

526. Douglas White, London, to Minnie, nd. Pleased to hear of your probable purchasers of the (Whitman) books. Mrs Baines has kept to fruit juice and her cancer is said to have decreased. Oliver Lodge has a great likeness to Uncle Wallace. Describes his new room. Asks for a photograph of Uncle Wallace and of John Burroughs’ home.

527. Douglas White, Stroud, Glos, to Minnie, 14 March 1936. Hopes her stay at Newcastle will be fruitful. Remembers Jim Wallace, "I shall not forget you or the little Anderton Circle…" Glad that Uncle Wallace didn’t live to see the fall of democracy in Europe.

528. Douglas White, Stroud, Glos, to Minnie, 29 Dec 1938. Encloses a copy of his review in "The Greater World". Asks about Mrs Glasier. Received a calendar from J O (Ormrod). The Uncle Wallace portrait still hangs in his room. Has heard that a box of Whitman letters have been found in an American museum.


530-533. *Whiteside, Minnie*


531. Mary, Fallowfield, Manchester, to Minnie Whiteside, 17 Oct 1936. Thanks for the booklet on JWW, it did not emphasise JWW’s noble traits and influence.

532. Uncle G to Minnie Whiteside, nd. Many thanks for reply. "Is it not remarkable, nay providential that after Mr Wallace’s passing you should be in a position to assist so much and so often."

533. Annie to Minnie Whiteside, nd. "I am thinking of you … I miss our dearest Pa … God bless you all the time you brave little woman".

534-536. *Whitwell, Richard*

534. Richard Whitwell, Worthing, to Minnie Whiteside, 21 Dec 1934. The enclosed passages from the "Gold of Dawn" were produced by an artist friend, but the printing was not good. Asks about Caroline Eccles.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

535. Richard Whitwell, Worthing, to Minnie Whiteside, 2 May 1935. "Very shortly, as you will see from "The Science of Thought Review", I will again be in Bolton, please mention this to Mr Ormrod." Thanks for the book about Ed Carpenter. Asks for news of Caroline Eccles who he has thought of at the Healing Service.

536. Richard Whitwell, Worthing, to Minnie Whiteside, 2 Aug 1935. Sends thanks for letting him see Miss Eccles’ letter, she is held in special thought at the little Healing Meeting every Tuesday.

537-543. Wild, Fred

537. Fred Wild, Bolton, to J W Wallace, 15 Jan 1891. Praises Wallace for the kindness and constancy of his friendship, never forgetting Wild's birthday. Thanks Wallace for "another of the Tokens of our Brotherhood". Asks him to send Wild’s "warmest love and well wishes" when he next writes to Whitman. Hopes that his health may long be spared.

538. J W Wallace, Lindsay & Fenelon Falls, Canada, to Fred Wild, 29 Sept 1891. Describes the weather, and the countryside which Wild knows well, on his train journey to Lindsay. Then writes while waiting for a shave in a barber’s shop at Lindsay, then again in the morning. He describes his visit to Fenelon Falls and meeting men who knew Wild, including Tom Rutherford, Bob R and John Ingram. Must write his daily letter to Whitman, sends love to Emma and the children.

539. J W Wallace, Fenelon Falls, to Fred Wild, 30 Sept 1891. Describes his visit to Tom Rutherford at Fenelon Falls, mentions that Tom is like Pete Doyle "whom Walt loved so much". Describes his visit to Caygean and that he interviews the editor of the Independent. (With envelope.)

540. J W Wallace, Lake Sturgeon, to Fred Wild, 2 Oct 1891. Just left Bob Caygean, on way back to Surgeon Point. Describes train journey through Haliburton, Kinmount. Not heard from Walt or Traubel for nearly a week. Leaves for New York next week. (With envelope.)


542. Fred Wild, Haulgh, Bolton, to J W Wallace, 17 Dec 1917. Just read the book "Visits to Walt Whitman". Walt’s poems were like a blooming catalogue in parts. He did the right thing going to see him.

543. Postcard from Fred Wild to J W Wallace showing picture of Scarborough Castle. "Hope to call and see Dr Eccles before I return", nd.
REEL 17:

ZWN 10: Bolton Library Correspondence

1-80. Correspondence, 1938-1970

1. John Fraser, Liverpool, to Chief Librarian, 29 Oct 1938. Copy. Refers to Liverpool Echo article about the Bolton College, has a very complete record and letters of the English "Free Will Offering" movement, started in London by W M Rossetti and Mrs Gilchrist in 1885 to assist Whitman, and later active in Liverpool under the late John Fraser, asks if there is any link between the Bolton/Wigan and Liverpool groups.

2. Chief Librarian to John Fraser, 3 Nov 1938. Copy. Encloses monograph on the Bolton College, which commenced in 1885, did assist Whitman financially and was in touch with Whitman admirers in this country and abroad.

3. John Fraser, Liverpool, to Chief Librarian, 8 Nov 1938. Thanks for the monograph, endorses Sparke's comment that "they appreciated Whitman when his own countrymen were neglecting him", refers to Whitman's claim that his agents in New York were embezzling from him 1873-5, offers to send a photogravure copy of Whitman's portrait.

4. Carlton Lowenberg, Providence, Rhode Island, to Librarian in Charge, 17 March 1948. Requests catalogue and information for the Bolton Whitman Collection for a new bibliography (note added that catalogue and additions were sent 1 May 1948).

5. Bibliography: Collection of Whitmania in the Reference Library Bolton, List of additions to April 1948 (with note that copies were posted in May 1948 to L H G Bousfield, Chief Librarian, Brooklyn College, New York and to Carlton Lowenberg, see 4 above).

6. Anne Montgomerie Traubel to John Ormrod, nd. Copy. The baby's name is Charles. Has no recollection of the name of the giver of the Rivington Lakes painting to Horace, suggests that if a memorial plate is attached the name of the donor should be given as the Bolton Whitman Fellowship. "That group of men lives in my memory as the finest example of comradeship".

7. Chief Librarian to John Ormrod, 22 July 1950. Copy. Returning the letter from Mrs Traubel (6 above) and has written to her acknowledging the gift.

8. Chief Librarian to Mrs A M Traubel, 22 July 1950. Copy. Grateful thanks for the Inner Sanctum edition of Whitman, edited by L Untemeyer, which was brought in by Mr Ormrod. "We cherish our Whitman Collection … you have added another link to this treasured chain".

9. Fred R Jones, The World in Books, Hampstead, NY, to Chief Librarian, 10 Dec 1950. Writing on behalf of "The World in Books" and The Walt Whitman Society of America. Announces that an informal memorial for G B Shaw "will be held in your library this month or early next month" with the assistance of Charles F
Sixsmith or John Ormrod. Asks for support for the petition for placement of Shaw's ashes in Westminster "if the Irish do not capture the prize for Dublin".

10. Harriet Sprague, New York, to Mr Hamer, 21 June 1951. Copy. Thanks for Bolton Libraries 97th Annual Report, has frequently heard about the Library from Mr Sixsmith, is raising funds for purchase of the old Whitman Birthplace. Describes a meeting on 2 June with a debate "between Whitman and Marx".

11. Mr Hamer to Mrs Sprague, 17 July 1951. Copy. Has left correspondence "with you to our mutual and very good friend Mr Sixsmith". Were delighted to obtain the canary in case and the cup and saucer and keep adding to the collection on Whitman.

12. Rudy C Hansen, New York, to Chief Librarian, 2 Feb 1953. As an artist seeking to publish a book about portraits of Whitman, he has only found records of five or six out of at least 25 oil paintings. Asks for information about Herbert Gilchrist who was "very close to the poet" and painted three portraits, also about Sidney Morse and his three paintings, any other portraits in England and the art collector George Washington Williamson, circularize this letter if you wish.

13. Chief Librarian to Rudy C Hansen, 10 Feb 1953. Copy. "Information about Herbert H Gilchrist is very scarce" but refers to the frontispiece to R M Bucke's "Walt Whitman", to an article in the Scottish Art Review and to a letter in "The Letters, Anne Gilchrist and Walt Whitman", edited by T B Hamed. Encloses the Bolton Whitman Collection catalogue with a reproduction of the Sidney Morse portrait of 1887, "the most complete source of Whitman portraits is that of Henry S Saunders". Has no record of G W Williamson.


15. Chief Librarian to Edwin H Miller, 23 Oct 1953. Copy. Confirms that the letter and two postcards to the Ford sisters are the only original correspondence by Whitman in this library, "the letters to Dr J Johnston and J W Wallace were presented by them to the Library of Congress in May 1924."

16. Edwin H Miller to Chief Librarian, 5 Nov 1953. Asks for the addresses on the two postcards and letter to the Ford sisters, has seen the Johnston and Wallace correspondence in the Library of Congress and had hoped to find letters in their book deposited elsewhere.

17. Chief Librarian to Edwin H Miller, 26 Nov 1953. Sends details of the Ford postcards and letter. Was under the impression that the donation to the Library of Congress was complete and knows of no other locations.

18. Edwin H Miller to Chief Librarian, 1 Dec 1953. Asks for information about Rev Johnston and whether the artist A H Cooper was a member of the Whitman group (kept with 16 below).
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

19. Chief Librarian to Edwin H Miller, 7 Dec 1953. Copy. Dr Johnston's father was a farmer and Rev Thomas Boston Johnstone, the Presbyterian Minister and author, was another member of the Bolton College. Alfred Heaton Cooper was not a member but he did paint "The Rivington Lakes" scene as a commission from the College. This painting was given to Horace Traubel and later donated to the library by A M Traubel, most of Wallace's letters to Whitman have been added to the Collection since the publication of the catalogue in 1931 (kept with 15 above)


21. Chief Librarian to H Jolliffe, 4 Dec 1953. Copy. Encloses the books requested, told they would not be easy to replace.

22. Edwin H Miller to Chief Librarian, 29 Dec 1953. Asks how extensive the Wallace correspondence is, how it was obtained and whether it can be photostated, also asks for details of other recent additions to the collection.

23. Chief Librarian to Edwin H Miller, 30 Jan 1954. Copy. "J W Wallace was very methodical and kept copies of all his correspondence" which was passed on by his executor Mrs M Whiteside. Describes a bound volume of "copies or drafts of letters from J W Wallace to Walt Whitman", if this is not in the Library of Congress, a local typing agency could supply a copy for about 15 dollars.

24. John L Nolan, US Information Service, American Embassy, London, to Mr Hamer, Librarian, 3 Feb 1954. An exhibit with 78 items "The Literary Friends of Walt Whitman" will be held at the American Library in London from 15 March. Charles Feinberg is lending a number of books and manuscripts, asks to loan from Bolton the Whitman manuscript in the A J Johnson collection for display in a locked case for one month.

25. Chief Librarian to J L Nolan, 8 Feb 1954. "Delighted to join in your exhibition", but "unfortunately we have not got a Whitman manuscript", although we do have a Leaves of Grass 1st edition. Sends a catalogue to show contents of the Bolton Collection.

26. As 24 above, 10 Feb 1954. "Apparently my informant in Washington was misled about the Whitman manuscript". Will ask Mr Feinberg whether he has the item.


28. US Information Service to Mr H Hamer, March 1954. Printed invitation to attend the opening of the Walt Whitman Exhibit at the American Library on 15 March.

29. Mr Harold Hamer to US Information Service, 8 March 1954. Copy. Reply to above – sends thanks but regrets that prior engagements prevent attendance.

30. Chief Librarian to Edwin H Miller, 11 March 1954. Copy. The Wallace copy of the Peter Doyle letters has nothing not printed in "Calamus", the Wallace letters
contain an equally vague reference to the book "Holland", which is not referred to anywhere else in the correspondence, adds note enclosing recent Whitman letter acquired which may not be original.

31. Edwin H Miller to Chief Librarian, 27 March 1954. Thanks for the typescript of the letter to Harned "is it your opinion that the letter is only a copy?" Asks to purchase the transcripts of the Wallace correspondence with Whitman.

32. Chief Librarian to Edwin H Miller, 14 April 1954. Mr Dixon's daughter reports that she has one letter to Wallace from Whitman dated 29 May 1891 and also a copy of the 1889 *Leaves of Grass*, both of which she is sending to Charles E Feinberg, encloses the Harned letter "so you may see for yourself whether it is an original".

33. Chief Librarian to Edwin H Miller, 10 June 1954. Acknowledges safe return of "the Whitman-Harned note". Gives information on Wentworth Dixon's daughters.


35. Harold Hamer, Chief Librarian, Central Library, to J L Hodson, 15 Sept 1954. Will be pleased to see "Harvest in the North" in print again.


37. Albert Aylward, Toronto, Ontario, to Minnie Whiteside, 16 Oct 1955. Enclosing news cuttings to be passed on to the Library, also promises to send for the library a complete set of publications from the Birthplace Association and one or two items from his own collection, the Bains send their love. (Kept with 38 below).

38. Chief Librarian to Albert Aylward, 10 Nov 1955. Copy. Thanks for the cuttings passed on by Mrs Whiteside. Will send a copy of catalogue as soon as it is printed. (Kept with 37 above.)

39. Minnie Whiteside, Bolton, to Mr Hamer, 22 Nov 1955. Encloses a press cutting for the library and will bring the other items when she can. (Enclosing 40-41 below.)

40. Frank Bain to Minnie Whiteside, 14 Nov 1955. "We depend so fully on AL (Aylward) to keep us in touch with you". Is sending another Willie Roy article for the library at Aylward's request, "our island sanctuary" has bucked up Frank and Mildred "but crippled hands much the same". (Enclosed with 39 above.)

41. Albert Aylward, Toronto, Ontario, to Minnie Whiteside, 15 Nov 1955. Incomplete. Has received the letter reporting that the news cuttings, Willie Roy article and Camden Bulletin have arrived, has called Frank Bain and he has a spare copy of the Roy number to give the library. (Enclosed with 39 above.)

42. File of 50 letters, notes and postcards from individuals and libraries in England, United States, Austria, Canada and New Zealand to Chief Librarian, 16 Jan-30
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship


43. Albert Aylward, Toronto, Ontario, to Mr Hamer, 16 Feb 1956. Thanks for the Whitman catalogue, "it is very impressive". "Last year was the climax of Whitman's fame ... with all the material published" for the Centennial Celebrations, "in Mrs Whiteside's association with Mr Wallace, Whitman still lives – and it is a great honor to Bolton that the College had such faith and foresight in recognising Whitman". (Kept with 44 below.)

44. Chief Librarian to Mr Aylward, 16 March 1956. Copy. "We have been more than repaid by the warm welcome it (the catalogue) has received from our fellow Whitman friends in America". "We still see Mrs Whiteside almost every week". (Kept with 43 above.)

45. Edwin H Miller to Mr Hamer, 18 Feb 1956. Has received the catalogue "you and your staff are to be commended for a most excellent piece of work, all lovers of Whitman are certainly in your debt". Has been "asked to do an edition of the letters (complete) for the New York University Press and it seems to me inadvisable to exploit the Wallace-Johnston material, in 5-6 years we should have "a modern, scholarly edition of Whitman", is sending a reprint of his own recent article. (Kept with 46 below.)

46. Chief Librarian to Edwin H Miller, 14 March 1956. Copy. Thanks for the copy of "Whitman correspondence with Whitelaw Reid". "A complete edition of the Whitman letters is going to be arduous" but worthwhile.

47. Charles E Feinberg, Detroit, Michigan, to Mr Hamer, 16 March 1956. Offers to add substantially to the Library's holdings of Walt Whitman Fellowship Papers 1894-1918 "as a gift in memory of Horace and Anne Montgomerie Traubel".


49. Charles E Feinberg to Mr Hamer, 30 July 1956. Gives notice of a visit to Bolton by "my friends Mr and Mrs Claude Harrison of Detroit". (With draft reply added from Chief Librarian.)

50. Chief Librarian to Charles E Feinberg, 2 Aug 1956. Copy. Will be pleased to meet Mr and Mrs Claude Harrison and to help them in any way he can.


Chief Librarian to Verne Dyson, 28 Feb 1957. Copy. Sending a copy of Centenary Catalogue, "there is not now a Whitman Society as all the original members with a single exception, have passed away" but literary societies show a great interest in the collection which is kept up to date by purchases and donations.

Verne Dyson to Mr Sparke, 11 Nov 1957. Has recently sent the first issue of the Walt Whitman Birthplace Bulletin, asks for subscriptions, the name of an English correspondent and names of other potential subscribers in England. (Enclosing 55 below.)

Walt Whitman Birthplace Bulletin Subscription Blanks. (Enclosed with 55 above.)

T A Ashworth, Chief Librarian to Verne Dyson, 26 Nov 1957. Copy. Agrees to subscribe to the Walt Whitman Birthplace Bulletin and to be the English Correspondent, advises that Mr Sparke retired in 1931, and Mr Hamer has just retired.

Rolf Jacoby, US Information Service, Manchester to Mr Hamer, 11 March 1957. Wishes to present 6 books on Walt Whitman, all published in the United States in 1955, to the Library and he and Mr Pemberton would travel to Bolton for the presentation.

Chief Librarian to Mrs M Whiteside, Bolton, 15 March 1957. Copy. Extends invitation to meet the US officials at the presentation of the 6 books on Whitman.

John E Pemberton, US Information Service, Manchester, to Mr Hamer, 19 March 1957. Thanks library staff and Dr Monks, Chairman, for a very enjoyable afternoon yesterday. Sends 3 catalogues of 16mm sound films available on loan, including one on Pittsburgh and its smog problem.


Chief Librarian to J E Pemberton, US Information Service, 22 March 1957. Copy. Thanks for letters 58 & 59 above. Is trying to trace the Thomas Hulme who went to America, sends copies of 4 local newspapers reporting last Monday's presentation.

John E Pemberton to Mr Harmer, 25 March 1957. Thanks for the newspapers, which gave "very good coverage of the Whitman presentation".

Gertrude Traubel, Philadelphia, to Mr Hamer, 20 May 1957. Was present at the opening of the Walt Whitman Bridge between Philadelphia and Gloucester on 15 May, when the Secretary of the Delaware River Port Authority agreed to send the Library an invitation card and a commemorative medallion. (See ZWN 12).

Mr Hamer to Miss G Traubel, 30 May 1957. Copy. Thanks for arranging the donations about the Walt Whitman Bridge, "the name Traubel is a highly honoured one in Bolton".
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

(For further Gertrude Traubel correspondence see ZWN 5 and ZWN 6.)

65. John M McCullough, Delaware River Port Authority, Camden, NJ, to Mr Hamer, 27 May 1957. Is sending an invitation card and bronze medallion as requested by Miss Traubel, the bridge is "the first structure erected with public funds to be named in his (Whitman's) honor in the United States", quotes in full the dedicatory tablet for the Walt Whitman Bridge, including lines from his "Passage to India". (Enclosing 66 & 67 below.)

66. Invitation card from Commissioners of the Delaware River Port Authority to the opening of the Walt Whitman Bridge, 15 May 1957. (Enclosed with 65 above).

67. Map, Delaware River Port Authority, Delaware River Bridges, Benjamin Franklin Bridge and Walt Whitman Bridge. (Enclosed with 65 above.)

68. Chief Librarian to John M McCullough, 11 June 1957. Copy. Thanks for the invitation, medal and map, "as you may know we have one of the finest Whitman collections outside the USA".


70. Charles E Feinberg, Detroit, to Mr Hamer, 13 Aug 1957. Thanks for the items sent with 63 above, is passing all but one on to other libraries and is sending in return a Whitman item published in Japan.


73. File of 12 letters: Gertrude Traubel correspondence with Mr Ashworth, Bolton Chief Librarian, 25 Sept 1958-23 Oct 1962. Celebrations for Horace Traubel Centenary in the United States in 1958, Mrs Hall's visit to Bolton, copies of J W Wallace's article on Traubel, photographs of Traubel from Gertrude exhibited in Bolton with new material from Mrs Bull (formerly Whiteside), importance of the several hundred Traubel letters to Wallace kept at Bolton, donation of 3 vols of Traubel's "With Walt Whitman in Camden".

75. Jeremy A Best, London to Chief Librarian, 7 May 1959. Offers to sell his copy of *Leaves of Grass* said to be 1881 and asks for a valuation.


77. Jeremy A Best, London to Chief Librarian, 12 May 1959. His copy does correspond with the Library's 1888 *Leaves of Grass*, will write to Fred Jones for a valuation.

78. Chief Librarian to E B Wild, Reading, 20 Aug 1970. Copy. Thanks for the copy of *Visits to Walt Whitman*, "the Library already has many of the Whitman books your grandfather acquired".


81-161. **Further Batch of Bolton Library Correspondence kept separately in Chief Librarian's Office and Donated to Bolton Archives in 2004**

81. John Johnston, Bispham, Blackpool, to Mr Sparke, 29 Aug 1924. Offers his "collection of books by and relating to Walt Whitman to the Reference Department of the Bolton Public Library" and explains his Inventory to the collection.

82. John Johnston to Mr Sparke, 1 Sept 1924. Will be pleased to hear again "after the next meeting of your Committee."

83. J W Wallace, Anderton, to A Sparke, 22 Sept 1924. Sending 2 books belonging to Dr Johnston.

84. J W Wallace, Anderton, to A Sparke, 23 Sept 1924. Glad to give any assistance with Dr Johnston's collection going to the Library but has no books to add, as his are nearly all duplicates of Johnston's collection.

85. Margaret Johnston, Bispham, Blackpool, to Mr Sparke, 23 Nov 1926. Is sending Carpenter's books today, "the Doctor is much the same, still in bed".

86. Will S Munroe, Authors Club, London, to Fred Nightingale (copy to Alfred Blackburn, *Bolton Evening News*), 11 Dec 1930. "I fear I thought Mr Broadhurst wrote that fine article in the News", asks for name of the author to be forwarded to him at Madrid. "Extra copies you are sending me will go to America "
87. Margaret Johnston, Bispham, Blackpool, to Mr Nightingale, 12 Dec 1930. Copy. Thanks for the article from the *Bolton Evening News* of 8 Dec. The Doctor's 78th birthday was on the 8th. Was pleased to see Professor Munroe. Asks what to do with "The College Loving Cup" and wonders whether to send it to Camden.

88. Chief Librarian to F Nightingale, Bolton, 16 Dec 1930. Asks whether the Loving Cup could be deposited with the Library "on a kind of permanent loan".

89. Fred Nightingale to Mrs Johnston, 18 Dec 1930. Copy. Has written to John Ormrod who agrees that instead of going to America the Loving Cup should go to Bolton Library.

90. Margaret Johnston, Bispham, Blackpool, to Mr Nightingale, 19 Dec 1930. Copy. Agrees that Bolton Library is the best place for the Loving Cup, "The Americans are now very anxious to get all they can and have already got a good deal"; intends the oil painting portrait of Whitman to come to the Library.

91. Envelope addressed to Mr Sparke, Librarian, Bolton, 14 Feb 1931. With note that "Walt Whitman gave the shells gathered by himself to Doctor J."


93. Will S Munroe, Crouching Lion Farm, Waterbury, Vermont, to Mr Sparke, 6 Sept 1931. Thanks for the very neat publication "Whitmania". Have you seen "Whitman and Burroughs: Comrades" by Dr. Clara Barrus?

94. Margaret Johnston, Bispham, Blackpool, to Mr Nightingale, 6 March 1933. Thanks for acknowledgement by Librarian and Library Committee of receipt of portrait and Loving Cup, gives details about the Loving Cup. "Glad to know they are where my husband intended". With handwritten copy of an extract from "Dr Johnston's last wishes to me, Margaret Johnston". Giving details about the oil painting and bequeathing it to Bolton Library.

95. Carlton Lowenberg, Providence, Rhode Island, to Chief Librarian, 16 May 1948. Thanks for the gift of your Whitman catalogue.

96. John Ormrod, Bolton, to Mr Hamer, 26 Nov 1948. "Herewith is the watercolour of Rivington by Bolton artist, A Heaton Cooper" given to Mr. and Mrs. Horace Traubel in 1892. Mrs Traubel wishes to present it to Bolton Municipal Library; briefly explains Mr Traubel's connections with Whitman and the Bolton group.


98. Anne Montgomerie Traubel, Germantown, Philadelphia, to John Ormrod, 18 March 1949. Copy. The baby's name is Charles. Quotes from the Skye Boat Song. Does not know of any particular name given to the Rivington Lakes painting, gives her views on the plaque to be put on the painting. (With envelope.)
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

99. John Ormrod, Bolton, to Harold Harmer, 19 March 1949. Following meeting with Mr Smith yesterday I have received Mrs Traubel’s letter with copies of the wording for the plaque attached.

100. John Ormrod, Bolton, to Harold Harmer, 25 April 1949. Asks whether there is a portrait of Rudolph Schmidt in the Whitman collection, on behalf of Mrs Traubel who has written to him.

101. Chief Librarian to John Ormrod, Bolton, 29 April 1949. The portrait of Rudolph Schmidt is not in the Whitman collection or in Dr Johnston’s inventory.


103. Charles Sixsmith, Anderton, to Harold Hamer, 26 Oct 1950. Objects to the gift of Whitman’s canary and cup and saucer to Bolton Library being credited to Mrs Whiteside rather than Mrs Sprague, whom the Library Committee should thank. Also objects strongly to the statement that Bolton Library now have "the finest collection in England if not the world", says his own collection is better and although he helped Mr Sparke he is "now wondering, if yours is a more complete collection than mine, whether any useful purpose will be served by bequeathing it to your library. Would it be better to let it go to Manchester?"

104. Harold Hamer to Charles Sixsmith, 30 Oct 1950. Copy. Mrs Whiteside took care of the canary, and cup and saucer for 24 years and felt "Mrs Sprague had no further claim on them". She is suffering from angina and "as she felt she was nearing the end of her days" decided to donate the items rather than sell them. Claims he actually said that "the Whitman material originally belonging to the Bolton Group was the basis of one of the finest collections in the world", would like to "see your collection once again".

105. Charles Sixsmith, Anderton, to Harold Hamer, 1 Nov 1950. Thanks for "the explanation of what really happened". Mrs Sprague would have paid reasonable charges for storage and Mrs Whiteside "cannot lawfully confiscate other peoples’ property". Assumes "the framed portrait is Mrs Sprague’s property". Is concerned "that the gift should be truthfully recorded … must report to Mrs Sprague … I feel ashamed for the way she is treated". Relates her account of her visit to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, accepts that "you were not reported correctly" by the press. "What I do wish is that your collection should become the best in this country ... Bolton is the right place in England for such a collection". A PS about his own collection including "the most complete Carpenter material".

106. Charles Sixsmith, Anderton, to Harold Hamer, 7 Nov 1950. "I am sorry that you do not give me any assurance ... that Mrs Sprague’s gift be truthfully recorded and the thanks of the Committee be sent to her", will be writing to tell Mrs Traubel "the true story".

107. Chief Librarian to Charles Sixsmith, Anderton, 15 Nov 1950. Copy. "I do hope we can meet and talk the matter over. Could call to see you next week".
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

108. Charles Sixsmith, Anderton to Harold Hamer, 19 Nov 1950. "I shall be glad to see you and will phone to arrange a day." "It is hard for me to believe that Bolton Library could be an accessory in what I regard as a dishonest transaction."

109. Dorothy H Stewart, Dunedin, NZ to Mr Hamer, 12 June 1951. Thanks for "the beautiful catalogue". Had a splendid Whitman Party at Dunedin Public Library, will send a copy of Mr Grey’s lecture, wishes she could get a copy of the 1912 published catalogue for her father's Whitman Collection.

110. Harriet Sprague, New York, to Mr Hamer, 21 June 1951. Thanks for the 97 Annual Report from Bolton Libraries. Is "very busy trying to raise funds to purchase the fine old Whitman Birthplace". On 2 June they had a Democracy versus Communism debate with an actor for Whitman debating with an actor for Marx. (With envelope.)

111. Harold Hamer(?) to Mrs Sprague, 17 July 1951. Draft. Apologies for delay in replying, thanks her for the canary and the cup and saucer, which "our mutual and very good friend Mr Sixsmith has already done". (Comments about upsetting Mr Sixsmith crossed out.)

112. Charles Sixsmith, Anderton, to Harold Hamer, 21 Sept 1952. Thanks for letter of 16 Sept. "I am pleased with the friendly spirit". Also thanks for copy of 1949/50 Annual Library report. Notes that the 1890 Whitman portrait and the signed "My Canary" card are not mentioned. Gives a detailed account of his dealings with Mrs Whiteside on behalf of Mrs Sprague. Considers "Mrs Whiteside's behaviour was disgraceful and dishonest" and resented not being told by Mr Hamer about the presentation "at the time you had no intention to write and thank Mrs Sprague". "I am not sure if you know that I decided to leave my collection to the John Ryland's Library … I bear no ill will, although I can't forget I can forgive".

113. (Harold Hamer?) to Mr Sixsmith, nd. [after 21 Sept 1953]. Rough draft. Sends thanks for kind response to letter of 16 Sept. Sorry to hear you of serious illness. "The events and the long delay in obtaining the Whitman items are only too fresh in my memory, but I must plead that it was done without realising the manner in which it would be misconstrued. I tried to atone for this in the Committee official report". The autographed poem "My Canary" is not in their possession. Has consulted museum curators about the 1890 Whitman portrait and believes that it is a copy, not original.


117. As above, 7 Dec 1953. Thanks for the books "received safely here today".
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

118. (Chief Librarian?) to Mrs Emmett, 5 March 1959. Copy. "I look forward with great happiness to your visit here with Mrs Hall". "John Ormrod's housekeeper is calling to present us with some more Whitman items which she has had for over fifty years". Mrs Traubel has written to thank us "for arranging an exhibition in her father's memory".

119. May Emmett, Rochdale, to Mr Fairhurst, 11 March 1959. Herewith returns the "Bulletin". Enjoyed reading the article by her sister. "I am going to miss her dreadfully". "Her letters were so descriptive … such a zealous worker". Thanks all at Bolton for "the wonderful reception you gave" herself and Mrs Hall.

120. Chief Librarian to Publishing Department, Southern Illinois University Press, 17 Aug 1959. Asks to purchase one copy of "Walt Whitman: an 1855-6 Notebook" published this year – with attached description of the above publication.

121. Chief Librarian to Verne Dyson, Walt Whitman Birthplace Association, Huntington Station, Long Island, 18 Aug 1959. Copy. Unable to attend the opening of the Walt Whitman House but sends congratulations from "my Committee" and thanks for the Long Islander offprints.

122. Chief Librarian to Charles Feinberg, Detroit, Michigan, 7 May 1960. Copy. Thanks for the Walt Whitman Review special symposium, reports that Mr Hamer retired three years ago and has since died.

123. Artem Lozynsky, College of Liberal Arts, Temple University, Philadelphia, to Thomas Ashworth, Chief Librarian, 22 Nov 1976. Asks permission to include the letters of Dr Bucke to J W Wallace and other members of Eagle Street College in his forthcoming edition of the letters of Dr Richard Maurice Bucke to Whitman and friends. With typed copy letter, 13 Jan 1977, replying to the above requests.

124. File kept in folded Workers Educational Association (Bolton Branch) Autumn/Winter programme 1983: Bolton Whitman Day Celebration Programme (organised by) Bolton WEA and Bolton People's History, 2 June 1979 (2 copies): with manuscript notes (by F N Parker, Chief Librarian) of outline for Whitman Talk to be given at this event cMay 1979.

125. F N Parker, Chief Librarian to Ken Bell, Barry Mills, c1984. Memo. Requests last known address for Minnie Whiteside (later Minnie Bull) on behalf of Paul Salveson – with reply added by Barry Mills giving the address in 1961.


127. Norman Parker, Chief Librarian and Paul Salveson, Lecturer and Local Historian to Director, Department of Manuscripts, Library of Congress and to Professor Wallace Williams, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, Wayne State University, Detroit, 14 June 1984. Two copy letters. Explaining links between Bolton and Whitman and asking for assistance with further research.


130. F N Parker, Chief Librarian to Professor W White, University of Iowa, 11 Dec 1984. Renews Bolton Library subscription to Walt Whitman Quarterly Review and introduces Paul Salveson, asking whether he could visit the University of Iowa during his research in the USA in the summer of 1985, funded by a British Academy Grant.


131. James H Hutson, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, F Norman Parker, Chief Librarian, 14 Dec 1984. A search of their catalogues and indices has failed to locate any reference to a Helen Sprague Collection of Walt Whitman but details are given of relevant materials in the Charles E. Feinberg Collection of Whitman Papers, which includes over 25,000 items.

132. F N Parker, Chief Librarian to James H Hutson, Ms Division, Library of Congress, 2 Jan 1985. Copy. Thanks for your comprehensive reply "which will be invaluable to Mr Salveson".

With copy letter: F N Parker, Chief Librarian to P Salveson, Bolton, 2 Jan 1985. Forwarding 131 above with list of holdings, asking for their return in due course.

133. F N Parker, Chief Librarian to Professor E Folsom, University of Iowa, 7 Jan 1985. Copy. Thanks for the copy of book of essays on Whitman, introduces Paul Salveson who will be visiting the US.

134. Professor Edwin Folsom, University of Iowa, to F N Parker, 27 Dec 1985. Thanks for the letter 130 above, and renewal of the subscription. Will be living in Stratford upon Avon until the end of May. Unable to come to Bolton Whitman Celebration on 31st of May but would like to visit Bolton before then to meet Mr Parker and Mr Salveson.


136. William White, Laguna Hills, California to Mr Parker, 23 Jan 1985. Letter to him was forwarded by Wallace Williams. Gives his permanent address in Franklin, Michigan and lists Whitman periodicals, plus addresses of "two important people in Walt Whitman circles" – Professor Gay Wilson Allen and Mr Charles E. Feinberg.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

137. Professor Edwin Folsom, Department of English, University of Iowa, 29 Jan 1985. Has heard from Paul Salveson, suggests 12 or 13 February as a date to come to Bolton.


139. Professor Edwin Folsom, University of Iowa, to F N Parker, 13 March 1985. Thanks to "you and Tom Dunne for your warm welcome and kind help during my visit to Bolton a few weeks ago, hope to see you again in a few weeks." With enclosed list of recent publications needed to update the Bolton Whitman Collection.

140. Dr Dunne on behalf of Brian Hughes, Director of Education and Arts to Charles E Feinberg, Detroit, Michigan, 2 Oct 1985. Thanks for the donation of four listed publications to add to the Bolton Whitman Collection. With two packing slips.


142. Paul Salveson, Penryn, Cornwall to Norman Parker, Chief Librarian, 12 Oct 1991. Suggests an event to celebrate the centenary of Whitman's death, perhaps at the end of May. Ed (Folsom) is organising a major conference in Iowa, asks whether Bolton Library would be interested in publishing a revised edition of his work Loving Comrades.

With reply: Norman Parker, to Paul Salveson, 21 Oct 1991. The Library has been interested in organising a Whitman Centenary event, as has Barry Wood of Bolton Institute of Higher Education. A programme of events is to be organised for the weekend of 31 May and a Whitman exhibition is planned in the Central Library entrance hall for 28 May to 14 June. Would like to discuss other related projects such as a new edition of Loving Comrades.


With reply: Norman Parker to Keith Sagar, 25 Feb 1992. "Wendy Pye has said that the Bolton Branch of the Workers Education Association will support your initiative". "I will undertake to publicise your event as part of the Whitman Week in Bolton."


Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

146. Wendy Pye, Workers Educational Association Bolton Branch, to Norman Parker, March 1992. Bolton WEA propose to offer the 2 events described in the enclosed documents, "we hope these events are acceptable to you and the Education and Arts Committee.


With reply: very pleased with proofs, but suggests minor changes.


With file of proofs and negatives for the two postcards "Walt Whitman in 1885" & "Walt Whitman's Canary".

149. Norman Parker to R T Killingbeck, Dennis Print and Publishing, Scarborough, 27 April 1992. Confirms that the reverses of the faxed Whitman postcards are acceptable and gives permission to proceed with printing. With fax of postcard reverses.


152. As above, with draft ms version by Norman Parker, Chief Librarian.


With enclosure of report on "Halo" by Professor Barbara Hardy to the Society of Authors, re the McKitterick Prize 1991.

With reply to above, 8 June 1992. Will be interested to see the novel "Halo". Refers to the connection between the Oregon Trail and the Bolton emigrant, James Gregson. Encloses the two Whitman postcards published by Bolton Libraries, promises to show him the collection if he is ever in Bolton.

154. Nicholas Rogowsky, New Jersey to the Bolton Public Library, 1 Feb 1993. Has just heard of last year's Whitman Celebration and asks to be sent any publicity material.
With reply to above, 5 Feb 1993. Describes the Bolton Whitman Centenary event and encloses a programme plus postcards.

With thank you card from Nicholas Rogowsky to Mr Parker, 12 Feb 1993. Asks about the visit of two men from England to Whitman at Camden and about the forthcoming new edition of *Loving Comrades*.

With reply to above, 1 March 1993. Explains that Paul Salveson privately published *Loving Comrades* and the first edition is now out of print and the second edition has not yet appeared because of funding problems.

Philip W Leon, Military College of South Carolina, to Barry Mills, Local Studies Librarian, 23 April 1993. Thanks for reply to query about Sir William Osler material with the Bolton College Group of Whitman admirers, Paul Salveson's address and his "Loving Comrades" pamphlet are useful, "will not have the opportunity to travel to Bolton" but encloses donation of US $100.

With note from F N Parker with address of Miss Dagnall, who wants to arrange for a plaque to be located in Eagle Street to commemorate the Eagle Street College, 17 Aug 1993.

With draft wording for the plaque at Eagle Street, cAugust 1993 and business card for G E Barker, Bolton, c1993.

John Tuck, John Rylands University Library, Manchester, to the Librarian, Bolton Public Libraries, 20 Aug 1993. Wants to discuss a microfilm publishing project by Microform Academic Publishers of Wakefield, re: manuscript letters of Horace Traubel to Walt Whitman, some of which are held here and many of which are at Bolton Library. Introduces Dr Ian Walker and Dr Carolyn Masel of Manchester University, who would be prepared to sort the correspondence in both collections. With note by Barry Mills in favour of co-operating "providing the items do not leave the premises."

With reply to above, 26 Aug 1993. "I am keen to ensure that Bolton's Whitman Collection is fully exploited in appropriate ways but would wish to ensure that the processes of sorting, editing and filming were carried out within Bolton Central Library". The collection is in the day to day care of the Borough Archivist and the Local Studies Librarian.

John Tuck, John Rylands University Library, to N Parker, Chief Librarian, 9 Sept 1993. Pleased he is interested in a possible microfilming project. Has informed Dr Walker and Dr Masel and hopes to arrange a meeting in due course.

As above, 18 Nov 1993. Suggests two possible dates for Dr Walker, Dr Masel and himself to come to a meeting at Bolton.

With reply to above, 22 Nov 1993. Agrees to a meeting at Bolton Central Library on 8 Dec.

John Tuck to Barry Mills, 9 Dec 1993. Photocopy. Thanks to you and to Mr Parker for spending so much time with Carolyn Masel and myself on 8 Dec, and for the
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

Whitman Catalogues. Carolyn Masel will now compile a report, after which technicalities can be discussed, *The Conservator* is already available on microfilm and should therefore be excluded.

160. Marcus Tillotson, Bolton to Norman Parker, Chief Librarian, cApril 1994. Enjoyed your talk, the April edition of History Today has an article on Whitman.

With reply to above, 3 May 1994. Copy. Has ordered a copy of the book on which the *History Today* article is based, to add to "the growing collection of materials about Whitman at the Central Library".


ZWN 11: Photographs

1. **Group Photographs**

1-73. **Bolton Whitman Fellowship**


2. Group with Wallace in a basket chair, 31 May 1894 (or 1891?)

3. As above, passed on to J O, 31 May 1931.

4. As 2 above.

5. Different version of 2 above.

6. As 5 above.

7. Group with front row on park (?) bench, 31 May 1894.

8. Group including women and children at tea with Philip Dalmas at Rivington, with note on back about Dalmas by W Atkinson, 28 July 1894.

9. Group including Philip Dalmas, 1 man, 2 women and 2 children, nd (1894?).

10. Group including Caleb Pink, William Ingram, 2 women and 5 children at Bradford Park, taken by J Johnston, names given on front, 8 Aug 1894.

11. As 10 above, names given on back.

12. As 11 above.

13. Later copy of 10 above.
Copies of Dedication card: sent with books to Rev F R Hutton with 14 small photographs and signatures of "The Boys of the College", names on back of no 14, 3 March 1896.

The College at Annandale, with names of 5 men present given on the back, Whitman's Birthday 1899

The College at Annandale, with names of 6 men present given on back, 31 May, 1900.

Another copy of 22 above.

Copy of 22 above in card frame.

The College at Annandale, 31 May 1902.

As 25 above.

College Meeting (at Annandale), with list of 8 men present given on back, c1903.

As 27 above, darker version on card.

The College at Bradford Street, 6 men present with lady at window behind, 29 May 1903.

5 prints of the College at R K G's (Greenhalgh's) Farm, 8 men present, 27 June 1903.

The College at Sunnybrae, 11 men present, 31 May 1904.

The College at Firs, 4 prints, no 36 gives names on the back of the 10 men present, 31 May 1905

Later copy of 36 above - with names on back.

Larger later copy of 36 above.

College group, 10 men present, 9 June [1905?].

College group, 12 men present, nd. [c1905].

The College at Nightingale's, 5 prints, no. 44 giving initials for the 13 men present, 30 May 1908.

College group at the Firs, names of 11 men present given on front, nd [c1908].
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

50. College group at Rivington, 10 men and Minnie Whiteside present: sent as postcard from Sunnybrae, Lostock Lane, Bolton to W Atkinson, signed by 5 members of the group, Whitman Day 1913.

51. Copy of 50 above with some names on the back and some names on the envelope.

52. Postcard of group of 4 men, 21 June 1913.


54. Copy of 53 above in folder, with names of those present given on front.

55. Different version of 53 above, with same 7 men present.

56. Different version of 53 above in a folder, with 7 men present plus Minnie Whiteside.

57-61. The College at Rivington, with names of 7 men present given on nos. 57 & 59, Whitman Day 1917.

62. Different version of 57 above with same 7 men present.

63. As 62 above.

64. College group on steps of Bank Street Chapel, with names of 8 men present listed by J Johnston on back, 31 May 1919.

65. As 64 above.

66. Different version of 64 above, with names of 6 men and 2 women present given on back, 31 May 1919.

67. Whitman group, with names of 9 men present given on front, c1920.

68. As 67 above.

69. As 67 above, without folder.

70. Smaller version of 67 above in folder.

71. As 70 above.

72. College group at Walker Fold, names of 11 men and 17 women present given on back, 11 Aug 1923

73. College group, 8 men present, [c1923].

74-77. Bolton Lads' Club

74. Group outdoors with J W Wallace, Fred Wild and R K Greenhalgh, 3 other men, 5 ladies and large number of boys, nd. [c1890].
75. Group peeling potatoes at camp at Bare, with F Wild, Parsons and 11 boys, 1904.

76. Fred Wild and Parsons outside tent at camp at Bare, 1904.

77. J Johnston, Fred Wild and 1 other man outside tent at camp at Bare, 1904.

78-79. **Unidentified Group**

78. Unidentified group, 12 men present, nd.

79. Lighter version of 78 above.

2. **Photographs of Individuals & Families**

1-6. **Photographs of R M Bucke**


2. R M Bucke with chipmunk, at Georgian Bay Island, taken by Pardu (?) 9 Aug 1900.

3. Smaller version of 3 above (taken from Henry Saunders album no 151 below).


5. R M Bucke and Romaine Elliot in horse carriage at Asylum, London, Canada, taken by C N Elliot, Sept 1899.

6. R M Bucke and family (?) with John Ormrod, nd.

7-18. **Photographs of J Johnston**


10. J Johnston in a pony trap outside house, 14 Moncrieffe Street, Bolton (?), 1890's.

11. J Johnston with Dr Eccles (brother of Caroline) and Fred Wild, at Nafferton (?), c 1900.


Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship


15. As 14 above.

16. Dr Johnston's brother and wife at Annan, nd.

17. Dr J Johnston's house with Mrs Johnston and Ralph Leyland, the gardener, nd.

18. J Johnston's father, mother, brother and sister, taken by J Johnston, nd.

19-39. Photographs of the Traubel Family


21. As above, 1897.

22. Another version of 21 above, 1897.

23. As 20 above, 1904.

24. Horace Traubel in the office, taken by Gertrude Traubel, 1905.

25. Leather wallet with a portrait of Horace Traubel and a portrait of Anne, Gertrude and Wallace Traubel, both by Gilbert and Bacon, Philadelphia and dedicated to J W Wallace, 12 May 1893 and July 1894. (Enclosing 26 below.)

26. Letter: Douglas (White), Tottenham, London, to Uncle Wallace, enclosing the wallet (25 above) which he has made himself for a 70th birthday present.


29. Anne Montgomerie Traubel (?) on porch with baby, nd.

30. Mrs Traubel, widow of Horace Traubel, with a man in a garden, nd.

31. Anne Traubel with her niece Ann Harned in the back yard at 6362 McCallum Street, 3 Aug 1921.

32. Anne Montgomerie Traubel and Oscar Lion of New York walking along Timber Creek, New Jersey, 31 May 1937.

33. Horace Traubel in his office at 1631 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia by Allen Drew Cook, 1912.

34. Another version of 33 above.
35. A third version of 33 above.

36. Group including Horace Traubel, Frank Bain, John Cottam, Carl Gerstein and Max I Mydans visiting the office of the Long Islander at Huntington, taken by Allen Drew Cook, June 1912.

37. Front view of 1624 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, with Horace Traubel at his 3rd floor window, taken by Allen Drew Cook, 1912.

38. Gertrude Traubel, Philadelphia, to Mr Ashworth (Chief Librarian), 24 Nov 1958. Sends copy photographs 33-37 above for the library's collection, reports on the Horace Traubel Centenary Meetings "none very large but all heartwarming and enthusiastic".

39. Framed photograph: Gertrude Traubel as a young girl, nd

40. J W Wallace reading at Eagle Street, Bolton, c1888.

41. Smaller version of 40 above.

42. View of the study at Eagle Street, Bolton, c1888.

43. Portrait of J W Wallace, nd.


46. As 45 above.

47. J W Wallace at door, 1896.

48. Lighter version of 47 above.


50. Uncle Wallace and Nellie Dixon as a young girl, dedicated to Nellie Nicholson, June 1898.

51. J W Wallace writing in his study at Anderton, nd.

52. J W Wallace at his desk in his study at Anderton, nd.


54. J W Wallace in his study at Anderton, 1914 (large copy kept ZWN 11/3/3 below).

J W Wallace at his door, close up of 55 above, June 1920.

J W Wallace outside house, nd.

J W Wallace seated on chair holding hat, c1913.

Lighter version of 58 above.

Close up of 58 above.

As 60 above.

J W Wallace seated on ground holding hat, by J Johnston, 21 June 1913.

Copy of 62 above with death notice for J W Wallace pasted on back.

J W Wallace seated outside reading, by J Johnston, 21 June 1913.

J W Wallace with Frank Bain (?) by J Johnston, 21 June 1913.

J W Wallace and Margaret Holden, Easter 1914.


J W Wallace and Fred Wild having a picnic at Rivington, nd.

J W Wallace and Fred Wild at Wordsworth's grave, nd.

J W Wallace and Fred Wild in churchyard near Wordsworth's grave, nd.

J W Wallace with Minnie Whiteside and friend, nd.

J W Wallace with another elderly man (Carpenter?), nd.

Two identical photographs of J W Wallace's grave.

J W Wallace with two other men, c1903.

J W Wallace sitting on the grass with 4 women and 2 children, c1920.

Young George Wallace, son of George Wallace, nd.

Photographs and Engravings of Walt Whitman

Early photograph, signed by Walt Whitman.

Copy of Hines portrait, 1859.

Walt Whitman with Harry and Kitty, signed by Walt Whitman, May 1879.

Walt Whitman portrait, painted by Thomas Erskine 1887.
Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

82. Portrait of Walt Whitman sitting under a tree, inscribed "sent to Mrs Whiteside by Dr Seaborn", nd.

83. Engraving of Walt Whitman, nd.

84. Coloured engraving of Walt Whitman 1819-1892, from Masterpiece Library, "Our Poets Corner", plate no 23, Dec 1895. (Framed version at ZWN 12/7.)

85. Walt Whitman, inscribed "J W Wallace", nd.

86. Small portrait of Walt Whitman, nd.

87. File of 18 photographs: Walt Whitman in 1890, lighter and darker versions, 9 on stiff card, 1890.

88. Walt Whitman, an Alexander Sketch, 2 May 1911.

89. Walt Whitman, "The Lear photo", 2 May 1911.

90. Page from photograph album (151 below): 1 small photograph of Walt Whitman and 1 small photograph of bust (?) of Whitman, nd.

91. As 90 above: 1 small photograph of Walt Whitman and 1 small photograph of painting or engraving of Whitman, nd.


93. As 92 above but different portrait.


95. Postcard: Whitman portrait, Rotary Photographic Series, nd.

96. Postcard: Walt Whitman House, Mickle Street, Camden, with small portrait of Whitman, nd.

97. As 96 above.

98. Postcard: Tomb of Walt Whitman, Harleigh Cemetery, Camden with small portrait of Whitman, nd.

99. As 98 above.

100. Postcard: Walt Whitman Birthplace, nd.


104. Postcard of Walt Whitman's Homestead, Huntington, LI sent by M J H, Shoreham, LI to J W Wallace, inscribed "Friendship Day made me think of you, hoping to go to West Hills, I wish you could go with me but it will be fresh in your memory", 3 Aug 1925.

105. Postcard: Walt Whitman's House, sent to J W Wallace and signed by members of the Whitman Fellowship from 7 Neville Park Boulevard, Toronto, Canada, 30 May 1925.


107. As above: portrait of Walt Whitman at Sixty Eight, from a photograph by Rockwood, New York, nd.

108. As 106 above: signed portrait of Walt Whitman, nd.


110. As 106 above: portrait of Walt Whitman at 72, date stamp 2 Aug 1917.

111. As 106 above: Portrait of Walt Whitman from an engraving or photograph, nd.

112. Photograph: Model of a statue of Whitman to be erected in New York City, nd.

113. Coloured photograph: "In a dream, I saw a city invisible" by Walt Whitman, mural by Robert E Johnston, Walt Whitman Hotel, Camden, NJ, nd.

114-157. **Other Individuals & Families**

114. Allen, James, with J Johnston (?) of New York, and 1 other man, nd.

115. Asbond, G, signed, nd.


117. Bain, Frank, with 118 below, 1909.

118. Bain, Mildred, with 117 above, nd.

119. Carpenter, Edward, dedicated to J Johnston from Edward Carpenter, 1912.

120. Carpenter, Edward, photograph with Fred Wild and George (Wallace?), nd.

121. Lighter version of 120 above.

Collected Papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship

123. Carpenter, Edward (?), drawing of portrait, nd.
125. Eccles, Caroline, framed portrait, nd.
126. Eccles, Caroline, very small photograph, signed by "Carina", nd.
127. Fells, J, nd.
128. Glasier, Bruce, nd.
129. Glasier, Katherine, nd.
130. Glasier, Katherine, cabinet portrait, nd.
131. Hardie, Keir, nd.
132. Harned, Thomas, dedicated to Dr J Johnston, nd.
134. Hutton, Reverend, with his wife on postcard, nd.
135. Ingersoll, Robert G, nd.
136. Ingram, William, with his daughter and J W Wallace, nd.
137. As 136 above.
138. As 136 above.
139. Ingram, William, in front of a large house with a lady, nd.
140. Ingram, William, news cutting, "Think more says Ingram, Famous Abolitionist believes move to educate thought would Better Humanity" from W R Hearst's New York newspaper, 24 May 1904. (Kept with 139 above.)
141. Lloyd, J William, Aug 1904.
142. Lloyd, J William, a picnic on the moors with Dr Johnston and Fred Wild, 1913.
143. Lloyd, J William, on a style with Dr Johnston, 1913.
144. As 143 above.
145. Longaker, Daniel (?), elderly man on porch seat, dedicated by Daniel Longaker to J W Wallace, Sept 1892.
146. MacDonald, Ramsey, with three children, nd.
147. Naganuma, Shigetaka, dedicated to Uncle Wallace, 1923.

148. Naganuma, Shigetaka, the house where Francis Howard Williams lived in Germantown, Pennsylvania, taken by Nagamuna, nd.

149. Nightingale, Fred, nd.

150. Nightingale, Fred, nd.

151. Saunders, Henry S: Album of photographs, including Walt Whitman?, J W Wallace with James Wallace and Dr J Johnston, John Burroughs and Members of the Saunders family, nd. (See ZWN 2/90-91 for Whitman portraits taken from this album, and ZWN 2/3 for R M Bucke photo.)

152. Shorrocks, James, nd.

153. Sixsmith, Charles F, nd.

154. Thompson, Rev S, nd.

155. Whiteside, Minnie, nd.

156. Wild, Fred, sent to William Atkinson of Heswall Cheshire from Fred Wild, with the inscription, "May our Loving Comradeship of over 32 years growth still mature to the end", 26 Feb 1896

157. Wild, Fred, signed "Yours truly Fred Wild", 1906.

3. **Large Photographs**

1. John Burroughs and Clara Barrus by the fireside, nd (large version of ZWN 7/1/45.)

2. J W Wallace and Minnie Whiteside, nd.

3. J W Wallace in his study at Anderton, 1914 (large version of ZWN 11/2/54).


ZWN 12: Relics and Mementos

1. Oil painting: Walt Whitman portrait by Sidney Morse.


3. Canary, stuffed and mounted: Walt Whitman's canary brought to Bolton by Dr Bucke, 1891.

4. Loving Cup presented by J H Johnston of New York, 1894.

5. Plaque: head of Walt Whitman by Sidney Morse, inscribed "a memory of '87", 1902.

6. Framed photograph: portrait of Walt Whitman, given to Maria Hood by J W Wallace and passed on by her to Bolton Public Library, nd.


8. Cup and saucer belonging to Walt Whitman and presented to J W Wallace at Camden, 1891.


10. Printing block: Walt with "Warry" Warren Fritzinger used to illustrate Visits to Walt Whitman, p 43, nd.

11. Broken fountain pen: said to have been used by Walt Whitman.

12. Printing block: "Whitman at 72" used for the frontispiece to the Bolton Libraries Walt Whitman Catalogue, 1955. (Block for ZWN 11/2/110.)


16. Framed poem: "Waiting" by John Burroughs.

17. Plaque: head of John Burroughs.

18. Illustrated Birthday Address: Jacobo Gulielmo Wallacio ab Condiscipulis Collegiae (to J W Wallace from the College Disciples), "Our spirits to yours dear brother, with joy we salute you", 11 Aug 1889.

20. Framed engraved portrait: presumed to be Walt Whitman aged about 40 years, nd.

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Marie Jahoda Building
Uxbridge
UB8 3PH
United Kingdom
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