The Walt Whitman Collection

from John Rylands University Library of Manchester

Guide to the microfilm collection
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Publication no. R97589
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Microform Academic Publishers would also like to thank Dr.Carolyn Masel, Lecturer at Manchester University and 'Whitmanite', for all her invaluable help and support, as well as her unflagging commitment in ensuring that this project came to fruition. This work could never have been attempted much less completed without her guidance.

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Introduction to

The Walt Whitman Collection

in the

John Rylands University Library of Manchester

by

Carolyn Masel

June 2002
It avails not, time nor place-distance avails not,  
I am with you, you men and women of a generation,  
or ever so many generations hence [. . .]

[from 'Crossing Brooklyn Ferry']

It is the nature of archives to exceed any account of them, and this archive, which is characteristically Victorian in its extensiveness and also particularly rich, is certainly no exception. In formulating this introduction to the wealth of material which comprises the part of the archive of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship that is held in John Rylands University Library of Manchester, I have not striven for an elusive (and illusory) comprehensiveness, but have simply sought to illuminate those aspects that would interest a contemporary readership, namely: the reception of Whitman's poetry, early British socialism, and utopian visionaries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While I have drawn directly on archival material for the detail of what follows, I must also register my debt to those scholars who have shaped some of the material into narratives. Special mention should be made of Paul Salveson's pioneering work of 1984, *Loving Comrades: Lancashire's Links to Walt Whitman*, which remains the single most informative account of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship, and Harold Blodgett's book, *Walt Whitman in England*, which, although it was published long ago in 1934, is still the best general source of information on the poet's reception and dissemination in England.

The papers of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship are held on two sites: the smaller collection is held at the John Rylands University Library of Manchester at Deansgate, the larger at the Bolton Central Library. The Rylands collection is the bequest of a single donor, Charles F. Sixsmith, who refused to leave his substantial collection to the Bolton Library following a dispute with the Librarian there (discussed at the end of this essay). Since the two collections are in every way integral, scholars are obliged to visit both sites: journals and photographs are frequently separated from the correspondence that accompanied them. In fact, the archive as a whole is remarkably unified, configured as it is around a central figure. It is a record of the group of men gathered around James William Wallace, known simply as 'Wallace' to his friends, at whose home they met to discuss the poetry and philosophy of Walt Whitman.

Wallace's focus on Whitman dates from 1885, when Wallace was thirty-one, but the group was then already well established. Its initial members were drawn from the Parish Church. That core group of eight young men quickly expanded to include a dozen more, some of whom were occasional rather than regular attendees. By the time that Wallace first came in contact with Whitman's poetry, they had worked their way through a wide range of authors, including Burns, Carlyle, Emerson, Tennyson, Ruskin, Mrs Humphrey Ward and George Macdonald, as well as Shakespeare, Milton and Goethe. It is difficult to pinpoint the first meetings of the group, but one of its members, Fred Wild, supposed they were 'about seventeen' when they started the readings, which puts the date at about 1870.

For many of them, the attraction of the group was Wallace himself, his extraordinary sweetness of personality being a quality much remarked upon. Indeed, it is impossible to overstate his charisma and the role it played in transmitting Whitman's work and ideas. According to one account, hearing Wallace read from Whitman was 'a pentecostal experience', although, it was also agreed, his voice was 'rough and husky' and 'sounded as though he had a "throat affection"'. The readings took place in the evening at Wallace's home at 14 Eagle Street, 'one of the worst streets in The Haulgh [area of] Bolton'. The room they sat in was 'nine or ten foot square and soon thick with tobacco smoke'. In the early days, group readings took place three or four evenings a week, after which the men went for a walk, but once Whitman became the focus of their discussions, Monday evening was instituted as the regular meeting time.

There is a sense in which the ordinariness of Wallace's circumstances points up the extraordinary qualities of his temperament that made him the undisputed leader of the Bolton group until his death in 1926. He
was born on 11 August, 1853, the son of a millwright and "a kind gentle woman" from Bolton. His father's work necessitated many absences, including a trip to Russia to equip the new mills there. At fourteen Wallace left school to work as an architect's assistant at Bradshaw's (later Bradshaw and Gass), where he remained throughout his working life. Researchers and archivists must be grateful that his work entailed a degree of calligraphic skill: the small, neat, upright hand in which he transcribed many of the letters he received obviates a good deal of otherwise taxing work.

Wallace remained at the Eagle Street house until 1890, living with his invalid mother and caring for through her gruelling long last illness. Her death in 1885 left him utterly exhausted and weighed down with grief. His receiving his mother's dying blessing particularly affected him, his feelings being intensified by four further deaths that he witnessed during the following three months. During those months, his friends observed a profound change in him, 'a steady calmness and an air of peace'. It is Wallace himself who associates Whitman with his mother's last illness and death. He recalls having 'long had a slight knowledge of and much curiosity about Whitman', but it was only 'twelve months before [his] mother died that [he] read for the first time complete copies of *Leaves of Grass* and *Specimen Days*... and felt . . . that he, of all men, taught the doctrine of immortality with quite new emphasis and authority'.

Inevitably, his first response to reading Whitman and experiencing 'the deep thrill of contact with a mighty spirit' was to bring him to the group. What Whitman meant to Wallace in his suffering was difficult for him to articulate even five years later: 'How near & dear you are to me I cannot tell you, but I am sure that no author before ever appealed to such depths of a man's nature or aroused such tender personal love.'

Wentworth Dixon, who joined the group during this period, recounts that Wallace would recite 'with great feeling numerous passages' from *Leaves of Grass* to the assembled group. 'The meaning of some of these poems was somewhat obscure to several of us and caused animated discussions', he continues, but 'lucid explanations were always forthcoming from Wallace'.

Carmine Sarracino has written of Whitman's disciples as coming to Whitman through an experience akin to religious conversion, precipitated by a particular crisis. He does not mention the Bolton group in his account, but both Wallace and his friend Dr John Johnston attest to having separately undergone an experience of this nature and so conform to the pattern articulated by Sarracino in relation to three of Whitman's more famous followers: Anne Gilchrist, John Burroughs and Richard Maurice Bucke. Writing in 1890, Wallace referred to the profound change in his consciousness following his mother's death as 'one momentary glimpse into the ineffable brightness'; later, in 1915, he would speak of the onset of religious experience that 'when it happens to a man, so completely revolutionises his whole outlook on life and all his desires and aims as to amount to a new birth.' Four years after that he would argue that a kind of crisis had occurred in Whitman's life when he was about thirty-five that had precipitated the *Leaves of Grass*. Taken together, these various writings suggest that Wallace recognised a parallel between Whitman's experience and his own. Certainly, among his friends, the comparison with Whitman was frequently made. Dixon, indeed, believed Wallace to be Whitman's spiritual superior in so far as Whitman was transparently self-promoting whereas Wallace was utterly selfless.

Dr Johnston was effectively Wallace's 'second-in-command'. Like the eminent Canadian Whitmanite R.M. Bucke, he was a medical practitioner with an enormous range of interests beyond his daily work. He was a GP in Bolton, where he campaigned against child labour, particularly in the mills, as well as leading the St John's Ambulance Brigade, holding first aid classes for Bolton railway workers and seeking in a variety of other ways to improve public health. He himself was an enthusiastic cyclist: one of his pamphlets records a cycling tour 'through Shakespeare's country' undertaken by 'Fritz' and 'Ian' (Fred Wild and himself). Unlike almost all of the Bolton Whitmanites, he could afford to travel overseas, and did so frequently. One of his publications records a visit to the passion play at Oberammergau. Originally from Dumfriesshire, he cherished nonetheless the particulars of Lancashire life, composing several humorous songs in local dialect for the Eagle Street meetings. One of these, written for Wallace's birthday, referred to his friend as the 'Masther' of 'The Aigle Shtrate Collige'. This goodnatured irony was much appreciated: thereafter, the Bolton group referred to itself, half depreciatingly, as The Eagle Street College.
In 1887, two years after Wallace discovered Whitman, he and Johnston first wrote to the poet, informing him of their gratitude for his work, which had profoundly altered each of their lives, and of the Bolton weekly meetings. Accompanying this letter, which was framed with infinite grace and humility, was a birthday gift of money: to wit '10.00' (ten pounds).\textsuperscript{18} Whitman, elderly, poor and increasingly ill, his poetry denigrated and ignored by all but a handful of people, was delighted to receive the congratulations and the gift, writing that 'the response from those staunch and tender Lancashire chaps cheers and nourishes my very heart.'\textsuperscript{19} There began a correspondence that endured for the rest of the poet's life, and a link between the Bolton Whitmanites and the North American Whitmanites that would endure unbroken for sixty years.

The constituency of the Bolton group at the time when Wallace discovered Whitman's poetry was educated working class or lower-middle class: one generation's remove from 'artisan class', as Dixon describes Wallace's parents.\textsuperscript{20} Salveson has helpfully interpolated the occupations of the various members, where known, into Dixon's list of the membership at that time: 'Fred Wild [cotton waste merchant], Dr Johnston, Richard Greenhalgh [bank clerk], William Law, Sam Hodgkinson [hosiery manufacturer], William Pimblett [engineering employer's federation secretary], Rev. Tyas, Rev. F.R.C. Hutton [St George's Congregational Church], Richard Curwen, Thomas Shorrock [magistrate's clerk], William A. Ferguson, Fred Nightingale [clerk] and myself [i.e. William Dixon, lawyer's clerk].\textsuperscript{21} Other men joined the College later, the most active being Charles Sixsmith, John Ormrod, William Breadhurst and Thomas Hodgkinson. Still others, among them, the architect Charles Holden, William Atkinson and Walt T. Hawkins, were occasional attenders and correspondents. Also amongst this group was the Unitarian minister Reverend Will Hayes, known as Brother John, who founded in Chatham, Kent, a society devoted to comparative religion. Its name, 'The Order of the Great Companions', came from a line of Whitman's 'Song of the Open Road'.\textsuperscript{22} In time, the core members of the group would be joined by a very diverse range of people with connections to schools and universities, the Independent Labour Party, the media and professional collectors of Americana. The Bolton connection would stretch through Sheffield, London and Kent to Paris, extend across the Atlantic to Whitman's own circle in Camden and Philadelphia and London, Ontario, through Toronto to Montreal, and across the Pacific to Japan, and to Melbourne, Australia. Prominent reformers with a connection with the Bolton Whitman Fellowship include Edward Carpenter, Robert Blatchford, Keir Hardie, James Sims, Katherine St John Conway and John Bruce Glasier, Caroline Martyn, Alice Collinge, Caroline Eccles and Ramsay Macdonald. Amongst the overseas correspondents were the poet AE (George Russell) in Ireland; Albert Aylward, George and Mildred Bains, and Henry and Helen Saunders in Toronto; Willie Ormiston Roy in Montreal, Shigetaka Naganuma in Tokyo and Bernard O'Dowd (another poet) in Melbourne.

The diversity of temperaments and occupations of the men that constituted the Bolton group in some ways typifies Bolton itself in a time of huge social transformation. That thriving Victorian mill town at the height of its business was deeply implicated in the national imperial project which provided sources and markets for the products of its many cotton mills. In common with other northern industrial towns, Bolton had its underclass — the poor, the ill, alcoholics, beggars and criminals — its millworkers, its rising middle class, its captains of industry, and its estate-owning class who lived outside the noisy town with its dark narrow streets and their violence. It exemplified the gap between privilege and deprivation that lay at the heart of the Victorian novelists' concern with the industrialised north – one thinks of Mrs Gaskell and the Dickens of \textit{Hard Times}. By the time Wallace went out to work, Bolton had experienced considerable political turmoil; the activities of the Bolton Chartists in the 1830's and 1840's had led Marx to pronounce in 1847 that "Of all the towns in England, Bolton is the one in which radicalism is most developed. The Bolton workers are known to be the most revolutionary of all." While that radicalism abated somewhat as the conditions for workers improved, social divisions remained so pronounced that the various classes seemed at times to view one another as different species. As late as 1924 in an article in \textit{The New Leader}, one Major Greenwood, a medical practitioner, contended that the comparative risk of mortality of Northern man was not necessarily related to poverty, or even pollution, but to the lack of motivation of skilled workers to live beyond the age of forty-five, the end of their physical prime.\textsuperscript{23}
Salveson has pointed to the range and richness of early socialism in Lancashire that Bolton typified:

The socialist clubs and socialist Sunday schools, Clarion cycling and rambling clubs, vocal unions and debating societies, all suggest a socialist culture in the 1880's and 1890's of far greater depth than what we have today. The early socialist organizations — the Social Democratic Federation [founded in 1884], the Independent Labour Party, and the myriad local groups, including anarchists — worked together for a common cause. . . .

What bound the Bolton Fellowship together was not only their sense of social purpose, which they had in common with many other local reformist and socialist groups, but the sense of that purpose as being embodied and confirmed by Whitman. For them Whitman was the Poet of Democracy, the man who in his life and work best articulated their striving for political representation based on a conception of spiritual equality, a process that would crystallise in the creation of the Independent Labour Party in 1893 and in other organs of reform. They sought the betterment of society through education, the improvement of the urban environment and the preservation of the countryside, the humane treatment of animals, a holistic approach to manufacture, equal rights for women and a more widespread acknowledgement of the bond of love between friends and comrades of both sexes. The story of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship is, above all, a story of persistent idealism in the face of adversity: the story of a shared aspiration that endured through the individual privations and suffering of its members and the daunting circumstances of two World Wars.

Literary historians have been quick to point out that Whitman, a Jacksonian Democrat, did not share the fundamental belief in socialist principles espoused by Wallace and shared by a number of the Bolton Whitmanites (though by no means all). Some — Jerome Loving and Michael Robertson, for example, would appear to see the difference in their outlook as incontrovertible; others, such as Salveson, point to Whitman's hesitant statement about socialism made at the end of his life and prompted by his socialist friend Horace Traubel: 'Of course I'm a good deal more of a socialist than I thought I was, maybe not technically, politically so, but intrinsically, in my meanings.' Wallace was certain that Whitman was sympathetic to the spirit of socialism. He unhesitatingly included Whitman in his Calendar of Socialist Saints, viewing the poet quite literally as mediating between ordinary, politically oriented humanity and God. As England's working class drew ever nearer, as he thought, to its inevitable assumption of political power, the political role of the Bolton Whitmanites would become self-evident:

. . . we are the heaven-appointed preachers to the democracy of England! We stand in closest relation to Walt Whitman – the divinely inspired prophet of world democracy. To us the leaders of English democracy will look more and more for spiritual sustenance.

It seems worth remarking that the appeal of the poet to the Eagle Street College rather than to those with a conventionally educated literary background is entirely consistent with the rest of the story of his dissemination in England. William Michael Rossetti, the foremost and at times the single champion of Whitman's poetry among the literati, had been made aware of Whitman's poetry by Thomas Dixon, a cork cutter in Sunderland, who had bought at illegal auction some copies of *Leaves of Grass* from one James Grindrod, a veteran of the American Civil War who peddled books, for a time in Sunderland. Dixon, who himself corresponded with Whitman, sent the book to his friend William Bell Scott, a poet and sculptor, who in turn made a Christmas gift of it to his friend Rossetti. But Rossetti's 'discreetly pruned' selection from the *Leaves – Poems by Walt Whitman* — would not appear until 1868, more than ten years after he had first received Whitman's book.

Just as the dissemination of Whitman was effected by ordinary working men long before he was taken up by the literary sponsors of his own country, so much of the discussion of Whitman's virtues as a poet and a man by the Eagle Street College constitutes some of the earliest Whitman criticism, even though much of it has never been published, and most of it is still not recorded in the standard scholarly bibliographical
works. Recent scholars have only begun to mine the Bolton Whitman archive for these early appraisals of the poet. In addition to the commentary of the various members of the group, which mainly takes the form of letters, lectures and articles, the archive contains a good deal of contextual evidence of the debate surrounding Whitman in literary circles. Geraldine Hodgson's evaluation of Whitman in *The Co-operative News and Journal of Associated Industry* in 1899, for instance, represents a valuable contribution to early Whitman scholarship — one which contrasts directly with G.K. Chesterton's more typical qualified praise (with reservations about Whitman's abandonment of metre and modesty) five years later. A clipping from *The Sunday Times* of 1931 mentions the English as liking Whitman better during his lifetime than did Americans, although it does not specify which Englishmen. In his address to fellow Bolton Whitmanites delivered in 1930 in the Swan Hotel in Bolton, William Broadhurst complained of the omission of the Bolton group from John Bailey's *English Men of Letters* series published by Macmillan.

By the 1950s, the Bolton Whitman Fellowship had been completely elided from official literary history. A review of *Whitman and Rolleston: A Correspondence* in the *Times Literary Supplement* in 1952 draws the public's attention to Dubliner T.W. Rolleston's translation of Whitman into German, remarking acerbically, 'It is an ironic fact that the worth of the American poet, banned and neglected in his own country, was first recognized by a few courageous poets and university men in England and Ireland' — a summary that might have caused the surviving members of the Bolton group to deliver a few ironic remarks of their own. However, the single most telling item in Sixsmith's hoard in the John Rylands Library must be the newspaper cutting (unfortunately unidentified) concerning one of the first copies of *Leaves of Grass* in London, which was sent to the editor of the *Morning Star*, F.W. Chesson, who used it as a scrap-book.

In 1889, largely for his health, Wallace moved from the Eagle Street house to 40 Babylon Lane, in Anderton (now properly part of Adlington), between Bolton and Chorley. Although this spelled the end of the weekly meetings, the group, severally and together, still frequently made the trip to Wallace's house, as well as meeting at the homes of Wild, Johnston, Dixon and Hodgkinson. Wallace's unabated capacity to nurture and advise is evident from Dixon's remark that the Babylon Lane house was frequently used as a nursing home for convalescents. Eventually, in 1912, Wallace would leave Bradshaw and Gass, his 'early' retirement caused by his poor health and particularly by eye trouble, which made reading and writing painful and at times impossible. Thenceforth, like the elderly Whitman, he was supported largely by his friends.

The high point of every year was the celebration of Whitman's birthday, typically an occasion of 'songs and speeches and recitations, with decorations of lilac-boughs and blossoms and the passing of loving cups to his memory'. While the record is by no means complete, it is nevertheless very full, with items from the years 1893, 1901, 1905, 1907, 1908, 1911, 1913, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1922, 1925 and 1953. Wallace's addresses to the group are the shining jewels of the collection. His readings of Whitman seem extremely astute, and certainly constitute an important source in Whitman's reception history. Wallace, for example, must have been amongst the very first readers to claim, as he did in 1893, that 'It is a very important and very significant fact that *Leaves of Grass* really centers [sic] on the American War; that is the pivot on which the work turns'. Wentworth Dixon makes the connection between Whitman and Milton in his own poem written for the birthday celebration on 1922. Wallace's address for the Whitman Centennial, 'Walt Whitman: the Man and His Message' evinces a particular sensitivity to Whitman as a questing figure; his address on the 'Calamus' poems of 1920 has become well known in Whitman circles; his final address of 1925, 'If Whitman Came to Walker Fold', suggests that Whitman is that kind of prophet who facilitates others' realisation of their own best qualities.

The highlight of the two foremost Whitmanites in the Bolton group was their visit to Whitman, Johnston travelling in 1890 and Wallace in 1891. They kept an informal diary in notebooks, which were transcribed and eventually published as *Visits to Walt Whitman in 1890-91 by Two Lancashire Friends* in 1917. While the notebooks are part of the Bolton Central Library's holdings, a typescript of Wallace's diary by Johnston, presented to Wallace as a gift, is held in the Rylands collection (Eng 1186/4/2), as is John Bruce Glasier's review of their book. Johnston's visit to Whitman resulted in a reciprocal visit from Dr Dr
Richard Maurice Bucke, Medical Superintendent at the Insane Asylum in London, Ontario, Walt's first biographer and his close friend, in July 1891. After spending some days with the Bolton people, Bucke went to London to fulfil his ambition to meet Tennyson, returning with Edward Carpenter, who met the group for the first time. It was Bucke who persuaded Wallace to return with him to Camden to meet Whitman, an event celebrated by Johnston, in characteristic fashion, in song: "The College Farewell to J.W. Wallace, Aug. 23, 1891", "The College Farewell to Dr. Bucke, Aug. 24, 1891" and "Another for Dr. Bucke". Further songs and speeches were reprinted in The Past, published in Camden, where Whitman, Wallace and the North American Whitmanites could read them, in September 1891. For Wallace, who was only persuaded to make the trip at the last minute, the visit to America must have been among the most significant events of his life. Just as he recorded Walt's words with meticulous detail, so too did he carefully preserve every official document concerning the trip, from the Cook's Tourist Ticket on a US Mail Steamer from Liverpool to Philadelphia (including the plans of the saloon cabins of three ships on the American Line), the Notification of 12 August 1891 of the sailing of the S.S. British Prince on Wed. 26 August 1891 from Liverpool; a table of foreign moneys by Thomas Cook & Son; and an insurance card (against personal injury) for "Mr Wallace (Dr Johnston)", dated 25 Aug 1891 (Eng 1186/4/1). All were clearly treasured mementos.

Wallace and Johnston could hardly have met with the poet without also meeting with his carers and disciples in Camden. The carers were Mrs Mary Davis, Whitman's housekeeper, and Warren ('Warry') Fritzinger, his nurse; the disciples were Horace Logo Traubel – bank clerk by day, editor of The Conservator by every other conceivable hour of the twenty-four and Whitman's amanuensis on demand – and Dr Bucke, whose first meeting with the poet had inspired him with what he came to call 'cosmic consciousness'. While Dr Johnston stayed with Dr Bucke, Wallace stayed with Traubel and his family, his charisma winning him a lifelong friendship with both Horace and Anne Montgomery Traubel.

Horace Traubel was a prolific and loyal correspondent. He wrote to Wallace almost every day – sometimes twice a day – from the time of his return to Bolton until 1897, and more sporadically afterward. He was to send a detailed account of Walt's last days to the anxious Boltonians – the poet died on 26 March, 1892: exactly six months after Wallace's embarkation at Liverpool – and much news about the realisation of what he understood to be Whitman's purpose in the world, the promotion of the individual human spirit as the measure of all social organisation, a cause to which he would devote the rest of his life. Anne Traubel may properly be regarded as a disciple of Wallace in the same way that Wallace was a disciple of Whitman. She corresponded with Wallace independently of her husband, Horace himself urging Wallace to maintain the link that was so precious to her. The Traubels named their son after Wallace, and Anne's letters to him after that child died of scarlet fever at the age of four are among the most moving in the archive. Long after the death of her Bolton sage, she continued to write of him to Minnie Whiteside, his adopted daughter, her correspondence ending only with her own death in 1954.

Although Wallace seems to have become Whitman's disciple by an experience akin to religious conversion, there is also a sense of continuity in his religious development. Wallace's background was Presbyterian and his fundamental inspiration remained broadly Christian. As a young man, he had gone to St Andrew's Church in Bowker's Row and taught the men's class there, but he later withdrew from public worship, becoming, in Dixon's words, 'more Unitarian than Unitarians' in his belief that the soul of man was one with the Universal Soul. In his address of 1915 on religion in Whitman, Wallace asserts an insight shared with the poet:

> Whitman knew, as a fact of consciousness, that the central and real being of himself and others is the Universal and Eternal Life we name God. . . . This realisation was followed by its becoming the inspiration and controlling centre of all his work.'

In fact, Wallace's version of Protestantism was tempered not only with Whitman – or Emerson's conception of the Over-Soul delivered via Whitman – but also with various forms of spiritualism that
arose in the mid-nineteenth century and persisted into the twentieth, such as theosophy and New Thought. This element shows most clearly in his, and his followers', attitude toward death – so that while some contemporary accounts clearly observe the pieties of the age (Horace Traubel's authorised account of Whitman's last days, for example), other accounts of dying and of the afterlife evince a conviction of the immortality of the soul in a passionately literal way, in which the departed are perceived as an intermittent presence, imparting a sense of the numinous to the bereaved and acting as a source of inspiration. The dead, and especially Whitman, endured aetherially just beyond reach, providing a strength and an example for his disciples to follow on their journey toward the beyond. Wallace himself would, after his death in 1926, become an almost tangible posthumous presence for Anne Traubel.47

Wallace's letters to his favourite cousin, also called James Wallace, are some of his most interesting in so far as they reveal his spiritual striving in its rhythms of depression and triumph as well as illustrating his typically epistolary role of adviser. In his letter of 8 August, 1901, for example, in response to James's appeal for advice about what would appear to be longstanding agreements, which put James in debt, he sets out life's central moral choice.48 It is not only wrong to attempt to bend the wills of others, but also materially disadvantageous; financial loss is the just outcome of such conduct. Devotion to right conduct, on the other hand, requires faith in an utterly benign divinity – Wallace, in this respect, evincing a characteristically Emersonian optimism – together with an emphasis on 'self-abandonment', a thread that runs right through Wallace's teaching and recalls at once the millenarian tradition of his upbringing and the Eastern philosophy that he studied during his period of spiritual crisis. His excitement at the spiritual awakening of the world, and America's particular ferment, is evident, as is his conviction that profound spiritual change presents a fundamental moral choice:

My dear Cousin,

I was very glad to get your letter yesterday morning. I have glanced at the papers, some of which I have seen before, and return them herewith. Supposing that all their claims are justified – what then?

To be able to bend the wills of others to one's own is not an advantage. Or, if it is an immediate gain, it is apt to end in financial loss. Such things belong to what is called "Black Magic", always reprobated by the wise.

To concentrate one's own will and thought of self-perfectionment, to recognise the perfect One in all others, ignoring all contrary seemings, to cease from personal desire in the Trust which comes from knowing that Good alone rules our lives, in self-abandonment to that – in all this to assist others to self-realization, leaving their wills untouched – this is the right course for us, and this only.

There is a great spiritual movement going on in the world – in America most of all – and in the wake of it come many greedy adventurers and charlatans seeking personal profit only. They appeal to their like, and supply such experience as they need for the time. But let us give them a wide berth.

Wallace's letter to James of 14 May, 1911, is rather more illuminating of his own struggle for joy. Indeed, it becomes evident that the composition of this letter has a therapeutic effect, eventually razing the wall of its writer's depression – yet the letter's purpose is not self-centred as this description might seem to suggest. Indeed, what seems to effect the psychological change for Wallace is the shift from the first person, and merely personal concerns, to the generalities of the third person. It is that that relieves Wallace of the burden of his individual agency, so that when he again becomes consciousness of himself, his depression seems to have vanished as if by a miracle. Wallace's love of the natural world is very much apparent here; both his conception of nature as a teacher of the divine purpose and the vocabulary he employs to depict it are clearly Emersonian. It is equally clear that he is steeped in the Protestant hermeneutic tradition, and that its beloved hymns serve as equivalent texts to Scripture. The message of this letter is the same as that of the one written a decade earlier: to trust in the guidance and protection of a benevolent God; but in this later letter, the recognition of the world around him as the same one in which miracles were performed in biblical times comes with the full force of an annunciation. The
rhododrendron's being called a 'burning bush' is, he belatedly realises, local evidence of 'visible symbols of the divine presence and leadership'. The more mundane allusion to 'Minnie' refers to Minnie Whiteside, widowed almost as soon as she was married and taken in by Wallace as his 'adopted daughter'. The reference to 'H.R.', however, remains a puzzle for this reader.

My dear Coz

It is nearly a fortnight since your last welcome letter came, and, though I have kept intending to write, I have failed.

The reason is simply that, during that time, I have felt too limp and tired for any exertion beyond my usual work — that being in itself a heavy burden.

I suppose I need a holiday, and the sudden change to warm weather has tried [sic] me up. Previously, however, I had been feeling very well, though sadly troubled with my eyes. Now they are much better, and I guess I shall recover a little more energy and vim bye and bye.

For one thing it has been a trying time for us for a good while back. H.R. is still a puzzling and heavy burden-like mill stone round our necks — and the financial difficulty has been a very hard one — At present it is acute — without a ray of light anywhere.

Add to this Minnie's throat trouble, which, as yet, shows no sign of improvement — and you will see that we have our own grave difficulties and causes for anxiety.

And then you will go on, I trust, to the next step to which my letter is leading — viz the understanding that our own difficulties only make us feel more keenly sympathetic to yours, as expressed in your letter and more or less suggested between the lines.

The massive and solid globe on which we live floats lightly as a bubble in viewless "empty" space, and moves steadily onwards to its unknown goal "without one jolt or the untruth of a single second." Wonderful, isn't it!

Are we less well provided for? Can we really doubt, despite all contrary evidence, that the "Love which moves the Sun in heaven and all the stars", — ever-present, all-knowing and almighty — does surround us, with as firm and constant an embrace as that by which the earth is upheld by the ether in space? Can we not trust it? And is not that all that is required?

As for Minnie and me, we will never give up believing and trusting and expecting. And now, when the sky is dark with thunder-clouds all around us, we are expecting that before the last limit of enduring is reached, the clouds will dispart [sic], and a Face will appear and our cares will be removed. . . . [There follows a transcription of stanzas from a hymn ('The Old Hundredth'), followed by a quotation from the bible and an exegesis of the hymn.]

Only this morning I was reading to Minnie a passage in the experience of the children of Israel. They had crossed the Red Sea, miraculously protected, — they had been guided by visible symbols of the divine presence and leadership, — they had been fed with manna and water from the solid rock, — and soon they were at Kadesh-Carmen on the very border of the Promised Land. Despite all their experience they must need send spies into it. These declared it to be indeed a land of milk and honey, but the majority reported it to be inhabited by a race of Giants, with whom the Israelites had no chance. (Two reported differently.) But on the very eve of success, on the very border of the Land, a movement was started to go back to Egypt and they had 40 years of painful wandering in the wilderness, before they did what they ought to have done then. They had only to enter and there was no opposition.

We won't be such fools, shall we? Our Promised Land is here, now, and we enter triumphantly, with music and banners, and the strongest walls of any Jericho will fall without a blow.
Hallo! Hal-lo! Are you there? Jericho's down!

[There follows the transcript of a second hymn or religious poem ("Blue skies will soon be o'er me, / Where darkest clouds have been" &c.)]

Isn't this a lovely season?

Our rhododendron is in splendid bloom – a "burning bush" by name – the trees and fields and flowers are in their freshest loveliest colours, the air is thick with Song, and Beauty is everywhere.

And Beauty is always the garment of Love. This is Love's season, and Love is All in all. Our love to you all and God bless you,

JWW

Less fraught, but still revealing, is Wallace's letter of 12 January, 1912 (Eng 1186/2/5/10). It is not only the circumstantial details of his and Minnie's lives that are of interest, but his confidence in the efficacy of thought to accomplish such a strong sense of presence that the actual presence of the person longed-for becomes almost redundant. This sense of presence may be casually enough expressed in this letter, but it is, nevertheless, significant in that it approaches very closely the sense that Wallace and particularly Bucke had of Whitman's enduring presence after his death, and the sense that Anne Traubel would have of Wallace himself after his demise:

My dear Coz.

I can't write much tonight, but Minnie and I write in sending our love to you, and best wishes for a very happy Birthday, and for all the days to come.

I wish we could come and have tea with you all and hear some music on the new pianer. But we shall be thinking about you, and – well, do you know, I feel this very minute as if I am with you, as close as possible. And I don't know that physical nearness would be so very much better.

We go on pretty much as usual. Minnie hasn't been well for a day or two, though she is now improving. She hasn't been quite up to the mark lately, and would [sic] do with a change. But considering everything – so many sick folks everywhere (she seems to be dealing with cases of illness and distress at every turn) she has done very well. And I myself am getting along very well so far. My eyes keep clear of breaking down, and I am fairly well in general health. The afternoons are lengthening and we look forward to better conditions. As we have managed to get along so far through the winter, we hope to get through the remainder of it successfully. [There follow good wishes and Wallace's signature.]

It should hardly be surprising, given what we know of them, that Wallace and Johnston should have taken a pacifist stance during the First World War. According to Dixon, Wallace 'discountenanced violence in every form and would rather suffer a wrong than defend himself by force.' His tenderness apparently extended even to earthworms, which he went to considerable pains to avoid treading on, prompting Dixon to compare him with St Francis. His pacifism provoked some opposition from other members of the group, some of whom thought it was in fact opposed to the teaching of Whitman. Johnston, who had opposed the Boer War as well, spent the First World War as an Non Commissioned Officer at the Queen Mary's Military Hospital in Whalley, Lancs., and then at Townleys Military Hospital, which incorporated the Bolton and Fishpool Institution (the Workhouse). His diaries, held in the Bolton Library, record not only his daily work as a trauma doctor during that time, but also his opposition to the authoritarianism of military officers and hospital staff as well as his struggle with depression about what his medical art could effect in terms of healing, alleviating suffering and providing spiritual comfort.
Johnston's unremitting confrontation with the grim consequences of war and poverty was alleviated by his correspondence with his wife and Wallace and his occasional visits to them. Edward Carpenter's visits also made a huge difference to him, giving him a chance to talk frankly with a sympathetic confidante about topics of mutual interest, including, of course, Whitman, but also 'socialism, spiritualism and mysticism, sexuality and clairvoyance'.

It is something of an understatement to say that Carpenter was a Whitmanite; in fact, the whole course of his life had been shaped by his reading of the poet, whom he first encountered in Rossetti's edition while a university student. Like Bucke and Traubel, but in a different way from either, he saw his life's mission as continuing what Whitman's poetry had begun, and to that end he renounced his clerical orders and a Cambridge Fellowship – he had been an extension lecturer on astronomy and the history of music and set about the raising of the consciousness of working men and women through lectures and writing. Carpenter had begun to correspond with Whitman in the early 1870's, and first visited him in 1877. On that occasion they had taken the ferry from Camden to Philadelphia together, but when Carpenter next visited Whitman in 1884, he found the poet's health had greatly deteriorated. Carpenter's being introduced by Bucke to the Bolton group in 1891 had resulted in the growth of some close friendships amongst the Bolton group, some of whom he visited in the Bolton Royal Navy. Charles Sixsmith and Dr Johnston had each accompanied Carpenter and his partner George Merrill on holidays overseas, and each often visited Carpenter and Merrill in their home in Millthorpe, near Sheffield.

It is something of an irony that Carpenter's true radicalism with regard to socialism and sexuality was masked by his being always associated in the minds of his readers with Whitman, to the extent that he was known as 'the English Whitman', or called, by his detractors, 'Whitman with water' or 'Whitman with weak tea'. As S.K. Radcliffe put it in The Guardian,

Without Walt Whitman, of course, Edward Carpenter, as we have known him, could not have been. Towards Democracy, to the making of which went half a lifetime's experience, is the English embodiment of the spirit and purpose that found expression in Leaves of Grass.

However, he then proceeds to charge Carpenter with being derivative:

Its author regards it as a purely unconscious self-emanation. He added to it continuously for twenty years, yet felt himself unable to alter or amend what had been written. All the more curious, therefore, are Carpenter's exact reproductions not only of Whitman's thoughts and finer rhythms but of his curiosities, and absurdities, of cadence and phrase. Carpenter's prose, on the contrary is his own . . .

A different distinction, however, was made in Sixsmith's lecture as president to the Farnworth Literary Debating Society:

[Edward Carpenter] joined Whitman in heralding to suffering humanity the glad tidings, 'Democracy is at hand.' Though each were [sic] intensely sympathetic, and had in the main an identical message, yet the two men were very different in training and temperament. Whitman was masculine, massive, elemental, ample, with much of the coarse and rough, as well as the fine, and arriving at the new birth by a fulness of life. Carpenter more feminine, matured, cultured, gentle, refined, received the new consciousness more through thought and feeling.

One further contemporary account seems admirably measured and authoritative in its pronouncements about the relation between Whitman and Carpenter. It is, unfortunately, anonymous – but it is written by someone familiar with Bucke's Cosmic Consciousness, either the pamphlet published in 1893 or the book published in 1901:
Only Emerson and Whitman of the moderns seem to me above Carpenter in the
dominant range of human peaks, and no doubt Carpenter would himself be first to
acknowledge this, for Carpenter is to Whitman as Elisha to Elijah, as John to Jesus, as
Plato to Socrates.

As a poet, Carpenter is hard to estimate. In the greater qualities of poetry,
Seership (which is Intuition, Grasp, Prophecy) and Cosmic Consciousness, or Identity,
Carpenter is perhaps the greatest of all living poets, but in the arts of Expression he is less
satisfying.64

Sixsmith, who remained a loyal friend of both Carpenter and Merrill, amassed a huge collection of
writings by and about that devoted Whitmanite. Catalogued separately as Eng 1331/2, they illustrate the
breadth of his vision for reform, which was a total vision based on a spirit of democracy that would
ameliorate living conditions for all. The personal courage of this man whose own life exemplifies his
radicalism cannot be stated clearly enough. In his own lifetime, his writings on social and sexual reform
in particular brought him a certain degree of fame (or notoriety), but, living into his eighties, he had also
to see his reputation wane, and the public oblivion encroach.65 In recent years, however, interest in
Carpenter's radicalism has been rekindled, especially in relation to his writings on gender and sexuality.
His insistence on the equality of the sexes is such that Salveson refers to him, without qualification, as 'a
feminist'. A Mrs. Wilkinson, on a visit from the Malay States, described one of her meetings with
Carpenter thus:

'He urged us', she said, 'to get away from the centuries-old stand that the majority
of women took of pleasing men.

'He pointed out we must express ourselves; think as we please, talk as we please,
dress as we pleased and use our sex as we pleased if we were to be human beings [sic] and
of true worth in the world.66

Then there is the inspiration of Whitman's 'Calamus' poems, first included in the 1860 edition of Leaves of
Grass. These poems that treat the subject of 'adhesiveness' or love between men in highly eroticised
language were of great interest to both Carpenter and John Addington Symonds – the one who had
acknowledged his homosexuality and fought for the rights of all to live openly according to their sexual
preference, and the other who struggled with his homosexuality almost all of his life, writing to Whitman
on several occasions and eliciting, at last, Walt's explicit negation that homosexuality was what he had
meant by 'adhesiveness'. Carpenter, who had more tact and self-confidence than to confront Whitman
directly about the meaning of the 'Calamus' poems, nevertheless imputes to them his inspiration for his
many publications on the subject of homosexuality.67

Carpenter's writings in which he employed the developing theory of sexual inversion formulated by his
friend Henry Havelock Ellis were well received by Whitmanites on both sides of the Atlantic. If part of
their virtue was their depth of analysis (so that those with ears to hear indeed understood Carpenter's
message), their delicacy of expression was equally prized – for Carpenter, whose lifestyle of radical
simplicity included making his own shoes and growing his own vegetarian food – was nevertheless
prudently circumspect when it came to the eyes of the world. He cautioned Traubel about rushing into
print with his collection of essays, In Re Walt Whitman, which he thought was being published too soon
after the poet's death. (Symonds, too, was anxious about this venture, foreseeing a possible breach of
privacy.68) Indeed, Carpenter's particular admixture of radicalism and extreme carefulness even won him
an exemption from the general condemnation of homosexuality by the formidable Marie Stopes:

It must be recognised, and so should be clearly stated, that homosexuals are of
various types: a few like the charming, nobleminded Edward Carpenter, theoretical and
in the clouds; a small number of congenital homosexuals, incapable of normal sex feeling
(so long as they confine their sex practices to adults of their own type and approximate
age one can only feel pity for them), but it must never be forgotten that many of them corrupt and destroy wholesome, normal young people; many homosexuals, potentially normal, who have been corrupted. Normal people have too long been intimidated by the homosexual offensive from their clear duty to denounce the corrupting filth of such practices.

Carpenter's active homosexuality had clearly evaded her notice.

Amongst the documents in Sixsmith's voluminous Carpenter archive are the records of two incidents which give a good indication of the tenor of the times in the years following Oscar Wilde's trial. The first is the prosecution for obscenity of a journal entitled *The Adult* and the arrest of its editor George Bedborough for selling a copy of Havelock Ellis' work, *The Psychology of Sex*. Carpenter, together with Walter Crane and Bernard Shaw, formed a Free Press Defence Committee. Their case was taken up by *The Reformer*, which noted that:

The case [against Bedborough] is down for hearing at the Old Bailey on September 13th [1898] – after this issue has gone to press. The indictment covers, in [sic] 11 counts, 'Sexual Inversion', by Havelock Ellis, pp. 1-199 inclusive; 'The Outcome of Legitimation', a pamphlet by Oswald Dawson; and a number of passages in *The Adult* (Sept. and Dec., 1897; Jan. to June, 1898; and Extra no.2). We have not been able to refer to all the items, but notice in passing that 'Wonderland', a little poem by Miss Morant, and two reviews (of Carpenter's 'Love's Coming of Age' and C33's 'Ballad of Reading Gaol') figure as 'obscene' or 'indecent'.

The second incident occurred eleven years later, in 1909, with the publication of a pamphlet, explosively entitled, *Socialism and Infamy: The Homogenic or Comrade Love Exposed / An Open Letter in Plain Words for a Socialist Prophet / To Edward Carpenter, M.A. by M.D. O'Brien*. The first page of this diatribe is directed at Whitman, and there is further mention of the poet on page three. Page two refers to Carpenter's pamphlet, *Homogenic Love*, which was printed in Manchester for private circulation only in 1894 but incorporated into *The Intermediate Sex* in 1908. Carpenter defended himself publicly in the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, and a flurry of letters addressed to and from 'The Sage of Holmesfield' ensued. Other correspondents weighed in with their opinions; 'Libros', for example, in defending *Towards Democracy*, opined, 'We do not read your meaning into Mr Carpenter's works; but the subject is too disgusting for discussion.' Eventually, the editor was obliged to declare the correspondence closed. The happy sequel to the quarrel – for Carpenter – was also announced in the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, under the heading, 'Amazing Charges: Mr M.D. O'Brien Committed for Trial'. It transpired that the daughter of 'Anti-Socialist, Dronfield' (as O'Brien once signed himself) took out a suit against him for criminal libel on behalf of his wife, who could not sue.

Sixsmith's Carpenter collection also contains material pertaining to Carpenter's seventieth and eightieth birthday celebrations, some of which is unique. For his seventieth birthday (29 August, 1914), a special congratulatory address was drafted in his honour. *The Bolton Evening News* states that the address was drawn up in Adlington, which suggests that Wallace (named in the article as one of Carpenter's chief friends) as well as Sixsmith, might have been responsible for it. It was Sixsmith, however, who, as the secretary of the committee responsible for the address, 'carried the memorial to its triumphant completion.' Printed invitations to sign the address were issued in the names of W.P. Byles, MP, G. Lowes Dickinson, Havelock Ellis, Isabella O. Ford, Henry W. Nevinson, Sydney Olivier, Olive Schreiner and Henry S. Salt – a distinguished enough group, but the list of signatories is even more so, including Frank and Mildred Bain (Canadian Whitmanites), Léon Bazalgette, John Burroughs, Katharine Bruce Glasier, J. Johnston, Charles Sixsmith, Lucy Sixsmith, Horace Traubel, Annie Besant, H. Granville Barker, Walter Crane, Havelock Ellis, J. Keir Hardie, Jack London, J. Ramsay MacDonald, Aylmer Maude, Rev. Conrad Noel, Alfred Noyes, Olive Schreiner, G. Bernard Shaw, Rabindranath Tagore, G.M. Trevelyan, Josiah C. Wedgwood, H.G. Wells and W.B. Yeats. As one might expect of Sixsmith, a cotton
manufacturer fascinated with design, there are drafts of the address, with its splendidly illuminated capital, in a variety of formats, enabling him to select the best design once the number of signatories had been determined. A report of the presentation of the address and Carpenter's lengthy reply to it were widely recorded by the press.\textsuperscript{75}

On the occasion of his eightieth birthday, however, Carpenter was referred to by one paper as a 'Scholar Recluse'.\textsuperscript{76} An address was again prepared, this time by Miss Bondfield, and was signed by MP's. \textit{The Bolton Evening News}, while it now felt it necessary to explain that 'Carpenter [was] the English Walt Whitman; and this district [was] the mecca of English Whitmanites', entered wholeheartedly into the celebratory spirit.\textsuperscript{77} In an interview conducted by \textit{The Observer}, Carpenter marked the occasion by speaking, at great length, on government, birth control, unemployment and the scout movement.\textsuperscript{78}

Carpenter died on 28 June, 1929, eighteen months after the death of George Merrill, whose gravesite in Surrey he shared. Many years earlier, in 1910, he had written a farewell message to be read at his funeral, which unfortunately was not discovered until several days after his death.\textsuperscript{79} The funeral was held on 1 kept the Order of Service of these services, seems to have attended until 1952.

Since it is Sixsmith's bequest that constitutes the John Rylands archive of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship, there is a good deal of material in it that pertains specifically to him. Described by Salveson as a 'very eccentric character',\textsuperscript{80} he seems in some ways an open, exploratory, questing kind of person, in others, a model of civic virtue. Sixsmith joined the Whitman Fellowship as a young man in the early 1890's, after Wallace had moved to Adlington.\textsuperscript{81} Whitman's poetry and example provided for him an image of a new way of negotiating personal relationships, both intimate and professional. He did a good deal to promote the profile of the Bolton group; its members' personal relationship with Whitman gave it a special status that seemed to him worthy of more general recognition. He also played his part in disseminating the poet's message within the local community through writing and lecturing.\textsuperscript{82} He became a regular correspondent of a number of American Whitmanites, including Horace Traubel (to whom he appears to have written, at times, more regularly than did Wallace), William Innes, R.M. Bucke, Philip Dalmas and J. William Lloyd. He conscientiously sent Traubel and Dalmas the English newspapers when anything appeared that was of interest to either of them.\textsuperscript{83} Traubel developed an affection for this most assiduous young correspondent, whom he called 'Charley', referring to him frequently in his letters to Wallace. It is through Traubel, also, that we learn of an argument that apparently took place between Wallace and Sixsmith in 1910, and which resulted in a lasting cooling of regard between them.\textsuperscript{84}

Sixsmith's friendship with the gifted American singer and composer Philip Dalmas raises questions about his sexuality, an issue that has occasioned some debate. Salveson states that Sixsmith was 'the most clearly bi-sexual member of the group'.\textsuperscript{85} Certainly, Sixsmith was married, with two sons and a daughter. He was also a close friend of both Edward Carpenter and his partner George Merrill, visiting them in their home in Millthorpe and accompanying them on overseas holidays.\textsuperscript{86} Dalmas also was a homosexual and there is a possibility that his friendship with Horace Traubel may have extended, for a time, to intimacy.\textsuperscript{87} Salveson claims that 'Sixsmith had an affair with . . . Dalmas', but provides scant evidence.\textsuperscript{88} Joann P. Krieg gives a fuller account of the particular charisma of this 'very beautiful young man', who, on his visit to Bolton in 1894, charmed Carpenter, Wallace, Sixsmith and Johnston, but who, prior to that visit, had clearly been in love with Traubel.\textsuperscript{89} Some of Dalmas's letters to Sixsmith, in which he expresses his love for him, are held in the John Rylands collection.\textsuperscript{90}

Sixsmith began as a worker at the Bentinck Mill in Farnworth where he later became a 'director' (equivalent to general manager). The vast number of civic offices he held in the local community suggests that he revelled in corporate life. He was, for example, a member of the Horwich and District Literary Society, Treasurer of the Manchester and District Branch of the Humanitarian League, a member of the Bolton Field Naturalists and a founder member of the Design and Industries Association. He was a member of the Rural District Council from 1931-1944, serving as its Chairman from 1938-44,\textsuperscript{91} and campaigning tirelessly for legislation against the unsightly advertisements and powerlines which he saw as destroying the beauty of England.\textsuperscript{92}
This list of his various offices seems to suggest a creature of contradictions if not conflicting interests, but his detailed reflections on his directorship of the mill, which have thus far been neglected by commentators on the archive, in fact suggest a unity of endeavour. His concern with the aesthetics of mass production is inextricable from a concern with the right relations between management and mill workers. Like many other Northern English mills, the Bentinck Mill exported woven cotton cloth to West Africa. Sixsmith, following the concerns of John Stuart Mill, but combined with the social concerns of Mill's opponent, John Ruskin (whom the Bolton group never ceased to admire), was interested in developing an aesthetic of mass-produced, block-printed design that would be appealing to his West African clients. In March, 1933, he gave a talk for the BBC Radio's 'Thing of Beauty Series' on the subject. The Design and Industries Association was founded in 1915 to bring about the improvement of machine-made goods. Sixsmith thought the essential thing to be improved was the decorative quality of fabrics, which he complained of as suffering a diminution of artistry through mechanisation. What needed to be recovered was beauty, which, he claimed, 'is not merely prettiness or ornament but something of deeper experience. Like happiness', he continues, recalling Wallace's exposition of right conduct in his letter to his cousin, 'it usually comes without seeking, by doing the right things in the right way. While beauty is difficult to define, features that are adverse to beauty are easily discerned: 'printed patterns to imitate tapestry or woven effects are [a]ffections or shams'. Even as he explicitly supports Ruskin's claim that natural forms are the source of all beauty in decoration, he adds a further statement that in fact amounts to a counter-claim: that 'we can have decoration pleasing to the eye by repetition of certain arrangements of lines, spaces and colours that do not recall to the mind any forms of nature'. It is more useful to understand the spirit of Ruskin and Morris than to imitate their ideas of design; indeed, mere period design is stultifying and produces 'arty monstrosities'. The requirement for artistry has to be balanced against the exigencies of utility.

The aesthetic that emerges has a political dimension:

The first aim of decoration should be to brighten and stimulate. To simplify is a good policy . . . . A very hopeful tendency of our time is that towards simplicity – Women's [sic] dress for example by becoming severely simple, light and free is much more beautiful.

Once that political note is sounded, it reverberates everywhere. Indeed, at times Sixsmith sounds positively Emersonian in his polemic: 'Don't mind if you are out of the fashion. Fashion has its use and place but it is also the refuge of people who have no taste of their own.' Sixsmith is no snob, however: people are educable, and in fact are increasingly evincing a 'much keener and more critical about design and colour than formerly'. Their coming to appreciate aesthetic considerations will entail certain economic sacrifices:

As public taste improves, people[,] both here and abroad, will seek more and more for fabrics of greater beauty and individuality. It will require some adjustment of our present methods of production – smaller units, possibly even within the big concerns, so as to give greater variety and more scope for creative work. It will mean less mechanical labour but more of a skilled and artistic kind.

'Less mechanical labour' does not, however, mean a return to a hierarchised system of production. On the contrary, people's increased critical sense of design will mean that 'the influence of feudalism recedes farther and farther away from us', to be replaced by

a democratic self-consciousness which will trust and believe in itself and should, with intelligent effort by all concerned do much to maintain that artistic prestige in mechanical production which, before it became so vital and necessary an instrument to our national welfare and comfort, was left to us by the art and craft workers of the past.
We can see from this that Sixsmith's philosophy manifests not just an Arnoldian sense of noblesse oblige but a thoughtful engagement with social structure that did not take his own position for granted. Remarkably, considering he was a director of a mill, his thinking was not so far from that of Margaret Pilkington, Honorary Secretary of the Red Rose Guild of Artworkers (based in Manchester), who gave the next talk in the 'Thing of Beauty' series.  

In a further talk entitled 'West African Trade: Then and Now', broadcast on BBC radio on 16 February 1934, Sixsmith stresses the influence of West African demand on British production. He notes that West African handicrafts – bak and weaving and tie-dyeing – have profoundly influenced machine-made goods, as have the handicraft techniques of India (Indian handwoven cloths, known as Madras handkerchiefs, were bought by West Africans from London importers/exporters). Indigo predominates in British designs because that is the favourite dye in West Africa, and block prints, which are 'things of beauty and character', are also much in demand there. One of the differences between the 'then' and the 'now' of the title is the competition with Japanese mills. While some of his compatriots would have liked to 'abolish' this competition, Sixsmith's concern is, rather, the lack of reciprocity in Japan's trade relations with West Africa.  

Matching the Bolton Whitmanites' social zeal was a resistance to being more than loosely organised around their discussions, walks and birthday celebrations. They felt no need of any formal organisation or statement of fixed purpose, a difference that would eventually result in a rift between them and their American counterparts, who, under the orchestration of Horace Traubel, formed an International Whitman Fellowship, a loosely federal arrangement with a constitution and fixed dues, the various branches being virtually autonomous. The John Rylands Library archive contains surprisingly little material about the events and proceedings of this fellowship, although Traubel frequently mentions them in his letters to Wallace. There is, however, a card announcing the third annual meeting of the Boston branch on 31st May, 1896, which was a typically grand affair. But Wallace proved either inefficient or reluctant when it came to collecting subscriptions for the various Whitman publications that originated from America and Traubel became increasingly impatient with him. At the heart of Wallace's objections to the American-based Fellowship was an objection to the payment of dues and to the de facto limitation of membership that the payment of dues implied. Nothing that Traubel could say about the nominal nature of such dues, nor about the openness of the Fellowship to all comers, could reassure him and, in fact, Traubel's insistence that discussion of Wallace's and others' objections would have to wait until the next annual general meeting of the group, as required by its constitution, only annoyed Wallace further.  

The Eagle Street College, like its American counterpart, was overwhelmingly a society of men, as the photographs from the Rylands archive demonstrate. Many of the members of the group were married, but the psychic life of the group was indisputably masculine. Wallace himself was for a time enamoured of the reformer Katharine St John Conway, and proposed that she become his 'spirit wife'. He was offended when she declined his offer in favour of a more conventional marriage proposal from John Bruce Glasier, but eventually a friendship was established. Salveson's account of their long relationship suggests that in terms of their political views, Katharine Bruce Glasier was possibly closer to Wallace than any of his other comrades; certainly, she matched him in political passion.  

Whitman's 1860 edition of Leaves of Grass marked the first inclusion of both the 'Children of Adam' and the 'Calamus' sequences. Contrary to what we might expect, it was the explicitness of the former sequence that attracted commentators' immediate wrath; the poems that treated the subject of 'adhesiveness', or love between men, went largely unnoticed. They did, however, attract the attention of men investigating their own same-sex desires, among them Carpenter and Symonds. Symonds' tortured struggle with his illicit desires led him to question Whitman directly and repeatedly about what he meant by the 'Calamus' poems and thereby elicited the poet's famous refutation. Some of the Bolton Whitmanites, too, were interested in Whitman's idea of adhesiveness. In 1920, Wallace dedicated his address for Whitman's birthday to commentary on the 'Calamus' sequence. The address, which has received much critical attention in
recent years, is both a brave document and a defensively reticent one. It is a more of a testimonial account of a daring and transgressive exegesis than a full record of that exposition. For example, Wallace's gloss on the phrase 'now wading in a little, fearing not the wet' from 'These I Singing in Spring' is '(Full of meaning, not to be expressed here)'\textsuperscript{106} The record of the discussion of 'Scented Herbage of My Breast' is similarly reticent: '(J.W.W. here read the above poem line by line with expository comments)'.\textsuperscript{109} '[P]ink-tinged' from 'Do not fold yourself so in your pink-tinged roots timid leaves!' is glossed literally as pertaining to the calamus root but also 'suggesting the heart's blood—and at once bitter and sweet to the taste', and so on.\textsuperscript{110}

By contrast, what Wallace's exposition of 'Scented Herbage of My Breast' is very explicit about is death, in particular death as the fulfilment or culmination of life rather than its negation.\textsuperscript{111} His concern is the light that immortality might shed upon the conduct of life rather than the finality of death:

\begin{quote}
But here comes in the appropriateness of the name 'Death' which Whitman gives it. For the entrance to this abundant life must necessarily be the death of all purely personal desires and aims and of all forms of what we call selfishness.\textsuperscript{112}
\end{quote}

Historian Harry Cocks has focussed precisely on the relationship between immortality and adhesiveness in the thinking of Wallace and other of the Bolton Whitmanites. He argues that Wallace advocates a lifelong abnegation of all selfish passions, that those truly selflessly loving relationships may be eternally validated in the hereafter. Cocks's careful trawl through the archive has resulted in the amassing of considerable and sometimes extraordinary evidence of what looks very like deferred same-sex desire, and he has equally carefully contextualised that evidence by establishing the connections between Wallace's conviction of immortality and his views on the appropriate conduct of life.\textsuperscript{113}

The John Rylands archive contains a number of other items relating to Whitman's adhesiveness, including a rather sensationalist notice by Laurens Maynard Publishers of Boston that they are about to publish *Calamus: a Series of Letters Written During the Years 1868-1880 by Walt Whitman to a Young Friend Peter Doyle*, edited by the redoutable R.M. Bucke and containing an interview with Doyle and an extract from Symonds' book on Whitman (published on the day of his death in 1893).\textsuperscript{114} This heavily mediated volume is also discussed in the 6th July issue of the *Daily Chronicle* [1897]. Other items, taken together, constitute a kind of metonymic version of the history of the debate surrounding Whitman's sexuality. A page from *John O'London's Weekly*, of 21st March, 1927, for example, explicitly repudiates the charge of homosexuality that has repeatedly levelled at Whitman.\textsuperscript{115} In contrast, the American critic George F. Whicher, reviewing Frances Winwar's biography of Whitman in 1941, is explicit about the homoerotic element of Whitman's poetry, pointing out that the earlier version of 'Once I passed through a populous city …' is about a man, not, as Winwar thinks, a woman.\textsuperscript{116} However, the writer of an article on Whitman in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 31st July, 1953, again speaks out against 'the slander of homosexuality' that has dogged discussion of the poet's work.\textsuperscript{117} Perhaps the article in *The Freethinker* of 8 February, 1914, sums the matter up best. Its writer, Joseph Bryce, reports that Whitman is reputed to have said to Traubel, 'The ministry is spoiled with arrogance; it takes all sorts of vagaries, impudences, invasions, for granted; it even seizes the key to the bedroom and the closet.'\textsuperscript{118}

One woman stands out as belonging to the Bolton group in a way that wives and daughters and even the odd female reformer did not: Minnie Whiteside, whose history has a direct bearing on the existence of the archive in its present state. Details of her early life are sketchy. Born Minnie Moore, she had the misfortune to be widowed, through a terrible industrial accident, almost as soon as she was married.\textsuperscript{119} Soon afterward, she came to live with Wallace as his 'adopted daughter'; educated by Wallace, she was, in effect, the secretary of the group.\textsuperscript{120} Her role became increasingly important as Wallace developed a painful eye condition which affected his ability to read and write sustainedly, and eventually resulted in his early retirement and his removal to Anderton where he could enjoy the countryside he so much loved. After Wallace's death in 1926, Minnie spent a period nursing Wallace's favourite cousin – another James Wallace, but known as Uncle Jim – during his final illness. She subsequently moved house several times,

It was a dispute between Minnie Whiteside and Charles Sixsmith that led to Sixsmith's leaving his extensive collection to the John Rylands Library. After Wallace's death, the task of sorting the papers fell to Minnie. Several American collectors, including John Burroughs, Clara Barrus, and Harriet Sprague approached her, either directly or in writing, requesting various items. Mrs. Sprague, a wealthy collector of Whitmaniana, purchased a large amount of material from Minnie, but declined to have it shipped to the States and left Minnie in charge of it. After twenty-four years, Minnie felt 'almost cheated over the price she received from the New York Lady', and felt entitled to dispose of the papers and other material herself as she saw fit. The catalyst of the dispute was a short article published in the Bolton Evening News on 24 October, 1950, which asserted Minnie Whiteside as the major donor of the Wallace collection to the Bolton Library. Sixsmith immediately wrote to the Librarian at the Bolton Library, voicing his objections to it. Whitman's canary and the cup and saucer (presumably also once Whitman's) mentioned in the article belonged to Mrs. Sprague, not Minnie. Moreover, Mr. Hamer's boasting about the value of the Bolton Library's collection of Whitmaniana was foolish, since Mrs. Sprague's remaining collection, deeded to the Library of Congress, was much better – as, for that matter, was Sixsmith's own. He had decided to make his collection over to the Library, but was now considering leaving it to Manchester. Hamer replied that he believed the account of the history of the Bolton memorabilia printed in the paper to be true, and asked to meet Sixsmith in order to relate 'the full story'. Sixsmith returned that he knew what the truth of the matter was and that he considered Minnie to have retained Mrs. Sprague's material 'for her own vainglory'. In a further letter he threatened to discredit both Minnie and the Library: 'I expect I shall soon be writing to Mrs. Traubel when I shall tell her the true story.' Hamer was anxious to calm him: 'I feel that if we can talk the matter over in a quiet sort of way I am sure we shall reach a better understanding.' Sixsmith agreed to his request for a meeting, but remained adamant that the ownership of the material in the Library be correctly acknowledged: 'It is hard for me to believe that Bolton Library could be an accessory in which I regard as a dishonest transaction.' Eventually, they agreed that the gift be recorded as that of Mrs. Sprague and that Minnie's name would not be mentioned. It was also thought that Minnie had withheld the card that had been attached to the canary on which was printed Whitman's poem, 'My Canary Bird' and autographed by him. The dispute between Hamer and Sixsmith took some years to sort out. On 16 September, 1953, Hamer wrote to Sixsmith that although the canary in its case was still recorded as the Minnie's gift, it had been listed correctly in the Library's annual report. This may not have been a deliberate ploy on Hamer's part, but it certainly would have appeased both parties, as the letter from Harriet Sprague that he encloses with it shows:

Thank you so much for sending me the interesting copy of the 97th Annual Report of your fine Bolton Libraries – Ever since acquiring the J.W. Wallace Whitman Collection I have been interested in your library and have frequently heard from Mr. Sixsmith of the work you are doing.

At the moment I am also very busy trying to raise funds to purchase the fine old Whitman Birth-place . . .

On 21 September, Sixsmith, whose shaky hand betrays his failing health, penned a moving and conciliatory letter to Hamer, who was also seriously ill. In it he enquired about the matter of the card accompanying the canary, and the autographed portrait photograph of Whitman that Minnie had retained. In his final reply Hamer confessed that Minnie had mislaid the autographed poem 'My Canary', and that the autographed portrait appeared to be only a photograph of Whitman's signature that had then been written over. Sixsmith died in February, 1954, leaving his magnificent collection to the John Rylands University Library of Manchester. In the feature obituary that appears in the Chorley Guardian and Leyland Advertiser, Minnie Whiteside is listed among the mourners.

According to a newspaper cutting in the archive (unfortunately undated), when Walt Whitman was still considered a dangerous poet, some students of New York University climbed into the University's Hall of
Fame to insert a bust of the bard. Also in the archive is an official invitation to the unveiling of Walt Whitman's bust in the Hall of Fame at New York University, on 14 May, 1931, at 3:15 p.m. The ceremony was performed by Gertrude Traubel, only surviving child of Horace and Anne Montgomery Traubel. One of the donors of the bust was *The Brooklyn Eagle*, from which Walt Whitman lost his editorship due to the persistence of his objection to the extension of slavery in westward expansion.\(^{132}\)

From 16 March to 15 April, 1954, an exhibition of manuscripts, letters and books showing Whitman's literary development and his friendships in the British Isles was held in the American Library at Grosvenor Square. The material exhibited was drawn from the collections of the Duke University Library, the Pierpont Morgan Library, the University of Michigan Library, the Yale University Library, and from Messrs. Charles E. Feinberg and T.E. Hanley.\(^{133}\) Whitmania was officially in full swing.

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Footnotes

1 A shorter version of this essay, which takes account of the archive in both its Manchester and its Bolton sites, will be published as a chapter in International Episodes: Anglo-American Exchanges 1850-1900, ed. Janet Beer and Bridget Bennett (Manchester: Manchester University Press, forthcoming 2002).


3 Wentworth Dixon, An Old Friend: An Address Delivered to the Men's Class, Bank St School, Bolton, 7 Feb 1926, 3-4; and Fred Wild, Sketch of Life of J.A.W. Wallace of Bolton (October 1932), 3.

4 William Broadhurst, An Address in Memory of the Late J.W. Wallace, Wentworth Dixon and Dr J. Johnston, delivered at the Swan Hotel, Bolton, 6 Dec 1930, 2.

5 Wild, Sketch of Life, 3.


8 Wallace's address to the Bolton group, 20 January, 1890, reprinted, with some unspecified editorial changes, in Bucke's Cosmic Consciousness (1991), 336. The 'complete' edition of Leaves of Grass Wallace refers to would almost certainly have been the 1881 edition.

9 J.W. Wallace to Walt Whitman, 19 September, 1890.


12 Bucke, Cosmic Consciousness, 334.


16 See Eng 1186/9/2.

17 This song is dated 29 April, 1889. For this and other of Johnston's songs see Eng 1186/8/1.

18 See Eng 1186/2/2.


22 An explanation of 'The Church of the Great Companions' is supplied in a pamphlet (Eng 1182/10/7). See also his beautifully written booklet entitled *Calamus Roots: Three Editorials on Cosmic Consciousness*, reprinted from *Calamus, the Quarterly Journal of the Order of the Great Companions* (Dublin and Chatham, 1930), in which he contends that our problem throughout the ages has been our tendency to worship the way-showers rather than following them. He hints, through his use of a poem by Edward Carpenter, that the full realisation of the way occurs at the moment of death. See also 'Quaker Traits in Walt Whitman' by Will Hayes. Both items Eng 1186/9/6/5. There is also a photograph of Hayes; Eng 1186/11/1/26.


24 Salveson, 'Loving Comrades' (1997), 58.


26 J.W. Wallace, 'A Calendar of Socialist Saints: Walt Whitman', *The Young Socialist*, x 10, 816-817 (Eng 1186/9/1/1).


33 There is currently some vagueness about the exact date of the move. 1889 is the date given by the Adlington website, the work of the current Bolton Whitmanites; Frances Baker's catalogue and finding list for the John Rylands collection gives 1890; Salveson gives 'the early 1890s', 'Loving Comrades' (1997), 66.

34 William Broadhurst, *An Address in Memory of the Late J.W. Wallace, Wentworth Dixon and Dr J. Johnston, delivered at the Swan Hotel, Bolton, 6 Dec 1930*, 3.

40 The poem concludes: 'The inspiring faith of Leaves of Grass avails, / Its message deep we better understand / To justify the ways of God to Man.'
42 'Visits to Walt Whitman' by J. Bruce Glasier, a review of the book by Wallace and Johnston. Repr. from The Labour Leader, 9 May, 1918 (Eng 1186/9/3/4).
43 Salveson, 'Loving Comrades', 68.
44 'In Merrie England; Further Songs and Speeches for Walt Whitman Abroad – Dr Bucke Returns to America – A Representative of the Lancashire Group is Now Crossing the Sea’, The Past, no. 3, Camden, NJ, (5 September, 1891).
45 Dixon, An Old Friend, 8.
47 Anne's letters to Minnie Whiteside are held in the Bolton archive (ZWN/5).
48 Eng 1186/2/5/2. The letter is incomplete. I have omitted only the last paragraph, which concerns Wallace's sense of obligation to accompany two American visitors to Surrey.
49 See Deuteronomy 1, 1-46.
50 For the full letter see Eng 1186/2/5/7. Square brackets represent my emendations; the divisions of the letter into sections are, however, Wallace's own.
51 Dixon, An Old Friend, 3-4.
52 Dixon, An Old Friend, 8.
53 Salveson, 'Loving Comrades', 63.
54 See the photograph of his colleague A. Ronald Mitchell, M.D. and Lieutenant at Queen Mary's Military Hospital, 3 September, 1916, inscribed to Johnston 'as a small memento of varied and memorable experience during a period of the Great European War' (Eng Ms 1186/11/1/1/7). There is also a booklet of printed photographs detailing life at Queen Mary's Hospital (Eng 1186/4/3). Johnston's diaries, a unique and fascinating record of a traumatic conflict the results of which it was his daily work to deal with, are currently being prepared for microfilming.


59 Salveson, 'Loving Comrades', 71.


63 Newspaper cutting, unidentified, n.d., article entitled, "Farnworth Literary Debating Society". Re Charles F. Sixsmith's lecture as president to the Society entitled "Edward Carpenter, Poet and Reformer". Blodgett, in *Walt Whitman in England*, 205, also disputes this charge. Speaking of Carpenter's account of his seven years of 'contesting the ground' with the traditional forms of verse, he says:

   The imitator does not work in this way. With a closer reading a personality emerges from *Toward Democracy*, and it is a different personality from Whitman's, who, to be sure, had 'filtered and fibered' the blood of his successor. Carpenter's voice is more yielding and insinuating than Whitman's, and although his lines are beautiful, the grandeur of music in *Leaves of Grass* is simply beyond him.


65 In a letter dated 8 February, 1944, to Mr. Alfred Mattison, Stanley Unwin of Allen & Unwin regrets feeling unable to republish Carpenter's *Pagan and Christian Creeds*, since people are less interested in Carpenter than previously (i.e. before the War). The title of Irene Clayden's article in *The Leeds Weekly Citizen*, 12 July, 1946 – 'Ghosts of the pioneers walk again through Cordwell Valley: "Who was Edward Carpenter?"' seems self-explanatory.

66 Newspaper cutting, unidentified, n.d. 'Tribute to poet Pioneer: 1,000 in Song at Home of Carpenter'.


68 H.L. Traubel to J.W. Wallace, n.d., but probably 1892-3; incomplete letter (page 2 only). Also H.L. Traubel, from Camden, to J.W. Wallace, 8 Jan 1893.

69 Marie C. Stopes, 'Oscar Wilde and Alfred Douglas', *The Listener*, n.d.. A section of the article has been removed.

70 *The Adult*, vol 2, no.6 (July 1898), ed. Henry Seymour substituting for George Bedborough.

71 'The Bedborough Prosecution', *The Reformer* (15 September, 1898), 185. There is also a translation of Sully Prudhomme's poem "The Swallow" by Edward Carpenter, 182. See Eng 1331/3/8/1.
72 See Eng 1331/2/4/12.

73 See Eng 1331/2/5.

74 Town Topics, The Bolton Evening News, 29 Aug 1924. The article marks Carpenter's eightieth birthday and refers to the celebrations ten years earlier.


76 Scholar Recluse 80 To-Day', The Evening Standard, 29 August, 1924.

77 Town Topics, The Bolton Evening News, 29 August, 1924.

78 The Observer, n.d.

79 Eng 1331/2/7 contains a carbon copy of the typescript memorial notice including Carpenter's speech, with a note about the omission.

80 Salveson, 'Loving Comrades', 64.

81 Salveson, 'Loving Comrades', 70.

82 See Eng 1170/2/4/3, which contains various versions of Sixsmith's paper entitled 'The Lancashire Friends of Walt Whitman' delivered between 1931 and 1938. See also Eng 1170/2/2/3-5, which contains newspaper cuttings noting Sixsmith's recent lecture on Whitman to the Horwich and District Literary Society. The Chorley Guardian, April 9, 1938, contains a partial transcription of Sixsmith's paper as delivered to the Lancashire Authors' Association in 1938, together with a summary of the whole.

83 See Eng 1170/2/1 and Eng 1172/4.

84 See Eng 1170/2/1/8.

85 Salveson, 'Loving Comrades', (1997), 78.

86 Salveson, 'Loving Comrades', 78.


88 Salveson, 'Loving Comrades', 78.

89 Krieg, 'Without Walt Whitman in Camden', 101-3 and ff. Eng 1170/2/3/1 is a portrait photograph of Dalmas inscribed to Sixsmith.

90 See Eng 1170/2/1/4.

91 The lengths of the various offices he held have been calculated from the notices of elections.

92 See his papers relation to the English countryside (Eng 1330/3).

93 For his draft statement outlining a policy of industrial reconstruction and other material pertaining to his involvement in industrial relations see Eng 1330/4. Includes a Report on the Reconstruction of Industry,
Prepared after a series of Conferences of Plymouth and Cornish Citizens who were also Employers and Trade Unionists, held at Plymouth in March and April, 1918 (27pp).

94 The evolution of this talk can be traced through six extant drafts (see Eng 1330/1/1). All quotations from this talk refer to the first draft of pencilled notes (7 pp). The reference to the D.I.A. is from p. 1.

95 Pencilled draft of notes, p. 2.

96 Pencilled draft of notes, p. 2.

97 Pencilled draft of notes, p. 3.

98 Pencilled draft of notes, p. 6.

99 Pencilled notes, p. 6. The essay of Emerson's that Sixsmith most resembles here is 'Self-Reliance'.

100 Pencilled notes, p. 7. Cf also Eng 1330/1/3/2: typescript consisting of "Excerpts from Reports and Writings Regarding 'Foxton Fabrics'" by H. Foxton [4 pages], 18 Jan., 1933. It is clear that Sixsmith has drawn on these ideas for his BBC talk.

101 Pencilled notes, p. 4.

102 See his correspondence with Pilkington, in which he emphasises the inspiration of handicrafts for machine woven fabrics (Eng 1330/1/3/3).

103 For a full account of this otherwise profoundly imperial document see Eng 1330/2.

104 In a letter to J.W. Wallace of 12 June, 1894, Traubel instructs Wallace to write to Alfred W. Beville, a contact in London sympathetic to the establishment of an International Whitman League, with a view to setting up the League's English branch. Traubel is again impatient, demanding members' names immediately. In the same letter he enquires whether Wallace has sold any more copies of In Re Walt Whitman (pub. 1893) at the new price of three dollars. By 13 July, 1894, he is brusque: 'Not a member of the Fellowship from Bolton. What's the matter.'

105 Salveson, 'Loving Comrades', 79-80.

106 'That the Calamus has ever allowed the possibility of such construction as mentioned is terrible. I am fain to hope that the pages themselves are not to be even mentioned for such gratuitous and quite at the time undreamed and unwished possibility of morbid inferences – which are disavowed by me and seem damnable.' Quoted in Blodgett, Walt Whitman in England, 66.


114 See Eng 1186/10/3.


119 See Eng 1186/3/3, which contains an *In memoriam* card for George Whiteside, who died in Bolton on 11 July, 1905, aged twenty-three.

120 This description of Minnie, which is the one commonly adopted, comes from a letter from Elsie Austin, 20 January, 1931, in response to a description of Minnie as Wallace's housekeeper. She notes that at the time Minnie came to live with Wallace he already had a housekeeper (Eng 1186/3/5). However, Minnie did perform that role after the housekeeper left.


122 Letter from Charles Sixsmith to Harold Hamer, 26 October, 1950.

123 Letter from Harold Hamer, 30 October, 1950, to Charles Sixsmith (incomplete) and 2 November, 1950.

124 Letter from Charles Sixsmith to Harold Hamer, 1 November, 1950.


126 Letter from Harold Hamer to Charles Sixsmith, 15 November, 1950.


129 Harriet Sprague's letter is dated 21 June, 1951.

130 Harold Hamer to Charles Sixsmith, 30 September, 1953, to Charles Sixsmith.


132 Page from *The Christian Science Monitor*, 9 May, 1931, Boston, containing a photograph of the four new busts unveiled and an article by Wyona Dashwood.

133 Card with notice of the exhibition, 'Walt Whitman, 1819-92'.
Select Bibliography


Contents of the Microfilms

Reel 1
Eng MS 1186/1 – Eng MS 1186/2/5/21

Reel 2
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Reel 3
Eng MS 1186/5/22/4 – Eng MS 1186/11/4/9

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Eng MS 1186/12/1 – Eng MS 1170/1/4/8

Reel 5
Eng MS 1170/2/1 – Eng MS 1171/1/10/14

Reel 6
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Eng MS 1171/1/40 – Eng MS 1330/10/2

Reel 8
Eng MS 1331/1/1/1 – Eng MS 1331/1/7/2/2

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Reel 12
Eng MS 1331/3/9/7/1 – Eng MS 1331/4/4/8
Eng MS 1186

Papers relating to J.W. Wallace and the Bolton Whitman Fellowship
1876-1957

Catalogued by Frances Baker
Papers relating to J.W. Wallace and the Bolton Whitman Fellowship, 1876-1957

This archive collection relates to a small but remarkable group of Walt Whitman enthusiasts from the Bolton area of Lancashire. Its scope, however, extends beyond the North-West of England to embrace followers and friends of Whitman throughout Britain, the USA, and Canada.

The nucleus of the so-called 'Eagle Street College' was formed by a small number of lower-middle and working-class individuals from Bolton who shared certain interests and political beliefs, and who met on Monday evenings at the Eagle Street home of J.W. Wallace, the 'Master' of the College and something of a charismatic leader. Papers of and relating to Wallace form the basis of this collection.

Wallace, the son of a millwright, was born in Bolton in 1853 and grew up at 14 Eagle Street, off Bury Road in the Haulgh district of the town. He left school at 14 to join the firm of Bradshaw's (later Bradshaw and Gass) as an architect's assistant. He remained there until his retirement in 1912, despite the poor health which necessitated a move to the more rural Anderton in the early 1890s. He was very close to his mother and after her death in 1885 Wallace, always a great reader, found spiritual solace in Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. The death of his mother also seems to have precipitated a spiritual transformation in Wallace; he described attaining a new state of consciousness, which seems to have altered his whole outlook on life. He was subsequently looked upon by many as a quasi-religious figure (much like Whitman himself), and a provider of spiritual guidance. Numerous people visited Wallace after undergoing traumatic events or illnesses to receive mental and physical healing from Wallace and his housekeeper and companion, Minnie Whiteside. When Minnie first came to live with Wallace in 1905 she was recently widowed; her husband, a friend of Wallace, died following an industrial accident which happened only two weeks after their wedding. Minnie was devoted to Wallace and remained with him as his companion until he died. He, in turn, educated her and always referred to her as his adopted daughter.

'Eagle Street College' was born in 1885, when Wallace, with his two close friends, Dr John Johnston and Fred Wild, began to hold regular meetings at Wallace's home to read and discuss literary works; Ruskin, Burns, Carlyle, Tennyson, Emerson, and, above all, Walt Whitman, were standard fare. Johnston was a GP based in Bolton, although originally from Annan in Dumfriesshire. Wild was a cotton waste merchant who shared the literary interests of the others as well as being an active socialist. Other members of the group (which subsequently became known as the Bolton Whitman Fellowship) came and went over the years, although there was a remarkable continuity; members often formed lifelong attachments, based on the doctrines they found in Whitman's ideas on 'comradely love'. Not all the members were such avid Whitmanites as Wallace, Wild and Johnston, but the majority of them shared certain political ideals and a number were active in the early socialist movement.

The late nineteenth century in Britain saw the growth of an active and diverse socialist culture: there were many local socialist clubs, Clarion clubs and debating societies, as well as the Labour Church movement and its associated activities. In addition, there were the national political organizations, such as the Social Democratic Federation, founded in 1884, and the Independent Labour Party, founded in 1893. Members of the Bolton Whitman circle were involved in a number of these local and national movements. They had links with the local Labour Church; and Wallace's interpretation of Whitman's work echoed the Labour Church concept of socialism as a living and loving fellowship between Man, Nature and God.

Walt Whitman (1819-92) was born on Long Island and grew up in Brooklyn, New York. He had little formal education and moved through various temporary occupations, including journalism, before publishing the first edition of his book of poems, *Leaves of Grass*, in 1855. Written in a simple style
and dispensing with traditional poetic devices, these poems represent an early form of free verse. Whitman spent the rest of his life revising and expanding this volume, producing nine editions in total. The third edition of 1860 contained the 'Calamus' group of poems, which has often been taken as evidence of his homosexuality, although the poet denied this and instead emphasised its meaning as a celebration of the natural affection of man for man or 'comradely love'. His work as a whole celebrated America, democracy, and the lives of the ordinary working people. Despite his own efforts at publicity, however, Whitman's work was largely ignored by the general public in America until the 1870s, when favourable reviews of his poetry appeared in England written by respected men of letters such as William Rossetti and John Addington Symonds. Whitman died at his home in Mickle Street, Camden, New Jersey, in 1892.

Whitman was quickly adopted in Britain as a prophet for the socialist cause; his ideas on love and comradeship, democracy and nature proved very attractive to members of the early socialist movement. The Bolton group, inspired by Wallace, did much to gain wider recognition for Whitman in Britain. They built up a network of contacts across the country, which included such figures as Keir Hardie, Katharine Conway and later her husband John Bruce Glasier of the ILP, Edward Carpenter, and writer and journalist Robert Blatchford of The Clarion. Through his wide circle of contacts, Wallace became influential in the ILP, addressing a number of conferences on the subject of Whitman and his ideas. His home at Anderton was visited by a number of prominent ILP members. The annual Whitman Day celebrations held by the Bolton group on or near 31 May (the poet's birthday) often attracted visitors from outside and included messages from absent friends.

Wallace also cultivated contacts in America and Canada among people who had been acquaintances and personal friends of Whitman. These included Horace Traubel, his wife Anne, and later also his daughter, Gertrude; John Burroughs, naturalist, writer and friend of Whitman; and Whitman's close friend and official biographer, Dr Richard Maurice Bucke. Wallace and Dr Johnston corresponded with Whitman himself from 1887 to 1892. Johnston made a pilgrimage to America in 1890, visiting Whitman himself in Camden, as well as fellow American Whitmanites and various localities associated with the life of the poet. He kept detailed 'Diary Notes' of his experiences and his conversations with Whitman, which were printed as a pamphlet for private circulation in 1898. Wallace made a visit in 1891, staying in the home of the Traubel's; he too kept a diary, which was subsequently published, along with Johnston's, as Visits to Walt Whitman in 1890-1891 (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1917).

The Whitman Fellowship in Bolton continued to be active in one form or another up to and beyond Wallace's death in January 1926. His death robbed the group of its leader, and the two remaining founder members died within the next decade – Dr Johnston in 1927 and Fred Wild in 1935. The movement was kept alive, however, by Minnie Whiteside, along with the few remaining members, notably John Ormrod and William Broadhurst, as well as a second generation of Whitman admirers. Whitman Day continued to be celebrated at least into the 1950s, and Minnie also maintained contact with Whitmanites in America, such as Anne and Gertrude Traubel.

Minnie devoted the last years of her life to disposing of Wallace's papers to appropriate institutions; she was keen for the Bolton group to be remembered and appreciated, and she recognised the value of the papers for research. She remarried in 1957; her wedding to an old friend, Edward Bull, took place on 4 July.

The collection contains over 300 pieces of correspondence, including letters and copy letters sent and received by Wallace and Minnie Whiteside. Correspondents include: friends and other members of the Bolton Whitman circle; Whitman enthusiasts throughout Britain; figures involved in the socialist movement, such as Ramsay MacDonald (Eng 1186/1/20), Edward Carpenter (Eng 1186/1/5), Katharine Glasier (Eng 1186/1/32, 3/4 & 5/6) and Robert Blatchford (Eng 1186/1/4); friends of
Whitman, such as Horace Traubel and his family, Dr R.M. Bucke and John Burroughs; and other Whitmanites from Canada and the USA, including the great Whitman collector, Charles E. Feinberg (Eng 1186/5/24). Wallace's correspondence with Whitman himself is represented by a series of 54 draft and copy letters to the poet, dating from 1887 to 1891 (Eng 1186/2/2). Also included are news cuttings, offprints and journals relating to Whitman affairs, the Bolton group, and friends of Wallace; and a series of photographic prints, including a photograph of Whitman during his residence at Mickle Street in Camden, New Jersey (Eng 1186/11/3/1), and a number of photographs of the Bolton College group at various stages in its history, along with shots of associated individuals. In addition, there is a small quantity of material (songs, addresses and programmes) relating to meetings of the Bolton group and their annual Whitman Day celebrations, a typescript draft of Wallace's diary of his visits to Whitman in 1891 (Eng 1186/4/2), a copy of Wallace's published booklet, *Walt Whitman and the World Crisis* (Eng 1186/10/6), and a number of miscellaneous items which have some Wallace or Whitman connection.

The collection forms a valuable addition to existing research resources for Whitman studies, and is particularly rich in material relating to: the Bolton group itself and the characters connected with it; early responses to the work of Whitman and the reception of his poetry and ideas in Britain; transatlantic links between Whitman admirers, and the relationships between individuals within the international Whitman circle; and the avid collecting of Whitmaniana which grew to reach a peak in the 1950s, particularly in America. The collection also provides scope for studies of the early socialist movement in Britain, and of religious beliefs and movements during the period, which were themselves often closely related to ideas of democracy and ethical socialism.

Custodial History: J.W. Wallace's papers appear to have been left to Minnie on his death in 1926. From the late 1920s to the 1950s she was engaged in disposing of his books and papers relating to Whitman and the Bolton group; correspondence in this collection contains various references to the possibility of selling Wallace's Whitman books. A letter from J. Bodgener (Eng 1186/5/14) suggests that by 1949 Minnie was investigating the possibility of publishing Wallace's collected papers. This never happened, and instead the papers were dispersed to various institutions, as well as to various friends and Whitman admirers who had an interest in their content, or required them for research, such as Dr Seaborne (Bucke's son-in-law) and Professor Will S. Monroe (who published various works on Whitman). Minnie donated a large collection of papers to Bolton Central Library, some to the Walt Whitman Foundation in Mickle Street, Camden, New Jersey, and some to the John Rylands Library. Correspondence between Minnie and the Librarian held in the Library's archive spans the period from early 1956 to November 1958. During this time, Minnie frequently sent the Librarian packages of letters, papers and photographs, which she admitted were bundled together often without being sorted beforehand; she relied on Library Staff to sort the material and select the items they wished to keep for the collection. Although many of the papers were clearly Wallace's own, some of the material was acquired by Minnie from other Whitman enthusiasts and sent on to the Library; for example, the copy of J.H. Bodgener's thesis (Eng 1186/12/7) came from Bodgener himself; Will Hayes, in his letter of 9 February 1957 (Eng 1186/5/18/4) promises to look out any relevant material to send to the John Rylands Library; and the letters from Wallace to his cousin, James, came to Minnie after James's death. Other papers were generated by Minnie herself in the course of her correspondence with various admirers of Whitman and Wallace, and other individuals connected with the Bolton group. ¹

Archivist's note: the material in the collection has largely been rearranged by the archivist. This was necessary due to the somewhat arbitrary way in which the collection was amassed, as outlined above. It appears that by December 1956, all the papers Minnie had so far donated to the Library had been

¹ Many thanks to Dr Carolyn Masel, who produced a detailed inventory of much of this collection during the course of her work, and who has provided much useful information.
arranged to form Rylands English MS 1186, and all subsequent donations up to November 1958 were incorporated into this collection.

The collection is therefore a composite one and does not reflect the way in which the various originators of the material ordered their papers. Minnie appears to have bundled the material together as she came across it, and sent it off ad hoc to various individuals and institutions. The Rylands collection includes much loose material with no discernible order at all; and in general, aside from a few bundles, there was no chronological ordering, or sorting by subject or correspondent. After the material arrived, some of it appears to have been brought together by Library staff into rough subject or physical groupings, such as 'Wallace Miscellanea', photographs, or news cuttings, but this arrangement omitted much of the material altogether.

The collection has now been arranged into classes, predominantly based on the physical nature of the material, although a number of the classes are composite. Material which was obviously Minnie's own, such as her own correspondence and copy extracts from letters and articles made after Wallace's death, have been allotted separate classes. Otherwise the principle of original order has had to be disregarded, and the material listed according to type. The English Manuscript number allocated to the collection has been retained.

The classes are as follows:

Eng 1186/1  Letters to J.W. Wallace
Eng 1186/2  Letters from J.W. Wallace
Eng 1186/3  Letters between other individuals
Eng 1186/4  Miscellaneous papers of J.W. Wallace
Eng 1186/5  Letters to Minnie Whiteside
Eng 1186/6  Letters from Minnie Whiteside
Eng 1186/7  Copies, extracts and notes of Minnie Whiteside
Eng 1186/8  Bolton Whitman Fellowship material
Eng 1186/9  News cuttings, offprints and journals
Eng 1186/10  Miscellaneous printed and published material
Eng 1186/11  Photographs
Eng 1186/12  Miscellaneous material

Related materials: the John Rylands University Library houses four other manuscript collections with a Whitman connection which were bequeathed to the Library by Charles F. Sixsmith, a member of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship: Eng MS 1170 includes papers relating to the Bolton circle and Whitman in general, including a bundle of autograph letters sent to Whitman by various individuals during 1880; Eng MS 1172 is a collection of correspondence relating to Horace Traubel, principally letters from Traubel to Wallace, Dr Johnston and Sixsmith; Eng MS 1330 is a collection of miscellaneous, including a small quantity of papers relating to the Bolton Whitman group; and Eng MS 1331 is a
collection of journals, cuttings, other printed material, and photographs relating to Whitman, Edward Carpenter, and various other interests of Sixsmith.

A much larger collection of Bolton Whitman Fellowship material is held at Bolton Archive Service, based in the Central Library, Bolton, Lancashire. This includes: some original letters from Walt Whitman to Wallace, Johnston and others, copies of these, and copies of their letters to him; large quantities of other correspondence, between members of the Bolton circle and with Whitman enthusiasts overseas (including extensive Traubel correspondence); numerous papers relating to the Bolton group and its activities; photographs; mementos and ephemera.

Publication record: this collection was used as a source for Paul Salveson's 'Loving Comrades: Lancashire's links to Walt Whitman', *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review*, 14, nos. 2-3 (1997), 57-84.
Select Bibliography

Bevir, Mark, 'Labour churches and ethical socialism', History Today, 47, 3 (April 1997), 50-55.


This class consists of letters and copy letters to Wallace from a variety of individuals, including: members of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship; friends and acquaintances involved in the socialist movement, such as Ramsay MacDonald, Katharine Glasier, Robert Blatchford and Edward Carpenter; other friends in Britain; and members of the Whitman circle from the USA and Canada, such as Horace Traubel, his wife and daughter, Dr R.M. Bucke, and the Saunders and Bains families. Topics covered include: Whitman's message; the general lack of public recognition of his work; the issue of publishing Whitman's papers; the book by Wallace and Johnston describing their visits to the poet; socialist activities; Wallace's teachings and spirituality; and family news.

Archivists Note: both original and copy letters are included in this class because the copies are in some cases almost contemporary with the original, and are often hard to distinguish. Later copies are also included here for ease of reference. Minnie's own copies of and extracts from letters to Wallace are listed under Eng 1186/7. All the letters are autograph and consist of one sheet of paper unless stated otherwise.

38 items; 65 pieces.

Invitation card

From the Penn Club (sent via Horace Traubel), inviting Wallace to a function.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Includes envelope.

Letters from Horace Traubel (1858-1919), poet and close friend of Whitman. Born in Camden, New Jersey, Traubel followed a variety of occupations, eventually working for a long period as a bank clerk. He took up free-lance journalism in 1902, having already founded a monthly paper, The Conservator in 1890, which he edited until June 1919. He became acquainted with Whitman after the poet moved to Camden in 1873, and a close friendship developed between the two men, resulting in Traubel's nine-volume With Walt Whitman in Camden, a minutely detailed diary of his visits to Whitman after 1888. Only three volumes were published during Traubel's lifetime, in 1906, 1908 and 1914.

These letters and copy letters date principally from 1894, although there are also some later copies of letters written to Wallace shortly before Traubel's death in September 1919.

11 pieces.

Refers to: a severe illness of Gertrude [Traubel's young daughter, born in April 1892], which the doctor suspects is croup; a recent trip which did Gertrude no good; his gratitude to Charlie [Sixsmith, a member of the Bolton group and friend of Wallace] for "brave deeds" done for the Traubel's.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].
Eng 1186/1/2/2 Letter 3 Jan 1894

Refers to his concern over Gertrude's illness, and the Davis suit which is about to sum up [in 1893 a lawsuit was brought against Walt Whitman's brother, George, by Mrs Mary Davis (Whitman's former housekeeper), and her foster son, Warren Fritzinger ('Warry', who acted as Walt's nurse at his final home in Mickle Street, Camden), for payment of expenses incurred on Walt's behalf]: Traubel, who expects to be summoned, condemns the actions of Davis and Fritzinger, whom he asserts have estranged all Walt's friends, and have revealed that the service they offered was mainly mercenary.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1186/1/2/3 Letter 4 Jan 1894

Refers to: copies of the Chronicle he has received, which contain information about [Keir] Hardie; Hardie's apparent dislike of The Conservator; his respect for Hardie's monthly [The Labour Leader] and for Hardie himself.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1186/1/2/4 Letter 5 Jan 1894

Refers to: the concern he and his wife, Anne, feel over Gertrude's illness; their boy [a son named Wallace who was born in July 1893 and died in February 1898], who has been spared infection as yet; his dislike of those who waste their time by philosophizing on destiny; his opinion that [John] Burroughs [nature writer and friend of Whitman] has as little insight into Whitman as [John Addington] Symonds; Whitman's simple, childlike nature.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1186/1/2/5 Letter 6 Jan 1894

Refers to: Gertrude who has been pronounced seriously ill with "the grip" by [Daniel] Longaker [the doctor who also tended Whitman]; a package he intends to send to Wallace; a forthcoming lecture by [the famous agnostic Robert Green] Ingersoll, at which he hopes to meet the speaker afterwards; recent letters received from [Dr R.M.] Bucke.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1186/1/2/6 Letter 8 Jan 1894

Refers to: [Robert] Ingersoll, who is now in town on his lecture tour; one Schmidt [possibly Rudolf, Danish author and friend of Whitman], whose letter Traubel will send to Bucke; Schmidt's excessive sensitivity regarding his translations.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].
Eng 1186/1/2/7  Letter  16 Jan 1894

Refers to: a copy of the *Cosmopolitan* which he is sending and which contains material on an exhibition [possibly the World's Fair held at Chicago in 1893]; his interest in the *Chronicle* which Wallace sends him; [the New York author] Harold Frederic and his writing on English affairs for American papers; the [Davis] court case to which he has not yet been summoned; [his son] Wallace's improvement.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1186/1/2/8  Letter  19 Jan 1894

Refers to: Gertrude's illness, which is slightly improved, and her impressive endurance; [Robert] Ingersoll's lecture and Traubel's meeting with him.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1186/1/2/9  Letter  12 Apr [19]19

Refers to: Wallace's recent notes; his intermittent confidence; problems with his eyes which prevent him from writing more often; a Walt Whitman ferment which is occurring in America and numerous requests for Whitman-related items from Traubel; his financial problems and day-to-day struggles; his family; Gertrude, who now lives in New York and whose baby is well.

New York [USA].

Includes interlinear transcription of contents, possibly by Minnie Whiteside.

3 sheets.

Eng 1186/1/2/10  Copy Letter  21 Aug 1919

Refers to: the place where he is staying (Bon Echo in Ontario, Canada); his weakness and poor health; his feelings on current events in the world; his love for Wallace and Minnie [Whiteside].

Typescript copy; probably later than original.

Eng 1186/1/2/11  Copy Letter  26 Aug [1919]

Refers to: the heart attack he suffered the previous night; his great desire to be near Wallace and Minnie.

Later typescript copy.

Eng 1186/1/3  Letter  6 Apr 1893

From H[arry] Buxton Forman [Whitmanite who corresponded with the poet, and a noted bibliographer], writing in reply to a query made by Wallace regarding copies of letters from Horace Traubel in his possession.

London.
From [socialist, journalist, and author] Robert Blatchford [joint founder of socialist weekly, The Clarion]: he thanks Wallace for his gift of a book; outlines his feelings on Whitman, from whom he has learnt much; discusses current lack of recognition of Whitman; and mentions a possible visit to a concert at Bolton in March.

Manchester.

Typescript (possibly a copy).

Letters and postcard from poet, writer, and socialist, Edward Carpenter, who campaigned for various progressive causes, and whose ideas on democracy were much influenced by Whitman.

3 pieces.

Refers to: a book (Natural Genesis) with which he is disappointed and which he is returning unfinished; a recent meeting in Paris with Philip [probably Dalmas, a composer, singer and admirer of Whitman, originally from Philadelphia]; Wallace's eye trouble; "systematic thought-suppression", which he thinks would help Wallace; his own friends at home.

Sheffield [Yorks].

Sent to Wallace from a holiday in Spain. Carpenter comments that "the Dr." [Johnston, who was apparently accompanying him] will show Wallace his "gallery of 'snaps'" on return.

Cadiz, Spain.

Refers to: [Dr R.M.] Bucke's notes of the "Last Days" extracted from [Horace] Traubel's letters, which he does not think should be published at present; Traubel's "big work" [editing Walt Whitman's works as one of the poet's literary executors], and his views on the publication of the Whitman records.

Holmesfield [Derbys].

From Dr R.M. Bucke, friend and official biographer of Walt Whitman, who was also a physician and superintendent of the Insane Asylum in London, Ontario, Canada. He was one of Whitman's 3 literary executors and author of a book entitled Cosmic Consciousness (1901), which praised both Whitman and Wallace for their spirituality.

2 pieces.
Eng 1186/1/6/1  Copy Letter

Standard letter of thanks for sympathy letters sent on the death of Bucke's son who died at the age of 31; with additional section thanking Wallace for his letter and sentiments.

London, Ontario [Canada].

Duplicated printed letter with ms section and autograph.

2 sheets.

Eng 1186/1/6/2  Letter

Refers to some copies of Cosmic Consciousness which Wallace has ordered; asserts that if it was not for Wallace the book would never have been written; and mentions advertising for the book.

London, Ontario [Canada].

Typescript (possibly a copy).

Eng 1186/1/7  Letter

From [Dr] J[ohn] Johnston, referring to: some honeysuckle and roots sent to him by Wallace, and the latter's kindness; a visit he and Mrs Johnston made to Horwich [Lancs] for Sermon Sunday; Wallace's holiday plans with Mrs Thompson, and Johnston's own plans; his last 2 "effusions" of which he sends copies.

Bolton [Lancs].

Eng 1186/1/8  Bundle

Letters and notes from Gertrude Traubel, the daughter of Horace and his wife Anne, born in April 1892. She grew up in Camden, New Jersey, living temporarily in New York during the years before 1920, and worked as a music teacher. After the death of her father, she kept up correspondence with Wallace (whom she along with many others addressed as 'Uncle Wallace').

Eng 1186/1/8/1 is a small note of greeting written as a child; topics referred to in the later letters include: her stay in New York; her happiness with her husband [Arthur C. Aalholm]; an item to be forwarded to Dr [John] Johnston; a Traubel dinner to be held in 1920; a Philadelphia Traubel meeting to be held in January [1921] at which Anne Traubel would like Wallace's 'Calamus' paper ['The "Calamus" poems in Leaves of Grass', 1920] to be read.

3 pieces.

Eng 1186/1/9  Postcard

From [Henry] B[ryan] Binns [author of A Life of Walt Whitman (1905)] commenting that he would be glad to see the "Diary notes" [presumably Wallace's notes on his visit to Whitman in 1891].

London.
From "Walt", referring to: his appreciation of Wallace's loving greeting every year and his love for Wallace; an invitation to Wallace to come and stay with them.

London.

From Walt Hawkins [a member of the Bolton Whitman group], referring to: a dangerous operation he is about to undergo; his gratitude for Wallace's love and comradeship in the past, and his help when Hawkins was last ill.

Leeds.

From William Broadhurst of Culcheth in Bolton [another member of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship]. Topics covered include: Wallace's manuscript [probably his "Visits to Walt Whitman in 1891"] which he praises, commenting on its "holy" atmosphere and its success in capturing Whitman's soul; his anticipation of its reception by readers and critics; his admiration for Wallace's spiritual superiority; comments from others that the manuscript is not sufficiently objective, which Broadhurst rejects.

1186/1/12/1 includes envelope; both letters in pencil.

2 pieces; 4 sheets.

From Stanley Unwin of the publishing company, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, who inquires whether Wallace has any duplicate copies of early pamphlets by Edward Carpenter to help Unwin complete his collection.

London.

Typescript with autograph.

From Henry S[auders, one of the Whitman circle in Canada], relating to: a circular letter which he is distributing; the "new book" to which he subscribes; an address list for Wallace's circulars which Saunders has recently sent.

Toronto, Ontario [Canada].
From Ward H. Edwards, referring to: an inscribed copy of Wallace and Johnston's *Visits to Walt Whitman* which he has recently read and enjoyed; some Whitman papers he owns himself, including a letter from [Dr R.M.] Bucke to [William Douglas] O'Connor [journalist, friend and defender of Whitman], and a page of Whitman's manuscript given to him by Horace Traubel; his envy of the Bolton College group; people and places relating to Whitman; his role as a Baptist preacher.

Liberty, Missouri [USA].

Includes envelope.

From G[race] Frend [daughter of the English writer Anne Gilchrist who wrote a series of passionate letters to Whitman, became a close friend of the poet and took her family to live in America during the years 1876-9]. She refers to Mr Harnell's (*sic*) book [Thomas B. Harned, one of Whitman's literary executors, published *The Letters of Anne Gilchrist and Walt Whitman* in 1918] and her objections to it; discusses Whitman's character, and the nature of Gilchrist and Whitman's attachment; regrets that her brother's memoir [Herbert Gilchrist, *Anne Gilchrist: Her Life and Writings* (1887)] cannot be the final word on the subject.

Audley End [Essex].

Typescript copy.

From Frank [Bain, a Canadian member of the Whitman circle], referring to: arrangements for his new job as office manager in a bank in Havana, Cuba; his hopes that Horace [Traubel] will spend winters with Bain and his family there; a recent telephone conversation with Traubel, who sounded very weak; the health of his family, who have escaped the recent severe outbreak of 'flu.

In pencil; includes envelope.

2 sheets.

Short note and 2 letters from Mildred Bain [wife of Frank and fellow Whitman enthusiast]. Topics covered include: the Bains' forthcoming move to Havana in 1919; her hope that Horace [Traubel] will visit them during the winter; the copy of Wallace's Whitman talk [probably his paper on the "Calamus" poems] which she praises; a forthcoming trip to Paris and to England, where she arranges to meet Wallace and Minnie in Anderton.

1186/1/18/1 includes envelope.

3 pieces; 4 sheets.
From John Burroughs [nature writer and friend of Whitman], referring to: Wallace's letter which moved him greatly; his health and continuing love for Whitman.

West Park, New York [USA].

Typescript (possibly a later copy).


London.

Includes envelope.

From Marie Louise Herdman, an American woman living temporarily in Britain, who was prompted to write to Wallace and Dr [John] Johnston after reading their book, *Visits to Walt Whitman*. Topics covered include: praise for their book; her appreciation of Whitman and the lack of widespread recognition for his work; Wallace's article on the 'Calamus' poems; some notes of her own which she is sending; the idea of comrade love in Whitman's work; a children's history book she has written.

Edinburgh.

Typescript carbon copies.

2 pieces.

From Anne Traubel [the widow of Horace who continued to keep in contact with her fellow Whitmanites in Bolton after her husband's death in 1919]. Topics covered include: Wallace's letters which have given her strength over the past year; her curiosity as to who or what sustains and comforts Wallace himself; different editions of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, and her attempts to find a one-volume complete edition for Wallace; the Traubel Publication Fund and her attempts to raise money; Horace's Whitman relics, most of which he gave away; Mrs [Katharine] Glasier who is staying with Wallace [following the death of her husband and her resignation from her post as editor of the *Labour Leader*]; a book by Henry Saunders; the publishing contract for Horace Traubel's *With Walt Whitman in Camden*; her material poverty, which does not affect her mind or heart; Malcolm [Aalholm, her grandson]; a book by Professor [Emory] Holloway; Horace's [memorial] dinner; publication of the Anne Gilchrist letters [to Whitman].

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

1186/1/22/1 includes envelope, with stamp removed.

2 pieces; 6 sheets.
2 letters from [the Rev.] Will Hayes, a Unitarian minister, who founded the Order of the Great Companions, a church promoting the search for a world religion and revering the prophets of all faiths, which took its name from a line of poetry by Whitman; Hayes was also the author of Walt Whitman: the Prophet of the New Era (1920).

Contents relate to: his hope that Wallace will one day write a book on Whitman; a forthcoming exam he is to sit; books he hopes to buy; the volume Notes and Fragments [ed. R.M. Bucke, 1899] given by Wallace as a gift; his theories about Whitman and the genesis of Leaves of Grass; the works of Thomas Traherne, the 17th-century mystic, and the parallels he finds there with Whitman; Professor [Emory] Holloway's books; his own manuscript on which Wallace has commented; a study of Whitman by Elbert Hubbard.

Chatham [Kent].

1186/1/23/2 includes envelope.

2 pieces; 6 sheets.

From "Douglas", referring to: an autobiographical novel entitled Robert Falconer which Wallace has sent him, commenting on the parallels between the characters and those of Mark Twain, and his difficulty with the Scottish dialect; the "labouring classes" and their conduct; Wallace's paper on Horace Traubel which was very helpful; the titles of Whitman's poems.

London.

Typescript with annotations and autograph.

3 sheets.

To Wallace and Minnie from "Elsie" [probably Elsie Austin – see 1186/3/5], referring to: the book Wallace is lending her; Wallace's eye problems; [Dr R.M. Bucke's] Cosmic Consciousness and a book entitled Man's Moral Nature, both of which have had a profound spiritual effect on her; Wallace's spiritual teaching; Dr Bucke's description of depression, which she admires.

Driffield [Yorks].

Includes envelope.

2 sheets.

From Carina [Caroline A. Eccles, friend of Wallace and author of James William Wallace, An English Comrade of Walt Whitman: A Memoir (1936)]. Topics covered include: a request to borrow [Dr R.M.] Bucke's Life of Whitman [Walt Whitman (1883)] for her friend, Eve Bond, who is preparing a lecture on Whitman; a description of Eve Bond and her family; Wallace's eye problems.

Driffield [Yorks].

Includes envelope.

2 sheets.
Eng 1186/1/27  Letter

From [Lizette?] Glasier Foster, Principal of the E.N.A. School of Needlecraft, referring to: Wallace's illness, which they have heard of through Katharine [Glasier]; their concern for Minnie and Wallace.

London.

17 Jan [19]25

Eng 1186/1/28  Letters

From L[on] Bazalgette [French writer and author of Walt Whitman: the man and his works (1920)]. Topics covered include: the condition of Dr [John] Johnston's health [he appears to be suffering from senile dementia]; his appreciation of Wallace's letters; his mother; the Whitman meeting on 31 May at John Ormrod's house, which he cannot attend; Wallace's book [presumably Visits to Walt Whitman], which is being displayed at a Whitman exhibition at New York Public Library.

Paris [France].

Both letters include envelopes.

2 pieces.

May & Dec 1925

Eng 1186/1/29  Letter

From Leroy Henry of the Freedom Hill Pressery in Burbank, California, referring to: a book he is sending Wallace, entitled Jacob Beilhart: Life and Teaching; the Jacob Beilhart papers; Henry's own book, Happy in Hell; his printing business; his financial failures; Wallace's comments on Henry's writing; his faith and spiritual life; Lloyd, who is going to Tahiti for a holiday.

Burbank, California [USA].

Includes envelope.

2 sheets.

29 May [1925]

Eng 1186/1/30  Letter

From Elsie Ormrod [probably the daughter of John], referring to: her experiences in France at the Copec League of Youth Camp; her enthusiastic impressions of Rouen and her holiday.

Rouen [France].

Includes envelope.

2 sheets.

16 Aug 1925
Eng 1186/1/31  Letter  21 Sep [19]25

From "Grandpa F" [probably William Ferguson of the Bolton group], referring to: Wallace's kindness and the gifts he sends from time to time; his health; various books lent to him by Wallace, including Glover's *Paul of Tarsus*, also *Cousin Phyllis* and *Mary Lamb*.

Lytham [Lancs].

Includes envelope.

Eng 1186/1/32  Bundle  Dec 1925

Letters to Wallace and Minnie from Katharine Glasier (130 Conway), an active figure in the early socialist movement, who married John Bruce Glasier of the ILP leadership. She first encountered the Bolton Whitmanites when she lectured in Bolton in 1893, and maintained contact with them until her death in 1950. She was very close to Wallace, who seems to have offered her spiritual guidance, and helped her through the death of her husband in 1920.

These letters date from the Christmas period of 1925, topics covered including: a visit to a Mrs Waddington; Christmas and the gifts her family received from Wallace and Minnie, including the [W.M.] Rossetti edition of Whitman [1868]; news of her sons, Glen and Malcolm, and also of Evaline [her sister] and Tiny [possibly another family member]; [Dr R.M.] Bucke's book, *Cosmic Consciousness*; lessons she has learnt from Wallace, her gratitude and her love for him.

1186/1/32/1 includes envelope.

3 pieces.

Eng 1186/1/33  Letter  10 Jan [19]26

From Jim [Wallace's cousin, another James Wallace, to whom he was very close], referring to: a recent change affecting the lives of both men; physical pain and discomfort which they must bear; Wallace's illness, from which Jim is sure he will recover, his mission being as yet incomplete; his gratitude to the "family" around Wallace who are caring for him; his hopes for good news of Wallace from George [another cousin].

Newcastle-upon-Tyne [Northumb].

Includes envelope.

Eng 1186/1/34  Letter  n.d.

From J.T. Davis [noted by Minnie as the Rev. J Davis], introducing himself to Wallace as a fellow Whitman admirer and a friend of Miss [Caroline] Eccles. He expresses his admiration for Wallace's writings, and sends copies of some publications for Wallace to distribute.

In pencil.
Eng 1186/1/35  
**Notes**  
n.d.

2 brief notes of greeting from Arthur H. Ransome [noted in another hand as the Rev. A. Ransome], on headed note paper displaying the address "Prior's Cottage, Maresfield, Sussex". Possibly sent to accompany another item.

2 pieces.

Eng 1186/1/36  
**Copy letter**  
n.d.

From Lily L. Allen [widow of James Allen, who took over the job of editing their journal, *Epoch* on her husband's death]. Refers to: an invitation to Wallace and Minnie to stay with her; her desire that Wallace should meet her daughter, Nora; his subscription to the *Epoch*; a past visit to Wallace.

Ilfracombe, Devon.

Typescript carbon copy.

Eng 1186/1/37  
**Fragment**  
n.d. [c.1918]

Final sheet of a letter from Clara Barrus, an American Whitmanite and biographer of John Burroughs, in which she asks recipient [presumably Wallace] and Dr [John] Johnston's views on Mrs G[ilchrist]'s letters and their publication; she refers to them as "beautiful, heart-breaking letters" and is glad they are published.

Eng 1186/1/38  
**Envelope**  
13 Jan 1926

Addressed to Wallace at Anderton, and redirected to Mr [John] Ormrod's address at Walker Fold [Lancs]. Postmarked Montreal [Canada]; the letter is missing.

Eng 1186/2  
**Letters from J.W. Wallace**  
1885-1926

This class consists of letters and copies of letters sent by Wallace to diverse correspondents. They have come from various sources: some were clearly Wallace's own copies; others are originals returned by the recipients to Minnie Whiteside. The correspondents include Whitman himself, various Whitman admirers, other friends and acquaintances. The largest bundles consist of Wallace's letters to Whitman from 1887 to 1891; and letters to Wallace's cousin James, which contain much detail on his inner feelings and spiritual life. The correspondence as a whole contains information on: Whitman and his work; Wallace's feelings about the Bolton Whitman group; family news and friendships; his role as a spiritual adviser to various individuals; his personal doubts, loneliness and spiritual beliefs.

Archivist’s note: letters are autograph and consist of one sheet of paper unless stated otherwise.

12 items; 103 pieces.
Eng 1186/2/1

Postcard

To Wallace's father, another James Wallace, at Eagle Street in Bolton, where Wallace grew up. He describes a holiday in Scotland with his cousin, Jim, and his uncle, also referring to another cousin, George.

'Howth' [Monkseaton, Northumb].

Eng 1186/2/2

Copy letters to Walt Whitman

Rough drafts and fair copies of letters from Wallace and Dr John Johnston to Walt Whitman. The two Bolton friends built up a voluminous correspondence with the poet and the letters preserved here cover the period from their initial greeting to Whitman, on the occasion of his 68th birthday in 1887, to June 1891, shortly before Wallace visited Whitman in America. The letters are all in Wallace's hand, although those prior to 1890 are generally signed from both Wallace and Johnston. During 1890 they appear to have started writing to the poet separately. At first the letters are infrequent, consisting of annual birthday greetings to Whitman accompanying gifts of money. From 1890, however, the correspondence grows, as Wallace and Whitman begin to swap books and articles and discuss ideas.

Notable topics covered in the letters include: praise of Whitman's work and descriptions of his influence on Wallace, accompanied by effusive expressions of love and gratitude; the Whitman "Gospel" and Wallace's desire to spread his teaching (in 2/2/17 he ranks Whitman's work with the Hebrew scriptures); Whitman's lack of recognition by the literary classes as compared to the masses (2/2/13 & 29); growing appreciation of the poet; frequent comments on the state of Whitman's health, and Wallace's concern; books and articles sent between the correspondents; the Bolton group and their activities, including descriptions of various members, notably the Rev. F.R. Hutton (2/2/16), Fred Wild (2/2/27 & 29), and Wentworth Dixon (2/2/52); references to friends and admirers of Whitman, such as John Burroughs, Dr R.M. Bucke and Horace Traubel; John Addington Symonds and their correspondence with him (2/2/9, 24 & 35); the deaths of Robert Browning (2/2/5) and of Whitman's friend and defender William Douglas O'Connor (2/2/11); Wallace's move to Anderton in 1890 (2/2/7); Johnston's visit to Whitman in the same year (2/2/8-11 & 17); Whitman's canary (celebrated in 'My Canary Bird', later stuffed and sent to the Bolton group (2/2/5 & 11)); various gifts sent by Whitman, including 2 portraits of himself (2/2/14) and autograph copies of poems (2/2/40 & 42); numerous orders placed for the pocket edition of Leaves of Grass available from Whitman; Wallace's feelings on the death of his mother (2/2/11); his views on Ruskin and Carlyle (2/2/28); Whitman's 'Good-Bye My Fancy' and the 2nd Annex to the final edition of Leaves of Grass (2/2/34, 37, 44 & 53).

2/2/10 is an unfinished draft; 2/2/44 is a rough note relating to a letter to Whitman of which no copy was kept; 2/2/54 consists of 2 fragmentary drafts.

Archivist’s note: the letters were found bundled together chronologically; all undated letters have therefore been left in place. Also included is one copy letter to Dr Johnston (2/2/2) and one to Dr [R.M.] Bucke (2/2/30); these too have been left in their place in the sequence.

Many of the drafts are in pencil.

54 pieces. All letters consist of one sheet except 1186/2/2/12, 15, 17, 19, 24-6, 29, 33, 40, 46, 52, 54 (2 sheets); 4 & 28 (3 sheets); 1 & 11 (4 sheets).

46
Eng 1186/2/3  Copy letters  Apr-May 1891

To Dr [R.M.] Bucke, friend and biographer of Whitman. Topics covered include: Whitman's poor health and its fluctuations; Bucke's hope to visit Whitman on his next birthday; Bucke's own poor health.

Anderton [Lancs]

2 pieces.

Eng 1186/2/4  Copy letters  1891-1916

To Wallace's close friend and fellow Whitmanite, Dr John Johnston.

3 pieces.

Eng 1186/2/4/1  Copy letter  3 May 1891

Refers to: a hoped-for visit from Johnston which has not taken place; Whitman's references to Wallace and Johnston in his most recent postcard; his own letter to Traubel. Most of the letter is devoted to the subject of the Bolton College group: Wallace expresses his impatience with the group, whose attendance is dropping considerably; he urges Johnston and the others to produce some original work instead of discussing and quoting Whitman and Browning; he doubts the value of continuing the College meetings if matters do not improve.

In Wallace's hand.

2 sheets.

Eng 1186/2/4/2  Copy letter  25 Dec 1891

Refers to: his Christmas Day; his loneliness and depression; his faith in God; concern over Whitman's condition; a letter received from Edward Carpenter; an invitation from Johnston to visit on Monday.

In Wallace's hand.

Eng 1186/2/4/3  Copy extract  n.d.

From a letter sent by Wallace to Johnston on 2 Aug 1916, when the doctor was working away from home in a military hospital. The letter expresses concern for Johnston and the experiences he is undergoing, and discusses the horrors of war and sufferings of the soldiers. Also an extract from Johnston's notebook commenting on the above letter.

Archivist’s note: this letter clearly came into Minnie's possession from Johnston, who refers to himself in the first person in the notebook extract.

Typescript.
Letters from Wallace to his cousin, James Wallace (or 'Jim'), who lived in Newcastle-upon-Tyne with his wife, Bella, and children. The cousins were very close, and corresponded frequently, Wallace often addressing James as 'Coz'. These letters are the originals sent to James, which Minnie Whiteside acquired after his death. The topics covered in the correspondence is varied, ranging from the health of both men, news of family and common acquaintances, and accounts of their activities, to religious beliefs and philosophy. Wallace seems to have felt able to discuss his inner life and spiritual beliefs in detail with his cousin. Subjects of interest referred to include: Wallace's religious and spiritual beliefs, and love of nature (2/5/1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 15 & 22); Whitman and his work (2/5/4, 8 & 26); the work of the writer, William Sharp (alias Fiona Macleod) (2/5/11 & 12); Edward Carpenter (2/5/8 & 18); the Bolton College group (2/5/14, 24 & 26); Minnie Whiteside (2/5/7, 10, 14, 21, 23, 26 & 32); "George" [probably George Wallace, another cousin] (2/5/2, 3, 14, 16, 17, 23 & 32); Katharine Glasier and her husband, John (2/5/18, 24 & 32); a series of Labour Church services to be held in Bolton in 1916, including a memorial for Keir Hardie at which Wallace is to speak (2/5/18); Armistice Day and Wallace's views on current politics and revolutionary movements (2/5/23); the remarriage of Fred Nightingale in 1920 (2/5/25); and a visit by John Ormrod to see American Whitmanites in 1920 (2/5/28).

Most of the letters were written by Wallace at his home in Anderton and sent to his cousin at various addresses in Newcastle.

2/5/2 and 17 are incomplete, and 2/5/32 consists of an envelope and 4 unconnected fragments of letters.

Archivist's note: 2/5/13 is a postcard to James Wallace from Fred Wild, inviting him to a Whitman Day celebration in Bolton; it was clearly kept by James with his letters from his cousin, and has therefore been left in its place in the sequence.

Most of the letters are in pencil. 1186/2/2/7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 17, 21 & 32 include envelopes.

32 pieces. All letters consist of 1 sheet of paper, except 1186/2/5/7 (3 sheets), 11 (3 sheets), 12 (2 sheets), 23 (2 sheets) and 32 (4 sheets).

**Eng 1186/2/6**  
*Copy letter*  
17 Sep 1913

To Mr Thompson [possibly the Rev. S. Thompson, a member of the Bolton Whitman group], apologising for his delay in sending a copy of the Report of the Whitman meeting held on 31 May.

Anderton [Lancs].

**Eng 1186/2/7**  
*Copy letter*  
20 Dec 1916

To "Ian", referring to Henry Saunders [Canadian Whitmanite] who has acted on some advice given by Wallace; he asks Ian to forward Saunders' letter to [Edward] Carpenter and refers to circulars Saunders has sent out to named individuals in various countries.

In pencil.
To "Elsie" [probably Elsie Austin – see 1186/3/5], who appears to be a young friend of Wallace and Minnie. Contents refer to: the upturn in Elsie's fortunes after her recent painful experiences; the privilege Wallace feels at having helped her; the love he and Minnie feel for her; some advice Elsie has asked for relating to a friend of hers: Wallace will send her letter on to [Edward] Carpenter for advice. He describes his friendship with Carpenter.

In pencil.

3 pieces.

To a Mrs Wedgewood, who has clearly written to Wallace with various queries relating to Whitman, and subsequently voiced criticisms of the poet's morality, against which Wallace defends the poet. Topics covered include: available biographies of Whitman; the cloudy issue of Whitman's claims to have fathered illegitimate children; Wallace's thoughts on Whitman's divine qualities and Whitman as a prophetic soul; his sex poems; Wallace's past attempts to bring others to an appreciation of Whitman; his belief that the value of any book depends on the character of the author.

Typescript.

3 pieces; 7 sheets.

Eng 1186/11

Draft extract

Of a letter to "G.T." dated 27 Dec 1902. Noted as typed from Wallace's own pencil copy of his letter which he carried with him for the rest of his life. In it he describes a spiritual experience and a vision of the Cross experienced whilst out walking that morning.

Typescript carbon copy.

Eng 1186/12

Draft letter

To an unnamed recipient. Refers to: his pleasure that the recipient has enjoyed Wallace's and Johnston's book; Winifred's kindness to Wallace and Minnie in making them feel like old friends; and an expected visit to Birmingham in the winter, when he hopes to visit the recipient.

In pencil.
Letters between other individuals 1890-1936

This is a composite class of miscellaneous letters and copy letters between various other individuals, all of whom are connected to Wallace in some way. They include: some original letters, most of which relate to Wallace and were probably acquired by Minnie after his death; copies made by Wallace himself, presumably for his own interest; and typewritten copies of other letters made either at the time or subsequently. Individuals represented include: Dr John Johnston; J.A. Symonds; Dr R.M. Bucke; the writer John Masefield; Wallace's cousins, Jim and George; Katharine Glasier; and the Ormrod's. Many of the letters contain references to Wallace, including admiration for his exceptional personality and his work in spreading the word of Whitman.

Archivist's note: dates refer to the original letters rather than the copies which are generally impossible to date. All letters consist of one sheet of paper unless stated otherwise.

6 items; 16 pieces.

Letters to Dr John Johnston 1890-1923

Bundle of letters to Dr Johnston from various individuals; most of these are copies made or acquired by Wallace for his own interest.

7 pieces.

Copy letters 1890-1893

Typescript copies of 8 letters from the writer John Addington Symonds, of which 7 are addressed to Dr John Johnston and 1 to Wallace. Symonds was one of the earliest champions of Whitman in England; he corresponded with the poet and wrote *Walt Whitman: A Study* (1893). These letters were written during the last 3 years of his life, and are mainly dated at Davos Platz in Switzerland, which Symonds had made his home.

Topics covered in the letters include: Johnston's *Notes of a Visit to Walt Whitman*; Symonds' great debt to Whitman and the extent of the poet's influence on him; the meaning of Whitman's 'Calamus' poems [Symonds had tried, unsuccessfully, to get Whitman admit to their homosexual implications]; the death of Whitman; Symonds' work on Michelangelo [his biography was published in 1893]; his work on *Walt Whitman: A Study*, for which he asks permission to use some of Johnston's photographs; Edward Carpenter; a visit from Leslie Stephen.

Stored with a typescript sheet dated Jul 1961, relating to copyright in the Symonds letters, presumably created by the John Rylands Library.

Typescript carbon copy.

6 sheets.

Copy letter 25 Nov 1891

From [Dr] R.M. Bucke [of London, Ontario], referring to: his recent letter; an address in the *British Medical Journal*; Wallace's return home [from his visit to America].

In Wallace's hand.
Facsimile of a letter from Walt Whitman, written in the month before his death: he refers to his weakness and suffering; mentions the advertisement for the 1892 ['death-bed'] edition of *Leaves of Grass* [which is attached]; refers to Dr [R.M.] Bucke and Col. [Robert] Ingersoll, who has sent some champagne; sends thanks to Johnston and his British friends; and stresses his view that any modern theory of literature, politics and sociology must encompass all people of all lands.

Camden, New Jersey [USA].

Taken from a letter to Dr J[ohnston] from E[dward] C[arpenter], in which he comments on Wallace's paper on 'Whitman and Religion'.

Written in pencil on an envelope; in Wallace's hand.

From Caroline Eccles, written in response to Johnston's request for a message to the Bolton circle, to be read at their Whitman Day celebration. She praises Whitman for refusing to differentiate between the sexes, addressing his message to men and women equally; refers to the constant presence of Whitman's spirit, bringing a message of hope and joy amid the gloom of war; and sends her greetings and congratulations to the Bolton group.

Driffield, Yorks.

Typescript with autograph.

3 sheets.

From John Ormrod [of the Bolton Fellowship], written during a visit to America and Canada. He refers to seeing John Burroughs and Dr [Clara] Barrus [who wrote books on Burroughs and Whitman]; he is on his way to various locations in Canada.

Carbon copy of typescript letter.

To Dr [John] Johnston from [writer,] John Masefield, referring to: Johnston's hospitality in Blackpool [where he lived for a time]; Johnston's gift of his book about Whitman [*Visits to Walt Whitman in 1890-1891*, written with Wallace], which Masefield compliments; a book of his own which he is sending as a gift.

A copy made by Wallace; written on the reverse of a letter to 'John'.

In 2 pieces.

Related materials: Eng 1186/7/2.
Eng 1186/3/2  Copy letters from Dr John Johnston  1891 & n.d.
2 copy letters made by Johnston himself and presumably given to Wallace.
2 pieces.

Eng 1186/3/2/1  Copy letter  13 Jan 1891
To Walt Whitman, referring to: Whitman's health; his desire to help Whitman in some way other than writing; a letter from Mrs [Ellen] O'Connor acknowledging receipt of Johnston's Notes [on his visit to Whitman in 1890]; the late William Douglas O'Connor's story 'The Brazen Android'; John Burroughs.
In Johnston's hand.

Eng 1186/3/2/2  Draft letter  n.d.
To Archibald Sparke, Chief Librarian at Bolton Library, relating to Johnston's collection of Whitman-related books which he is donating to the Library. He sets out his terms and conditions, requesting that the books should be available for reference use only except in the case of J.W. Wallace, who should be permitted to borrow items from the collection.
In Johnston's hand.

Eng 1186/3/3  Letters  1905-1919
To James Wallace in Newcastle [the cousin of J.W. Wallace]. The bundle consists of an in memoriam card for George Whiteside [Minnie's first husband] who died in Bolton on 11 July 1905 aged 23, and 3 letters from George [Wallace, another cousin]. Topics covered include: a detailed discussion on interpretations of Shakespeare; a holiday in Scotland; other news and activities.
Archivist’s note: these letters were presumably acquired after the death of James, along with those from Wallace (see 1186/2/5).
1186/3/3/1 & 2 include envelopes.
4 pieces; 8 sheets.

Eng 1186/3/4  Copy letter  10 Aug 1923
To Mr [John] and Mrs [Nellie] Ormrod from Katharine Bruce Glasier. She expresses her regret that she was unable to attend Wallace's 70th birthday celebrations and praises Wallace's spiritual strength and the help he has offered to many people.
Typescript.
To Mr [Fred] Nightingale [a member of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship], from Mrs Elsie Austin, on the subject of William Broadhurst's address to the Whitman Fellowship [in memory of J.W. Wallace, Wentworth Dixon, and John Johnston] on 6 December 1930 [see Eng 1186/8/5]. She describes how she came to form a correspondence with Wallace, and points out that Broadhurst's description of Minnie as Wallace's housekeeper is inaccurate; she was, in fact, his adopted daughter.

Carbon copy of typescript letter.
2 sheets.

To Miss [Caroline] Eccles from Charles Holden [architect, and friend of Wallace], referring to: his gratitude for her 'Memoir' [James William Wallace, an English comrade of Walt Whitman: A Memoir (1936)]; and his own debt to Wallace.

Carbon copy of typescript letter.

This small composite class is predominantly comprised of papers owned or generated by J.W. Wallace, including items relating to Whitman and to Wallace's visit to America, as well as miscellaneous notes, poems, and extracts. The list of Wallace's books (1186/4/10) was made posthumously, and the undated typescript items may also have been made after his death.

10 items; 15 pieces.

Cook's tourist ticket book, containing: receipt, information leaflets and a poster giving notification of the sailing of the SS British Prince from Liverpool to Philadelphia on 26 August [material relating to Wallace's trip to America to see Whitman].

6 pieces.

Entitled 'Diary of visits to Walt Whitman, &c., in 1891' by J.W. Wallace: an early draft of Wallace's detailed account of his visit to America during September-November 1891. Inscribed to Wallace as a gift from J. Johnston on 31 May 1901 [the anniversary of Whitman's birthday].

135 pp; front cover is detached.
Booklet

Eng 1186/4/3

Book of printed photographs of activities and patients at Queen Mary's Military Hospital, Whalley, Lancs [where Dr Johnston was based for some time during the First World War].

Inscribed to Wallace from Johnston; Minnie Whiteside notes on the back cover that Johnston was doctor at this hospital. Two of the photographs are signed by Johnston, who was probably the photographer.

32 pp.

Envelope

Eng 1186/4/4

Containing a piece of juniper taken from Whitman's grave; noted as having been sent to Wallace by Dr [Clara] Barrus in April 1922.

Manuscript sheet

Eng 1186/4/5

Handwritten poem, 'Wedded' by Eden Phillpotts, from The Nation, 7 Apr 1923.

Pencil transcript in Wallace's hand.

Typescript sheet

Eng 1186/4/6

A poem, 'To J.W. Wallace, on the 70th anniversary of his birth', by W[entworth] D[ixon].

Address book

Eng 1186/4/7

Address book belonging to Wallace, listing family, friends and acquaintances worldwide; many of them are individuals who shared his interest in Whitman.

Typescript sheet

Eng 1186/4/8

A statement by Wallace describing his spiritual awakening and emancipation.

1 sheet.

Typescript sheet

Eng 1186/4/9


Carbon copy.

Book list

Eng 1186/4/10

Copy of a list of books collected by "the late J.W. Wallace", including all his Whitman-related items.

Typescript carbon copy.

43 sheets.
This class contains both original and copy letters sent to Minnie by various correspondents over a long period, although the majority post-date Wallace's death. Minnie kept in touch with many of Wallace's contacts and with their mutual friends both in Britain and across the Atlantic. Correspondents include: remaining members of the Bolton Whitman fellowship, such as Fred Wild, John Ormrod, and William Broadhurst; other friends in Britain, such as Katharine Glasier and Caroline Eccles; Anne and Gertrude Traubel in America; and various Whitman enthusiasts in Canada, including the Bain's, Saunders, and Aylward's.

Topics covered in the correspondence include: the last illness and death of Wallace; reminiscences of his life, character and exceptional gifts; news of family and friends; Minnie's attempts to sell some of Wallace's Whitman books, and to find homes for his manuscripts; the Bolton collection of Whitman material; and the world of Whitman collecting, particularly in 1950s America. Occasional references are made to Minnie's changes of address: after the death of Wallace she seems to have moved back to Bolton, where she remained until the 1950s, residing at various addresses, including 34 Brooklyn Street, 31 Arkwright Street, 20 Aldersyde Street, and 23 Roseneath Road.

Archivist's note: letters are autograph and consist of one sheet of paper unless stated otherwise.

32 items; 124 pieces.

4 letters from Jim [Wallace, cousin and close friend of J.W. Wallace]. Contents covered include: an illness suffered and problems faced by Minnie in 1907; his great love for his cousin, whom he urges Minnie to love and serve as best she can; his cousin's spirituality; his old age in the 1930s, and his reliance on Minnie; reminiscences about happy days in the past spent with Minnie and Wallace; Minnie's shop [which she seems to have set up after Wallace's death]; Caroline Eccles' memoir of Wallace.

1186/5/2/1, 2 and 4 are in pencil.

4 pieces; 1186/5/2/4 consists of 4 sheets.

Letters from Mildred Bain of Montreal [who, along with her husband Frank, was a member of the transatlantic Whitman circle]. Topics referred to include: a meeting with Nellie [Ormrod, wife of John Ormrod of the Bolton College, and a friend of Minnie and Wallace], who visited Canada in 1910; a visit from Horace [Traubel], who in 1910 was staying with them and working on a book of poems; a holiday Mildred took with a friend [first to England where she saw Wallace and Minnie, then] to Paris in 1925, when she met the writer [130] Bazalgette; letters received from Gertrude [Traubel], [Charles E.] Feinberg and John Ormrod.

1186/5/2/1-3 include envelopes.

4 pieces; 1186/5/2/1 & 2 consist of 2 sheets each.
Eng 1186/5/3  
**Bundle**  
1917-1947

Letters and cards from Henry S. Saunders and his wife, Helen [Whitman followers from Toronto in Canada]. 5/3/1, 3 & 4 are Christmas cards: /5/3/1 displays a printed Whitman quote; 5/3/4 is hand painted by Henry Saunders; 5/3/7 is a pen and ink picture entitled 'The Siege of the Earth' with its meaning explained on the reverse; 5/3/2, 5 & 6 are letters from Henry Saunders, referring to: Wallace's death in 1926; Helen Saunders' illness in the 1940s; and the Bains.

1186/5/3/6 includes envelope.  
7 pieces.

Eng 1186/5/4  
**Postcard and letter**  
1923 & 1926

From [Dr] Clara Barrus [American author of a biography of John Burroughs and a book on the friendship between Whitman and Burroughs]. The postcard depicts a photograph of Burroughs and refers to a birthday celebration; the letter refers to various Whitman-related books which Minnie is interested in selling, and for which a Mr Buck has been offering quotes; Barrus suggests sending a list of items for sale to the Huntington Library in Pasadena, California.

2 pieces; 1186/5/4/2 consists of 2 sheets.

Eng 1186/5/5  
**Letter**  
8 Jan 1926

From "Grandpa F" [probably William Ferguson of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship], referring to: his shock at receiving Minnie's letter; his hope that Wallace will continue to improve; and his relief that John Ormrod is attempting to get help for Minnie, so she is not overworked.

Lytham [Lancs].

In pencil.

Eng 1186/5/6  
**Bundle**  
1926-1932

Letters from the socialist and writer, Katharine Glasier, who was a good friend of Wallace. The widow of John Bruce Glasier, she frequently signs herself 'Katharine o'the Bruce and Glen', the latter being her son, who appears to have died sometime between 1926 and 1928. She refers to Minnie as 'Uncle Wallace's Minnie'. Two of the letters were written whilst she was 'on tour': Glasier undertook many lecture tours as part of her work for the socialist movement.

4 pieces.

Eng 1186/5/6/1  
**Letter**  
16 Jan 1926

Addressed to all her dear friends around "Uncle Wallace", and referring to: Wallace's illness; the arrival of an official nurse to help Minnie; news of her own family and friends; her eternal gratitude to Wallace.

Earby [Lancs].

56
**Eng 1186/5/6/2**  
*Letter*  
20 Jan 1928

Refers to: the removal of Bruce [Glasier]'s sister and her husband to live with Katharine and her sister, Evaline, in Glen Cottage [Earby, Lancs]; presents received from Minnie; Rose Simpson; the time which has elapsed since Wallace's death; his teaching; illness in the Ormrod family.

South Wales.

**Eng 1186/5/6/3**  
*Letter*  
10 Dec 1928

Refers to: a review in *The Epoch* by Miss [Caroline] Eccles; the poverty among the miners in County Durham; the feeling of closeness to her husband and son she experiences while she is working; old friends Mr and Mrs Wainwright, who have moved to Earby [Lancs]; the condition of Tiny [possibly a family member]; the spiritual power of Glen and Wallace; a memorial for her son; memories of her visits to Wallace and Minnie, and Minnie's home-making skills.

County Durham.

2 sheets.

**Eng 1186/5/6/4**  
*Letter*  
24 Dec 1930

Refers to: Christmas; family news; and memories of Wallace.

Earby [Lancs].

**Eng 1186/5/7**  
*Bundle*  
1926-1930

2 copies and 1 original letter from Mrs Lily L. Allen [writer and editor of the periodical *The Epoch*, which she took over on the death of her husband, James Allen in 1912]. Topics covered include: Wallace's death; an article sent by Minnie for use in the January 1927 *Epoch*; her memories of Wallace; her views on death; research being carried out on Wallace and his life.

1186/5/7/1 & 2 are typescript copies; 3 is an original typescript.

3 pieces.

**Eng 1186/5/8**  
*Letter*  
n.d. [c.Jan 1926]

From "Alice" [possibly Alice Collinge, poet and socialist from Bolton, who was a member of the Bolton Whitman group], expressing sympathy on the death of Wallace.
1 copy and 1 original letter from Willie [Ormiston] Roy [a Canadian Whitman enthusiast living in Montreal]. Topics covered include: his sorrow at the death of Wallace; their work to further the gospel of Whitman now the "Master of the College" is no longer there to inspire them; a visit to England, where he met Wallace at Lytham, later travelling with him to Dublin where they met Mrs Dowden [wife of the Shakespearian scholar, Edward Dowden] and 'AE' [the poet George Russell]. In his letter of 1944 he reminisces about the circle who met in Dublin, assuming he and Minnie are the only two survivors; he mentions John Ormrod and wonders if any of the original Eagle Street College are still living.

1186/5/9/1 is a typescript copy; 2 is manuscript.

2 pieces.

Letters and copy letters from Anne Traubel, widow of Horace, written during the 25 years following Wallace's death. She keeps Minnie updated with news of her family and of Whitman lovers in America; discusses mutual friends; reminisces about Wallace; and makes inquiries regarding books Minnie hopes to sell.

11 pieces.

Topics covered include: a package of "precious things" received from Minnie; the futility of attempting consolation; ill health suffered by herself and family members; Minnie's financial situation now Wallace is dead; Dr [Clara] Barrus; Charlie Sixsmith [another member of the Bolton group].

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA.

Includes envelope.

3 sheets.

Topics covered include: inquiries she is making on Minnie's behalf regarding Whitman books she wishes to sell; she refers to some items sold to Mrs [Harriet] Sprague [Whitman collector and Honorary Vice-President of the Walt Whitman Society of America].

[Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA].

Stored with an envelope postmarked 11 Mar 1931.
Eng 1186/5/10/3  Letter  11 Aug 1932

Refers to: Wallace, whom she met only once, 41 years previously [when he stayed with the Traubel's on his visit to America]; the depression she has suffered during the year, which has been lifted by thoughts of Wallace; Malcolm [Aalholm, her grandson].

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA.

Includes envelope.

Eng 1186/5/10/4  Letter  7 Feb 1938

Refers to: a copy of The Visits [Wallace and Johnston's book, Visits to Walt Whitman in 1890-1891] for the "Whitman Alcove"; a Horace Traubel Memorial Prize established at Abington High School; her daughter, Gertrude; Alice Collinge and Carina [Caroline Eccles].

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA.

2 sheets.

Eng 1186/5/10/5  Letter  7 Mar 1938

Refers to: Alice Collinge; Minnie's friend, Miss Broadhurst, who is appearing on English radio; Miss [Caroline] Eccles; a photograph she is enclosing of herself and Oscar Leon, at Whitman's birthday celebration of 31 May 1937 [not included here].

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA.

Includes envelope.

Eng 1186/5/10/6  Letter  25 Sep 1939

Refers to: Minnie's visit to a farm [she is staying at 'Howth' in Monkseaton, Northumberland, with Wallace's cousin, Jim]; cousin Jim; her own health.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA.

Includes envelope.

2 sheets.

Eng 1186/5/10/7  Copy letter  16 Jan 1946

Refers to: news of Malcolm [Aalholm, her grandson], who has been wounded in the fighting in Europe, and Gertrude, who is teaching music; memories of Wallace, "our friend who filled earth and sky with benefaction".

Carbon copy of typescript letter.
**Eng 1186/5/10/8**  Copy letter  20 Aug 1947

Refers to: the Birthday, when her thoughts were with Minnie [presumably a reference to the anniversary of Wallace's birthday which was in August]; lost friends; Wallace's influence and teaching.

Carbon copy of typescript letter.

**Eng 1186/5/10/9**  Letter  17 Jul 1950

Refers to: the birthday anniversary, on 17 July, of little Wallace [the Traubels' son, who died at the age of 4 in February 1898]; J.W. Wallace's birthday anniversary on 11 Aug; the death of Katharine Glasier; a clipping relating to a Greenhalgh family; some tea she is sending for Minnie.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA.

Includes envelope.

3 sheets.

**Eng 1186/5/10/10**  Letter  1 Nov 1951

Refers to some tea sent as a gift for Minnie, and a recent visit to the countryside.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA.

Includes envelope.

2 sheets.

**Eng 1186/5/10/11**  Fragment  n.d.

Second sheet of a letter, referring to: Mary and Jim; her hopes that they will all write to her over the summer, when she will be alone; Miss [Caroline] Eccles.

**Eng 1186/5/11**  Bundle  1926-1956

Letters and note from Caroline Eccles, who signs herself "Carina". Topics covered include: the possibility of Minnie leaving Wallace's house (in June 1926); family news; copies of *The Children's Cross* she is sending Minnie; Mr [Henry] Hamblin [editor of *The Science of Thought Review*], who is giving her book, *The Princess Eloise*, another notice (in January 1936); the library catalogue [listing the Bolton Whitman collection] she has received from Minnie; some copies of her memoir [of Wallace, published in 1936] she is sending to Minnie in 1956; a copy of *The Science of Thought Review* mentioning Minnie and the Whitman treasures she was left by Wallace; and another recently-published book on Whitman (1956).

1186/5/11/1 includes envelope.

4 pieces.
Eng 1186/5/12  Letters  Dec 1930
From Fred Nightingale [a member of the Bolton Whitman fellowship], referring to arrangements for a meeting with Will S. Monroe [American academic and author of various works on Whitman], who is visiting England to research the Bolton group.

Bolton [Lancs].

Typescript with autograph.

2 pieces.

Eng 1186/5/13  Letter  2 Feb 1931
From "Elsie", referring to: the enduring influence of Wallace; her meditation that morning; an imaginary letter she would have written to Whitman, emphasizing his spiritual power and his teaching on the "responsibility of fellowship".

Eng 1186/5/14  Bundle  1931-1957
Letters and postcards from the Rev. J.H. Bodgener [who had an interest in Whitman and wrote an MA thesis on the poet (see 1186/12/7)]. Topics covered include: various letters Minnie has allowed him to read; Miss [Caroline] Eccles' memoir of Wallace; Minnie's removal to a modern flat [in 1949]; enquiries Minnie has been making regarding the publication of Wallace's papers; his own unsuccessful attempt to get his thesis on Whitman published; a letter from Professor Robertson [of the John Rylands Library, in 1957] regarding material sent [to the Library]; some articles he is to write on William Blake.

5 pieces.

Eng 1186/5/15  Letters  Sep-Nov 1934
From Will S. Monroe [American academic and researcher into Whitman], referring to: his work; his plans to spend the winter in France; his inability to answer a request from Minnie at present; the delay of his trip to Manchester and Bolton due to a bad cold.

The Authors' Club, London.

1186/5/15/1 includes envelope.

2 pieces.

Eng 1186/5/16  Letter  30 Sep 1934
From Fred Wild [a member of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship] and his wife, Connie. Contents refer to: a recent illness Connie has suffered; his own health at the age of 81; news of F. Bradshaw. He encloses a black and white photograph of himself and his wife, in an outdoor setting, taken in May 1931.

Blackpool [Lancs].

Includes envelope and photograph enclosure.
Eng 1186/5/17  Letters  1934 & 1957

2 letters from John Ormrod [of the Bolton College]. He refers to: news of Miss [Caroline] Eccles; the death of Mr Barker; an enclosure [not included here, but possibly referring to the cutting in 1186/9/3/13/2] from which she will see that another old friend [William Broadhurst] is dead; the cremation, where he spoke to Mrs Broadhurst.

Attached is an apparently unrelated copy letter from Minnie to Mr Robertson [of the John Rylands Library], quoting a letter she has received from Ralph Vaughan Williams.

1186/5/17/1 includes envelope.

2 pieces.

Eng 1186/5/18  Bundle  1939-1957

Letters from [the Rev.] Will Hayes [Unitarian minister and founder of the Order of the Great Companions, a movement to promote the study of comparative religions and the search for a world religion, which took its name from a line of Whitman's poetry]. Topics covered include: his wife's mental illness; the Bolton Library catalogue of Whitman material he has received from Minnie; cards and Church circulars he is sending for distribution, commenting that "[i]t may be news to some that there is a Church founded in Whitman's name"; Minnie's work in keeping Whitman lovers in contact; how he became a Unitarian under the influence of a man who knew Wallace; the loss of his Whitman books and papers following a nervous breakdown in 1948; his book, *Walt Whitman: The Prophet of the New Era*; a request from Minnie for any relevant material he possesses which might be sent to the John Rylands Library.

Meopham Green [Kent].

1186/5/18/4 includes envelope.

4 pieces.

Eng 1186/5/19  Letter and card  1949 & 1956

Letter from Dr E. Seaborn [son-in-law of Dr R.M. Bucke, who was writing a biography of the doctor], noting that he is returning some material sent to him by Minnie, which he has quoted in the biography; he apologises for losing a photograph of Minnie and her father. Also a Christmas card from Mrs Seaborn [Dr Seaborn's widow and Bucke's daughter].

Both include envelopes.

2 pieces.
Eng 1186/5/20  Letter  1 Jun 1949

From William Broadhurst [a member of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship]: he thanks Minnie for lending him some letters sent to Wallace by Edward Carpenter, Keir Hardie and others; refers to Carpenter's comments on Wallace's 'Notes' on his visit to Whitman; returns [Col. Robert] Ingersoll's lecture on Shakespeare; refers to his own old age; and complains that "Whitmanism has become a fashionable cult, which is, of course, not true Whitmanism".

Culcheth [Lancs].

Typescript with autograph.


From Ralph W. Wescott, Chairman of the Walt Whitman Foundation based at Whitman's last home in Mickle Street, Camden, New Jersey. He refers to some Whitman material Minnie has sent him, and suggests trying the British Museum or a local library for her "Bolton College' collection"; if this is unsuccessful he will accept the material. He sends Minnie a pamphlet he has prepared using some of her material; describes Whitman day celebrations at the birthplace on Long Island; and praises Wallace's 1920 essay on 'Walt Whitman and the World Crisis'. 1186/5/21/3 is a Christmas card addressed to his Whitman friends in Bolton.

Camden, New Jersey, USA.

1186/5/21/1 & 2 include envelopes.

3 pieces; 1186/5/21/2 contains 2 sheets.

Eng 1186/5/22  Bundle  1952-1957

Letters from Frank Bain [a Whitman enthusiast based in Toronto, Canada]. These letters illustrate the close links between admirers of Whitman in America, Canada and Britain: the Bains were in contact with Minnie, John Ormrod and other members of the Bolton group, the surviving Traubel's, and many researchers and Whitmanites in Canada and the USA. Topics covered include: Caroline Eccles's memoir of Wallace received from John [Ormrod], which Bain will probably donate to the great Whitman collection at Brooklyn College (5/22/1); reminiscences of the Bains' visit to Anderton (5/22/1); material sent to Bain by Minnie in 1953, including items on Wallace and Horace Traubel (5/22/2); letters received from Gertrude Traubel (5/22/2); reviews of the 4th volume of Traubel's With Walt Whitman in Camden (5/22/2); Willie Roy, whose grandson is studying in Europe and would like to visit Minnie and the Ormrod's on the way back to America (5/22/3-6); the death of Charles Sixsmith (5/22/5 & 6); Bain's friendship with [Albert] Aylward [another Canadian Whitmanite] (5/22/5, 11 & 12); material sent to Bain and Aylward by Minnie in 1954 and 1955 (5/22/7 & 9); Charles Feinberg [American collector of Whitmaniana who set up collections in many libraries] and his activities (5/22/7, 10 & 11); the death of Anne Traubel (5/22/8 & 11); Leaves of Grass centenary events in 1955 (5/22/9); the Whitman collection in the Bolton Library (5/22/10); a memorial to Horace and Anne Traubel at the Library of Congress in Washington, (5/22/12); Minnie's marriage [to Edward Bull] in 1957 (5/22/13).

5/22/6 includes a postcard sent to Bain by Willie Roy.
Archivist's note: in 1186/5/22/2 an enclosed photograph of the Bains is mentioned but this is not included here; it was possibly separated from the letter and placed with the other photographs (see 1186/11/2/2).

1186/5/22/1, 3, 4-6, 8, & 10-13 include envelopes; 9-12 are in pencil.

13 pieces. All letters consist of 1 sheet of paper, except 1186/5/22/1-3, 5-7, 10 & 11 (2 sheets), and 4 (3 sheets).

**Eng 1186/5/23** Letter

From Jean W. Roberts at the Walt Whitman Foundation in Mickle Street, Camden, referring to the Whitman items from Wallace's collection sent to the Foundation by Minnie: Roberts has enjoyed cataloguing them, and Gertrude Traubel has recently gone through them.

Camden, New Jersey, USA.

Includes envelope.

5 Oct 1952

**Eng 1186/5/24** Bundle

Letters from Charles E. Feinberg [American collector of Whitmaniana, who made many donations to libraries]. Topics covered include: his possible interest in some Whitman items Minnie hopes to sell; his visit to Philadelphia on the death of Anne Traubel in 1954; some material he is returning to Minnie; other Whitman items she has sent him which he has given away in memory of Wallace and Traubel; his attempt to set up Traubel memorials in US libraries; the collection at Bolton; Minnie's marriage [to Edward Bull in 1957].

Typescript letters with autographs; 1186/5/24/3-5 include envelopes.

5 pieces.

1953-1957

**Eng 1186/5/25** Letter

From Betty [Bain, daughter of Frank and Mildred] of Toronto. Refers to: Betty's feeling that she is acquainted with Minnie through her parents, who speak of her so often; a visit from [Willie] Ormiston Roy [another Canadian Whitman enthusiast] who is at this moment discussing the Bolton group with her parents.

6 Nov 1953

**Eng 1186/5/26** Letter

From Ishbel Peterkin, thanking Minnie for her letter and enclosures and sending details of her own family.

Lossiemouth, Morayshire [Scotland].

Enclosed are 2 photographs: 1) of Ishbel Peterkin; 2) of her extended family, with captions on reverse. Envelope also included.

2 sheets.

12 Jan 1954
Letters from Albert Aylward, a Canadian musician and active member of the international Whitman circle, who was in contact with the Bains, the Traubel's, Feinberg, English Whitmanites and others. His letters contain interesting references to individual Whitman enthusiasts, the avid collecting of Whitmaniana going on at the time, and his opinions of other collectors; they have therefore been listed individually.

13 pieces.

Eng 1186/5/27/1  
**Letter**  
4 May 1954

Introductory letter, in which Aylward outlines his interest in Whitman and describes his work as Concert Master of the Symphony Orchestra in London, Ontario, where he has met Mrs Seaborn, Dr [R.M.] Bucke's only living child; refers to the collection in Bolton Library and his own collection of Whitman books.

London, Ontario, Canada.

Includes envelope.

Eng 1186/5/27/2  
**Letter**  
1 Jun 1954

Refers to: a copy of [Dr John] Johnston's pamphlet describing his visits to Whitman which was presented to a Frederick J. Webb, about whose identity he is curious; Wallace's and Johnston's account of their visits to Whitman; a recent visit to [Charles] Feinberg in Detroit; Anne Traubel's death; his regret that so many of Whitman's personal papers are now held by rich enthusiasts who know little about the poet.

London, Ontario, Canada.

2 sheets.

Eng 1186/5/27/3  
**Letter**  
20 Sep 1954

Refers to: the death of Anne Traubel; a visit to Anne a year previously when he found her living in a bygone age and her house in a chaotic state; the huge quantities of papers possessed by Anne, which he assumes have been dealt with by Gertrude, helped by Feinberg; his suspicions that Feinberg's collecting of Whitmaniana is done for personal glorification.

Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Includes envelope.

3 sheets.

Eng 1186/5/27/4  
**Letter**  
12 Nov 1954

Refers to: Wallace and Johnston's book; his hopes to arrange a Whitman show at Toronto University; some books on Whitman by his friend, the late Henry Saunders, which he wonders if Bolton Library would be interested in taking; the possibility of buying Whitman items from Minnie.

Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Includes envelope.

7 sheets.
Eng 1186/5/27/5  
*Fragment*  
15 Nov 1954

Final 2 sheets of a letter. Refers to: the great increase in books on Whitman and the popularity of *Leaves of Grass*.

Includes envelope.

2 sheets.

Eng 1186/5/27/6  
*Letter*  
17 Dec 1954

Refers to a photograph of John Burroughs and Dr [Clara] Barrus sent by Minnie, commenting that Burroughs was Whitman's greatest real friend apart from William [Douglas] O'Connor; he criticizes the Philadelphians who rallied around Whitman at the end; refers to Dr Seaborn's book on [Dr R.M.] Bucke, and describes his meeting with Mrs Seaborn in London, Ontario [where he no longer lives]; he also mentions the Bains.

Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

3 sheets.

Eng 1186/5/27/7  
*Letter*  
5 Feb 1955

Refers to: Minnie's copy letters relating to Wallace and his fellow Whitmanites, which he and [Frank] Bain would be happy to see; the Rev. S Thompson, whom he inquires after; current Whitman exhibitions being held in America; an exhibition he is arranging at the University of Toronto; a Whitman wing which has been added to Brooklyn University.

Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Typescript; includes envelope.

Eng 1186/5/27/8  
*Letter*  
11 Jun 1955

Refers to: pamphlets on the Bolton College sent to him by Minnie; the importance of the Bolton group in the Whitman story; a forthcoming visit to the Bains with Willie Roy; and British politics. He also inquires when Minnie first met Wallace.

Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Includes envelope.

5 sheets.
Eng 1186/5/27/9  Letter  2 Mar 1956

Refers to the [Bolton Library] catalogue; voices his disapproval of Feinberg, whom he claims has taken over Whitman affairs in America; he disagrees with Feinberg's activities and resents the fact that now one can only research Whitman by going to a university library; comments on the many different groups who have championed Walt since his death, emphasizing the steadfastness of the true supporters, including those in Bolton.

Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Includes envelope.

6 sheets.

Eng 1186/5/27/10  Letter  10 Aug 1956

Refers to: Minnie's move of house; dramatic changes in temperature in Canada which he suspects have been caused by atom bomb tests in Nevada; a visit from Feinberg, who is setting up a Traubel collection in the Library of Congress; his refusal to sell Feinberg any of his Whitman material.

Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Includes envelope.

2 sheets.

Eng 1186/5/27/11  Christmas Card  Dec 1956

Containing a note in which Aylward asks after Minnie's health and asks her to contact him.

Eng 1186/5/27/12  Letter  19 Oct 1957

Refers to: Minnie's marriage; his last holiday; the Bains, whom he has not seen for a year; a visit to Europe in the coming year with the C.B.C. Symphony Orchestra. He encloses a black and white photograph of the Aylward's, dated September 1957.

Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Enclosed is a photograph of Aylward and his wife, dated September 1957. Also includes envelope.

6 sheets.

Eng 1186/5/27/13  Fragment  n.d.

Third page of a letter, referring to: his opinion that Whitman would have benefited from living with John [Burroughs] in his last years; Dr [Clara] Barrus's book, in which Willie Roy is mentioned.
Letters and cards from Gertrude Traubel, daughter of Horace and Anne. She seems to have begun a correspondence with Minnie following the death of her mother in 1954. The letters reveal her own enthusiasm for Whitman, thus carrying the tradition into the next generation. Her admiration for her father's work is apparent, as is her great esteem for Wallace, a feeling shared with the rest of her family. During these years she was engaged in the huge task of sorting through her parents' voluminous papers, which were apparently left in something of a chaotic state (see Eng 1186/5/27/3). In addition, she discusses family news, the Bolton circle, the papers of Wallace and her father, and other Whitman collectors in the 1950s.

All the letters are dated at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA.

14 pieces.

**Eng 1186/5/28/1**  
Letter  
18 May 1954

Informs Minnie of the death of her mother, at the age of 91.

Includes envelope.

**Eng 1186/5/28/2**  
Letter  
6 Jul 1954

Informs Minnie that death came quietly to her mother; asks if Minnie has a copy of her father [Horace]'s volume, *Optimor*; sends Minnie a parcel of warm clothes formerly belonging to her mother; mentions that she is sorting her parents' papers.

Includes envelope.

**Eng 1186/5/28/3**  
Letter  
17 Jul 1954

Refers to: her poor finances; the birthday on 17 Jul of Wallace Traubel [her brother who died in 1898], who linked the Traubel's and [J.W.] Wallace; Wallace's *Walt Whitman and the World Crisis* which she would like to present to various public libraries if Minnie has spare copies.

**Eng 1186/5/28/4**  
Postcard  
December 1954

Christmas greetings, with a quote from Horace Traubel.

**Eng 1186/5/28/5**  
Christmas Card  
December 1955

Including note, in which she refers to: her recent ill health; the task of sorting her father's papers; her desire to gather together all the Wallace/Horace Traubel correspondence for publication.

Includes envelope.
Eng 1186/5/28/6  Letter  20 Feb 1956

Refers to: the catalogue of the Whitman collection in Bolton Library which Minnie has sent her; her admiration for the achievements of the Bolton group; her pleasure that her father's letters to Wallace are preserved; her hope of producing a volume of Wallace's letters to her parents; her intention of leaving the letters to a library; and her mother's birthday [anniversary] on 20 Feb.

Includes envelope.

Eng 1186/5/28/7  Cuttings  Jun 1956

Envelope addressed to Minnie from Gertrude Traubel containing: (1) a copy of *Four Lights*, xvi, 2 (June 1956), containing articles on disarmament, civil rights etc, with a note from Gertrude, who thinks the paper may interest Minnie; (2) offprint from *The Long-Islander*, 7 June 1956, including a report of the annual Whitman birthday celebration held by the Birthplace Association at which Gertrude spoke and gave a reading.

3 pieces.

Eng 1186/5/28/8  Letter  4 Jul 1956

Refers to: Minnie's move of house [to Roseneath Road, Lever Edge Lane, Bolton]; her depression at the task of sorting her parent's papers as well as working to earn a living; the Wallace letters which she is gathering together. She mentions that she is enclosing a photograph [not included here].

Includes envelope.

Eng 1186/5/28/9  Letter  4 Sep 1956

Refers to: a visit from Charles Feinberg [collector of Whitmaniana], who read some letters of Wallace, apparently lent to Gertrude by Minnie and which Gertrude is now returning; the good fortune of Minnie and herself to have been associated with such noble souls [as Wallace and Horace Traubel].

Eng 1186/5/28/10  Christmas Card  Dec 1956

With a note of her new address at 1801 Pine Street, Philadelphia.

Includes envelope.

Eng 1186/5/28/11  Letter  10 Jan 1957

Refers to: her gratitude to Minnie for the Will Hayes items, including the picture and poem of Padraic Pearse and folder relating to the Church of the Great Companions [see 1186/10/7], which lifted her spirits. She mentions that she is preparing to move house and includes a card bearing her new address.

Includes envelope.

2 pieces.
Refers to: her plans for a modest celebration of Whitman's birthday at her studio, at which she would like to read out a word of greeting from Minnie; her new apartment and the task of unpacking.

Includes envelope.

She congratulates Minnie on her "exciting news" [her impending marriage to Edward Bull] and describes her Whitman meeting: 18 people attended; letters from Minnie and John Ormrod were read; there was a report on the Whitman Delaware Bridge; and there was a display of pictures, books and catalogues (including the Bolton Library catalogue).

Includes envelope.

With a quote from Horace Traubel.

Includes envelope.

From Henry Thomas Hamblin, editor of The Science of Thought Review: he thanks Minnie for her letter and photographs, particularly that of John Burroughs; refers to her service to the "Movement"; and will send her letter, catalogue and photographs on to Richard Whitwell.

Chichester, Sussex.

Typescript with autograph.

From Martha K. Hall, President of the Walt Whitman Birthplace Association [written during a visit to Britain]. She refers to: 2 copies of Fragments From Whitman she is sending to Minnie; Mrs [Caroline] Eccles' illness and her Memoir of J.W. Wallace; the activities of the Birthplace Association; her recent visit to Bolton; and her return to America on the Mauretania in October.

Watford, Herts.

Typescript with autograph; includes envelope.
From Phoebe Hesketh, referring to: letters and cuttings which she returns; current work she is engaged in, which includes dealing with mail from some broadcasts, preparing talks and producing a new book of verse. Includes 2 enclosures: (1) a news cutting describing Minnie's collection of Wallace and Whitman material; (2) a publisher's advertisement for Wallace and Johnston's book *Visits to Walt Whitman in 1890 and 1891*.

Rivington [Lancs].

3 pieces.

Empty envelopes addressed to Minnie from various correspondents; the letters which they originally held are not included in this collection.

5 pieces.

This small class consists of letters and copies of letters sent by Minnie to three different individuals on general topics.

Archivist's note: letters consist of one sheet of paper unless stated otherwise.

3 items; 8 pieces.

2 copy letters from Minnie to Anne Traubel: one written shortly after the death of Horace Traubel [in 1919] and one dated 2 Feb 1931 referring to all Anne's kindness to Minnie, and a recent Bolton Whitman Fellowship address.

2 pieces.

From Minnie to Mr [John] Ormrod, sending birthday greetings; on the reverse is a transcript of a letter from Jim [Wallace's cousin, sent to Wallace] advising his cousin to retire, copied out for Ormrod's interest.

St Anne's-on-Sea [Lancs].

2 letters from Minnie to Mr Robertson [of the John Rylands Library], both with enclosures: (1) includes a news cutting on an accession to the Bolton Library collection, and 2 copy letters to Minnie from the Rev. Walker Lee of the Bolton Mission, congratulating Minnie on her approaching marriage; (2) informs Mr Robertson of her coming marriage to Edward Bull and encloses another copy of a letter from Walker Lee.

5 pieces.
Copies, extracts and notes of Minnie Whiteside  

This class contains 3 bundles of copy letters, extracts from letters, notes, and transcripts of poems made by Minnie. Most of the extracts are from letters addressed to Minnie, or from letters containing some reference either to Wallace or herself. Many of them were clearly made at a considerably later date than the originals from which they are copied.

3 items; 19 pieces.

Eng 1186/7/1  
Bundle  

Extracts from letters to Minnie: 7/1/1 from Wallace, dated Christmas 1917, in which he expresses his appreciation for her patience and encouragement during the preparation of his section of the volume *Visits to Walt Whitman in 1890 and 1891*; and 7/1/2-5 from individuals expressing their gratitude to Minnie for establishing the Wallace collection at Bolton.

In Minnie's hand, except 1186/7/1/2 (typescript extract).

5 pieces.

Eng 1186/7/2  
Bundle  

Extracts and copies of letters between other individuals, including: copies of 2 letters from Horace Traubel to Wallace in August 1919 [copies of these can also be found in 1186/1/2/10-11]; 2 copies of an extract from a letter to Wallace from R.M. Bucke, relating to his book *Cosmic Consciousness*; a copy letter from James Wallace to his cousin J.W. Wallace; extracts from letters to Miss Herdman and Anne Traubel from Wallace in 1923; a copy letter from Anne Traubel to Dr John Johnston; and a copy letter to Dr Johnston from John Masefield [see also 1186/3/1/5].

In Minnie's hand.

8 pieces.

Eng 1186/7/3  
Bundle  

Notes, quotations from books and poems, and manuscript extracts from news cuttings kept by Minnie.

In Minnie's hand.

6 pieces.
This class consists of material relating to meetings of the Bolton Whitman group, particularly to the annual 'Whitman Day' celebrations which took place at the end of May. It includes some of Dr John Johnston's humorous songs, a programme, and various speeches and addresses to be made at meetings. Notable is Wallace's celebrated address on Whitman's 'Calamus' poems; and William Broadhurst's speech in memory of Wallace, Johnston and Wentworth Dixon, which contains useful biographical material.

5 items; 12 pieces.

Related materials: See Eng 1186/9 for cuttings relating to the Fellowship and its individual members.

Eng 1186/8/1 College songs

Songs written by Dr John Johnston to be sung at Whitman College meetings and celebrations of the poet's birthday. Includes: 'The Song of the Eagle Street College, dedicated to "The Masther" and the other Philosophers' (29 Apr 1889, 2 copies); 'The Song of The Eagle Street College Festival in honour of the Master's Birthday' (10 Aug 1889); and 'College Song – "The Masther in Ameriky"' [probably 1891].

1186/8/1/1-3 are printed leaflets; 2-3 are both signed with the author's compliments, and 2 is inscribed to Mr R Curwen. 8/1/4 is a reproduced manuscript.

4 pieces: 1186/8/1/3 has been torn into 4 pieces; 8/1/4 consists of 3 sheets.

Eng 1186/8/2 Typescript

Typescript and carbon copy of a short speech to be read on 5 Jan 1893, presumably at a Whitman meeting in Bolton, addressed to 'dear friends'. Probably sent by Thomas Harned [one of Whitman's literary executors] and referring to a visit he made to the Bolton group the previous year.

2 pieces.

Eng 1186/8/3 Printed leaflet

'A Poem for Whitman Day' by Walt T. Hawkins of Huddersfield, read at the Bolton celebration on 30 May 1908.

Eng 1186/8/4 Programme

Carbon typescript programme for Whitman Day 1908.
College addresses

Typescript addresses to be delivered before the Bolton Whitman group:

/1-2: 'The "Calamus" poems in *Leaves of Grass*': address in Bolton on Whitman's Birthday, 31 May 1920, by J.W. Wallace; 2 copies. /1 is inscribed to J.H. Bodgener from Wallace.


/4: 'An address in memory of the late J.W. Wallace, Wentworth Dixon and Dr J. Johnston', 6 December 1930, by William Broadhurst, delivered at the Swan Hotel, Bolton; inscribed with Fred Nightingale's best wishes.

4 pieces: 8/5/1 & 2 are each 14 pp.; 8/5/3 is 11 pp.; and 8/5/4 is 10 pp.

News cuttings, offprints and journals

This class consists of cuttings, offprints and journals on a variety of subjects, including material relating to: the Bolton group and associated individuals; friends and acquaintances of Wallace; Whitman-related book and manuscript collections; Whitman himself; Whitman enthusiasts in America and Canada; the socialist movement; religion and mysticism.

Archivist’s note: most of the cuttings, offprints and journals in the collection had already been bundled together in one box. They have therefore been kept together, and other items of this nature which Minnie sent to the Library on various occasions have been incorporated into this class. Some of the items here were clearly Wallace's own; others have been collected and added by Minnie; the provenance of the remainder is unclear.

6 sub-classes; 54 items; 132 pieces.

Items relating to J.W. Wallace

Cuttings and 2 complete periodicals containing articles by Wallace, and reports from North-West newspapers on his 70th birthday and his death.

For reviews of the book he wrote with Johnston see Eng 1186/9/3.

7 items.

Periodical


Periodical

*Brotherhood*, containing 'Horace Traubel (continued)' by J.W. Wallace, 324-330.
Eng 1186/9/1/3 Cutting
From The Labour Leader: 'The Walt. Whitman Centennial: the man and his message' by J.W. Wallace. 29 May 1919

Eng 1186/9/1/4 Cutting

Eng 1186/9/1/5 Cutting
From The Labour Leader: 'An Easter-tide allegory. Joseph Fels: his life-work' by J.W. Wallace [with note by Wallace explaining that the title is the editor's]. 7 Apr 1920

Eng 1186/9/1/6 Cutting
From the Liverpool Weekly Post: 'Lancashire's disciple of Walt Whitman' by Speedwell; on the death of Wallace. 30 Jan 1926

Eng 1186/9/1/7 Cutting
From unidentified newspaper: 'Death of Mr J.W. Wallace'. n.d. [Jan 1926]

Eng 1186/9/2 Items relating to Dr Johnston
Cuttings and offprints of articles by Johnston and pieces written about him and his activities. Their contents reflect various spheres of his life outside his involvement in the Whitman group, such as his medical work, his involvement in the temperance movement, and his love of cycling. Johnston was originally from Annan in Dumfriesshire, which explains the presence of items from the Annandale Observer, to which he seems to have been a regular contributor.

For reviews of the book he wrote with Wallace, see Eng 1186/9/3.

11 items.

Eng 1186/9/2/1 Cutting
From the Lancet, reporting on a presentation to Johnston for his services as an instructor for the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Ambulance Classes. 14 Nov 1896

Eng 1186/9/2/2 Booklet
'A wheel through Shakespeare's country' by 'Fritz and Ian' [Fred Wild and Dr Johnston]: an account of a round cycling trip from Bolton to Stratford-on-Avon, with 'Cycling and health' article and 'A Cycle Song' by J. Johnston. 1896

34 pp.

Eng 1186/9/2/3 Cutting
From the Bolton Evening News: a review of Johnston's piece on The Passion Play at Oberammergau in the British Medical Journal. 15 Jan 1901
Pasted onto a sheet of notebook paper: 3 reviews of Johnston's pamphlet, To the Passion Play and back, and a poem on Queen Victoria printed in the Clarion.

From the Bolton Journal and Guardian: 'Christmas in the Alps' by Johnston.

From the Annandale Observer: 'At Annan Fair' by Johnston.

Inscribed by the author.

From the Annandale Observer: 'A visit to Annan Academy' by Johnston.

Inscribed by the author.

Of an article for an unidentified publication: 'A military hospital and a "convoy"' by Johnston; on the subject of Queen Mary's Military Hospital at Whalley [Lancs] where Johnston was based during the First World War.

Inscribed by the author.

From an unidentified newspaper. 'First-aid pioneers': about the first aid classes for Bolton railway workers, held in 1888-9 and taught by Johnston.

From the Bolton Journal and Guardian: 'Reminiscences of Bolton's medical men' by Johnston; his presidential address to the Bolton and District Medical Society.

From an unidentified publication. 'Horwich Temperance Council': report on the annual meeting at which Johnston gave an address, 'Facts and fallacies about alcohol', advocating total abstinence.
Items relating to the Bolton Whitman Group

Cuttings, offprints and journals containing information on the group, their activities and individual members; also articles written by members of the group, and reviews of Wallace and Johnston's *Visits to Walt Whitman in 1890-1891* (1917). There are a number of offprints from the *Annandale Observer* [produced in Dr Johnston's hometown, Annan], which describe Whitman Birthday celebrations held by the group and 9/3/16 is an article on the group written by Virginia Woolf.

18 items.

**Eng 1186/9/3/1**

*Offprint*

From *The Post* (Camden, New Jersey): 'In merrie England'. Relates to the visit of Dr R.M. Bucke to Bolton, Wallace's trip to America, and the Bolton group generally.

5 Sep 1891

**Eng 1186/9/3/2**

*Offprint*

From the *Annandale Observer*: 'In memory of Walt Whitman' by W.T. Hawkins. Describes the Bolton group and the Whitman birthday celebrations.

Inscribed by J. Johnston.

14 Jun 1901

**Eng 1186/9/3/3**

*Offprint*

From the *Annandale Observer*: 'Walt Whitman birthday celebration. May, 1907.'

3 & 10 Jun 1907

**Eng 1186/9/3/4**

*Bundle*

3 copies of an offprint from the *Annandale Observer*: "Whitman Day" in Bolton'. 9/3/4/3 is stamped with the address, Sunnybrae, Lostock Lane, Bolton.

3 pieces.

5 Jun 1908

**Eng 1186/9/3/5**

*Offprint*

From the *Annandale Observer*: 'Whitman Day, 1910. Celebration in Bolton.'

Inscribed with greetings from Dr Johnston.

3 sheets.

10 Jun 1910

**Eng 1186/9/3/6**

*Offprint*

From the *Annandale Observer*: 'Whitman Day, 1911. Celebration in Bolton.'

Inscribed with greetings from Dr Johnston.

3 sheets.

16 Jun 1911
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1186/9/3/10</td>
<td>2 Dec 1919</td>
<td>Typescript extract Taken from the <em>Bolton Evening News</em>: 'Whitmanism and Bolton'. Report on a lecture given to Bolton Theosophical Society by the American, C. Lazenby, who made a reference to the Bolton Whitman Fellowship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1186/9/3/11</td>
<td>25 Nov 1922</td>
<td>Journal <em>The Inquirer</em>: includes a memorial notice of the late Rev. Matthew R. Scott, minister of Sale Unitarian Church 1918-20, pp.759-60. Minnie notes that Scott was a member of the Whitman College.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1186/9/3/15</td>
<td>15 Apr 1954</td>
<td>Cutting From the <em>Journal and Guardian</em> [Bolton]: 'Every street has its story: Eagle-st. was the home of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship' by B.F. Davies. Article on the origins and history of the Eagle Street College, and the Whitman collection in Bolton Library.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cutting

From unidentified publication: 'Bolton and Walt Whitman' by Virginia Woolf. Article on the Bolton circle and *Visits to Walt Whitman in 1890-1891* by Wallace and Johnston.

Cutting

From unidentified newspaper: 'Whitman group'. Refers to an article on the Whitman Fellowship in the *Walt Whitman Birthplace Bulletin*.

Cutting

'Notable record of public and professional work: Mr Fred Nightingale's reminiscences'.

Items relating to Whitman book and manuscript collections

Cuttings relating to: the Bolton Whitman collections; various book sales which included Whitman items; and to the collection at Detroit Library [USA].

3 items; 21 pieces.

Bundle

Cuttings relating to the Whitman book and archive collections held at Bolton Central Library, including references to Minnie Whiteside's collection of Wallace's papers, Dr John Johnston's Whitman-related book collection, and presentations of Whitman-related books by the United States Information Services and the Walt Whitman Birthplace Association.

16 pieces.

Bundle

Cuttings reporting sales of book and manuscript collections which included Whitman-related items. 9/4/2/1 gives notice that the "niece" of J.W. Wallace [Minnie Whiteside] hopes to sell her collection of Whitman-related books and manuscripts.

4 pieces.

News cutting

From Canadian paper, the *Globe and Mail*: 'The fly leaf', reporting on the return of a stolen Whitman diary to Detroit Public Library.

Items relating to American and Canadian followers of Whitman

This sub-class includes American and Canadian newspapers, journals, offprints and cuttings relating to: Whitman himself and his journalism; individual Whitman enthusiasts; material by and about Horace Traubel; and the Mickle Street home in Camden, New Jersey.

8 items; 25 pieces.
Eng 1186/9/5/1  
**Bundle**  
3 full copies of and a series of cuttings from *The Conservator*, Horace Traubel's monthly publication. Includes: complete copies for Nov 1898, Aug 1908 and Jan 1919, containing numerous pieces on Whitman; a cutting of an article by Traubel, 'Walt Whitman the comrade' (Mar 1893); a signed and annotated page proof; and cuttings of 5 poems by Traubel (n.d.).  
10 pieces.  
1893-1919

Eng 1186/9/5/2  
**Bundle**  
Offprints of Walt Whitman Fellowship papers: an article by Horace Traubel, 'Walt Whitman, schoolmaster: notes of a conversation with Charles A. Roe, 1894' (Apr 1895); and 2 papers given at the Annual Meeting in Philadelphia: 'The Whitman propaganda is Whitman' by John Herbert Clifford and 'Whitman and the future' by Thomas B. Harned (Nov 1895).  
3 pieces.  
Apr-Nov 1895

Eng 1186/9/5/3  
**Cutting**  
From the Philadelphia Times: 'Whitman, Emerson and Wilde lodge with many comics' by David Fulton Karsner. An article on Horace Traubel and his work.  
27 Apr 1910

Eng 1186/9/5/4  
**News cutting**  
From *The Morning Telegraph* (New York): 'Traubel American: a notable figure article' by Alfred Kreymborg. A full-page article on Horace Traubel and his work.  
31 May 1914

Eng 1186/9/5/5  
**Newspaper**  
Full copy of *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle* Whitman Centenary number, devoted to articles about Whitman and extracts from his own journalism.  
In poor condition: the paper is disintegrating around edges and splitting along folds.  
31 May 1919

Eng 1186/9/5/6  
**News cutting**  
From an unidentified newspaper: a photograph of Henry Ford, Thomas A. Edison and John Burroughs.  
Dec 1920

Eng 1186/9/5/7  
**News cuttings**  
Relating to the establishment of Whitman's house in Mickle Street, Camden, as a memorial to the poet; and to the formation of a Whitman circle in Camden to promote exhibitions of Whitman mementoes at the house.  
2 pieces; /1 is in 2 halves.  
1922 & 1925
**Eng 1186/9/5/8**

*Bundle*

Cuttings from Canadian newspapers and magazines relating to W[illie] Ormiston Roy, his family and his work as a landscape architect and Botanical Director at Mount Royal Cemetery in Montreal. A note in Minnie's hand refers to Roy as a friend of J.W. Wallace.

Stored with an envelope addressed to Minnie from Roy.

6 pieces.

Related materials: Eng 1186/10/10.

**Eng 1186/9/6**

*General cuttings, offprints and journals*

Material includes: articles on Whitman; reviews of Whitman-related books; articles by and about friends of Wallace; and articles relating to movements in which Wallace was interested or involved.

Archivist’s note: Wallace and Minnie seem to have collected publications which included articles by their friends, and the relevant article is frequently marked. The journals have therefore been arranged as far as possible to reflect the reason for their retention.

7 items; 32 pieces.

**Eng 1186/9/6/1**

*Bundle*

General cuttings from American and English publications relating to Walt Whitman, including: a cutting of Whitman's poem 'Thanks in Old Age', printed under the heading 'Walt Whitman's Thanks', and noting that the poem appeared in New York papers on Thanksgiving Day; an article on a visit to Whitman by Sir Edwin Arnold; an article on Whitman's career before he attracted attention as a poet; an article on the man and his message; a note on Whitman and his admiration for [Marietta] Alboni; a poem, 'The Good Grey Poet', by L.J.M'Q.

6 pieces. 1186/9/6/1/3 is in very poor condition: the paper is disintegrating and splitting along the folds.

**Eng 1186/9/6/2**

*News cuttings*

3 book reviews: 1 of *Autobiographica*, a selection of Whitman's prose writings; and 2 of *Walt Whitman* by John Bailey.

3 pieces.

**Eng 1186/9/6/3**

*News cuttings*

Relating to the Irish poet, George W. Russell [alias 'AE'].

2 pieces; 1186/9/6/3/1 is in 2 parts.
2 journals on a spiritual, religious, mystical and psychological theme, containing marked articles by Caroline Eccles: /1: 'Thoughts on reading James Allen's *Meditations*' and 'Years of the modern' in *The Epoch and the Light of Reason* xx, 3 (Mar 1919), 59-60 & 72-3; /2: 'The temple in the open' in *The Rally*, 178 (Nov 1929), 15-17.

2 pieces.

**Eng 1186/9/6/5**

**Bundle**

Journals, offprint and cuttings of articles by Will Hayes, unitarian minister and founder of the Order of the Great Companions. Includes: 2 copies of 'Quaker traits in Walt Whitman' in *One and All: The organ of the National Adult School Union*, xxxii, 8 (Aug 1921); *Calamus roots: three editorials on cosmic consciousness* (1930); 'Full-time Christians: the community idea', written under the pseudonym Brother John, in *The Inquirer* (29 Apr 1939); and *The Voice Birthday Supplement* (Mar-May 1954), containing 2 marked articles – 'Dream of a new matriarchy' by Hayes and 'One spiritual life' by Alfred Haffenden, which refers to Hayes.

1186/9/6/5/3 is signed by the author on p.15.

5 pieces.

Related materials: Eng 1186/10/9.

**Eng 1186/9/6/6**

**Offprints**

Articles by Katharine Glasier: 'Fuel for our Christmas fires: our world hope for peace and the commonweal, 1930, A.D.' from the *Northern Voice*; and 'Nursery garden schools for the nation: victory in sight'.

Both pieces are inscribed to Minnie by the author.

2 pieces.

**Eng 1186/9/6/7**

**Bundle**

Journals, cuttings, articles and pictures of a miscellaneous nature, on a variety of subjects, such as mysticism, poetry, the countryside, and events around Bolton. Includes: a copy of *The Critic* (12 Sep 1891), with a note that this was sent to J.W. Wallace by Whitman, care of Dr [R.M.] Bucke; a copy of the *World Goodwill Bulletin* (Aug 1956); cuttings of scenes around Rivington [Lancs]; and an article on Robert Hodkinson, a Lancashire handloom weaver, based on a personal memoir by C.F. Sixsmith [a member of the Bolton College group].

12 pieces; 1186/9/6/7/3 is in 2 halves.
Eng 1186/10  
**Miscellaneous printed and published material**  
1876-1950s

Many of the printed items other than news cuttings had already been gathered together in one folder; this material, with some additions, forms the basis of this class, and includes items such as: published works by various individuals; printed poems and songs which were not produced specifically for Bolton Whitman group celebrations; items relating to the Traubel family in America; material relating to the Walt Whitman Foundation and commemorative events; various publishers' advertisements; leaflets; and book lists. Includes J.W. Wallace’s published booklet, *Walt Whitman and the world crisis* (1186/10/6), as well as a catalogue of the Whitman collections held at Bolton Library by 1955 (1186/10/13).

14 items; 36 pieces.

Eng 1186/10/1  
**Bundle**  
1876-1900 & n.d.

Printed poems and songs by various individuals, including: 'What the rocks said to me: crossing the Wazanah range of the Rocky Mountains in 1876' by John H. Johnston [a Whitmanite of New York, and namesake of the British Johnston]; 'A Song for the Annan Academy Reunion Dinner' (27 July 1899) by [Dr] J[ohn] Johnston [of Annan and Bolton]; 'The St John Ambulance Brigade: a tribute to the ambulance volunteers in the South African War' and 'Why?' by [Dr] J[ohn] Johnston [both inscribed to Samuel Thompson by the author]; 'The Curlers at Kandersteg' by [Dr] J. Johnston; and 'The Ordeal' by Walt T. Hawkins.

6 pieces.

Eng 1186/10/2  
**Bundle**  
1892-1912 & n.d.

Printed material relating to the Traubel family, consisting of: an appeal issued by Traubel for funds to purchase and preserve Whitman's Mickle Street home in Camden, Oct 1892; the lecture programme of the Society for Ethical Culture, Philadelphia [of which Horace Traubel was Secretary and Treasurer], Dec 1892; a circular issued by Traubel appealing for subscriptions for the proposed volume, *In Re Walt Whitman*, 1893; publisher's advertisement for *Chants Communal* by Horace Traubel; poem, 'I feel good about the day I was born' for 19 Dec 1912, signed by Traubel; programme for a 'Musicale' staged by the Drexel Hill Group of the Women's International League, at which Gertrude Traubel sang.

6 pieces.

Eng 1186/10/3  
**Leaflet**  
1876-1900 & n.d.

Publisher's advertisement for *Calamus*: a volume of letters written by Whitman to Peter Doyle during 1860-80, edited by Dr R.M. Bucke.

Eng 1186/10/4  
**Booklets**  
1914

2 copies of a small printed booklet: *Songs Overseas*: pictures and memories in verse of a vacation voyage to Great Britain and Switzerland in the spring and summer of 1913 by J. William Lloyd.

Both copies are inscribed by the author: 1186/10/4/1 to J.W. Wallace and Minnie Whiteside; 10/4/2 to Dr John Johnston.

2 pieces.
Leaflets

3 publisher's advertisements for *Visits to Walt Whitman in 1890-1891* by J. Johnston and J.W. Wallace.

3 pieces.

*Booklet*

**Walt Whitman and the World Crisis** by J.W. Wallace, published by the National Labour Press at Manchester and London.

26 pp.

*Card*

Printed card of thanks to all who sent messages of sympathy on the death of J.W. Wallace, from Minnie Whiteside and the immediate home-friends of Wallace.

Jan 1926

*Booklet*

*The Poem "Waiting" by John Burroughs with supplementary notes by Clara Barrus*, privately printed by Dr Clara Barrus (Roxbury-in-the-Catskills, 1927).

Stored with a picture postcard from Clara Barrus to Minnie Whiteside dated 19 Apr 1926, sent from a holiday in Llandudno

The book is inscribed to Minnie Whiteside from the author.

2 pieces; booklet 27 pp.

*Bundle*

Printed material relating to Will Hayes and the Church of the Great Companions, based in Chatham, Kent. Includes: an explanatory pamphlet on the Church; a book list; a poem, 'The Wider View' by Will Hayes; and a card containing Padraic Pearse's poem, 'The Fool', signed by Will Hayes.

4 pieces.

Related materials: Eng 1186/9/6/5.

*Bundle*

Printed material relating to landscape architect, Willie Ormiston Roy, and the Mount Royal Cemetery in Montreal, Canada, where he was Botanical Director. Consists of: a programme for the commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the cemetery, which includes a poem 'One Hundred Years of Peace' by Wilson MacDonald, dedicated to Roy; and a printed presentation copy of the same poem.

The poem has a message from Roy on the reverse, commenting on the piece, and asking recipient [probably Minnie Whiteside] to show it to John Ormrod and his family.

2 pieces.

**Eng 1186/10/11 Bundle**

Material relating to the Walt Whitman Foundation and its work in maintaining Whitman's house on Mickle Street, Camden, as an historic site. Includes: a promotional leaflet, and a booklet, *Walt Whitman in Camden* by Ralph W. Wescott, Chairman of the Foundation (1952), giving a brief biography of Whitman and outlining the history of the Foundation. Stored with cuttings relating to the death of Wescott in 1955.

The booklet is inscribed to Minnie Whiteside by the author. Also includes envelope.

4 pieces; booklet 24 pp.

**Eng 1186/10/12 Leaflets**

2 copies of a leaflet produced for the centenary of the publication of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, depicting a woodcut illustration of Whitman along with his poem, 'This is what you shall do'.

2 pieces.

**Eng 1186/10/13 Catalogue**

_a catalogue of works by and relating to Walt Whitman in the Reference Library, Bolton_ by Harold Hamer, Chief Librarian (published by the Libraries Committee). Also includes references to archival material.

52 pp.

**Eng 1186/10/14 Card**

Produced by the Walt Whitman Birthplace Association, giving details of Whitman's life and the birthplace at Huntington, Long Island.

**Eng 1186/11 Photographs**

This class is comprised of photographic prints of varying type and quality, and includes: formal group photographs of the Bolton Whitman group at various stages in its history; portrait photographs and snapshots of individual members and their families, visitors to the group, and other friends of Wallace and Minnie; photographs of the Traubel family in America and the Bain family of Canada; one print of Walt Whitman; and various miscellaneous items.

Archivist’s note: the majority of the photographs had already been bundled together to form a class of sorts, either by Minnie or by past Library staff. At least some of the photographs were originally enclosed with correspondence, but have subsequently been removed from the related letters. Original order and provenance are therefore hard to determine and this class is based on the subject matter of the material.

Many of the photographs include keys to the figures depicted and additional information written by Minnie Whiteside either on the reverse or on the images themselves; these keys are useful but not always entirely accurate.

All photograph sizes quoted include frames and mounts.

[c.1952-1955]

[4 Jul 1955]

[1955]

[1957]

[early 1880s-1950s]
4 sub-classes; 50 items; 105 pieces.

Related materials: Eng MS 1331 contains some Whitman-related photographs, 4 photographs of the Eagle Street College, and a small number of photographs of American friends of Whitman. Eng MS 1171 contains 1 photograph of Whitman.

**Eng 1186/11/1**

**Photographs of the Bolton circle and other British subjects**

Photographic prints, including formal group and portrait photographs, and informal snapshots of: the Bolton College group; individuals associated with the group, their families and their interests and activities outside the group; visitors to the Bolton circle from elsewhere; and other individuals with some Whitman connection. Many of the photographs appear to have been taken by Dr John Johnston, who was clearly a keen amateur photographer.

Archivist’s note: arrangement is chronological as far as it is possible to determine rough dates from captions or from the subject and format of the prints themselves. Where there are groups of photographs which are related in subject matter, or from the same session, they have been brought together into bundles (such as group photographs of the Bolton College, portraits of Wallace, Wallace with Minnie Whiteside, and so on). In some cases photographs have already been grouped together and pasted onto a brown paper backing; these too are listed together as items. Photographs with no obvious relation to any other have been listed individually at item level within the chronological sequence.

The existence of a key or caption other than those written by Minnie is noted in the relevant description.

33 items; 71 pieces.

**Eng 1186/11/1/1**

**Bundle**

Photographs relating specifically to Dr John Johnston, which reflect aspects of his life outside his Whitman interest and his involvement in the Bolton circle.

10 pieces.

**Eng 1186/11/1/1/1**

**Photographic print on card**

Portrait photograph of Dr Johnston as a young man (seated) with his brother and sister.

Photograph taken by Greenhalgh of Farnworth [Lancs].

Cabinet print; 10.5 x 16 cms.

n.d. [early 1880s]-1916

**Eng 1186/11/1/1/2**

**Mounted photographic print**

Group photograph of Dr Johnston's family in his father's garden at Annan in Dumfriesshire. Includes: (l-r) his brother (W.J.J.), sister (M.G.), mother holding a baby (noted as W.J.G, presumably Johnston's niece or nephew), and father.

With key by Johnston on reverse, noting initials of family members.

10.6 x 8 cms.

[early 1880s]
Eng 1186/11/1/1/3  Mounted photographic print

Dr Johnston's family in the garden at Annan, from the same session as 1186/11/1/1/2. Includes: (l-r) his father, sister (with baby), mother and brother.

16.6 x 12.1 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/1/4  Framed photographic print

Head and shoulders portrait photograph of Dr Johnston.

Taken by C.E. Willis of Bolton.

7 x 8.8 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/1/5  Photographic print

5 soldiers, with Dr Johnston in uniform [at the military camp, Aldershot, Hampshire]. Posted to J.W. Wallace on 4 Oct 1902 from Ian.

Archivist’s note: the card has not been listed with the other letters and cards sent to Wallace as it was originally placed amongst the photographs in the collection rather than the correspondence.

Taken by H. Leach of Aldershot [Hants].

Postcard.

Eng 1186/11/1/1/6  Photographic print

The official opening of Annan Public Library, showing various officials (including Johnston) involved in the opening ceremony, watched by a crowd of spectators.

With caption by Johnston on reverse.

Postcard.

Eng 1186/11/1/1/7  Mounted photographic print

Of Dr A. Ronald Mitchell, in military uniform.

Inscribed to Johnston by Mitchell in memory of shared experiences during the Great War at Queen Mary's Military Hospital, Whalley [Lancs]. Photograph taken by Warneuke of Glasgow.

In folder; 10.4 x 15 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/1/8  Photographic print

Dr Murphy Preston, his 2 daughters and granddaughters, with Mrs Johnston.

Taken by Dr Johnston; with caption by Johnston on reverse, identifying subjects, supplying date, and giving location as Bispham [Lancs].

Postcard.
Eng 1186/11/1/1/9  *Photographic print* n.d.
Dr Johnston, his brother and wife beside the Johnston family grave [at Annan, Dumfriesshire].
Postcard.

Eng 1186/11/1/1/10  *Mounted photographic print* n.d.
Of the Johnston family grave at Annan [Dumfriesshire].
Taken by F.G. Gibbs of Annan.
In folder; 25.5 x 18 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/2  *Photographic print* n.d. [c.early 1880s]
Head and shoulders portrait photograph, which Minnie's caption identifies as James Wallace, Wallace's father.
Taken by Kay and Son of Bolton.
Carte de visite; 6 x 10.2 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/3  *Bundle* [c.late 1880s]-1918
Group photographs of the Bolton circle.
6 pieces.
Related materials: other group shots of members of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship can be found in bundles 1186/11/1/10, 14 and 15.

Eng 1186/11/1/3/1  *Mounted photographic print* n.d. [c.late 1880s]
Group photograph of 13 members of the Eagle Street College in a very early incarnation, posed in an outdoor location. Minnie's key identifies the group (in no clear order) as comprised of: J.W. Wallace; Dr John Johnston; William Pimblett; Wentworth Dixon; William Ferguson; James Wallace senior; Richard Curwen; Fred Nightingale; Thomas Shorrock; the Rev. F.R.C. Hutton; Richard Greenhalgh; William Law; and one other man.
Inscribed on reverse to Mr Curwen from Dr Johnston.
With mount 16.4 x 10.8 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/3/2  *Photographic print* n.d. [c.1890s-early 1910s]
10.8 x 8.2 cms.
**Eng 1186/11/1/3/3**

*Mounted photographic print*

n.d.


Includes key by Minnie which further identifies W. Pimblet and the Rev Scott.

23.5 x 19.5 cms.

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**Eng 1186/11/1/3/4**

*Framed photographic print*

n.d. [c.1912-1913]


With frame, 31.6 x 25.5 cms.

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**Eng 1186/11/1/3/5**

*Mounted photographic print*

n.d.

Group shot of 7 members of the Whitman circle, in garden setting, noted as 'The College at Adlington'. Includes: (standing l-r) William Broadhurst, Fred Wild, Wentworth Dixon, Fred Nightingale; (seated l-r) the Rev. Samuel Thompson, J.W. Wallace and Dr John Johnston (in military uniform).

Signed by R. Mercer.

With frame, 22.4 x 14.6 cms.

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**Eng 1186/11/1/3/6**

*Mounted photographic print*

1918

Formal group photograph of 8 College members and visitors, with key. Group is comprised of: (standing l-r) John Ormrod, Fred Wild, Walter Hawkins, and Whiteman; (seated l-r) Fred Nightingale, William Broadhurst, J.W. Wallace, Dr John Johnston, and Wentworth Dixon.

Taken by A. Walmsley of Bolton.

In folder; 17.5 x 12.7 cms.

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**Eng 1186/11/1/4**

*Bundle*

[c.1880s]-1920

Photographs of J.W. Wallace.

5 pieces.
**Eng 1186/11/1/4/1  Photographic print  n.d. [late 1880s-1890s]**

Head and shoulders portrait photograph of J.W. Wallace.

Taken by Kay and Son of Bolton.

Carte de visite; 6.2 x 10.3 cms.

**Eng 1186/11/1/4/2  Photographic print  n.d.**

Informal snapshot of J.W. Wallace (identified by an 'X'), on a jetty or pier by a lake.

7.5 x 8 cms; very faded image.

**Eng 1186/11/1/4/3  Photographic print  n.d. [c.1912 x 1920]**

Of J.W. Wallace seated in his study with a book.

With note by Minnie Whiteside on reverse referring to a larger copy of this print in her possession.

Postcard; 13.9 x 8.8 cms.

Related materials: Eng/11/1/15/2.

**Eng 1186/11/1/4/4  Photographic print  1920**

J.W. Wallace standing outside his house at Anderton.

Taken by Dr Johnston.

Postcard.

**Eng 1186/11/1/4/5  Photographic print  n.d.**

J.W. Wallace seated in garden location.

13.2 x 8.5 cms.

**Eng 1186/11/1/5  Bundle  [c.1880s-1940s]**

Photographs of James Wallace, J.W. Wallace's cousin and close friend, who lived in Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

3 pieces.

**Eng 1186/11/1/5/1  Photographic print  n.d. [c.1880s-1890s]**

Portrait photograph of James Wallace as a young man.

Taken by W. Green of Berwick-on-Tweed.

Carte de visite; 6.2 x 10.3 cms.
Eng 1186/11/1/5/2  *Photographic print*  n.d.
James Wallace in garden.
Postcard.

Eng 1186/11/1/5/3  *Photographic print*  n.d. [c.1930s-1940s]
James Wallace in old age, seated in study.
5.7 x 8.2 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/6  *Bundle*  [1900 x 1920]
Photographs of J.W. Wallace and Minnie Whiteside.
6 pieces.
Related materials: other photographs which include Wallace and Minnie as part of larger groups can be found under Eng 1186/11/1/14, 17, 24 and 25.

Eng 1186/11/1/6/1  *Photographic print*  n.d.
Wallace and Minnie standing outside their home at Anderton, near Chorley [Lancs].
Postcard.

Eng 1186/11/1/6/2  *Photographic print*  n.d.
Minnie and Wallace on a picnic at Rivington [near Anderton].
Postcard.

Eng 1186/11/1/6/3  *Photographic print*  n.d.
Another copy of 1186/11/1/6/2.
13.5 x 8.4 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/6/4  *Photographic print*  n.d.
Another copy of 1186/11/1/6/2.
13.5 x 8.4 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/6/5  *Mounted Photographic print*  n.d.
Wallace and Minnie outside their cottage door at Anderton.
With frame, 7.3 x 8.5 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/6/6  *Mounted photographic print*  n.d.
Another copy of 1186/11/1/6/5.
Photographs of J.W. Wallace, with some of his colleagues from the architectural firm, Bradshaw and Gass of Bolton, where he worked from the age of 14 to his retirement in 1912.

4 pieces.

Group photograph of J.W. Wallace and 13 of his colleagues in the office.

'Midget postcard'; 8.9 x 6.8 cms.

Another group photograph of J.W. Wallace and 13 colleagues in the Bradshaw and Gass office.

10.8 x 8.2 cms.

Outdoor photograph of J.W. Wallace and 10 colleagues from Bradshaw and Gass.

12 x 8 cms.

Outdoor photograph of J.W. Wallace and 9 colleagues from Bradshaw and Gass.

12 x 8 cms.

3 photographs mounted together on one piece of brown backing paper:

/1: Wallace on the pavement outside an unidentified house.

/2: 3 men (including Wallace and Johnston) on the steps of a domed monument.

/3: Dr John Johnston (centre), with J.W. Lloyd and Leonard Abbot [visitors from America, posing outside Carlyle's house at Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire].

Related materials: Eng 1186/11/1/11.
**Eng 1186/11/1/9  Photographs**  
4 photographs mounted together on one piece of brown backing paper:

/1: Walt Whitman's tomb [in Harleigh Cemetery, Camden, New Jersey].

/2: J.W. Wallace (right) and his cousin [possibly George Wallace].

/3: J.W. Wallace (seated with book) and his cousin [James], in garden setting.

/4: 4 men [possibly including Wallace] with a car, outside the Blue Bell Hotel.

The backing paper includes some notes by Minnie Whiteside on the content of the photographs.

**Eng 1186/11/1/10  Bundle**  
5 photographs mounted together on one piece of brown backing paper:

/1: Group shot of 7 College members in outdoor setting. Includes: (seated l-r) Wentworth Dixon, Walter Hawkins, J.W. Wallace, and Dr John Johnston; (standing l-r) Fred Wild, unidentified figure and Fred Nightingale.


/4: Dr John Johnston, J.W. Wallace (seated, with book), and William Ferguson, in urban garden.

/5: William Lloyd and Leonard Abbot [visitors from America], in rural setting.

The backing paper includes some notes by Minnie Whiteside on the identities of figures depicted.

Related materials: Eng 1186/11/1/3, 14 and 15.

**Eng 1186/11/1/11  Framed photographic print**  
Dr John Johnston (centre) with Leonard Abbot and J.W. Lloyd [visitors from America] outside Carlyle's house at Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire.

With frame, 12.5 x 20 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/12  Photographs  
2 slightly different prints from the same session, of Wentworth Dixon, J.W. Wallace, Frank Bain [of Toronto, Canada] and Dr John Johnston, in garden setting.

Both signed and dated by John Johnston.

/1: 14.4 x 10 cms; /2: 13.5 x 8 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/13  Mounted photographic print  
Frank Bain [of Toronto, Canada] with J.W. Wallace, in garden setting.

With frame, 23.9 x 31 cms: mounting board is in poor condition.

Eng 1186/11/1/14  Photographs  
3 photographs mounted together on one piece of brown paper:


/2: Commercially produced postcard depicting ‘Walt Whitman during the war’. Sent to Minnie Whiteside by the Saunders family from Canada on 29 May 1922.

/3: Reproduction of a photograph of Whitman, probably a cutting from a journal.

Related materials: Eng 1186/11/1/3, 10 and 15.

Eng 1186/11/1/15  Photographic prints  
2 photographs, mounted back to back:

/1: Group shot of 7 members of the Bolton circle in garden (from the same session as 1186/11/1/3/4). Includes: (standing l-r) William Broadhurst, Dr John Johnston (in military uniform), Wentworth Dixon, and Fred Nightingale; (seated l-r) the Rev. Samuel Thompson, J.W. Wallace and Fred Wild.

/2: J.W. Wallace seated in his study with a book.

Related materials: Eng 1186/11/1/3, 4, 10 and 14.

Eng 1186/11/1/16  Photographic print  
Of a young man in a hospital bed, surrounded by a group of soldiers, nurses and other figures, including Fred Wild.

Signed and dated by John Johnston.

Postcard.
Photographic print

Eng 1186/11/1/17

J.W. Wallace, Minnie Whiteside, an unidentified woman, and 4 young children, outside Wallace's house in Anderton.

Signed and dated by John Johnston.

Postcard.

Eng 1186/11/1/18

Photographic print

Dr John Johnston, J.W. Wallace (seated, with book), and William Ferguson, in garden setting.

Signed and dated by Johnston, with caption, "The three old friends".

Postcard.

Related materials: Eng 1186/11/1/10/4.

Eng 1186/11/1/19

Photographic print

Group shot of 6 women and 2 men in an urban square, with caption, "In Altdorf, 17 Aug 1921". John Ormrod is standing on the far right (erroneously identified by Minnie Whiteside as "W.D").

8.8 x 14.6 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/20

Photographic print

Snapshot of John and Mrs Ormrod, J.W. Wallace and one unidentified figure (on the far left) seated in garden [at Walker Fold, Lancs, home of the Ormrod's].

8.7 x 8.7 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/21

Photographic print

Snapshot of John Ormrod and J.W. Wallace in deckchairs at Walker Fold, Lancs.

8.4 x 8.5 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/22

Photographic print

Portait photograph of J.W. Wallace (seated) and James Wallace [his cousin].

5.2 x 10.5 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/23

Photographic print

Later copy of a head and shoulders portrait photograph of Minnie Whiteside.

8.5 x 11 cms.
Eng 1186/11/1/24  Photographic print  n.d.
J.W. Wallace, Minnie Whiteside, and William Ferguson, in garden location.
11.2 x 6.8 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/25  Photographs  n.d.
2 similar prints from the same session, of J.W. Wallace, Minnie Whiteside and an unidentified woman, in a rural setting.
/1: 8.3 x 10.9 cms; /2: 8.7 x 13.8 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/26  Mounted photographic print  n.d.
Portrait photograph of William Ferguson.
Taken by N.P. Kay of Bolton.
19.7 x 25.5 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/27  Bundle  n.d.
Photographs relating to Charles F. Sixsmith, a long-standing member of the Whitman Fellowship in Bolton.
5 pieces.

Eng 1186/11/1/27/1  Photographic print  n.d.
Sixsmith (right) and a man identified as "Mr Filmore" by Minnie, walking along an urban street.
20.9 x 16.2 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/27/2  Photographic print  n.d.
Sixsmith with woman [possibly his wife, Lucy] and baby in the garden of a large house [possibly his house, Brownlow, in Anderton].
16.6 x 12.1 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/27/3  Photographic print  n.d.
Sixsmith seated with woman [possibly Lucy Sixsmith] and 2 children in garden location.
11.3 x 6.9 cms.

Eng 1186/11/1/27/4  Photographic print  n.d.
Distant group shot of Sixsmith with an elderly couple and younger man, standing in front of a house.
11.1 x 8 cms.
Sixsmith with a woman [possibly Lucy, his wife] and young man, in a lakeside or seaside location.
10.4 x 8 cms.

Will Atkinson [of the Bolton circle] and Philip Dalmas [American composer and Whitmanite who lived in England for a time], seated in outdoor location.
25.4 x 20.3 cms.

2 children and a young man, with caption on reverse: "on the roof, 'Fairhaven', Walkden"; and noted as 'Bodgener' [presumably relating to the J.H. Bodgener who corresponded with Minnie and whose thesis on Whitman is included in this collection as 1186/12/7]. Postcard.

Half-length shot of the Rev. Will Hayes [Unitarian minister from Kent, and founder of the Order of the Great Companions].
10 x 10 cms.

3 photographs of J.W. Wallace's family grave, in Tonge Cemetery, Bolton.
Minnie notes on the reverse of /3 that the gravestone was designed by Wallace.
/1: 14.1 x 10.5 cms; /2-3: 13.8 x 8.8 cms.

Of an elderly couple [possibly Minnie Whiteside and Edward Bull, whom she married in 1957].
In folder; 14 x 8.9 cms.

Of 5 children, noted by Minnie as "R. McDonald's family".
13.9 x 8.8 cms.
Photographs of Walt Whitman admirers in the USA and Canada

This sub-class is comprised of photographs of various families and individuals from the USA and Canada, principally the Traubel's, the Bain's, and John Burroughs. All the subjects have Whitman connections, and a number of them carried on a long-term correspondence with Wallace and Minnie Whiteside during which photographs were exchanged. Also included is a print of Dr R.M. Bucke, Whitman's early biographer.

6 items; 23 pieces.

Eng 1186/11/2

Bundle

Photographs relating to the Traubel family. No images of Horace Traubel are preserved here, although there are shots of his wife, Anne, their daughter Gertrude, and her husband and son.

5 pieces.

Eng 1186/11/2/1

Photographic print

Indoor snapshot of Gertrude Traubel (aged 13).

A note on the reverse states that the picture was taken by Horace Traubel.

14 x 8.2 cms.

1905

Eng 1186/11/2/1/2

Photographic print

Indoor snapshot of Anne Montgomerie Traubel.

With a note stating that the photograph was taken by Gertrude Traubel.

8.2 x 6.2 cms.

1905

Eng 1186/11/2/1/3

Mounted photographic print

Head and shoulders portrait photograph of Gertrude Traubel as a young woman.

In folder; 25 x 29.2 cms.

n.d.

Eng 1186/11/2/1/4

Photographic print

Outdoor shot of Shigetaka Naganuma and Malcolm [Aalholm, Gertrude Traubel's son] in Camden, New Jersey.

With caption on reverse.

6.7 x 11.1 cms.

30 May 1920
Photographic print


With caption on reverse; photograph taken by Naganuma.

Bundle

Photographs relating to Whitman enthusiasts Frank and Mildred Bain of Toronto in Canada, who corresponded with both Wallace and Minnie over a long period. Subjects include the Bains and their family, as well as their friend Henry Saunders, who was also in contact with Minnie.

9 pieces.

Photographic print

Frank Bain with his baby daughter, Bet.

With handwritten caption.

6.4 x 10.8 cms.

Photographic print

Mildred Bain and her sister, with baby.

6.2 x 10.6 cms.

Photographic print

Henry Saunders and Frank Bain, seated by water's edge.

10.5 x 6.1 cms.

Photographic print

Another copy of 1186/11/2/3.

Photographic print

Frank Bain at lakeside.

6.9 x 11.1 cms.

Photographic print

Mildred Bain and 3 children in outdoor location.

6.9 x 11 cms.
Eng 1186/11/2/2/7  Photographic print  Jul 1937

Frank Bain.

With note to Minnie on reverse, explaining that the print was taken on the steps at the island cottage across Toronto bay.

8.8 x 11.5 cms.

Eng 1186/11/2/2/8  Photographic print  Summer 1937

Mildred Bain, seated outdoors.

With note to Minnie on reverse, stating location of photograph as the island cottage.

8.8 x 11.5 cms.

Eng 1186/11/2/2/9  Photographic print  1952

Outdoor shot of Frank and Mildred Bain in Iroquois [Ontario, Canada].

With caption on reverse.

9 x 14.5 cms.

Eng 1186/11/2/3  Bundle  1919-20

3 photographs originally stored together in one envelope (which bears a date earlier than that of the prints themselves) addressed to Wallace from New York in Horace Traubel's hand, and postmarked 19 May 1919.

3 pieces.

Eng 1186/11/2/3/1  Photographic print  22 Sep 1920

Anne Traubel on the steps of 200 Elm Street, Camden, New Jersey.

With handwritten caption.

8.5 x 13.7 cms.

Eng 1186/11/2/3/2  Photographic print  29 Sep 1920

3 men (including John Burroughs) and 2 young women in rural location.

8.8 x 14 cms.

Eng 1186/11/2/3/3  Photographic print  29 Sep 1920

John Burroughs with 2 other men (also in 1186/11/2/3/2) in rural location.

8.8 x 14 cms.
Photographs relating to John Burroughs – naturalist, writer, and friend of Whitman.

3 pieces.

Photographic print

John Burroughs, Clara Barrus [academic, writer, and author of a biography of Burroughs] and 2 other men, "on the 'stoop', Woodchuck Lodge" [Burroughs's summertime home in the Catskills, New York State].

With a caption by 'J.O.' in addition to a note by Minnie.

8.7 x 14 cms.

Photographic print

John Burroughs and Clara Barrus indoors beside an open fire.

13.3 x 8.3 cms.

Photographic print

[John Burroughs] outside wooden lodge.

10.1 x 15.2 cms.

Mounted photographic print

Portrait photograph of Dr Richard Maurice Bucke.

21.3 x 30 cms; mounting board is in poor condition.

Photographs

2 prints taken at Walt Whitman's Birthplace, South Huntington, Long Island: /1: with 2 unidentified children in the foreground; /2: a distance shot including 4 unidentified adults.

2 pieces; both photographs 12.3 x 7.7 cms.

Photographs of Walt Whitman

This small sub-class contains only 2 items: an original print and a commercially produced postcard of Walt Whitman.

2 items.

Mounted photographic print

Walt Whitman seated outside, with industrial scene in the background; taken during his residence at Mickle Street in Camden, New Jersey, towards the end of his life.

10.8 x 16.5 cms.
Eng 1186/11/3/2  
**Postcard**  
n.d.

Postcard, commercially produced in Canada, with a small picture of Whitman dating from the 1870s.

Eng 1186/11/4  
**Miscellaneous prints**  
n.d. [19th century-1950s]

This sub-class contains a bundle of photographic images which either do not fit obviously into any other category or have no clues as to provenance. Includes: a mounted photograph (19th century) of 2 large houses, taken by William C. Withers of Philadelphia; 2 prints of a large, classical-style building under construction; 5 postcards of the Rivington [Lancs] area (with notes on reverse by Minnie Whiteside, dated Jan 1957); and a print of a fossilised fish.

9 items.

Eng 1186/12  
**Miscellaneous material**  
1904-1930s & n.d.

This class contains 10 miscellaneous items which do not fit obviously into any other category. The majority of the items have no clear provenance, although 1186/12/1-3 must have come to Wallace or Minnie from Dr John Johnston, and most of the material does have some connection with Whitman or Wallace.

9 items.

Eng 1186/12/1  
**Notebook**  
Jul 1904

Containing notes made by Dr John Johnston describing a visit to Oxford with the British Medical Association, 25-29 Jul; and a final visit to Eastbourne to see W[ill] Atkinson, 30-31 Jul.

Eng 1186/12/2  
**Book-plate**  
n.d.

Printed book-plate depicting crest and name of J. Johnston, M.D.

Eng 1186/12/3  
**Exercise book**  
n.d.

Hardback book belonging to John Johnston, entitled 'inventory of my Edward Carpenter books'. Contains manuscript list of books, giving layout of title page and details of any inscriptions.

Numerous loose leaves; also a reproduction of a photograph, probably from a journal, of an unidentified man.

Eng 1186/12/4  
**Notes**  
16 Sep 1905

Unsigned sheet of manuscript notes headed 'a garden note', describing a day spent in the garden, with a poem in praise of nature.

In pencil.
Eng 1186/12/5  

**Money order**

For $1.75 to the Crystal Spring Water Co, Poughkeepsie, New York, signed by John Burroughs. Paid on 6 Dec 1906.

Eng 1186/12/6  

**Bundle**

c. 1936

Assembled by Minnie Whiteside, and consisting of material relating to the architect Charles Holden, who came from Bolton and was a friend of J.W. Wallace. Includes: a postcard to Wallace dated 23 Dec 1909, sending greetings from 'all' (Minnie notes the sender as Charles Holden); a note to Mr Wallace [probably Jim, J.W. Wallace's cousin] from Holden; a copy letter from Holden to Miss [Caroline] Eccles (a duplicate of Eng 1186/3/6); 2 news cuttings relating to Holden's architectural achievements; and an invitation to Minnie to attend an exhibition opening at Bolton Museum and Art Gallery, where Holden is to perform the opening ceremony.

6 pieces and envelope.

Eng 1186/12/7  

**Thesis**

The Mystical Element in Walt Whitman' submitted by J.H. Bodgener for the Degree of M.A. in the School of English at Liverpool University.

Typescript.

163 pp.

Eng 1186/12/8  

**Manuscript poem**

'A Legacy' by [John Greenleaf] Whittier, 1887.

Minnie's caption on the reverse makes reference to Mr [William] Ferguson, a College member, who presumably transcribed this poem.

1 sheet.

Eng 1186/12/9  

**Address list**

Names and addresses of people interested in Walt Whitman: the main alphabetical section of the list relates to figures in Toronto and surrounding areas in Canada; this is followed by a non-alphabetical list of other names, based in Toronto, in various parts of the United States, Britain and a number of other countries.

Typescript.

3 sheets.

Eng 1186/12/10  

**Book list**

List of books, arranged alphabetically by title, ending at 'V'. No details of provenance.

Typescript carbon copy.

51 sheets.
Eng MSS 1170-1172, 1330 & 1331

C.F. Sixsmith
Walt Whitman, Edward Carpenter and
H.L. Traubel Collections
1857-1955

Catalogued by Frances Baker
Charles Frederick Sixsmith was one of six brothers from Anderton, near Chorley in Lancashire. He worked at Bentinck Mills, Farnworth, a company engaged in the manufacture and dyeing of woven cotton goods for the West African market, where he held the post of managing director for 40 years until his retirement in 1933. He was also active in local government, being a member of Chorley Rural District Council for 37 years, and he was involved in the early socialist movement in Britain. He stood on a number of boards set up to discuss working conditions and industrial relations, and belonged to various associations concerned with craft, design and factory made goods.

Literature was one of Sixsmith's many interests, and in the early 1890s he developed a love of Walt Whitman's poetry which was to last for the rest of his life. He was introduced to Whitman by J.W. Wallace, who moved to Anderton in 1890 and soon became a close friend of Sixsmith. Wallace, an architect's assistant from Bolton, had first turned to the poetry of Whitman as a source of spiritual solace after the death of his mother in 1885. Inspired by the message he found there, he underwent what he later described as a form of spiritual transformation; he was subsequently looked upon as a spiritual leader and a figure who could provide guidance and support for friends and acquaintances who were experiencing difficulties in their lives. He had a wide circle of contacts among the leading figures of the contemporary socialist movement, many of whom shared his interest in Whitman. The early socialists in Britain were attracted by Whitman's ideas on love and comradeship, democracy and nature, and the poet was taken up as a prophet for the socialist cause.

Wallace's love of Whitman found expression in his role as master of the so-called 'Eagle Street College'. This informal group was established in 1885 when Wallace, with his close friends Dr John Johnston and Fred Wild, began to hold regular meetings at his home in Eagle Street, Bolton, to read and discuss literary works, particularly the poetry of Whitman. Other members of the group (which subsequently became known as the Bolton Whitman Fellowship) came and went over the years, many of them forming lifelong attachments on the basis of their shared political beliefs and love of Whitman's work. A regular event in their calendar was the annual 'Whitman day' celebration held on or near the poet's birthday on 31 May. Wallace and Johnston both corresponded with Whitman himself from 1887 to 1892, the year of the poet's death. Johnston made a pilgrimage to America in 1890, visiting Whitman at his last home in Camden, New Jersey, as well as various localities associated with the poet's life. Wallace visited Whitman in 1891, following Johnston's example in keeping a detailed diary of his experiences; these two accounts were subsequently published as *Visits to Walt Whitman in 1890-1891* (1917).

The Whitman college meetings continued after Wallace's move to Anderton, and he first invited Sixsmith to attend in the early 1890s. Sixsmith, a young man at the time, was grateful for the friendship and support he received from Wallace, who encouraged his interest in Whitman. Through Wallace and the Bolton group, he came into contact with many people who shared his socialist beliefs, most significantly the poet, writer and campaigner, Edward Carpenter, who became a lifelong friend. Carpenter first came into contact with the Bolton group in 1891, and made frequent subsequent visits. Sixsmith often visited Carpenter at his country home in Millthorpe, Derbyshire, which he shared after 1898 with his partner, George Merrill. Sixsmith and Dr Johnston often accompanied Carpenter and Merrill on holidays abroad.

Wallace also corresponded with various friends and admirers of Whitman in America, such as Horace Traubel (writer, friend and defender of Whitman), John Burroughs (naturalist, writer and friend of the poet) and Dr Richard Maurice Bucke (Whitman's official biographer). This gave Sixsmith the opportunity to share his interests and ideas with like-minded individuals in the USA.

Sixsmith and Wallace remained close until at least 1910, when they seem to have had a disagreement of some kind; they certainly grew apart after this time. Sixsmith continued to pursue his Whitman
interests, however, building up an impressive book collection. The Bolton group continued in a more modest form after the death of Wallace in 1926, and Sixsmith remained involved in the annual Whitman birthday celebrations until at least the late 1930s. He continued to promote Whitman's work in the North-West of England for the rest of his life.

Sixsmith married in 1908 and he and his wife, Lucy, had two sons and a daughter. He died in February 1954 at the age of 83.

Walt Whitman, one of the central figures represented in these collections, was born on Long Island in 1819 and grew up in Brooklyn, New York. He had little formal education and moved through various temporary occupations, including journalism, before publishing the first edition of his book of poems, *Leaves of Grass*, in 1855. Written in a simple style and dispensing with traditional poetic devices, these poems represent an early form of free verse. Whitman spent the rest of his life revising and expanding this volume, producing nine editions in total. The third edition of 1860 contained the 'Calamus' group of poems, which has often been taken as evidence of his homosexuality, although the poet denied this and instead emphasised its meaning as a celebration of the natural affection of man for man or 'comradely love'. His work as a whole celebrated America, democracy, and the lives of the ordinary working people. Despite his own efforts at publicity, however, Whitman's work was largely ignored by the general public in America until the 1870s, when favourable reviews of his poetry appeared in England written by respected men of letters such as William Rossetti and John Addington Symonds.

Whitman died at his home in Mickle Street, Camden, New Jersey, in 1892.

The other major figure represented in Sixsmith's papers is Edward Carpenter. Carpenter (1844-1929) came from Brighton and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was ordained in 1869 and became curate to F.D. Maurice. In the ensuing years he experienced an increasing sense of alienation both from his religious duties and from what he saw as the hypocrisy of polite Victorian society. He found solace in reading and writing poetry, and he later claimed that his discovery of Whitman's work precipitated "a profound change" within him. Edward Carpenter, My Days and Dreams: Being Autobiographical Notes (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1916), 64. In 1874 he took the first step in a lifelong revolt against the conventional society he found so stifling. He relinquished his orders and joined the staff of the University Extension Movement, lecturing to working-class men and women in various northern towns. It was during this period that Carpenter began to take an interest in the socialist movement.

Whilst lecturing he also became attracted to the ideal of living a simple outdoor life on the land, and in 1883 he purchased some land in Millthorpe near Chesterfield in Derbyshire; here he built the house which would become his home for the next 40 years. He kept a market garden, took up sandal-making, and finally felt he had escaped the kind of 'civilization' against which he had rebelled.

1883 also saw the publication of the first volume of *Towards Democracy*, Carpenter's long free-verse poem which appeared in four parts during the years 1883-1902. The work expresses Carpenter's ideas on cosmic consciousness, spiritual democracy and the free expression of personality. Much influenced by Whitman (whom Carpenter visited in America in 1877 and 1884), the poem also reflects Carpenter's interest in eastern religion and the *Bhagavadgita*.

Through the 1880s Carpenter became more actively involved in socialism: he had contacts in the Social Democratic Federation and the Fabian movement and he joined the Socialist League. He also became a committed advocate of humanitarianism in its broadest sense. By the late 1880s he had also come to accept and openly acknowledge his homosexuality. During 1886 he had a brief relationship with George Hukin, who was employed in the Sheffield razor trade; despite Hukin's subsequent marriage, which caused a rift between them, the men ultimately formed a close and lifelong friendship. George Merrill, also from a working-class Sheffield family, first met Carpenter in 1889 or 1890, and moved into his Millthorpe home in 1898; he remained Carpenter's partner for the rest of his
life. The men moved to Guildford in Surrey in 1922, where Merrill died in 1928, a year before Carpenter himself. Carpenter did much to raise awareness and promote the acceptance of homosexuality which remained a taboo subject, most notably in his book of essays, *The Intermediate Sex* (1908) which included the controversial piece, ‘Homogenic love, and its place in a free society’.

Carpenter's published work consists of poems, essays, reviews and short stories, reflecting the many concerns and progressive causes which were close to his heart. His writings encompass such topics as socialism, the labour movement, anarchism, syndicalism, imperialism, social reform, prison reform, capital punishment, women's suffrage, the Boer and First World Wars, animal rights, pollution and the environment, health and the human body, sexuality, literature, science and religion. He had many well-known friends and acquaintances and Millthorpe became a Mecca for socialists, humanitarians, intellectuals and writers, from Britain and abroad. Carpenter included among his friends such figures as: the scholar, author, naturalist, and founder of the Humanitarian League, Henry S. Salt, and his wife, Catherine (or Kate); the critic, essayist and sexologist, Henry Havelock Ellis, and his wife, Edith; actor and producer Ben Iden Payne; Labour activists, John Bruce and Katharine Glasier; writer and scholar, John Addington Symonds; writer and feminist, Olive Schreiner; and E.M. Forster, whose novel, *Maurice*, was influenced by Carpenter.

Despite his numerous publications and various lecture tours, Carpenter preferred to live a life of simplicity and retirement at Millthorpe. He never achieved widespread fame himself, although he had a profound personal influence on many people.

Sixsmith's collections, amassed over a lifetime, contain a broad range of material: letters, photographs, news cuttings, offprints, pamphlets, publications, and manuscripts of articles and speeches. They are wide-ranging in scope, reflecting Sixsmith's interests and activities in many areas, from poetry and literature to politics, design and industry. Individuals represented alongside Whitman and Carpenter include writers, scholars, friends and admirers of Whitman, fellow members of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship and enthusiasts from America, as well as friends and family of Sixsmith.

The papers form an important resource both for Whitman and Carpenter studies. They provide valuable information on the life and work of both men, and also contain wider research potential, documenting, for example: Whitman's influence, the reception of his poetry and ideas in America and Britain during and after his lifetime; transatlantic links between Whitman admirers; relationships between specific individuals who were part of the international Whitman circle; Carpenter's work and its reception; early socialism in Britain and support for various progressive causes such as conservation, the environment, humanitarianism and vegetarianism; the Labour Church movement; interest in alternative religion; and attitudes towards sexuality and homosexuality.

Custodial history: these collections were built up by Charles Sixsmith over a long period and bequeathed, along with his book collection, to the John Rylands Library; the material arrived at the Library in 1954. English MS 1170 contains some material which originally belonged to Whitman himself. These papers were formerly in the possession of his friend, Dr R.M. Bucke, and were purchased at auction by Sixsmith in 1935.

Archivist’s note: on arrival at the Library, and possibly reflecting Sixsmith's own ordering, three groupings of papers were treated as discrete collections and allocated numbers in the Library's English Manuscript sequence (Eng MSS 1170-1172). The remainder of the material – which formed two distinct groupings – remained uncatalogued. These two collections have now been allotted their own English MS numbers, and all of Sixsmith's papers have been brought together into a single catalogue. Given that these artificial divisions in the material were made from the outset and may reflect the way Sixsmith's archive came to the Library, the original English Manuscript numberings have been retained, and each collection forms a separate subgroup in this list. These subgroups are as follows:

Eng MS 1170  C.F. Sixsmith Walt Whitman Collection
Eng MS 1171  C.F. Sixsmith Edward Carpenter Collection

Eng MS 1172  C.F. Sixsmith Collection of H.L. Traubel Correspondence

Eng MS 1330  C.F. Sixsmith Collection of Miscellanea

Eng MS 1331  C.F. Sixsmith Collection of Printed and Photographic Material

5 subgroups; 1,086 items.

Related materials: the John Rylands University Library holds another collection relating to J.W. Wallace and the Bolton Whitman Fellowship: English MS 1186 is a collection of papers donated to the Library by Wallace's companion and adopted daughter, Minnie Whiteside. In addition, English MS 1040, presented by Richard Hawkin of Darwen, Lancs, contains correspondence from various figures active in the Labour movement during the period c.1904-1922, including letters from Carpenter.

A much larger collection of material relating to the Bolton Whitman Fellowship and their contacts in America is held at Bolton Archive Service, based at the Central Library, Bolton, Lancashire. This includes: some original letters from Whitman to Wallace, Johnston and others, copies of these, and copies of their letters to him; large quantities of other correspondence, between members of the Bolton circle and with Whitman enthusiasts overseas; numerous papers relating to the Bolton group and its activities; photographs; mementos and ephemera.

Various large collections of Whitman's own correspondence are held at universities and other institutions in the USA.

The most extensive British collection of correspondence, papers and literary manuscripts relating to Edward Carpenter, including his own collection of papers, is held at Sheffield Archives, Sheffield, South Yorkshire.

Other institutions holding correspondence of Carpenter include: Kings College Cambridge Modern Archive Centre; Birmingham University Information Services, Special Collections Department; Worcester College Oxford Library; London University, British Library of Political and Economic Science; Liverpool University Department of Special Collections and Archives; and Nottingham University Manuscripts Department.

Select Bibliography


Sotheby and Co., *Catalogue of important letters, manuscripts and books by or relating to Walt Whitman, the property of his intimate friend, biographer and literary executor the late Dr Richard Maurice Bucke of London, Ontario* (London: 1935).

Traubel, Horace (ed.), *At the graveside of Walt Whitman: Harleigh, Camden, New Jersey, March 30th, and sprigs of lilac* (Philadelphia: Billstein and Son, 1892).

Traubel, Bucke and Harned (eds.) *In Re Walt Whitman* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1893).

This subgroup contains a collection of papers, formerly in the possession of Whitman's friend Dr R.M. Bucke, which was purchased by Sixsmith at auction in 1935. It is the only one of his collections to contain material originally belonging to Whitman himself. The material includes a series of letters sent to Whitman, most of them dating from the summer of 1880 when he was staying at the home of his friend and biographer, Dr R.M. Bucke in London, Ontario, as well as a bundle of papers and cuttings collected by the poet during the same period. Amongst these papers is an original portrait photograph of Whitman's close friend, Peter Doyle, taken in 1868 (Eng 1170/1/4/1). This material was purchased by Sixsmith at Sotheby's auction house in London (England) in 1935; it formed part of a collection of books and manuscripts formerly belonging to Bucke. The letters were sent to Whitman by scholars, critics, admirers, friends and family, including various well-known figures such as Bucke himself, John Burroughs, Anne Gilchrist and Edward Carpenter. In addition to the material originally belonging to Whitman himself, there is a series of letters to Sixsmith from fellow Whitman enthusiasts in America and England, dating from the early 1890s through to the mid-twentieth century, when the collecting of Whitmaniana was reaching its height. There are also some photographs, cuttings, and miscellaneous papers amassed by Sixsmith in relation to his Whitman interest and activities.

The material in this subgroup contains valuable biographical information on Whitman himself, and forms a useful resource for the study of Whitman's influence, the reception of his poetry and ideas in America and Britain both during and after his lifetime, transatlantic links between Whitman admirers, and the relationships between specific individuals who were part of the international Whitman circle.

Archivist’s note: the material has been arranged into sub-subgroups which reflect the provenance of the two separate parts of the collection. There is one item which did not form part of Sixsmith's original collection: this is a photograph sent to the Library by Harriet Sprague (Eng 1170/2/3/3). On the reverse of this print, a member of Library staff noted that it was kept with the Sixsmith collection for convenience (as a single item with no other obvious home). Sprague was a correspondent of Sixsmith, and the photograph is Whitman-related; it therefore remains part of this collection, although its provenance should be noted.

The collection is arranged as follows:

Eng 1170/1 Whitman papers purchased by C.F. Sixsmith
Eng 1170/1/1 Letters to Walt Whitman
Eng 1170/1/2 News cuttings
Eng 1170/1/3 General printed material
Eng 1170/1/4 Miscellaneous material
Eng 1170/2 Papers of C.F. Sixsmith relating to his Whitman interest
Eng 1170/2/1 Letters to Sixsmith
Eng 1170/2/2 News cuttings and printed material
Whitman papers purchased by C.F. Sixsmith

This sub-subgroup consists of a collection of papers purchased by Charles F. Sixsmith at the auction house of Sotheby and Co., New Bond Street, London. The sale, held on 13 May 1935, consisted of letters, manuscripts and books by or relating to Whitman which had been the property of Dr Richard Maurice Bucke. Bucke was a physician, Superintendent of the Insane Asylum in London, Ontario, Canada, and a close friend and great admirer of the poet. He was the author of the official biography of Whitman, published in 1883 and partly written by Whitman himself. He was also one of Whitman's three literary executors.

At the sale Sixsmith purchased lot 4 (a third edition *Leaves of Grass*) and lot 101 – the papers listed here. This material consists of a series of letters written to Whitman while he was staying with R.M. Bucke in London, Ontario, during the summer of 1880, along with news cuttings collected by Whitman over the same period, and some miscellaneous material, much of it relating to his trip to Canada.

During this period of his life, Whitman was living with his brother George and his family in Camden, New Jersey, after losing his government clerkship through ill health in 1874. He spent much of his time, however, at a farm in Kirkwood, New Jersey, the home of his friends, the large Stafford family. Whitman took an active part in family life there, and became very close to the young Harry Stafford, who replaced Peter Doyle in his affections. The countryside around the farm also provided the inspiration for Whitman's *Specimen Days* (1882), part of which he composed at the nearby Timber Creek.

In 1879, Anne Gilchrist – another important figure in Whitman's life at the time – had left Philadelphia (where she had been living for three years) to return to her native England. She had fallen in love with Whitman after reading his poetry, and moved her family to America to be near him. It subsequently became clear that Whitman could never reciprocate the kind of affection she offered, although they remained friends and Whitman spent much time at her Philadelphia home.

Whitman lived a quiet life in Camden, although he did undertake several extended trips, including a journey to Colorado in 1879, and his trip to see Dr Bucke in 1880. He was enjoying increased recognition for his work at this time, as is testified by a number of letters from admirers included in this collection.

The papers here were presumably left behind in Canada when Whitman returned to Camden, and remained in the possession of Dr Bucke and his descendants.

4 classes; 57 items.
Letters to Walt Whitman

This class consists of letters sent to Whitman during 1879-80, spanning a period of just over one year. However, the letters predominantly date from summer 1880, when Whitman was resident in London, Ontario. The letters come from writers, scholars, critics, admirers, friends and family; correspondents include the naturalist and writer, John Burroughs, English socialist, Edward Carpenter, Anne Gilchrist, various members of Whitman's adopted family, the Staffords, his literary agents in Britain, and Dr R.M. Bucke (written in the spring before Whitman's visit to his home). The letters illustrate the reception of Whitman's work both at home and abroad (particularly in Canada and Great Britain), by ordinary readers and the literati; they include various tributes to the poet, and expressions of gratitude for his work, as well as orders for his books. The letters also contain news of friends and family, including various individuals from Camden, New Jersey, with whom Whitman was acquainted.

Archivist’s note: all letters are autograph and consist of one sheet of paper unless stated otherwise.

44 pieces.

From Irish scholar, critic and translator, T[omas] W. Rolleston, who translated *Leaves of Grass* into German, and enjoyed a friendly correspondence with Whitman.

2 pieces.

Rolleston inquires whether Whitman received a letter the previous year from a Mrs Alexander of Ireland ordering and sending payment for a copy of Whitman's *Two Rivulets*. He refers to a former letter he sent to Whitman and reiterates his gratitude for the spiritual strength he found in *Leaves of Grass*.

Shinrone, King's County, Ireland.

Refers to: a selection of facsimiles of Turner etchings he is sending to Whitman as a birthday gift; his temporary removal to Germany, and his experiences of living under the regime of Bismarck, which he calls "practically despotic"; a friend he has made there who has lived in America for a long period, and who he describes; the "upper class" Americans who visit Dresden, and the class divide in America; Mrs Alexander.

Dresden, Saxony.

In fragile condition; the paper is disintegrating along the top edge.
From John Burroughs, naturalist, writer, and friend and admirer of Whitman. Refers to: a New Year's gift he is sending Whitman from a friend of his in Boston; the [Oliver Wendell] Holmes breakfast, where he met [Ralph Waldo] Emerson (who he describes, commenting "[t]here seems to be a fearful chasm in his mind and he is hardly able to bridge it over in conversation"), and [poet, John Greenleaf] Whittier, who complimented Burroughs's work; Holmes and [writer and publisher, James Thomas] Fields, whom he also met, and a Mrs Fairchild who told him of her admiration for Whitman; a recent trip to Arlington [Massachusetts], where he saw [writer, John Townsend] Trowbridge; his own problems with neuritis; his baby; Smith and his family.

Esopus, N[ew] Y[ork, USA].

Bucke asks Whitman to write him a sketch of his interior life, especially in relation to the genesis of *Leaves of Grass*, as he believes it is important that Whitman's thought processes should be recorded.

Bucke comments that he is in possession of [John] Burroughs' book [*Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person* (1867)] and his last article in *Birds and Poets* [1877], as well as [William Douglas] O'Connor's [*The Good Grey Poet. [A Vindication* (1866)] and Mrs [Anne] Gilchrist's letter ['An Englishwoman's estimate of Walt Whitman'] in the *Radical* [Review, May 1870]. He states that anything else he can acquire on this subject will be useful; he especially wants "facts about the man – both bearing upon his inward and outward life"; he hopes Whitman and his brothers can help him in this.

He encloses a money draft for copies of *Leaves of Grass* and *Two Rivulets*, which have been ordered as a result of a recent lecture he gave in Chatham [Ontario]; he hopes for more orders after his forthcoming lectures in London and Sarnia [Ontario].
Bucke comments that he is sending a London paper which illustrates well the controversy currently raging there about Leaves of Grass. He thinks it likely that a few copies of the book could now be sold there, and details a plan by which Whitman would supply booksellers J.J. Anderson and Co. with copies as they need them, and Bucke would collect any money made and remit it to Whitman; he outlines tariffs and prices. He hopes for a visit from Whitman in the summer.

Bucke mentions that he has received two copies of Leaves of Grass from Whitman for Anderson and requests copies of Two Rivulets, which will then be advertised there. He comments on the tariff system which means that many people cannot afford to buy books, and wishes Whitman could put his book under the control of a good publisher who would sell it at a moderate price.

From W. Hale White, who notes that he is enclosing a short notice of a book by Whitman and asks for news of his health. Enclosed is a cutting of White's review of Whitman's Two Rivulets: 'The genius of Walt Whitman', in The Secular Review, 20 March 1880.

From lecturer, Robert G[reen] Ingersoll, who expresses his gratitude to Whitman for thousands of noble thoughts the poet has given him; he admires Whitman's defence of the human body and the passions of man against the slanders of theologians; and refers to three small volumes of his own which he is sending Whitman.

From Edward Carpenter, the English socialist, reformer and writer, who was much influenced by the work of Whitman. After leaving holy orders, Carpenter worked as a University Extension Lecturer in various northern industrial towns, before moving to the countryside to pursue his own concept of socialism and communal fellowship. He promoted various progressive causes, and his lifestyle reflected his rejection of convention and middle-class values.
Carpenter comments that he has been keeping up with news of Whitman from the Gilchrist's, including details of his trip to Colorado [in 1879]; he asks Whitman's opinion on his proposal to arrange the publication of a cheaper edition of *Leaves of Grass* in England for people unable to afford the existing editions. He anticipates a great increase in demand for Whitman's books among the ordinary people in England. He feels unable to go on with his lecturing [for the University Extension Unit], and is planning to move to the country to work, initially on some land of Ruskin's [i.e. belonging to the St George's Guild, founded by Ruskin in 1875]. He passes on his love to Harry Stafford.

Sheffield [Yorks, England].

3 sheets.

Refers to: an acquaintance of his, R.D. Roberts, a Cambridge lecturer, who would like to visit Whitman in August; a letter received from Dr [R.M.] Bucke, and Bucke's address to the Teachers' Association; the papers Whitman has sent. He describes his enjoyment of the outdoor life, commenting "I am living with a man [Albert Fearnehough] – the best friend I ever had or could think to have – an iron worker, scythe riveter, and his little family".

Totley [Derbys, England].

From Anne Gilchrist, who was introduced to Whitman's work by William Rossetti, initiated a passionate correspondence with the poet, and took her family to live in Philadelphia during 1876-9 to be close to him. In this letter she sends news of Bee [her daughter Beatrice, who, after giving up her medical studies, committed suicide in 1881]: Beatrice feels she lacks the intellect required to become a successful physician, although Anne believes she would make an admirable doctor; she is currently at home resting. She also refers to the activities of Herby [her son, Herbert, who was an artist]: he has been working on a picture to send to the [Royal] Academy and has a small commission from one of their Philadelphian friends, Murry Gibson. She mentions a recent visit from William Rossetti, when they discussed Whitman. She is currently looking for a house in Hampstead and hopes Whitman will visit them. She has made the acquaintance of [Harry] Buxton Forman [Whitmanite and bibliographer], who told her about the history of Dr [R.M.] Bucke. Also refers to: Ruskin's recent admiration of Whitman's poems in the *Athenaeum* which William Rossetti thinks will give a great impetus to the circulation of Whitman's poems in England; English politics; Whitman's family.

Hampstead [London, England].

Includes envelope.

2 sheets.
Eng 1170/1/1/8  Letters  5-9 Jun 1880

From Katie E.S. Macdonald: she praises Whitman's work and the lead he has taken in "a glorious charge against materialism and asceticism", and orders a copy of *Leaves of Grass*, sending payment of £1.

Oban [Argyllshire, Scotland].

1170/1/1/8/1 includes envelope.

2 pieces.

Eng 1170/1/1/9  Letters  Jun-Jul 1880

From Californian author and traveller, Charles Warren Stoddard.

2 pieces.

Eng 1170/1/1/9/1  Letter  14 Jun 1880

Refers to: a letter received from Whitman years ago in response to some South Sea sketches he sent the poet [probably his *South-Sea Idyls* (1873)]; his copy of the 1867 edition of *Leaves of Grass* which has travelled with him all over the globe; the possibility of obtaining a copy of the original [1855] edition; Whitman's complete works in 2 volumes which he will buy if there is an available copy. He makes an emotional request for Whitman to write out and autograph some lines of his poetry for Stoddard to frame along with Whitman's picture, and mentions his friend [the writer] Joaquin Miller, with whom he often discusses Whitman.

Includes note in another hand stating that the books were sent from London, Canada on 26 Jun. Also includes envelope.

2 sheets.

Eng 1170/1/1/9/2  Letter  7 Jul 1880

Stoddard thanks Whitman for the volumes, autographs, postcard, letter in the *London Journal* and the promise of an autograph poem for him to frame with the picture of Whitman ("my Christ").

San Francisco [California, USA].

Eng 1170/1/1/10  Letters  Jun-Jul 1880

From English writer of light verse, F[rederick] Locker[-Lampson], whose daughter married Tennyson's son, Lionel.

2 pieces.
Eng 1170/1/1/10/1 Letter 15 Jun 1880

Refers to: Whitman's riddle song ['A Riddle Song'] and tribute to Emerson which he has received; Tennyson, who is currently in Venice but will receive anything Whitman sends on his return; Tennyson's two country houses; Locker-Lampson's readiness to forward anything Whitman sends to Tennyson; Lionel Tennyson, who lives in London for 10 months each year; and Mrs [Anne] Gilchrist and her work on Blake.

London [England].

Includes envelope.

Eng 1170/1/1/10/2 Letter 3 Jul 1880

He describes an autograph manuscript of Walter Scott's poem, 'Harold the Dauntless', in his possession, which has some missing leaves. He asks Whitman to write in one stanza, to add to the sections already written by other English and American poets.

London [England].

Includes envelope.

Eng 1170/1/1/11 Letters Jun-Jul 1880

From Elisa S. Leggett of Detroit, whose grandson Percy Ives was to paint an oil portrait of Whitman.

2 pieces.

Eng 1170/1/1/11/1 Letter 18 Jun 1880

Refers to: the book and paper Whitman has sent her; her feelings on hearing of the death of her son, Percy, during the Civil War; her family who are currently away but hope to see Whitman when they return.

Detroit [Michigan, USA].

Includes envelope.

Eng 1170/1/1/11/2 Letter 19 Jul 1880

Refers to: Whitman's illness; her hopes that he will visit Detroit before going home [from Dr Bucke's in London]; her son-in-law, Lewis [Ives], who would like to meet Whitman, and his sixteen-year-old son [Percy] who, like Lewis, is an artist.

Detroit [Michigan, USA].

Eng 1170/1/1/12 Letter 21 Jun 1880

From James M[at]lack Scovel, a Camden lawyer and friend of Whitman. Refers to: his political letter from the Post on which he asks Whitman's opinion; a visit from Johnson with Whitman's letter to his boy; and Mrs Johnson, who has been hurt. Scovel advises Whitman to write to her apologising for any misunderstanding; he thinks the Johnson's are poor and feel very bad over the matter.
Eng 1170/1/1/13 Letter 22 Jun 1880

From Harry Scovel, thanking Whitman for his postcards and admiring his letter to the *Camden Daily Post*; he wishes he was with Whitman, and mentions the sad news he has heard about [Loui?] Odenheimer, who is no better. He also refers to the boys around the [Camden] Ferry who all miss Walt, particularly Firm Hand (one of the pilots) and [Tilghman] Hiskey, who are both very fond of him.

Camden, N[ew] J[ersey, USA].

Eng 1170/1/1/14 Letter 24 Jun 1880

From C.A.J. [Lueckberry?], thanking Whitman for the honour of his postcard and remembrance, and hoping to return the compliment one day.

New York City, USA.

Eng 1170/1/1/15 Postcard 24 Jun [1880]

From F[red] W. Rauch, writing of his travels in Germany; he describes his activities and surroundings in Heidelberg.

Heidelberg [Germany].

Eng 1170/1/1/16 Letter 26 Jun 1880

From J[ohn] H. Johnston, jeweller of New York, and friend and admirer of Whitman. Refers to: the death of Hinton's wife; his intention to write a piece on Whitman for publication, at the apparent request of Dr [R.M.] Bucke; [his son] Albert, who has graduated, but who may be unable to visit Canada during the summer, due to Johnston's lack of money and the necessity of his assistance in the shop. He sends love to Bucke and his children.

New York [USA].

Includes envelope.

Eng 1170/1/1/17 Letter 29 Jun 1880

From Norman McKenzie, a Canadian schoolboy, who wonders if Whitman remembers a sailing trip they took together, commenting "I had such a pleasant (sic) time up in the bow of the boat when I sat on your lap and asked you questions about the which you wrote about in your book named Two Rivulets". He hopes to visit Whitman at Bucke's after 13 July, and asks about his plans for Dominion Day.

Sarnia, Ontario [Canada].

Includes envelope.
From Herbert J. Bathgate, a British admirer of Whitman and friend of Ruskin. He is grateful to Whitman for sending papers from time to time, particularly an article on Emerson; he sends his new address.

Oakenholt Hall, near Flint [Flintshire, Wales].

From [Respegius] Edward Lindell, who worked for the Camden ferries. He refers to: the date [Independence Day], which he hopes will not cause a fight between Whitman and Bucke [who was Canadian]; the completion of a huge depot [in Camden] and of a new rail road running to Atlantic City, which has resulted in increased use of the ferry; news of local figures in Camden, such as Col. Parkinson and Doctor Ridge, and various men who worked on the ferries – Charley Walton, Bill Clank and Tilghman Hiskey; the receipt of several papers sent by Whitman to his friends.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Includes envelope.

From Louisa Whitman, the wife of Whitman's brother, George. Walt lived with George's family in Camden from 1874 to 1884.

Louisa reports on news and events in Camden and its surrounds: George is busy; they have had a call from Ida Johnson, and she wonders if Walt has heard from any of the Johnson's; there has been a large fire in Philadelphia, which burnt down the planing mill of Will Nice; they have taken Alice, the orphaned daughter of her sister Rate, into the household; Mrs Berry misses seeing Walt travelling on the street cars.

On returning from a trip Louisa found letters from Walt, Mrs [Anne] Gilchrist and Mr [Edward] Carpenter; she was alarmed by reports that Whitman was very sick, and hopes he is now recovering; she describes her recent trip and sends more news on local figures, including Mrs Berry, Mrs Wetherbee, and Mrs Wilson's child.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].
From Robert Elliott, a young Canadian admirer of Whitman. He refers to: a recent visit to the Brigade Camp of Volunteers at London East, where he recognized Whitman as the original of a portrait published several years ago; and a former meeting with Whitman. He is keen to pursue a profession in literature, and asks Whitman for some words of advice.

Stamp for reply is attached.

From Josiah Child, who handled Whitman's affairs with the British literary agency and publishers, Trubner and Co. He is sending Whitman an up-to-date statement and a draft for $80 50c, the amount from sales to date; he asks Whitman to send 10 more copies of *Leaves of Grass* and 5 of *Two Rivulets*; he has received Bucke's letter and papers.

London [England].

Includes envelope.

From [Sue?] Stafford [probably Susan, wife of George, at whose Laurel Springs home Whitman spent much time]. She regrets that Whitman is sick, and sends news about various members of the large Stafford family: George and the boys are well; Mont[gomery] has taken Harry's place in the store; various of the children have been or are going on trips; Ed and Debbie intend to write to Walt.

From Elmer Stafford [Susan Stafford's nephew], who refers to: Whitman's sickness and a recent illness of his own; Whitman's holiday, and his desire both to be with Whitman and to see the countryside there [in Canada]; the harvest; two recent barn fires; news of various individuals, including Harry, who is an assistant in the office at Haddonfield [New Jersey] and Homer.

From Debbie V. Browning Stafford, a daughter of George and Susan], referring to: the note she received from Whitman; his recent sickness; the health of herself and Joe; and her work. She inquires whether Whitman often hears from the Gilchrist's.

Haddonfield, N[ew] J[ersey, USA].

Includes envelope.
Eng 1170/1/1/26  Letter  21 Jul 1880

From writer and Abolitionist leader, F[ranklin] B. Sanborn: he admits that he has been waiting for a chance to invite Whitman to his home, and now invites him to stay in his new house after 26th [July]; he has already sent Whitman the programme for the school of philosophy to be held there this summer; he hopes Whitman will recover from his illness in time to visit.

Concord [New Hampshire, USA].

Eng 1170/1/1/27  Letter  4 Aug 1880

From Kivas Tully, who notes that he is enclosing some information on transatlantic and Canadian inland navigation requested by Whitman for reference; he hopes Whitman's stay in Canada is mentally and physically beneficial to him.

Includes 3 enclosures: (1) a manuscript extract from a paper on the fluctuations of the Great Lakes read by Tully at the Canadian Institute, Toronto on 22 March 1879; (2) a news cutting giving the dimensions of each Great Lake; (3) page from a cuttings book including a cutting reporting a talk by Tully on 'The Inland Navigation of Canada', March 1878.

Toronto [Ontario, Canada].

Includes envelope.

4 pieces.

Eng 1170/1/1/28  Letter  6 Sep 1880

From William Taylor, editor of the Woodstown (New Jersey) Constitution. He is sending Whitman proofs of some pieces relating to the foreign newspaper correspondence he mentioned recently and comments that any contribution from Whitman would be welcome. He inquires whether Whitman's lecture on Elias Hicks is in a complete enough state to deliver before an audience. He also refers to: current political events in America; Tennyson's last poem, 'De Profundis'; the author of Adam Bede [George Eliot]; the Radical Review.

With enclosure: a cutting from the Woodstown Register of a letter written by Dr [R.M.] Bucke to the Philadelphia Press, clarifying and correcting certain facts about Whitman.

Woodstown, N[ew] J[ersey, USA].

Includes envelope.

2 pieces.

Eng 1170/1/1/29  Postcard  n.d. [Jul 1880]

From Harry Stafford, sending news of home and asking when Whitman intends to return.

Archivist’s note: the card is cross-written, rendering it difficult to decipher.

Haddonfield, N[ew] J[ersey, USA].

120
Envelopes addressed to Whitman at London, Ontario; the letters they originally held do not survive in this collection.

4 pieces.

**News Cuttings**

Bundle of miscellaneous news cuttings from various publications, presumably collected by Whitman himself and therefore illustrating some of his interests. They include articles on: transatlantic steam navigation; the demolition of a church in Chew's Landing, New Jersey, founded with the financial aid of George Washington; criticism and defence of Whitman; his summer in Canada and his poem, 'O Star of France'; a book review of *Andersonville: a story of rebel military prisons* by John McElroy; the International Park at Niagara; arguments for and against the annexation of Canada by the USA; the establishment of a new Mining Stock Exchange in New York by Californian capitalists; Pennsylvania Lead Company; and summer birds.

1/2/3 consists of an 8-page extract from the journal, *The Scientific Man*, including an article on 'Muscle and Nerve' by Professor Arthur Gamgee, a book list and various advertisements.

Archivist’s note: cuttings are arranged chronologically with undated items placed at the end.

12 items; 1170/1/2/8 consists of 3 pieces, and 1170/1/2/3 is in a very fragile condition.

**General printed material**

This class consists of a bundle of miscellaneous printed items, a number of which clearly relate to Whitman's visit to Canada in 1880, and were probably collected by him during the spring and summer of that year. Items include: a guide book on Quebec (with manuscript note on p.5); 2 leaflets on the Lehigh Valley railroad (leading from New York and Philadelphia to the west via the Niagara Falls); a leaflet for the St Lawrence Steam Navigation Company of Montreal; a guide book on Toronto; a leaf from a book, on which is printed a poem, 'The Battle of Naseby'; and a trade card for the New York Bird Store in Toronto.

7 items.

**Miscellaneous material**

This composite class contains a small quantity of miscellaneous material and rough notes made and kept by Whitman. It includes: a small portrait photograph of his close friend and companion, Pete Doyle, taken on 5 Jul 1868 by M.P. Rice of Washington D.C.; some manuscript quotes; rough notes on the reverse of an envelope giving the names of hotels; a receipt for clothes purchased by in London [Ontario]; a calling card of Cap W.W. Sheed; and a postcard depicting a mural in the Walt Whitman Hotel, Camden, New Jersey.

Also included is a receipt issued by Sotheby's, dated 13 May 1935, for Charles Sixsmith's purchase of Whitman material (lots 4 and 101) at a total price of £4 5s.

8 items.
Papers of C.F. Sixsmith relating to his Whitman interest 1891-1951

This sub-subgroup contains a collection of Sixsmith's own papers, the majority of them relating in some way to his interest in Walt Whitman. There is a sizeable bundle of letters, largely from other Whitman admirers, both British and American. They date from the time of Sixsmith's earliest interest in Whitman and his first involvement in the Bolton College group, to the mid-twentieth century, when interest in Whitman was reaching new heights and many collectors and enthusiasts were building up large collections in America. Sixsmith corresponded with various prominent members of the international circle of Whitman enthusiasts. In addition there is a small number of news cuttings on Whitman-related topics, some photographs (the most interesting probably being the photograph of Philip Dalmas in 1170/2/3/1), and various notes, quotes and extracts relating to Whitman, his work, and his followers. There are some drafts of talks on Whitman given by Sixsmith in Lancashire in the 1930s, reflecting his enduring interest in the poet and his continued promotion of Whitman's work as one of the few remaining members of the early Bolton College. Also included is a letter to J.W. Wallace from Caroline Martyn, which was passed on to Sixsmith by the recipient (1170/4/2/4).

5 classes; 33 items.

Letters to Sixsmith 1892-1948

This class consists of letters sent to Sixsmith over a long period by various individuals, most of whom had some kind of interest in Whitman and his work. Correspondents include various Whitman enthusiasts from the USA, such as Horace Traubel and his wife, Anne, other members of the Philadelphia circle of Whitmanites, and R.M. Bucke, as well as individuals in Britain. Topics covered are varied, but the letters are particularly valuable in illustrating international interest in Whitman, the various Whitman organisations which existed and the relations between them, books and articles written on Whitman, and the continued interest in the poet through to the 1940s, when American collectors were keen to acquire Whitman-related books and manuscripts. There is an intriguing reference in 1170/2/1/8 to an apparent argument which had taken place between Sixsmith and J.W. Wallace, who were formerly very close.

Archivist’s note: all letters are autograph and consist of one sheet of paper unless stated otherwise.

18 items; 64 pieces.

Bundle 24 Sep 1892–9 Mar 1899

Letters and postcards from William Innes of Philadelphia. Innes was a keen Whitmanite and a friend of Horace Traubel and other Philadelphia Whitman enthusiasts. During the early part of this period he worked for Billstein and Son, a company of printers; by 1897 he was part of the family firm, Innes and son, printers and publishers. He was also a keen musician. He seems to have come into contact with Sixsmith through Horace Traubel. In these letters he discusses his friends, interests, activities, reading matter, work and current affairs. He frequently sends love to J.W. Wallace, who was close to Sixsmith at this time. Topics of interest covered in the letters include: Whitman and his work (2/1/1/1, 2, 3, 4 & 14); Horace Traubel and his family (2/1/1/1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12 & 14); Philip Dalmas (another Philadelphia Whitmanite, who was also a talented musician; he was very close to Traubel and a good friend of Innes; he moved to Europe, and formed a close relationship with Sixsmith – 2/1/1/1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18 & 23); Dr Bucke and his book, *Cosmic Consciousness* (2/1/1/7, 11 & 12); Herbert Gilchrist (2/1/1/2); John
H. Johnston and his New York jewellery business (2/1/1/13); a meeting with Keir Hardie in 1895 (2/1/1/15); a meeting with Peter Doyle (former companion of Whitman) in 1898 (2/1/1/20); a love affair and his engagement to a local woman (2/1/1/20 & 22); contrasts between Europe and the USA (2/1/1/1, 17 & 20); the labour movement in America (2/1/1/1); and the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893 (2/1/1/10).

2/1/1/23 is an undated note; 2/1/1/24 is a printed card sent by Innes to Sixsmith, with a quotation from Dschelaleddin Rumi, 'Brahma'; 2/1/1/25 is an empty envelope.

Envelopes included with 1170/2/1/1/3, 4-6, 8-10, 12, 17-19, 21 & 24.

25 pieces.

Eng 1170/2/1/2 Invitation

From Mr and Mrs Thomas B Harned [Harned was one of Whitman's literary executors and brother-in-law of Horace Traubel], inviting Sixsmith to the Walt Whitman Reunion on 5 January 1893 in Camden, New Jersey.

Includes envelope.

Eng 1170/2/1/3 Letters

From Richard Maurice Bucke. In 2/1/3/1 he expresses his admiration for [J.W.] Wallace and [Edward] Carpenter, who he sees as examples of 'Christ man', and mentions that he is in the process of writing a book which Sixsmith will like, entitled Cosmic Consciousness. In 2/1/3/2 he refers to: copies of Whitman's Leaves of Grass and Two Riulets which he is sending; the difficulty of obtaining John Burroughs's Notes on Walt Whitman as] Poet and Person in Britain; his desire to visit England to carry out research on his theory that Francis Bacon wrote Shakespeare's works; [Robert] Blatchford's objections to Bucke.

London, Ontario [Canada].

2 pieces.

Eng 1170/2/1/4 Bundle

Letters from Philip Dalmas, composer and singer, and a member of the Philadelphian Whitman circle. Dalmas apparently had a magnetic personality, inspiring great affection in Sixsmith, other members of the Bolton group, and Edward Carpenter when he first visited in summer 1894. In these letters he expresses his love for Sixsmith in transcendental terms; he also states his love and esteem for Wallace; and he mentions his appreciation of the practical friendship offered by Sixsmith, who sent him newspapers in which he marked articles of interest.

2/1/4/1 is written from Bergen in Germany, where Dalmas travelled after his first visit to England in summer 1894; 2/1/4/2 & 3 are written from Millthorpe in Derbyshire, where Dalmas was staying with Edward Carpenter in late 1895.

All the letters include envelopes.

4 pieces.
From his ‘comrade’ George [possibly a cousin of J.W. Wallace], who refers to: the passing of time; his feelings of inadequacy in accomplishing anything and helping humanity; his disregard of the religious systems of the world; the social problem faced by the world; a recent lecture attended on ‘re-incarnation’; the local town council and the attitude of the local people; a visit to Newcastle to see his brother and attend a production of Wagner's Tannhuser; and books he has read.

Thornaby [Yorks].

Includes envelope.

3 sheets.

Letters and postcards from J. William Lloyd, a writer and Whitmanite of Westfield, New Jersey. He seems to have been in frequent contact with Sixsmith during 1901-3, although their correspondence had diminished by 1908. Topics referred to include: various books by Lloyd which Sixsmith and the Bolton college order and comment on – The Natural Man (2/1/6/2), Dawn Thought (2/1/6/2 & 6), Wind-harp Sings (2/1/6/2), Red Heart (2/1/6/2), The Island of Delgar (2/1/6/2 & 5), and The Serene Light (2/1/6/11); Edward Carpenter (2/1/6/1, 7 & 9); a Whitman convention held in June 1901 in Manhattan ("it was a real love-feast" - 2/1/6/1); Horace Traubel and his work (2/1/6/7); John Burroughs (2/1/6/7); the Comradeship of Free Socialists (Lloyd was leader of the Initial Council) and their aims (2/1/6/1); his publication, the Free Comrade (2/1/6/2); his ideas on the aristocracy and democracy (2/1/6/8); a journey to Arizona undertaken in 1903 and his encounters with American Indians (2/1/6/8).

Envelopes included with 1170/2/1/6/1, 2, 7, 8 & 11.

11 pieces.

From William Ingram of Telford, Pennsylvania [an abolitionist and a friend of Whitman]. Refers to: a poem on Whitman by R.H. Bell of New York, which Sixsmith has promised to copy out and give to William Atkinson [of the Bolton circle] and Edward Carpenter; the Whitman birthday dinner in New York in May 1893; his visit to England; the Bolton group; his family; Whitman, who wrote about Ingram; Mrs Davis [probably Mary Davis, Whitman's former housekeeper], who is well and asks after Wallace and Johnston.

Both letters include envelopes.

2 pieces; 1170/2/1/7/2 is 2 sheets.
Letters and cards from Horace Traubel – writer, and close friend and companion of Whitman in his last years; he was also one of the poet's literary executors. He refers to: an apparent argument and division between Sixsmith and [J.W.] Wallace, which he was informed about by [Frank] Bain [Canadian Whitmanite], and which he regrets; volumes 2 and 3 of the Camden book [his lengthy diary, With Walt Whitman in Camden]; reactions to [his volume of poetry] Optimax; Sixsmith's son; Traubel's daughter, Gertrude; and his financial problems.

2/1/8/3 consists of a bundle of 4 printed cards sent to Sixsmith by Traubel; each displays a piece of verse, and they were produced annually to mark Traubel's birthday (19 December) during the period 1912-16.

All letters include envelopes.

3 pieces.

Related materials: Eng 1172 contains extensive Traubel correspondence.

From Frank Bain [a Whitman enthusiast from Toronto in Canada] who was in contact with other Whitmanites across America and in Britain. He refers to: Horace [Traubel], who he is visiting and who has been ill with rheumatic fever; the [Whitman] Fellowship [Annual Convention] which he was unable to attend this year.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Includes envelope.

From 'E' [apparently a good friend or relation of Sixsmith], inquiring whether Sixsmith has had any news about his brother, sending sympathy in his anxiety, and informing him that Walt Seward is planning to come to England on the 24th.

Lyme Regis [Dorset, England].

Includes envelope.

2 sheets.

Formal letter addressed to 'Sir' [presumably Sixsmith], unsigned and apparently incomplete. The writer admires Sixsmith's address in the Journal about Edward Carpenter; the writer was Carpenter's chairman when he came to Bolton; he suggests having a meeting in Bolton with Sixsmith as speaker.

From George T. Goodspeed, of Goodspeed's Book Shop, Boston, Massachusetts. He describes the first edition Leaves of Grass in their possession, priced at $2,000.

Typescript with autograph.
From Anne M[ontgomery] Traubel [the widow of Horace Traubel], referring to: an inaccurate reference made by Sixsmith in an article to the existence of a statue of Whitman in a public square in New York; a bronze statue of Whitman sculpted by Mr Jo Davidson, which she describes, mentioning its purchase and planned location in Bear Mountain Reservation; Gertrude [her daughter] and Malcolm [her grandson].

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania [USA].

Includes envelope.

2 sheets.

To Sixsmith and his wife, Lucy, from Sidney. He mentions a print which he encloses, describes his activities, and invites the Sixsmith's to visit when they are next in London.

Enclosed is a photographic print of a sculpture of Whitman (probably that referred to in 1170/2/1/13).

Midhurst, Sussex [England].

Written on a piece of card.

2 pieces.

From Adelaide M. Faron, Librarian of Hempstead Library, New York, and an Honorary Vice-President of the Walt Whitman Society of America. She refers to: her work for the Victory Book Campaign and as a librarian; Whitman, and reviews of his work she has been collecting; a recent talk she gave on Whitman; a new biography of Whitman by Henry Seidel Canby [Walt Whitman: an American]; the War; her sons; a luncheon given in honour of [Belgian playwright] Maurice Maeterlinck by the Walt Whitman Society of America in October 1940.

2/1/15/1 includes a photograph taken at the Maeterlinck luncheon; 2/1/15/2 includes a copy of Faron's speech on Whitman; and 2/1/15/3 includes a notice and a bulletin issued by the Walt Whitman Society of America.

All 3 letters include envelopes.

3 pieces.

From Harriet Sprague, another American Whitman enthusiast and Honorary Vice-President of the Walt Whitman Society of America; she was also a collector of Whitmaniana. Refers to: articles on Whitman; the [Henry Seidel] Canby biography; her Henry Saunders book collection [Saunders was a Whitman enthusiast and writer from Canada], which Saunders' niece, Silvia, was amazed to see, as Saunders talked little of his Whitman interest to the family; a radio programme on Whitman's life and work in which she is involved.

26 Oct 194[3?] & 2 Feb 1948
2/1/16/2 includes a copy of a letter addressed to Silvia [Saunders] from Harriet Sprague, in which she describes Saunders's contributions to Whitman scholarship. She notes that this was read at the Saunders family reunion in Toronto on 30 Aug 1947.

1170/2/1/16/2 includes envelope.

2 pieces; 1170/2/1/16/2 contains 5 sheets.

Eng 1170/2/1/17 Invitation

Printed card addressed to Mr and Mrs Sixsmith from the Arts League of Service Travelling Theatre Company, inviting them to an 'at home' to be held in Manchester University Union Debating hall on 9 May.

Eng 1170/2/1/18 Envelopes

3 empty envelopes addressed to C.F. Sixsmith: /1: from E.W. Humphreys of Woodstown, New Jersey, 16 May 1905; /2: a first-day cover, with a stamp depicting Whitman, dated 20 Feb 1940; posted from Camden, New Jersey; /3: from Anne Traubel, 14 Oct (no year).

3 pieces.

Eng 1170/2/2 News cuttings and printed material

Bundle of 3 news cuttings, a leaflet, a circular and an offprint, relating to: the unveiling of a plaque to Whitman by the Authors' Club in Brooklyn in 1931 (2/2/1-2); a talk on 'The Lancashire Friends of Walt Whitman' given by Sixsmith to the Lancashire Authors' Association in 1938 (2/2/3-5); a reminiscence relating to a visit to Manchester by Prince Albert and naming the speakers of Bolton Labour Church (2/2/6).

6 items.

Eng 1170/2/3 Photographs and postcards

This class includes an original photograph of Philip Dalmas, musician, Whitman enthusiast and close friend of Sixsmith, 2 other photographs of later date and apparently of a different provenance from the rest of the material, and 4 commercially produced postcards of locations in America associated with the life of Whitman.

4 items.

Eng 1170/2/3/1 Photographic print

Head and shoulders portrait photograph of Philip D[almas].

Taken by F. Mulnier of 25 Boulevard des Italiens, Paris; inscribed to Sixsmith by Dalmas. With envelope.

Carte de visite; 5 x 7.8 cms.
Eng 1170/2/3/2  
*Photographic print*  
n.d. [post-1931]

Black and white photograph of the plaque erected to Whitman by the Author's Club, on a building on Cranberry and Fulton Streets, Brooklyn [USA].

Archivist’s note: this photograph may have come to the Library from Harriet Sprague rather than Sixsmith, as the identifying note on reverse of photograph appears to be in her hand; see 1170/2/3/3.

11.5 x 7 cms.

Eng 1170/2/3/3  
*Photographic print*  
n.d.

Black and white photograph of an oil portrait of Whitman painted by Herbert Gilchrist in 1887.

With identifying note on reverse by H[arriet] S[prague]. Also a note by Library staff stating that this photograph was received from Mrs Sprague on 25 May 1955, and has been stored with the Sixsmith material for convenience.

9.6 x 10.2 cms.

Eng 1170/2/3/4  
*Postcards*  
n.d.

Commercial postcards depicting: photographs of Whitman, his house on Mickle Street, Camden [New Jersey], his tomb in Harleigh Cemetery, Camden; and an artist's impression of the Whitman Homestead and birth-place on Long Island, New York.

4 pieces.

Eng 1170/2/4  
*Miscellaneous material relating to Sixsmith’s Whitman interest*  
1891-1951

This is a composite class formed of various pieces of manuscript and typescript material collected by Sixsmith in relation to his interest in Whitman and his connections with other like-minded figures. It includes 2 pieces relating to the Bolton college (of which he was a member from the early 1990s), as well as drafts of talks on Whitman given by Sixsmith to Lancashire literary societies, and notes, quotes and extracts relating in some way to Whitman or associated individuals. Also included is an original letter to J.W. Wallace from Caroline Martyn, which was apparently passed on to Sixsmith by Wallace, and remained in his possession.

5 items.

Eng 1170/2/4/1  
*Bolton college material*  
1891 & 1922

Typescript booklet, 'The college farewell to Dr R.M. Bucke and J.W. Wallace' – a report of the college meeting held at Bolton, 24 Aug 1891 [the last meeting before Dr Bucke returned to America after his visit to England, and before Wallace undertook his pilgrimage to the USA]; and a carbon copy of a typed poem by W[entworth] D[ixon], read at the Whitman birthday celebration held by the college on 31 May 1922.

2 pieces.
Letter

To J.W. Wallace from Carrie [Caroline Martyn, inspirational northern socialist speaker, who was associated with the Bolton college, and was a good friend of Wallace; she died in 1896]. She refers to: [Horace] Traubel's letters; her great love for Whitman, who binds them all in comradeship; spiritual feelings evoked by the natural world; an engagement she has on Monday which will prevent her attending [the college meeting] unless it is to meet [Philip] Dalmas; her lecturing engagements; Wallace's brotherly love and teaching; her work for the socialist cause; the link between her religious and socialist beliefs. She asks Wallace to share this letter with Charlie [Sixsmith].

Newton Heath, Manchester [Lancs, England].

2 sheets; in fragile condition.

Draft talks by Sixsmith

Bundle of manuscript drafts of talks given by Sixsmith on the subject of Whitman. 2/4/3/1 is a 21-page draft of a paper on Whitman's life and work, given in 1931; 2/4/3/2 is a 25-page fair draft of the same talk, entitled 'Walt Whitman' and written for the Horwich [Lancs] Literary Society; 2/4/3/3 is a 20-page draft of a talk by Sixsmith, 'Lancashire Friends of Walt Whitman' for the Lancashire Authors' Association, March 1938; 2/4/3/4 is a 21-page draft of the same talk.

4 pieces.

Manuscript and typescript notes

Bundle of notes, both typescript and manuscript, some in the hand of Sixsmith and others in unidentified hands. The material consists of a copy letter, extracts copied from journals and newspapers, and quotes from books and poetry, largely relating to Walt Whitman. 2/4/4/1 is a copy letter to [Horace] Traubel from R[obert] G[reen] Ingersoll in 1892 relating to American politics; 2/4/4/2 is a copy of the account of Whitman's death given by Anne and Horace Traubel.

9 pieces.

Notepaper

Unused sheet of official headed paper issued by the Walt Whitman Society of America (established 1936), listing all officials and related committees. Sixsmith is listed as heading the Committee for Great Britain, along with John Ormrod (also a member of the Bolton group).
This subgroup contains a collection of papers amassed by Sixsmith in relation to his friendship with Edward Carpenter. The men first met in the early 1890s, on Carpenter's second visit to Bolton, where he gave a talk at the Labour Church. The men were friends and correspondents for over 40 years, and Sixsmith was a regular visitor to Millthorpe; he accompanied Carpenter and Merrill (and sometimes George Hukin) on various holidays in Britain and on the Continent. His long friendship with Carpenter is not well documented in published sources; Carpenter himself commented on the absence of Sixsmith from his autobiography, *My Days and Dreams*, explaining, "I would have liked to say more about you in the book, but could not get you in somehow except in connexion with the [Bolton] 'College'" (see Eng 1171/1/17).

Sixsmith clearly placed great value on his friendship with Carpenter and admired his work; he gave various talks on Carpenter's life and poetry in his local area. He also organised the congratulatory address presented to Carpenter on his seventieth birthday in 1914, which was signed by various prominent figures from the socialist movement and the arts world, as well as personal friends. After Carpenter's death he contributed a chapter to the commemorative volume edited by Gilbert Beith, *Edward Carpenter: In Appreciation* (1930), drafts of which are included here as Eng 1171/3/7 and 1171/4/3.

The material in this subgroup forms an important resource for studies of Carpenter and his work, and documents one of his lesser-known friendships. It is principally comprised of correspondence, containing letters and postcards written by Carpenter to Charles Sixsmith (and some to his wife, Lucy) over a 33 year period, which cover topics ranging from personal and family matters to socialism and Carpenter's works. Also included are a small number of letters from other correspondents which relate to Carpenter in some way. In addition to the correspondence, the collection includes: a number of draft talks and reminiscences about Carpenter written by Sixsmith; some drafts of Carpenter's own writings; and a series of photographs of Carpenter, Merrill and other friends. Items of note include two copies of a speech written by Carpenter in 1910 which he intended for delivery at his funeral, but which was not discovered until after the funeral had taken place (1171/2/4-5), and an early draft of Carpenter's autobiography, *My Days and Dreams: Being Autobiographical Notes* (1916), dated 1911.

Archivist's note: the collection had in the past been roughly divided according to the physical format of the material: all the correspondence was stored together, as were most of the drafts and notes, with the photographs forming a third distinct grouping. This general arrangement has been retained, although the correspondence has now been ordered chronologically (see 1171/1 for details). The classes are as follows:

/1 Letters to the Sixsmith's from Edward Carpenter and George Merrill

/2 Letters to C.F. Sixsmith from other correspondents

/3 Manuscript drafts

/4 Typescript drafts

/5 Notes and extracts

/6 Photographs
This class contains letters sent to Charles F. Sixsmith by Edward Carpenter over an extended period, dating from the time of their earliest acquaintance to two years before Carpenter's death. Also included are some letters to Sixsmith's wife, Lucy, whom he married in 1908, and some letters written by Carpenter's partner, George Merrill, which Sixsmith clearly kept with his letters from Carpenter.

Most of the letters are short, but topics covered are varied and include: frequent arrangements for visits between the correspondents; holiday plans; mutual friends, including those who shared an interest in literature, socialism, and humanitarian issues; literature, including Carpenter's own writings, Whitman and the Bolton Whitman group; Carpenter's activities, both personal and professional, including trips undertaken with George Hukin and George Merrill, and various lecture tours; visits from well-known figures such as Ben Iden Payne, Granville Barker, and Henry S. Salt; politics, in particular the Labour movement; and personal matters such as family news.

It seems unlikely that all of Carpenter's letters to Sixsmith survive here; there is a paucity of letters from certain years, yet there is no obvious loss of familiarity between the men when correspondence resumes.

Archivist’s note: the correspondence appears to have had two different classification schemes applied to it in the past. The letters were stored in bundles marked A-D, and within these divided into smaller bundles, which followed two different numbering sequences. The rationale behind this arrangement is unclear. Although in a very rough chronological order by year, within each year some of the letters were in chronological order, some in reverse chronological order, and others in no apparent order at all. In addition, some of the letters were loose and part of no classification system. The letters have now been arranged into chronological bundles to reflect the order in which they would have been received by Sixsmith. All former references are noted: the first element reflects the larger alphabetical bundle in which the letter was placed, and the last two elements denote the two different numbering systems applied to each smaller bundle, e.g. A/2/4.

Sixsmith appears to have kept all these letters together, although some were sent jointly by Carpenter and Merrill, some come from Merrill alone, and some are addressed to Lucy Sixsmith. The letters are therefore not divided according to writer or recipient.

Where letters are undated, the date has been ascertained by other available evidence, such as contents and postmark. Undateable letters are listed together under 1171/1/21. The place of dating and the place of direction are stated where this information is included.

All letters consist of one sheet of paper only unless stated otherwise.

21 items; 190 pieces.
Letters and postcards sent to Sixsmith between 1894 and 1897. Topics covered include:

- the death of Sixsmith's father in 1894; J.W. Wallace; A. Fels; some sandals being made by George Adams [Sheffield socialist who lived with his family in Carpenter's Millthorpe home during 1893-1898] for Sixsmith and for a Wayland Smith; Philip [Dalmas, American Whitmanite and musician] who is living with the Fels [possibly the family of J. Fels, rich American socialist and Whitmanite] and hopes to get steady musical work; a visit by Carpenter to the Labor (sic) Press [in Manchester]; [John] Burroughs' W[alt] W[hitman, probably Whitman: A Study (1896)] which Carpenter intends to send to [Henry S.] Salt for review; Carpenter's intention to have another Whitman paper in the April [1897] Progressive [Review]; and a visit to Liverpool in March 1897.

1/1/4 includes a receipt for sandals made by George Adams for Waylen (sic) Smith.

1/1/10 includes a news cutting containing a reference to Carpenter's article, 'Nature and Realism in Art', in The Progressive Review [of September 1897].

1/1/1 is addressed to Sixsmith c/o J.W. Wallace at Anderton, near Chorley, Lancs; 1/1/2-5 and 7 are addressed to Sixsmith at Adlington, near Chorley; and 1/1/8 is addressed to Bentinck House, Farnworth [Sixsmith's place of work]. The letters are dated at Millthorpe, apart from 1/1/3 which was posted in Leeds.

Former reference: B/8/1 (1/1/1-5); B/9/2 (1/1/6-9).

1/1/1, 4, 8 and 10 include envelopes.

10 pieces; 1/1/10 is in 2 parts.

Letters sent to Sixsmith during 1899. Topics covered include: Carpenter's 55th birthday on 29 August; a planned visit by Sixsmith to Millthorpe in November, when Carpenter hopes to discuss a literary project; the comrades at Bolton [i.e. the Whitman Fellowship]; Will Young; Basil from Liverpool; Carpenter's visits to the Labor (sic) Press in Manchester; [Dr John] Johnston [of the Bolton group]; an African book; works by H[enry Havelock] Ellis; newspaper extracts sent to Carpenter by Sixsmith, including an item on Dervishes which Carpenter plans to include in a book; and the Symposium of F [probably Marsilio Ficino's Latin translation of Plato's work] which Carpenter plans to read.

1/2/4 includes a pencil note by Sixsmith stating that Carpenter enclosed with this card his leaflet, 'Mary Ansell and Capital Punishment' (not included here).

Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Bentinck Mill, Moses Gate, Farnworth, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe.

Former reference: B/9/2 (1/2/1); B/9/3 (1/2/2-6); B/8/4 (1/2/7).

1/2/2-4 and 6 include envelopes.

7 pieces.
Letters and postcards sent to Sixsmith during 1900. Topics covered include: a talk on Carpenter given by Sixsmith; Max Flint [a Jewish immigrant from Poland who lived at Millthorpe during the 1890s, and died of tuberculosis in 1902], for whom Carpenter is arranging somewhere to live; Dhoondi, to whom Carpenter sends remembrances and comments that he has volunteers for an 'Indian Mission'; a piece on China in *Ethical World* [Carpenter's article, 'China, 1900 A.D.' published 20 Oct 1900].

1/3/3 and 6 both include notes from George Merrill.

Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Bentinck House, Moses Gate, Farnworth, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe, except: 1/3/4 which was written at the Labor (sic) Press Office in Manchester; and 1/3/5 which was written at Sheffield.

Former reference: B/8/4 (1/3/1-3); B/9/5 (1/3/4-7).

1/3/3-6 includes envelopes.

7 pieces.

Letters and postcards sent to Sixsmith during 1901. Topics covered include: Carpenter's introduction (by A. Broadbent) to a small printer, who will produce a book under his supervision for publication in London; "Falkner's specimens", which Carpenter finds unsatisfactory; some Whitman art; Chorlton and Knowles of Mayfield Press, for whom Carpenter requires an address; arrangements for a meeting between G[eorge Merrill] and Sixsmith in Scotland, where [mathematician and Glasgow Socialist, Robert] Muirhead also hopes to see Sixsmith; arrangements for a walking trip to the Lake District; the value placed on Sixsmith's comradeship by Carpenter and the two Georges [Merrill and Hukin]; [Dr R.M.] Bucke's book *Cosmic Consciousness*; and Carpenter's arrangements with Clarke for an anthology [possibly *Iolaus: an Anthology of Friendship* edited by Carpenter, 1902].

1/4/1 is an empty envelope postmarked 9 March; the letter it originally contained is not included in the collection.

Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Bentinck House, Moses Gate, Farnworth, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe, except: 1/4/7, addressed to Sunny Bank, Adlington, Lancs, and 1/4/10, addressed to the Central Station Hotel, Glasgow.

Former reference: B/9/5 (1/4/1); B/6/6 (1/4/2-5 and 7); B/8/7 (1/4/6, 9 and 10); B/6/8a (1/4/8).

1/4/4, 8 and 9 include envelopes.

10 pieces.
Eng 1171/1/5  
**Bundle**  
3 Jul-24 Oct 1902

Letters and cards sent to Sixsmith during 1902. Topics covered include: a planned trip to Haddon Hall [Derbyshire]; Carpenter's brother and Ethel; a walk with Bob [Robert] Muirhead [Glasgow Socialist] in Arran; G[eorge] H[ukin]; Philip D[almas, American musician and Whitmanite] who was staying with Carpenter during September; George Wakefield; and a visit from a married sister of Carpenter and her daughter.

Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Bentinck House, Moses Gate, Farnworth, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe, except 1/5/5 which is postmarked at Chesterfield [Derbyshire].

Former reference: B/8/7 (1/5/1); B/6/8a (1/5/3-5).

1/5/1, 2 and 4 include envelopes.

5 pieces.

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Eng 1171/1/6  
**Bundle**  
12 Feb-14 Nov 1903

Letters and postcards sent to Sixsmith during 1903. Topics covered include: Frank Deas; a holiday spent by Carpenter and George Merrill in Morocco; a visit to Carpenter by George H[ukin] and Arnold; negotiations for some land in which Sixsmith is involved; Charley Jackson; books by [Ernest] Crosby; visits to London and Croydon made by Carpenter; a visit to Carpenter by Ian; [socialist and writer] Tom Swan, and a meeting with [M.P. and radical journalist, Sir W.P.] Byles; and Walter [probably Walter Seward, socialist, journalist and close friend of Carpenter].

1/6/2 includes a section written by Geo[rge Merrill], describing their Moroccan holiday and their guide, a "damn good looking Moor".

Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Bentinck House, Moses Gate, Farnworth, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe, except 1/6/2, dated at Tetuan, Morocco.

Former reference: C/9/2 (1/6/1-10); C/8/3 (1/6/11 and 12).

1/6/1-3, 5, 6 and 8-10 include envelopes.

12 pieces.

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Eng 1171/1/7  
**Bundle**  
16 Jan-Dec 1904

Letters and postcards sent to Sixsmith during 1904. Topics covered include: Sixsmith's search for a property to purchase; various incidents relating to one "Cole", with whom Carpenter is in dispute over a legacy of some kind, and who at one point entered Carpenter's property, ultimately being removed by the police and later repenting for his behaviour; an illness of Sixsmith's mother; Carpenter's sister, Alice; plans for a holiday in France involving Carpenter, Sixsmith, George Hukin and George Merrill; a volume of selected poems from [Whitman's] L[eaves] of G[rass] sent to Carpenter by Sixsmith; a planned trip to Snowdon with Sixsmith and Henry Salt; George Hukin's ill health; Philip D[almas, American musician and Whitmanite]; the opening meeting of the Clarion Guild at Manchester; the death of G[eorge] M[errill]'s brother, Walter; Julia D.; Litoff's edition of the B[eethoven]n Symphonies; his book [probably The Art of Creation] which will initially "seem new and puzzling to people", but which he thinks will wear well.
Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Bentinck House, Moses Gate, Farnworth, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe, except: 1/7/1, addressed to Sunny Bank, Babylon Lane, Adlington, and 1/7/10, addressed to Sixsmith c/o Robert Hodkinson, 57 Mersey Street, Longridge [Lancs].

Former reference: C/8/3 (1/7/1); C/11/4 (1/7/2-7); C/7/5 (1/7/8-12); C/11/6 (1/7/13-16).

1/7/1-9, 13, 15 and 16 include envelopes.

16 pieces; 1/7/7 and 15 each contain 2 sheets.

Eng 1171/1/8

Letters and postcards sent to Sixsmith during 1905-7. Topics covered include: Carpenter's ideas on the teaching of Plato, and recommendations of Plato's works for Sixsmith to read; Carpenter's own adaptation of Plato's ideas in *The Art of Creation*; an invitation to Sixsmith to join Carpenter's brother Alfred, his wife, and Mabel Woodward on a Swiss holiday in 1907; a planned visit by Carpenter to the Midland Hotel Theatre [Manchester] in September 1907; and Karl Walter.

1/8/1 includes a printed syllabus for the Sheffield Ethical Society, 8 Jan-18 Apr 1905, which includes a talk by Carpenter on 'Small Holdings and Life on the Land'.

Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Bentinck House, Farnworth, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe, except 1/8/3 which was addressed to Bentinck Mills and forwarded to Deanwood, Rivington [Lancs].

Former reference: C/11/6 (1/8/1) C/9/7 (1/8/2-4).

1/8/1, 2 and 4 include envelopes.

4 pieces; 1/8/1 contains 3 sheets and 1/8/2 contains 2 cards.

Eng 1171/1/9

Letters and postcards sent to the Sixsmith's during 1908. Topics covered include: the Salts [Henry and his wife, Catherine, or 'Kate']; Sixsmith's wedding, Lucy [his bride] and their wedding present from Carpenter, George Hukin and George Merrill; [Carpenter's play] *St. George and the Dragon*; a visit from [theatre director] Granville Barker; a visit to an exhibition in London; a W[omen's] S[uffrage] procession in Manchester in October, at which Carpenter spoke; arrangements for a trip to see a play on 1 December; [actor and director, Ben] Iden Payne; Langdon Everard of the *Labour Leader*; and McLaren and his work for "the cause".

1/9/4 includes notes of congratulation on Sixsmith's wedding from George Hukin and George [Merrill], and is addressed to Sixsmith and Lucy. 1/9/5 and 8 also include sections written by George Merrill.

Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at 'Brownlow', Anderton, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe.

Former reference: C/9/7 (1/9/1); C/6/8 (1/9/2-6); C/4/9 (1/9/7 and 8).

1/9/4 and 8 include envelopes.

8 pieces.
Letters and postcards sent to Sixsmith by Carpenter and George Merrill during 1909. Topics covered include: an eruption of Mount Etna and Carpenter's anxiety about his brother and sister-in-law, who are apparently on holiday nearby at Taormina; plans to attend *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, at the Gaiety Theatre, Manchester; a talk on 'The Locomotive and its History' given to his club by Carpenter; plans for a trip to Italy; the controversy over a certain pamphlet, its effect on Carpenter and Merrill and its aftermath and legal proceedings [M.D. O'Brien of Dronfield, near Millthorpe, produced in 1909 a pamphlet entitled *Socialism and Infamy. The Homogenic or Comrade Love Exposed*, an open letter in plain words for a Socialist Prophet, to Edward Carpenter, M.A. in which he expressed his vicious anti-socialist feelings and suspicions of Carpenter's advocacy of 'comradeship', with its implications of homosexuality, particularly as outlined in Carpenter's pamphlet *Homogenic Love* which in 1908 was incorporated into the volume, *The Intermediate Sex*]; a meeting about the milk trade attended by Carpenter; George Hukin; a recent suicide; the Salts [Henry and Kate]; Murray Gilchrist, who Carpenter claims is "consistently plotting against G[orge] M[errill]"; a planned trip to Liverpool; Percy Heath of Worthing, a friend of Carpenter who is running a Nursery in defiance of his father and apparently in need of financial aid; a trip to New Brighton; a bad review of [Carpenter's] *The Intermediate Sex* in the *British Medical Journal*; a Women's Suffrage meeting at Nottingham; and [Carpenter's play,] *The Promised Land*.

1/10/4 includes a card from George [Merrill] referring to an apparent visit from O'Brien, and to their forthcoming trip [to Italy].

1/10/6 is a postcard from AC [probably Carpenter's brother Alfred] and E[dward] C[arpenter] sent from a holiday in Italy, where the Sixsmith's have recently been with them.

1/10/14 includes the first reference to Godfrey Sixsmith, the Sixsmiths' eldest child.

Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Brownlow, Anderton, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe, except 1/10/6, dated at the Hotel Concordia, Milan [Italy].

Former reference: A/11/1 (1/10/1-5); A/10/2 (1/10/7-10 and 12); A/9/7 (1/10/11); A/11/3 (1/10/13 and 14); D/8/9 (1/10/6).

1/10/3-5 and 7-13 include envelopes.

14 pieces; 1/10/4 is in 3 parts and 1/10/5 contains 2 sheets.

Letters and postcards sent to Sixsmith during 1910. Topics covered include: a holiday spent by Sixsmith and his wife, Lucy, in Paris; Carpenter's plans to lecture in Blackburn and Darwen [Lancs]; Carpenter's article, '[On the Connection between] Homosexuality and Divination'; the Salts [Henry and Kate]; Jo. Clayton; a request for Sixsmith to talk on cotton-growing and manufacture to Carpenter's club; Lucy Sixsmith; "Pict" who is considering moving to Brandsby [Yorkshire]; the death of George Adams; and a trip by Carpenter and Merrill to see Ibsen's *Hedda Gabler* in Sheffield.

Enclosed with 1/11/3 are 2 copies of a flyer advertising *Woman and Marriage: a Handbook* by Margaret Stephens, which Carpenter notes is "[r]ather good".
1/11/5 includes a brief note from "Geordie" [George Merrill].

Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Brownlow, Anderton, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe.

Former reference: A/11/3 (1/11/1-3); A/7/4 (1/11/4-6).

1/11/1-3, 5 and 6 include envelopes.

6 pieces; 1/11/3 is in 3 parts.

Eng 1171/1/12 Bundle

Letters and postcards sent to the Sixsmiths during 1911. Topics covered include: a stay in London; an apparent miscarriage or stillbirth suffered by Lucy Sixsmith in March; George Hukin; Henry Salt; Carpenter's expectation of separate visits from [Leeds socialist, Alfred] Mattison, Baylis, [Walter] Seward [socialist, journalist and close friend of Carpenter] and [Joseph] Kirkpatrick [a friend from New Zealand]; a lecture on 'Beauty in Town Life' to be given by Carpenter in Sheffield during April; a projected visit by Carpenter to Torquay to see his brother; Kate S[alt]; Dhoondi at Nagpore [India]; and Frank Rushforth, a friend of Carpenter, who has recently gone to India.

1/12/8 is a note originally sent to accompany some items sent by Carpenter to Sixsmith; the enclosures have subsequently become separated or lost and are missing from this collection. Carpenter stresses that Sixsmith should not show them to anyone as yet.

1/12/3 is addressed to Sixsmith and Lucy and 1/12/6 includes a separate letter addressed to "My Dear Boy and Girl" from "Old Geordie" [George Merrill].

Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Brownlow, Anderton, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe, except 1/12/1-2, sent from 2 Glenloch Road, Belsize park, London.

Former reference: A/7/4 (1/12/1); A/9/5 (1/12/2-6); A/8/6 (1/12/7).

1/12/2-4 and 6 include envelopes.

8 pieces; 1/12/3 contains 2 sheets.

Eng 1171/1/13 Bundle

Letters and postcards sent to the Sixsmiths during 1912. Topics covered include: the death of Carpenter's sister, Dora, in February; the Sixsmiths' holiday in France; Walter Seward [socialist, journalist and close friend of Carpenter]; Carpenter's brother, Alfred; trips planned by Carpenter and the two Georges [Hukin and Merrill]; "the Traubel and Bain party" [Horace Traubel of Philadelphia was a close friend and champion of Whitman, and Frank and Mildred Bain were Whitman enthusiasts and collectors from Toronto in Canada]; an illness of George Hukin; Bruce and Katharine [Glasier].

1/13/2 includes a letter from "Geordie" [George Merrill], addressed to Charles and Lucy Sixsmith, in which he refers to "the dreadful accident to the ship Titanic", on which W.T. Stead [editor, and founder of the Review of Reviews], who had planned a visit to Millthorpe, was a passenger. 1/13/7 is a postcard to Lucy Sixsmith from Carpenter, apparently sent to accompany a present.
Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Brownlow, Anderton, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe, except: 1/13/1, dated at 8 St Albans Road, Kensington; 1/13/2, originally sent to Sixsmith in La Napoule, Cannes, France, and forwarded to Anderton; and 1/13/5, sent to Sixsmith c/o Mrs Hobbs, Aspley Guise, Bedfordshire.

Former reference: A/8/6 (1/13/1-4); A/8/7 (1/13/5-7).

1/13/1-2 and 4-6 include envelopes.

7 pieces.

Eng 1171/1/14

Letters and postcards sent to the Sixsmiths during 1913. Topics covered include: some notes about "V.G." sent to Carpenter by Sixsmith, and Carpenter's decision not to tell George about Sixsmith's role in the matter to which they refer; Victor's marriage, which may have been a disillusionment for Merrill; arrangements for a holiday in Corsica; a lecture on Carpenter given by Sixsmith; a portrait of Carpenter by Lena Connell; the birth of the Sixsmiths' second child, Janet; [Ben] Iden Payne; Biagio [di Paolo]; the "W.W. Anomaly"; a book by Cheyne; [American writer and Whitman enthusiast,] J.W. Lloyd; Dr [John] Johnston, J.W. Wallace and the Bolton Whitman group; Mlle [Marcelle] Senard who is translating Towards Democracy; the death of "that young Williams"; The Gardener [by Rabindranath] Tagore; [Glasgow Socialist] Robert Muirhead; [writer and feminist] Olive Schreiner; [Ponnambalam] Arunchalam [a Ceylonese friend of Carpenter].

1/14/7 is a postcard to Lucy Sixsmith from Carpenter, who sends his love to the new baby.

1/14/12 is a postcard to Sixsmith from George [Merrill] referring to: his forthcoming visit to London; a boy in Paris who was "hound ed down by rotten John bull" [the "Williams" referred to above]; and [Ben] Iden Payne. This card is stored with: an empty envelope addressed in Carpenter's hand and postmarked Kensington; and an I.L.P. flyer advertising a London lecture by Carpenter, 'Beauty in Everyday Life', with a note by Carpenter on the reverse, referring to another forthcoming lecture on 'Rest'.

Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Brownlow, Anderton, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe, except 1/14/12 which is addressed to Sixsmith at Horrex's Hotel, the Strand, London and postmarked Kensington.

1/14/3 is dated 9 March although the envelope with which it is stored bears a postmark of 7 March.

Former reference: A/8/7 (1/14/1 and 2); A/7/9 (1/14/3 and 5-8); A/10/10 (1/14/9-13); C/8/3 (1/14/4).

1/14/1, 3, 4, 7, 8 and 10-13 include envelopes.

13 pieces; 1171/1/14/12 is in 2 parts.
Letters and postcards sent to the Sixsmiths during 1914. Topics covered include: [Sanshiro] Ishikawa [a Japanese friend of Carpenter]; an article by Sixsmith on Fels in the Labour Leader; Sixsmith's "Hodkinson" manuscript; Sixsmith's car; a trip to Kew and to Aspley [Guise, Bedfordshire] in May; Lilly B; Henry Salt; arrangements for Carpenter's 70th birthday address, and his reply which Kate Salt helped him to send out [Sixsmith was secretary of a committee which prepared a congratulatory birthday address for Carpenter, signed by various eminent socialists, M.P.s, literary and theatrical figures, and personal friends]; William Sloane Kennedy [American writer and Whitman admirer]; the "Glastonbury affair"; Mlle [Marcelle] Senard; [I.L.P. member] E.B. Lloyd; the Maharajah [Vishwanath Singh Bahadur of Chhatarpur], who is sending a present [for Carpenter's birthday]; relations of Carpenter; an article by [Edward] Lewis; [John] Bruce Glasier [of the I.L.P.] on Intermediates [probably Carpenter's Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk]; the War; [leader and theorist of the Anarchist movement, Peter] Kropotkin; Henry Salt; Sidney Olivier [of the Fabian Society, whose sister married Carpenter's brother, Alfred] the Labour Leader; and [Ben] Iden Payne and his family.

1/15/2 is a letter to Lucy Sixsmith from Carpenter, referring to a possible trip to Woburn with the Sixsmiths.

Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Brownlow, Anderton, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe, except: 1/15/4, dated at 8 St Alban's Road, Kensington; and 1/15/11-13, dated at 24 Park Dwellings, Lower Cross Road, Hampstead.

Former reference: D/7/1 (1/15/1 and 3-6); D/10/2 (1/15/7-11); D/9/3 (1/15/12-14). 1/51/2 was loose but stored in a wrapper numbered 3/11.

1/15/1, 2, 5, 8, 10, 11 and 13 include envelopes.

14 pieces; 1/15/2, 8, 11 and 14 each contain 2 sheets.

Letters and postcards sent to the Sixsmiths during 1915. Topics covered include: Carpenter's attacks on commercialism in the E.R.; [Ben] Iden Payne; the Design and Industries Association [of which Sixsmith was one of the founders]; Carpenter's speech to a Peace Conference in London on 8 July; Carpenter's anxiety over Sixsmith's health and his lack of contact; Dr [John] Johnston; Carpenter's decision not to lecture in Sixsmith's area; Sixsmith's family; [leader and theorist of the Anarchist movement, Peter] Kropotkin; the success of Carpenter's October lectures; a letter of J.F. Mills with a Russian translation; the publication of a book in Petrograd; the Morses; Lilly B; Carpenter's niece, Margaret Hyett.

Enclosed with 1/16/2 is a flyer advertising the latest publications of Watts and Co., including A Christian With Two Wives by Dennis Hird, with a Foreword by Carpenter.

Enclosed with 1/16/5 is a flyer issued by the Theosophical Society advertising a lecture by Carpenter on 'War and Peace and their Meaning in Human Evolution', on 19 Oct in London.

1/16/3 is addressed to Lucy Sixsmith, thanking her for some plants, and referring to a common acquaintance (Muriel), his plans to speak at Bolton in the autumn, and a visit from some soldiers.
1/16/4 is addressed to Lucy Sixsmith but contains: a letter to C.F. Sixsmith dated 9 September, referring to Sixsmith's dealings with an Education Committee, Philip Gibbs' *The Soul of the War*, and a visit to Carpenter's sisters; a note to Sixsmith dated 30 September, referring to Keir Hardie; and 3 copies of a printed publisher's advertisement for Carpenter's *The Healing of Nations and the Hidden Sources of their Strife*.

1/16/9 includes 3 enclosures, all advertising Carpenter's lecture on 'War and Peace and their Meaning in Human Evolution' to be given at different locations in London during October.

Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Brownlow, Anderton, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe, except 1/16/1, dated at 8 St Albans Road, London, and 1/16/9, dated at Folkestone [Kent].

Former reference: C/9/3 (1/16/2); D/9/3 (1/16/1); D/9/4 (1/16/3-7); D/12/5 (1/16/8 and 9); D/11/6 (1/16/10).

1/16/2-5, 8 and 9 include envelopes.

10 pieces; 1/16/2 and 5 are each in 2 parts; 1/16/8 is in 5 parts; and 1/16/9 is in 4 parts.

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**Eng 1171/1/17**

Bundle

Letters and postcards sent to Sixsmith during 1916. Topics covered include: the death of Sixsmith's mother; Walter Seward [socialist, journalist and close friend of Carpenter]; Mrs Hobbs; the book [probably his autobiography, *My Days and Dreams*], in which he regrets he does not say more about Sixsmith, and reviews of the book; [Dr John] Johnston; Guy; Sixsmith's family; a Zeppelin raid on Sheffield which took place while Carpenter and Merrill were there.

1/17/3 is a card from George [Merrill] referring to: an air raid on Bolton; and the air raid in Sheffield, where he and Carpenter were staying in a hotel.

Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Brownlow, Anderton, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe.


1/17/1, 3 and 4 include envelopes.

4 pieces; 1/17/2 contains 2 sheets and 1/17/4 has been torn in half.

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**Eng 1171/1/18**

Bundle

Letters and postcards sent to the Sixsmiths during 1917. Topics covered include: the Russian Revolution; Sixsmith's Crafts Association; George Hukin's last illness and death; the deaths in Carpenter's parish of Miss Bradshaw and Robert Gilchrist; Carpenter's latest will, in which he appoints as executors his brother Alfred, his nephew Edward Danberry, and Harold Coxeter, and as literary executors Coxeter and E.B. Lloyd, with Sixsmith as their advisor; a Thoreau meeting in July; a forthcoming speech to the Brotherhood Church, North London; Edmund Hobbs; a serious illness of Carpenter's elder sister; and Lilly and her family.

1/18/3 consists of a postcard to Sixsmith informing him of George Hukin's death, with an
enclosed letter to Lucy Sixsmith from "Auntie Fannie" [Hukin, George's wife], obviously written at an earlier date, in which she describes George's weak state.

1/18/8 is a note written on the reverse of an invitation to a lecture by Carpenter on 'Beauty in Daily Life' at the Memorial Hall, New Walk, on 24 September. In his note Carpenter refers to another forthcoming lecture, at the I.L.P. rooms, on 'The Liberation of Industry'.

Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Brownlow, Anderton, Lancs, and dated at Millthorpe, except 1/18/7, sent to Sixsmith at Sylvan View, View Road, Lyme Regis, Dorset.

Former reference: D/8/7 (1/18/1-3); D/8/8 (1/18/4-8).

1/18/1, 3 and 6-8 include envelopes.

8 pieces; 1/18/3 contains 2 sheets.

Related materials: Eng 1171/1/21/13.

Eng 1171/1/19
Bundle

Letters and postcards sent to the Sixsmiths during 1919-1924. Topics covered include: gifts sent by the Sixsmiths to Carpenter [and Merrill] while they were living in London during 1921; a visit to The Beggars' Opera at Hammersmith in the same year; the Red House and Biagio [di Paolo]; a short trip in an aeroplane taken by Carpenter at Croydon in 1922; and Lilly and Ervin.

1/19/1 and 4 are addressed to Lucy Sixsmith and refer to: gifts she has sent to Carpenter; Sixsmith's involvement with the industry discussions [on employer/worker relations] at Major [Waldorf] Astor's [home at Cliveden]; Fannie H[ukin]; family photographs; and Dr [John] Johnston.

Letters are addressed to the Sixsmiths at Brownlow, Anderton, Lancs, and dated at: Millthorpe (1/19/1); Flat 2, 32 Church Street, Chelsea (1/19/2); and Guildford [Surrey, Carpenter's final home] (1/19/3-6).

Former reference: D/8/9 (1/19/1 and 3-5); D/9/10 (1/19/6).

1/19/1, 4 and 5 include envelopes.

6 pieces.

Eng 1171/1/20
Bundle

Letters and postcards sent to Sixsmith during 1926-7. Topics covered include: Biagio [di Paolo], who was staying in England during 1926, feeling unable to remain [in Italy] while Mussolini was in power, and for whom Carpenter was arranging places to stay; Biagio's apparent disappearance after leaving Carpenter's house in Guildford, and Carpenter's dissatisfaction with his behaviour during the latter part of his stay; some German verses which Carpenter feels unable to translate due to the sadness of the poetry, and regarding which he will write to L.B. in Budapest.

Most of 1/20/2 was written for Carpenter by Ted Inigan [close friend and housemate.
during Carpenter's last years], with a note by Carpenter at the end, and 1/20/4 includes a
note from George [Merrill].

Letters are addressed to Sixsmith at Anderton, Lancs, and dated at Guildford [Surrey].

Former reference: D/9/10 (1/20/1-4); D/9/11 (1/20/5).

All the letters include envelopes.

5 pieces.

Eng 1171/1/21

Bundle

n.d.

Letters, postcards and notes sent to Charles and Lucy Sixsmith by Carpenter which either
bear no year of writing or include no date at all and on which the postmark is illegible.
1171/1/21/9 and 10 are written from Guildford, so must post-date Carpenter's move to
the town in summer 1922. All the other letters which include information on place of
writing were sent from Millthorpe.

Topics covered include: a request from Carpenter that Sixsmith refrain from writing
about a certain episode [presumably in a memoir of some kind]; M[anchester] G[uardian]
articles on the East by 'Don' (Lowes Dickinson); Carpenter's article on
Empire in India ['Empire in India and Elsewhere']; Joseph Kirkpatrick from New
Zealand; the Salts; Sixsmith's family; Mabel W.; Will Young; a Thoreau meeting and a
forthcoming speech at the Brotherhood Church.

1/21/6 is a postcard to Sixsmith from George [Merrill], who is staying with George
[Hukin] and refers to a forthcoming visit from Sixsmith.

1/21/11-14 were originally stored together in an envelope marked "undated (4 items)"
which was itself dated 3 March 1955. In fact internal references make it possible to date
1/21/13 to 1917; the other items may therefore date from the same period but these
contain no dating evidence; the entire bundle has therefore been left with the undated
material.

1/21/16 is a scrap of paper with a greeting from Carpenter to "yourself and Will Young",
possibly sent to accompany a gift.

Former reference: A/7/4 (1/21/1); B/8/4 (1/21/2); B/9/5 (1/21/3); C/4/9 (1/21/4); D/8/7
(1/21/5); D/9/11 (1/21/9-15).

1/21/2 and 8 include envelopes.

16 pieces.
Letters to C.F. Sixsmith from other correspondents

This small class contains letters to Sixsmith from various correspondents, all of which relate to Carpenter in some way. The material includes: letters referring to Carpenter's seventieth and eightieth birthdays (on both occasions he received congratulatory addresses signed by eminent figures, including the Labour Cabinet in 1924); telegrams informing Sixsmith of Carpenter's last illness and death; and 2 copies (in 1171/2/4 and 5) of a speech written by Carpenter in 1910 for delivery at his funeral which was not discovered until after the funeral had taken place.

6 items.

Letter

From M. Fazh Hay[?], Private Secretary to His Highness Maharaja Sahib [Vishwanath Singh] Bahadur of Chhatapur, replying on behalf of the Maharaja, who acknowledges receipt of the proposed 70th birthday address for presentation to Carpenter. The Maharaja has signed the address, is a great admirer of Carpenter and also proposes to address Carpenter separately on the occasion of his birthday.

Chhatapur, Bundelkhand, C[entral] I[ndia].

1 sheet.

Letter

From Charlie Roughton, referring to: some Carpenter-related cuttings he has received from Walter Seward [journalist, socialist and close friend of Carpenter]; the press notices of Carpenter's 80th birthday, which have pleased Carpenter; Walter's success in promoting the birthday in the press, and "Ward", who had the idea of obtaining the signatures of Cabinet members; and a meeting with Dr [John] Johnston the previous year.

Millthorpe, Holmesfield [Derbyshire].

2 sheets.

Bundle

4 telegrams from Ted [Inigan, close friend and housemate of Carpenter during his final years] and "Barker", reporting on Carpenter's last illness and death on 28 June 1929, informing Sixsmith of the funeral and requesting a 600 word tribute to be sent to the New Leader office in London.

Guildford [Surrey].

4 pieces.

Letter

From Walt [probably Walter Seward] who has seen Ted [Inigan], from whom he obtained a typescript of which he has made three copies. He is sending one copy to Sixsmith, and he comments that the original was at the Bank and not discovered until after [Carpenter's] funeral.
Enclosed is the 4-page carbon typescript referred to, which is a speech written by Carpenter to be delivered at his funeral and dated 31 December 1910.

London.
5 sheets.

**Eng 1171/2/5**

*Letter*

30 Jan 1930

From "Clem" [probably Carpenter's friend, George W. Clemas], who encloses a copy of Carpenter's speech intended for delivery at his funeral, which has only been brought to light recently by [Harold] Coxeter [one of Carpenter's executors] who has been in possession of it. Clem criticizes Coxeter for this neglect of duty, comments on the speech, mentions a forthcoming meeting with Henry Salt when he will discuss Salt's contribution to the proposed volume on Carpenter [probably *Edward Carpenter: In Appreciation* ed. Gilbert Beith], and expresses a desire to meet Sixsmith before the summer.

Enclosed is the 2-page carbon typescript speech by Carpenter, dated 30 December 1910.

Wimbledon, London.
3 sheets.

**Eng 1171/2/6**

*Bundle*

26 Sep 1949-11 Mar 1950

2 letters (one containing enclosures) from J.P. Lamb, Sheffield City Librarian: he returns a list compiled by Sixsmith of Carpenter-related items in his possession which do not appear in the printed bibliography [*A Bibliography of Edward Carpenter* (Sheffield City Libraries, 1949)], commenting that a number of the items are included in the sections described as 'various newspaper cuttings'. He includes a typed list of items which are not in the Sheffield collection and requests details of some books mentioned by Sixsmith. The second letter refers to Sixsmith's reply, and the Carpenter collection at Sheffield.

Sheffield.

The letters are typescript with signature. Sixsmith's list of his Carpenter items is in his own hand.

2 pieces; 2/5/1 contains 5 sheets.

**Eng 1171/3**

*Manuscript drafts*

1894-[c.1930]

Drafts of reminiscences and talks on Carpenter and his work, some of which were given by Sixsmith to different societies and institutions in the Bolton area. Also included are early drafts of the chapter contributed by Sixsmith to *Edward Carpenter: In appreciation*, ed. Gilbert Beith (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1931).

All the drafts are in the hand of Sixsmith unless stated otherwise.

7 items.
A detailed account of Sixsmith's second meeting with Carpenter, their first meeting having taken place 18 months previously, when Carpenter came to Dr [John] Johnston's house [in Bolton], where he had tea with Johnston, Sixsmith and J.W. Wallace.

8 sheets.

Eng 1171/3/2  Notebooks 1898/1899

2 softback notebooks containing a rough draft of a talk by Sixsmith on 'Edward Carpenter, Poet and Reformer'; marked 'Session 1898/1899'. 3/2/1 is noted as read at Bolton Labour Church, and 3/2/2 includes a press cutting reporting on the lecture as given before the Farnworth [Lancs] Literary and Debating Society.

2 pieces.

Eng 1171/3/3  Manuscript draft [1913]

Draft of a talk on Carpenter's work and message ['Edward Carpenter, Poet and Prophet'], focusing principally on Towards Democracy.

Pp. 20-23 are in a different hand.

28 full pages, and an additional half-page slotted in between pp. 14 and 15.

Eng 1171/3/4  Manuscript draft n.d. [1913]

A report on and a summary of a lecture by Sixsmith, given at the Public Library [possibly in Bolton], on 'Edward Carpenter, Poet and Prophet' [see 1171/3/3].

8 sheets.

Eng 1171/3/5  Manuscript draft n.d.

Rough draft of a talk [given to the W.E.A.] by Sixsmith on Carpenter and his work ['Edward Carpenter, the Poet and the Man'].

20 sheets.

Eng 1171/3/6  Manuscript draft n.d.

Draft of a report on Sixsmith's address to the W.E.A. on 'Edward Carpenter, the Poet and the Man' [see 1171/3/5].

5 sheets.

Eng 1171/3/7  Manuscript draft n.d. [c.1930]

Notes, quotations, and various drafts of Sixsmith's reminiscences of Carpenter [an early version of 'Edward as I knew him', the chapter contributed by Sixsmith to Edward Carpenter: In Appreciation ed. Gilbert Beith (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1931)].
This small class consists of 5 original and copy typescripts, including drafts of Sixsmith's chapter in Edward Carpenter: In Appreciation (1931) and an outline of an address by Carpenter on 'Beautiful Sheffield'. Most significant, however, is an early typescript draft of Carpenter's 'Autobiographical Notes', later expanded and published in 1916 as My Days and Dreams: Being Autobiographical Notes.

3 items.

100-page typescript entitled 'Autobiographical Notes' by Edward Carpenter, inscribed to Charlie Sixsmith, and marked as copy 2. The text is a draft which was subsequently incorporated into Carpenter's published autobiography, My Days and Dreams: Being Autobiographical Notes (London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1916); it contains versions of Chapters I-VIII and X of the published volume. In this draft Chapter III is not distinguished by a separate heading, Chapter VI is entitled 'Millthorpe' instead of the published 'Manual work and market-gardening', Chapter VII is called simply 'Socialism' instead of 'Sheffield and Socialism', and the published Chapter IX ('Millthorpe and household life') is omitted.

The text is a carbon copy of a typescript and the manuscript title page is in Carpenter's hand.

102 sheets.


Each typescript contains 13 sheets; 4/3/1 also includes 2 additional manuscript sheets: 1 at the front of the document and 1 between pp. 8 and 9.

Related materials: Eng 1171/3/7.
Notes and extracts

This class consists of a bundle of notes and extracts relating to Carpenter, presumably made by Sixsmith in the course of his research for articles and talks. The material includes: copies of extracts from letters written by and about Carpenter; extracts from books which relate to Carpenter; and transcripts of reviews of Carpenter's works.

5/14 is a small booklet containing transcripts of correspondence between E.B. Gibson, Sheffield Town Clerk, and Leonard Green, one of Carpenter's literary executors. The correspondence relates to Sheffield Council's acceptance of a gift of books and manuscripts formerly belonging to Carpenter, presented by a Mr T. Nicholson. The executors object to this on the grounds that they hold the rights to this material.

All items are manuscript, except 1171/5/13 which is a carbon copy of a typescript sheet. 1171/5/1 is written on the reverse of an envelope posted to Mr [J.W.] Wallace at Farnworth, Lancs.

14 items; all items consist of 1 sheet only, except 1171/5/2 (7 sheets), 5/8 (4 sheets) and 5/14 (a booklet containing 16 leaves).

Photographs

This class is comprised of original and copy photographs. It includes both formal and informal shots of Carpenter, alone and with various friends and companions, as well as a number of miscellaneous Carpenter-related photographic images.

Archivist’s note: all the photographs included in the collection had already been grouped together, either by Sixsmith himself or by former Library staff. This arrangement has been retained, as the photographs form a distinct class; they have been divided into subclasses according to their content. All sizes quoted include frames and mounting boards.

3 sub-classes; 13 items.

Photographs of Edward Carpenter


3 items.

Photographs

2 copies of the same full length shot of Carpenter outside his house at Millthorpe.

6/1/1/1 is mounted.

2 pieces. 6/1/1/1: 15.3 x 17.7 cms; 6/1/1/2: 8.2 x 10.7 cms.
Eng 1171/6/1/2  Photographs  n.d.
2 copies of the same head and shoulders indoor shot of Carpenter.
Includes an envelope addressed to Sixsmith, in which the photographs were stored.
2 pieces. 6/1/2/1: 10.2 x 13.2 cms; 6/1/2/2: 10.2 x 12.7 cms.

Eng 1171/6/1/3  Photograph  1928
Outdoor snapshot of Carpenter seated on bench.
Note on reverse identifies photographer as Teulon Porter.
6 x 8.5 cms.

Eng 1171/6/2  Group photographs which include Carpenter  [early 1900s]-1929
This sub-class contains photographs of Carpenter with various friends and acquaintances, principally his partner, George Merrill.
7 items.

Eng 1171/6/2/1  Photograph  n.d. [early 1900s]
Informal indoor shot of George Merrill and Carpenter, seated.
Postcard; 8.2 x 10.3 cms.

Eng 1171/6/2/2  Photograph  n.d. [early 1900s]
Outdoor three-quarter length shot of George Merrill and Carpenter.
Postcard; 8.6 x 13.5 cms.

Eng 1171/6/2/3  Photograph  n.d.
Carpenter (in boat), [George Hukin?] and George Merrill beside a boating lake.
Inscribed by Carpenter, "Love from the Holy Trinity".
16.1 x 12.1 cms.

Eng 1171/6/2/4  Photograph  n.d.
Full length outdoor shot of Carpenter and George Merrill.
Inscribed by Carpenter, "Ed. Carpenter and Geo. Merrill in case you should be in doubt!"
Postcard; 8.4 x 13.3 cms.
Eng 1171/6/2/5  Photograph  1928
Outdoor shot of Carpenter (seated on bench) and 2 other men [possibly including George Merrill], taken at the same session as 1171/6/1/3.
Note on reverse identifies photographer as Teulon Porter.
8.6 x 6 cms.

Eng 1171/6/2/6  Photograph  n.d.
Carpenter in old age, seated outside an urban house, with unidentified man and woman.
Postcard; 13.2 x 8.5 cms.

Eng 1171/6/2/7  Photograph  8 Jan 1929
Indoor snapshot of Carpenter, with the sister of Illit Gr [a young Norwegian who translated some of Carpenter's works].
Note on reverse identifies the female subject.
10.5 x 8.1 cms.

Eng 1171/6/3  Miscellaneous Carpenter-related photographs  1887-[post-1929]
This sub-class includes 3 Carpenter-related postcards, but most significant is a portrait photograph of Carpenter's close friend, George Hukin.
3 items.

Eng 1171/6/3/1  Mounted Photograph  1887
Portrait head and shoulders photograph of George E. Hukin.
Platinotype. Note by Carpenter on reverse identifies subject, and notes that the photograph was given to George Merrill by Carpenter in 1901.
17.6 x 22.7 cms.

Eng 1171/6/3/2  Postcard  Dec 1905
Depicting 2 photographs, identified by Carpenter's captions as "Hut in Garden" [i.e. the hut at Millthorpe in which he wrote Towards Democracy] and "My Study Window".
Sent with New Year's greeting to Miss Annie Sixsmith by Carpenter.
13.9 x 8.9 cms.
Eng 1171/6/3/3  
*Postcards*  
n.d. [post-1929]

2 commercially produced postcards depicting a bronze head of Carpenter sculpted by Dorothea Clement and held at the Graves Art Gallery, Sheffield.

2 pieces.

Eng 1171/7  
*Misellaneous material*  
1913-1939

This class contains 4 miscellaneous items, 3 of which relate to Carpenter in some way but which do not obviously belong with any of the other material in the collection; 1171/7/1 was presumably acquired by Sixsmith from Carpenter himself. 1171/7/4 has no obvious Carpenter connection.

4 items.

Eng 1171/7/1  
*Readers' tickets*  
16 Jun 1913


2 pieces.

Eng 1171/7/2  
*Pencil drawing*  
11 Oct 1925

Pencil drawing of Carpenter's head and shoulders [based on the photograph in 1171/6/1/2], by Percy Swift.

Signed and dated by the artist; stored with an envelope addressed to Sixsmith in which the drawing came to the John Rylands Library.

2 pieces.

Eng 1171/7/3  
*Printed card*  
1939

Issued by Sheffield City Libraries, and giving notice of the Edward Carpenter Annual Memorial Service at Cordwell Valley on 2 July 1939, with biographical details and book lists. Accompanied by compliments slip.

2 pieces.

Eng 1171/7/4  
*Cutting*  
n.d.

A reproduction of a head and shoulders photograph of Walt Whitman, taken from an unidentified publication, which notes that this image is a hitherto unpublished portrait of the poet.
Horace Logo Traubel (1858-1919) is one of the better-known American figures with whom Sixsmith became acquainted as a result of his connection with the Bolton Whitman circle. Wallace stayed with the Traubel's when he visited Whitman in 1891, and they kept up a voluminous correspondence. Traubel wrote almost daily to Wallace and Johnston during Whitman's final illness, and began writing to Sixsmith in August 1892 following an introduction from Wallace.

Traubel came from Camden, New Jersey; he was the fifth of seven children born to Maurice Henry and Katherine Traubel. He left school at the age of 12, and over the next 32 years he pursued a variety of occupations, including jobs in the printing and newspaper trade, and a long period working as a bank clerk. In 1902, however, he turned to free-lance journalism. He had already founded his own monthly paper, The Conservator, in 1890 and he continued to publish this, often at a financial loss, until the year of his death. He supplemented his income by undertaking other journalistic work and producing three volumes of poetry, Chants Communal (1904), Optimos (1910) and Collects (1915).

Traubel's family first became acquainted with Whitman a short time after the poet moved to his final home in Mickle Street, Camden, in 1873. As a teenager Traubel forged a friendship with Whitman, and they became very close in the years leading up to the poet's death in 1892. Traubel was greatly influenced by Whitman and his ideas on freedom, democracy, and 'comradely love'. He went beyond Whitman in his political beliefs, ultimately stating his support of Marxian socialism; his political ideas, however, were grounded more in religious and spiritual concepts than practical social and economic concerns. He appreciated the spiritual dimension in Whitman's work, viewing the poet as a great prophet, and criticized the literary elite whose evaluations of Whitman ignored this spiritual element.

Traubel was a constant companion to Whitman during his last illness. He spent much of his time in the house at Mickle Street, and his marriage to Anne Montgomerie took place there in May 1891. He was at the centre of a small and close-knit group of Whitman disciples, who rallied around the poet at the end of his life. Whitman died holding Traubel's hand on 26 March 1892.

After Whitman's death, Traubel was one of the leading figures in what he saw as a crusade to defend the reputation of the poet and to promote his cause. He took a great interest in any books or articles written on Whitman, and was deeply concerned about the way in which Whitman was represented in print. He was in contact with Whitmanites around the world, and was involved in establishing an international organisation for like-minded groups and individuals. Traubel was also one of Whitman's three literary executors, along with Richard Maurice Bucke and Thomas B. Harned (Traubel's brother-in-law). In this capacity, he embarked on the huge task of sorting and editing Whitman's vast collection of papers, which he moved to his own home. His magnum opus, the painstakingly detailed diary of his visits to Whitman from March 1888 to his death – with Walt Whitman in Camden – runs to nine volumes, only three of which were published during Traubel's lifetime.
This subgroup contains a collection of letters written by Horace Traubel (and three by his wife, Anne) to J.W. Wallace, Dr John Johnston, and Charles F. Sixsmith in Lancashire.

The letters addressed to Wallace and Johnston clearly came into Sixsmith’s possession at some point and were added to his own collection of Traubel correspondence. Although there are some later letters, the majority date from 1891-4, the period leading up to and following the death of Whitman in March 1892. The letters form an invaluable source for Whitman studies, their contents embracing such topics as: the relationships between individual members of the international Whitman community, particularly links between the close-knit circle of Whitmanites in America and the Bolton group in England; Wallace’s visit to America to see the poet and the Traubel family; Whitman’s last illness; reactions to the poet’s death among those closest to him; Traubel’s work as a literary executor, and his role as a leading promoter of the Whitman cause after the poet’s death; the visionary ideas of democracy and brotherhood Traubel and others found in Whitman’s work, and the slightly different interpretation of Whitman’s message by British socialists; Traubel’s proposals for an international organisation of Whitmanites, which were not well-received by the Bolton group; and Traubel’s family life and constant financial struggles.

The Wallace and Johnston correspondence consists only of those letters which came into the possession of Sixsmith. Other letters to Wallace and Johnston sent by Traubel over the same period are held at Bolton Archive Service; this means that apparent gaps in the chronological sequence of letters in this collection may be filled in by material held at Bolton.

Archivist’s note: the bulk of these letters were formerly arranged in a single chronological sequence which did not distinguish between recipients; this arrangement was apparently made by Library staff in the past. Here, the material has been grouped into classes according to recipient, reflecting the way in which the letters would originally have been received. There is an additional series of letters sent by Traubel to unnamed recipients, which have proved impossible to attribute from internal evidence, and these have been placed in a separate class. They were, however, almost definitely addressed to Wallace or Johnston.

The classes are as follows:

Eng 1172/1 Letters to J.W. Wallace from Horace Traubel
Eng 1172/2 Letters to J.W. Wallace from Anne Montgomerie Traubel
Eng 1172/3 Letters to Dr John Johnston from Horace Traubel
Eng 1172/4 Letters to Charles F. Sixsmith from Horace Traubel
Eng 1172/5 Letters from Horace Traubel to unnamed recipients

All letters are holograph and consist of one sheet of paper unless stated otherwise.

5 classes; 178 items.
J.W. Wallace (1853-1926), the leading light of the Bolton Whitman group, cultivated a wide network of contacts among socialists and other Whitman enthusiasts in Britain and America. He appears to have begun a correspondence with Traubel in 1891, before staying as a guest in the Traubel home on his visit to America during September-November of that year. This meeting confirmed the mutual affection felt by the two men, and afterwards their correspondence increased; by 1892 Traubel was sending almost daily letters, often reporting on Whitman's changing moods and the fluctuations in his health during his final illness.

The letters in this class were sent by Traubel to Wallace over an eighteen-month period during 1891-2. As well as documenting Whitman's last months, they provide an insight into Traubel's close relationship with Whitman (who he usually refers to as Walt) and the role he played as an assistant and trusted advisor to the poet. The correspondence also illustrates Traubel's relationship with Wallace, which was very close at this time before disagreements over Traubel's plans for an international Whitman organisation led to a distancing between the two men. The aftermath of Whitman's death and its impact on Traubel and other admirers is also illustrated in the letters: Traubel frequently expresses his feelings of loss, and refers to his huge responsibility as a literary executor. His concern about the portrayal of Whitman in books and articles and his own battle to spread the gospel of Whitman are frequently recurring themes. Already by June 1892 he had plans for establishing an international organisation of some kind to further Whitman's cause and forge connections with other groups of Whitmanites (see Eng 1172/1/42); and by autumn of the same year he was soliciting funds to purchase Whitman's last home in Mickle Street as a memorial to the poet.

Other topics covered include: Traubel's constant financial struggles; his marriage to Anne Montgomerie in May 1891 and his family life; his work on Whitman's papers; various other events and individuals associated with Whitman and his followers; and a small amount on American social affairs and politics.

Archivist's note: there is a notable gap in the correspondence, during January-April 1892 – the period immediately before and after Whitman's death on 26 March; letters from this period are held at Bolton Central Library.

Not all the letters listed in this class name Wallace as the recipient, but letters where his identity can be inferred from internal evidence have been included. Undated letters have been left in their original place in the chronological sequence.

Undated letters have been placed on the basis of internal evidence and their original position in the sequence.

77 items.

Eng 1172/1/1 Letter 4 Mar 1891

Refers to: Whitman's health, which is currently poor, although Traubel is optimistic about improvement; a projected dinner to celebrate Whitman's birthday at which he hopes to read messages from Wallace and Johnston; the new book [probably the final 'death-bed' edition of Whitman's Leaves of Grass] which is progressing slowly; he comments that the new poems in it will not detract from earlier work - "[i]t is saturated with diverse flavors. These will enter and possess you as in previous exploits"; Lippincott's [Magazine] which he is sending.
Eng 1172/1/2  Letter  17 Mar 1891

Camden, New Jersey [USA].

2 sheets.

Refers to: 2 letters received from Wallace's [Bolton] fellowship; his reports on Whitman's condition, which he stresses should not alarm them; a copy of the Conservator which he is sending, commenting that their [financial] help is welcome for this publication which is produced at a loss; Whitman's 'Poetry of the Future' which he informs Wallace has always been in Specimen Days but under a different name ['Poetry to-day in America – Shakspere – the future'], as the poet was in the habit of constantly revising his work and altering titles; Whitman's current health and state of mind.

Camden, New Jersey [USA].

4 sheets.

Eng 1172/1/3  Letter  28 Mar 1891

Traubel reports on Whitman's condition: he is much improved since Traubel finally persuaded him to see a doctor; the bad weather prevents speedy improvement, but they are hopeful; Whitman keeps working and benefits from his wise, calm and physically tough ancestry; Traubel stresses that Wallace need not worry about any major change in Whitman's health unless he receives a cable.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

2 sheets.

Eng 1172/1/4  Letter  20 Apr 1891

Traubel reports further on Whitman: his condition is worse following a trip outside the previous week, although there is no cause for alarm; he rests more now but sleeps less, and maintains his good humour; he refuses to discuss his birthday dinner, intimating that he may not live to see that day [31 May]. Contents also relate to: the book, which is almost all in type; Traubel's low opinion of reporters inquiring after Whitman's condition; the close-knit group who advocate the "new gospel" and his belief that Whitman will soon come into his own; an article he has written which may be appearing in the New England Magazine; his busy job at the bank, where he is writing this letter; and the deep ties he feels to Wallace.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

4 sheets.

Eng 1172/1/5  Letter  21 Apr 1891

Refers to: a visit to Whitman the previous day, when he found the poet much improved; the proofs of the New England Magazine piece, which show that his article has been altered, to the annoyance of both Whitman and himself.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

2 sheets.
Eng 1172/1/6  Letter  5 May 1891

Refers to: a picture of Wallace he has received, and comments on his appearance; and Whitman, whose condition changes little, being weak but cheerful and philosophical.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Eng 1172/1/7  Letter  22 Jun 1891

Traubel describes in detail his recent marriage [to Anne Montgomerie], which took place [on 28 May] in Whitman's bedroom and was carried out by their friend [the Rev John Herbert] Clifford in the presence of Whitman and a small number of friends and family. Also refers to his financial hardships and Whitman's health.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/1/8  Letter  7 Jul 1891

Refers to: [Dr R.M.] Bucke, who has just set sail for England to meet Wallace; Bucke's character, and his readiness to answer questions about Traubel if Wallace is curious; his own inability to afford a trip to England, although he wishes to visit Wallace. He also discusses Whitman, whose health is fair, although he has a tendency to dwell on his illness; Traubel makes his own judgements based on observation. He describes the previous evening spent with Whitman and mentions Whitman's (numerous, and usually female) visitors to whom the poet is increasingly denying admittance.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

2 sheets.

Eng 1172/1/9  Letter  14 Jul 1891

Refers to Wallace's doubts about his projected visit to the USA, and urges him to go ahead with the trip, stressing that it will enable him to meet Whitman.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

2 sheets.

Eng 1172/1/10  Letter  27 July 1891

Refers to: a water colour he has received from Wallace; problems encountered at the post office when trying to send Dr Johnston a package containing some oak leaves from a branch overhanging Whitman's tomb [Whitman designed his own tomb and had it constructed, at great expense, during 1891]; a drive he persuaded Whitman to take on Saturday; one of [Sidney] Morse's busts [of Whitman] which Traubel is hoping to get photographed; the progress of [William] O'Donovan's bust of Whitman; Whitman's condition, life expectancy, and the oppressive prospect of a lingering, painful death; a piece he has written for *Lippincott's Magazine*; Wallace's possible visit to the USA with [R.M.] Bucke.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

4 sheets.
Traubel again urges Wallace to return to America with [R.M.] Bucke, stressing the need to visit soon in case anything should happen to Whitman, whose condition at present, however, is stable; he also refers to Bucke, who is still away on his visit to England and staying with [Harry Buxton] Forman [English Whitmanite and bibliographer]; and to [Daniel] Longaker [Whitman's doctor], who believes they should take Whitman's own statements about his condition with a pinch of salt.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

3 sheets.

Traubel informs Wallace that he is sending some chips of stone from the doorway of Whitman's tomb. He also refers to: Whitman's refusal to go out in the hot weather; [Daniel] Longaker's opinions on Whitman's health; his former pressure on Wallace to accept their invitation, which he claims was not purely personal but a result of his concern that Wallace may otherwise never meet Whitman; his own responsibilities; Wallace's desire to do something for Whitman's comfort; his friend, [Harry D.] Bush, who is also devoted to Whitman; other Whitmanites in America.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

3 sheets.

Refers to: his desire for Wallace to visit America on [R.M.] Bucke's return, and to see Whitman before his health declines further; Bucke's expected visit to Tennyson [whom he saw whilst in England]; Whitman's own wish to meet Wallace, although the poet would never express this openly.

Enclosed is a news cutting from The Philadelphia Press, 16 Aug 1891, showing a series of drawings of Philadelphia, with notes by Traubel on various locations depicted.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Includes envelope.

4 pieces.

Traubel transcribes a message he has received from [John] Clifford in which he thanks Traubel for the word received from the English [Bolton Whitman] group which has touched him deeply, and asks Traubel to send on his thanks. Traubel refers to Wallace's recent letter to Whitman, in which he described his impressions of Niagara [Wallace visited Philadelphia and Camden in early September, before travelling north with R.M. Bucke, stopping at Niagara en route]; Traubel's belief that all feelings aroused by celestial and terrestrial phenomena ultimately lead him back to the human.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].
Eng 1172/1/15  Letter  13 Nov 1891

Refers to: an item he forwards to Wallace; the lack of news received about Wallace's return home; Whitman's condition; Johnston's unnecessary fears about Whitman's health arising from his attention to alarmist reports; 'O'C's' book which is now out [possibly William O'Connor's posthumous collection Three Tales]; Mrs [Ellen] O'C[onnor]; Baker [probably Isaac N. Baker, Robert Ingersoll's secretary], whom he is visiting in Ashbourne on Sunday.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/1/16  Letter  27 Nov 1891

Refers to: Whitman's thoughts on Wallace's trip to America; the poet's desire that they should not idolise him and set him apart; Traubel's regret at the lack of time spent talking during Wallace's stay; a planned visit to [R.M.] Bucke [in Canada] in the spring; [Daniel] Brinton [a professor at the University of Pennsylvania and friend of Whitman] who asks after Wallace; the tomb [Whitman's, built at great expense, to the disapproval of Traubel and others; the final bill of $4,000 was delivered in October 1891]: Traubel claims Whitman has been swindled over this, the price quoted in the contract being a forgery; he entreats Wallace to keep this from Whitman.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

2 sheets.

Eng 1172/1/17  Letter  n.d. [c.1891]

Traubel inquires whether [Dr John] Johnston will sell him copies of all the Whitman portraits he has made, so he can frame them for his wall, as well as one of [John] Burroughs. He has just returned from a visit to Whitman, and describes their talk and Whitman's current good health; he describes the weather and the view of fields from his window; and mentions a report on [Whitman's] tomb made by one Reeder.

2 sheets.

Eng 1172/1/18  Letter  n.d.

Refers to: a forthcoming meeting of the Contemporary Club; Whitman, whose condition is unchanged; an axe found in the tomb, which he will discuss another time.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/1/19  Fragment  n.d.

Final page of a letter from Traubel in which he refers to: his work on the Conservator; his forthcoming paper to be called 'Walt Whitman and some of his comrades'; the O'C[onnor] book; arrangements he is making for a lecture in Philadelphia by Henry George [writer on political economy]. He sends regards from [Daniel] Longaker and [Thomas B.] Harned [Traubel's brother-in-law].
Eng 1172/1/20  Letter  n.d.
Traubel asks Wallace to write some notes about his [Bolton] college fellows for Traubel and his circle, and refers to: an article in the Star he has sent to Johnston; his annoyance at an Arnold interview in the Press; [his wife] Anne; visits from [Daniel] Longaker and Salter [possibly William Mackintire Salter]; his plans for the evening; pleasant memories left by Wallace [on his visit to America].

Eng 1172/1/21  Postcard  22 Jan 1892
Traubel informs Wallace that he is soon to meet a countryman of his, William Sharp [writer, alias 'Fiona Macleod'], who is also eager to see Whitman, although Traubel doubts that Whitman will, or ought, to see him, for health reasons.

Includes stamp noting that the card was saved from the wreck of SS Elder.

Eng 1172/1/22  Letter  19 Apr 1892
Refers to further copies of the green book which he will send to Johnston; asks if and when [the Rev F.R.C.] Hutton [of the Bolton Whitman group] will be visiting; discusses the treatment of Whitman in the English papers and derogatory comments made about the poet in the American press.

Eng 1172/1/23  Letter  25 Apr 1892
Refers to: Wallace's advice to delay "the book" [possibly In Re Walt Whitman, the joint publication of Whitman's literary executors, ultimately published in 1893], with which he agrees; [John Addington] Symonds's A Chapter From my Life which he praises; a paper sent by Wallace containing a lecture by Thompson, which Traubel thinks is modelled upon [lecturer, Col. Robert Green] Ingersoll; Anne's health; a possible visit from [R.M.] Bucke; a report from Russia that Tolstoy read and admired Whitman; his 'Last Days' piece which is only a draft and should not as yet be printed by Wallace.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

3 sheets.

Eng 1172/1/24  Letter  6 May 1892
Refers to: [R.M.] Bucke, whom he hopes to see the following day; his wish that the Bolton fellows could be there; the Whitman papers, on which he has not yet started work; the pamphlet he is working on, which will include extracts from several letters written by Wallace and Johnston.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].
Refers to: his endeavours to persuade Anne to write to Wallace, although she is currently very busy; [R.M.] Bucke, who is back in London [Ontario]; a letter from [John H.] Johnston [namesake of the English Johnston] in New York, in which he reports being offered for a first edition [presumably Leaves of Grass]; a copy of the book Traubel obtained recently for $15; [John] Clifford, whom he sees more often now; the Fels, who send love to Wallace; plans for the summer.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

He requests an order from the Bolton college for his pamphlets; mentions the success of the death mask [of Whitman, by Thomas Eakins and Samuel Murray]; mentions Anne [Traubel]'s exhaustion following the departure of her nurse, and wonders if Wallace will write to her again.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Refers to: the pamphlets he is trying to distribute; the work involved in arranging the dinner [presumably a dinner to mark the anniversary of Whitman's birthday on 31 May], to which he asks Wallace to send a representative; Anne and the baby [his daughter Gertrude, born in April]; the organisation of his third storey front room [in which he kept and sorted through many of Whitman's papers].

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Refers to an expected visit from Jeannie [possibly Jeannette L.] Gilder; assures Wallace he will not give out Wallace's notes for a long time yet due to his workload; [the writer, William Dean] Howells who wishes to see Traubel's paper, 'Walt Whitman and some of his friends', when completed.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Refers to a copy of the Columbus poem [Whitman's 'A Thought of Columbus'] which he is sending to Wallace for his perusal, but urges him to "keep it shady" as it has not yet been printed in America; the dinner for Whitman which he hopes to hold on 31 May; his pamphlets; Anne, who sends her love.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].
Traubel transcribes for Wallace an invitation to a celebration on 31 May which he has received from Boston followers of Whitman; he is touched by the invitation and intends to send a message.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Refers to: letters received from Wallace and Johnston; and a letter from [William Dean] Howells, returning the Columbus poem [Whitman's 'A Thought of Columbus'] which Traubel had sent him; Howells claims he cannot feel the poetry of it.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Refers to: Wallace's letter for Whitman's birthday, which will be read at the dinner the following evening; [John H.] Johnston, whom he is expecting; a day off from his work at the bank for "Decorations Day" (30 May).

Refers to: Wallace's letter; another letter received from Hallam Tennyson with a message from his father [Alfred]; guests expected at the celebration that evening; various articles and items sent to him by Wallace.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Traubel describes the Whitman birthday dinner which took place the previous evening and was attended by 20 people.

Refers to: some photographs of the bust [of Whitman] received from [Samuel] Murray; the bust itself which is impressive; Murray's intention to cast copies of it for sale; Alfred and Hallam Tennyson, to whom he is sending a pamphlet, and who wrote tenderly of Whitman's death.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Refers to: the possible publication of the piece 'Last Days' in *Once a Week*, which will not affect Wallace's arrangement of the letters as formerly agreed ['Last days of Walt Whitman' consisted of a series of extracts from Traubel's letters to his friends in England and to Bucke in Canada, written during Whitman's last illness, and was published in *In Re Walt Whitman* in 1893]; the publication of the book [probably *In Re Walt Whitman*], which has been accepted by [David] McKay only on the understanding that the editors pledge enough copies to protect him from loss.
Eng 1172/1/37  Letter  13 Jun 1892
Traubel suggests that Wallace sometimes allows his illness [severe eye problems] and weakness to hold too much power over him; he believes Wallace could do their cause great good in England if he began to write; he sends love from Anne, and comments that he is reading [John Addington] Symonds's [Introduction to the study of] Dante.

Eng 1172/1/38  Letter  14 Jun 1892
Refers to a forthcoming meeting with [Daniel] Brinton to discuss arrangements for future Whitman meetings; he believes it is important for them to "cohere" and make the world see our brotherhood".

Eng 1172/1/39  Letter  15 Jun 1892
Refers to: his suffering over the last few days, and the pain he feels at Whitman's absence after such long and close contact with the poet; the love and support offered by Wallace and Johnston.

Eng 1172/1/40  Letter  16 Jun 1892
Refers to: accounts he has received of Wallace's talk on 31 May ['Whitman Day' at Bolton]; Whitman's work, which he believes will become more popular and influential as time goes on; Wallace's letter, which was read at their dinner [on 31 May], and the other speeches made on the occasion.
Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Eng 1172/1/41  Letter  17 Jun 1892
Traubel hopes Wallace will send an account of the 31 May celebrations in Bolton; he will read this to his own group, of which he is the secretary; he describes a feeling of rejuvenation experienced since 31 May, and a motivation to face new days and deeds; he muses on the way life grows dearer as the days pass.

Eng 1172/1/42  Letter  18 Jun 1892
Refers to: a long discussion he has had with [Daniel] Brinton regarding Whitman and the purposes of their [Whitman] group in establishing a free organization of some kind to further the poet's cause; their plans for future meetings, connections with other groups (including the Bolton college), and the possibility of producing an annual volume; a Whitman night being held at the Twilight Club in New York in September; the Whitman dinner planned for 31 May 1893 which is to take place in New York, and at which he hopes there will be a representative from Bolton.

Eng 1172/1/43  Letter  20 Jun 1892
Refers to: positive notices of his pamphlet which have appeared in America; a meeting he is to have with [Thomas] Eakins and [Samuel] Murray, and a circular he is to write advertising the availability of bronze copies of Murray's bust of Whitman; various plastic copies of the bust which are to be made and sent to interested parties, including [Harry Buxton] Forman and the Bolton group; [R.M.] Bucke, and his response to a speech by [Daniel] Brinton.
Eng 1172/1/44  Letter  21 Jun 1892

Refers to: a letter from Wallace received by Anne [Traubel] and the glimpses of Wallace's life it reveals; Wallace's feelings on [Whitman's] Columbus poem, which also deeply touched Traubel. He goes on to outline his interpretation of the poem.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/1/45  Letter  22 Jun 1892

Traubel transcribes a letter he has received from [poet and essayist, Edmund Clarence] Stedman, in which Stedman thanks him for a copy of 'At the Graveside' [a booklet containing tributes and speeches made at Whitman's funeral], expresses his honour at having his own tributary lines included, mentions the meeting in Camden which he heard about from [John H.] Johnston, and refers to a long poem on Shelley which he has recently written and which is to appear in Atlantic Monthly.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/1/46  Letter  23 Jun 1892

Refers to: Wallace's letter describing outdoor life; Anne, who will one day write to Wallace; memories of Whitman evoked by objects in Traubel's house; and the immortality of the soul.

Eng 1172/1/47  Letter  26 Jun 1892

Refers to: the passing of time and the amount of work he has to do; Anne, who is journeying north within the week, leaving Traubel alone for the summer; battles he is fighting for Leaves of Grass.

Eng 1172/1/48  Letter  28 Jun 1892

Refers to: 2 Shelley books received from [Harry Buxton] Forman, on which Traubel has to pay a small duty; his disapproval of this system and his belief that Whitman would have denounced all tariffs; his hopes for tariff reform if [Democratic presidential candidate, Stephen Grover] Cleveland is elected; Whitman's former comment that "we have not heard the last of Cleveland"; lessons of human brotherhood to be learnt from Leaves of Grass.

Eng 1172/1/49  Letter  29 Jun 1892

Refers to: the controversy which is raging about Whitman, and criticism of his work which is appearing in various publications; the "battle" he is engaged in on Whitman's behalf, claiming that those in error will ultimately see their side of the argument and be led to peace; his article on Whitman in Lippincott's [Magazine]; Whitman's warnings about championing him, and his ultimate faith in Traubel.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

2 sheets.
Eng 1172/1/50  Letter  1 Jul 1892

Refers to: Anne and the baby who are about to journey north; the baby, Gertrude, and his relationship with her (expressed in poetic, stream-of-consciousness style).

Eng 1172/1/51  Letter  2 Jul 1892

Refers to: the imminent departure of Anne and the baby; his joy in Gertrude, whom he hopes one day Wallace will see; his regret that Whitman never saw her; Anne, who will try to write to Wallace from London [Ontario, where she is going to stay with R.M. Bucke].

Eng 1172/1/52  Letter  3 Jul 1892

Refers to: the delay of Anne's journey due to a severe storm; two papers he has given recently, on 'Our duties in the coming campaign' and 'Cities and civilization'.

Eng 1172/1/53  Letter  4 Jul 1892

Refers to: his wife and baby who have just left for their holiday; and [Whitman's] Columbus poem ['A Thought of Columbus'] which has been published in Once a week.

Eng 1172/1/54  Letters  14 Jul 1892

Traubel apologises for not responding to all Wallace's "caresses" due to his large workload and lack of time, and refers to: Wallace's comments on Dante, whom Traubel thinks "lacked that first call, that daybreak aroma, which lies in Walt's song"; Whitman's appeal to the hearts of men in the common stream of life; [John Addington] Symonds's work on Dante [Introduction to the study of Dante (1872)] which does more to make Traubel appreciate Dante than the poet's own work; 'Gilbert' who has come to see that Leaves of Grass contains a message.

Eng 1172/1/55  Letter  21 Jul 1892

Refers to Wallace's letters which give him solace, but to which he cannot do justice due to the amount of work he faces. He wonders whether Wallace would come and live with them for a year, and if he has ever considered emigrating to America; he hopes Johnston will come and visit them too. He mentions that he has forwarded Wallace's note to Anne, who remains at Dr Bucke's; proposes to enlist Wallace to make up the 'Last Days' article for the book [In Re Walt Whitman]; and mentions that [Thomas] Harned has promised to back the book.

2 sheets.

Eng 1172/1/56  Letter  22 Jul 1892

Refers to: a book by [William Sloane] Kennedy, which he has not seen, but about which he is highly sceptical, being convinced that most of the material in it is inaccurate information taken from news reports; a visit Kennedy made to Camden, during which he obtained various unfounded stories about Whitman's morals and habits from [James M.] Scovel, which [Thomas] Harned was unable to convince him not to use. Traubel criticizes careless writing, stressing that they now have enough material for a faithful
portrayal of Whitman, and that most of the poet's story was told in *Leaves of Grass* and therefore should be left alone.

2 sheets.

**Eng 1172/1/57**  
*Letter*  
1 Aug 1892

Traubel quotes from a letter he has received from [British author and reformer Henry S.] Salt in which he refers to a book, *Songs of Freedom* which is soon to be published and for which he has previously asked permission to use quotes from Whitman. Traubel also refers to a letter he has received from [Sidney] Morse, in which Morse expresses his desire to start a paper and put in a word about the "damnable" things that are going on, and comments that he is writing something on the "Homestead business".

**Eng 1172/1/58**  
*Letter*  
1 Aug 1892

Refers to: a recent meeting with William Walsh, the former editor of *Illustrated American*, who led him to believe that his notes on Whitman's poems have been printed without his knowledge; Anne, who is still away and gaining in health; his intention to advertise all the Whitman books the Estate will have for sale; the [Whitman] material he holds in his house.

**Eng 1172/1/59**  
*Letter*  
2 Aug 1892

Refers to: a recent visit from a reporter who had heard (wrongly) that Traubel was to print a posthumous volume of Whitman's poems, and expresses his general distrust of reporters. He wonders if the Bolton group would be interested in any of Whitman's books, which are to be sold; refers to some comments on *Leaves of Grass* by Mrs [Edith Havelock] Ellis in a publication (*Seed Time*) sent to him by Wallace; and mentions friends of his living in or visiting Britain.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

**Eng 1172/1/60**  
*Letter*  
3 Aug 1892

Refers to: his hope that Wallace will come and spend a year in America; [R.M.] Bucke, who has not contacted him; the possibility of a Whitman library for Camden, which he considers preferable to the large bronze statue proposed by [Samuel] Murray and [Thomas] Eakins; Mrs [Edith Havelock] Ellis's article on Whitman in *Seed Time*; Clark's discussion of the Adamic poems [the 'Children of Adam' section of *Leaves of Grass*]; Stoddart who has been ill and who was a true friend to Whitman.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

**Eng 1172/1/61**  
*Letter*  
4 Aug 1892

Refers to: a letter received from [Robert Green] Ingersoll which he is sending to Wallace; his reply to Ingersoll, in which he disputes Ingersoll's methods although he sees the same end; [Whitman's] *Immortality* manuscript which he has not received from J. Williams and which should have gone into *Good Bye* [and was ultimately published in *In Re Walt Whitman*]; and Williams, who seems to have withdrawn from them since [Whitman's] funeral.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].
Eng 1172/1/62  Letter  5 Aug 1892

Refers to his hopes that [Dr John] Johnston will visit them in America; mentions a copy of the Clarion received from Wallace; comments that Trevor is reading Traubel's article in Justice, which, despite its drawbacks, Traubel believes will show that his heart is engaged in the struggle.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/1/63  Letter  6 Aug 1892

Traubel mentions that he is sorting [Whitman's] papers roughly before attempting a more definite arrangement, and refers to: memories of Whitman; his third floor front room, which is full of boxes containing Whitman's papers; the possibility of making a volume from [Whitman's] unpublished notes pencilled in books or on scraps of paper; some newspapers he is sending to Wallace; Anne, who is still in London [Ontario]; his hope of a visit from [Dr John] Johnston.

Eng 1172/1/64  Letter  8 Aug 1892

Refers to: a circular he is putting together soliciting funds for the retention of Whitman's house [in Mickle Street, Camden]; newspapers with articles relating to Whitman which he is sending; a new Whitman convert he has heard of – Jones, editor of Unity.

Eng 1172/1/65  Letter  9 Aug 1892

Refers to: New England Magazine which he is sending; various individuals whom he describes (Baxter, Black and Harte); plans for Whitman's Mickle Street home (Traubel favours moving the house to a plot of ground towards Harleigh); [Arthur] Stedman's request for a photograph of Whitman's house for use in Autobiographia [Or the Story of a Life, a selection of Whitman's prose writings which Stedman published]; Traubel comments that he suggested the title for the book.

Eng 1172/1/66  Letter  10 Aug 1892

Refers to: his shock at the death of Mrs [Louisa] Whitman [Whitman's sister-in-law], which he learnt of from George [Walt's brother]. He describes Louisa, and announces his intention to go to the funeral, where Louisa is to be interred in Whitman's tomb.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Eng 1172/1/67  Letter  11 Aug 1892

Refers to: a cutting he is sending and his plans regarding the publication of Whitman's papers, about which Wallace and [Edward] Carpenter have been expressing concern. He does not have time to print Whitman's notes, but does intend to publish his letters to his mother, which leave little work for the editor. He expresses his disappointment that Johnston is not to visit him.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].
Traubel describes Louisa Whitman's funeral service and the feelings it evoked.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Refers to his work on Whitman's papers: he has found what appears to be [R.M.] Bucke's first letter to the poet amongst many other letters which he considers of little interest; he estimates that there are 200-300 letters of importance.

Camden [New Jersey].

Refers to: Wallace's response to his piece in Justice; the apparent loss in the post of a large envelope containing many valuable letters, including [Stephen Grover] Cleveland's, which he had sent to Anne [Traubel, in Ontario]; [R.M.] Bucke's shock at the death of Mrs [Louisa] Whitman; Mrs Dodge's poem.

Camden, New Jersey, USA.

Refers to: a letter received from [R.M.] Bucke; the pictures and circular he is putting together relating to Whitman's house; strikes going on at Buffalo, involving much violence, and Whitman's opinions on industrial unrest; [Sidney] Morse's contention that Whitman never realized the gravity of the labour situation.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Refers to: Wallace's letters; his own lack of eloquence and wisdom; his opinion that Wallace should edit some letters for their book [In Re Walt Whitman]; and his belief that Wallace has a great work in him which one day will be expressed.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Refers to his work on the current edition of the Conservator and muses on life and its meaning.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].
Eng 1172/1/75  Letter  31 Aug 1892

Refers to: the fall weather; the time which has passed since Whitman's funeral; the past; his work on the Conservator.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Eng 1172/1/76  Letter  1 Sep 1892

Refers to: a forthcoming trip [apparently to Canada to see Anne and Gertrude at R.M. Bucke's], with Longaker, and [John] Burroughs; [English artist, Herbert] Gilchrist who will expect them at Centreport [Long Island]; a New York paper, the Twentieth Century, which has been criticizing Whitman; the Conservator; [Dr John] Johnston and [Charles F.] Sixsmith.

Eng 1172/1/77  Letter  2 Sep 1892

Refers to: copies of Conservator which he will send; Poet Lore which will interest Wallace; [John H.] Johnston [of New York] who is to visit Philadelphia, and whose article on the tariff is published in New York Voice; Anne, who has written from London [Ontario]; a cholera scare.

Eng 1172/2  Letters to J.W. Wallace from Anne Montgomerie Traubel  [1891]-Mar1892

This small class consists of letters and copy letters from Horace Traubel's wife, Anne, who like her husband, developed a great affection and esteem for Wallace.

3 items.

Eng 1172/2/1  Letter  n.d. [summer 1891]

Refers to their disappointment at Wallace's apparent doubts about visiting them in America. She urges him to come, emphasising the hospitality which awaits him and the fuller knowledge of Whitman to be found in a meeting with the poet.

Eng 1172/2/2  Note  n.d. [c. Nov 1891]

She asks Wallace to send an account of his journey [back to Britain following his visit to them] and to compensate for his absence by sending frequent letters.

Eng 1172/2/3  Copy letters  21 and 26 Mar 1892

2 copy letters sent to Wallace: the first is unsigned and refers to Wallace's last letter, which greatly moved the recipient; the second is from Anne Traubel, headed "The Triumphant", and written on the day of Whitman's death. In it she expresses her feelings, and the unspoken understanding she has with Wallace; she describes how Whitman died holding Horace Traubel's hand, and mentions Traubel's inability to comprehend their great loss.

In an unidentified hand.
Dr John Johnston was a G.P. based in Bolton, although he came originally from Annan in Dumfriesshire. He was an old friend of J.W. Wallace, and one of the three founding members of the Bolton 'Eagle Street College'. He, too, was a great admirer of Whitman, corresponded with the poet, and visited him in America in 1890. As well as pursuing his literary interests, Johnston was active in many other spheres of life: he was a leading figure in the medical world of Bolton, frequently addressing meetings on health issues; he acted as an instructor for the St John's Ambulance Brigade and for railway ambulance classes; he worked in military hospitals during the First World War; and he was an enthusiastic cyclist.

Johnston appears to have begun a frequent correspondence with Traubel in 1891. The letters in this class cover a period of just over a year from summer 1891-2, and embrace similar topics and themes as the letters to Wallace, including: Wallace's visit to America in 1891; Traubel's work towards an international movement, and the promotion of democracy and brotherhood; his observations on new books and articles on Whitman; and his own work on the poet. Also included are several letters from early April 1892, revealing Traubel's state of mind and activities in the immediate aftermath of Whitman's death.

Archivist’s note: once again, not all the letters are addressed specifically to Johnston, but where internal evidence points to him as the recipient the letters have been included here.

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Refers to: the book for Whitman which Traubel received and presented to the poet at the [birthday] dinner; copies of the *New England Magazine* he has ordered; his report [of the birthday dinner] in *Lippincott's Magazine*; his recent holiday, when he and his wife visited [R.M.] Bucke in Canada; their modest lifestyle in Camden.

Enclosed is a copy of a notice announcing the marriage of Anne Montgomerie and Horace L. Traubel, which took place on 28 May 1891.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

2 pieces.

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Refers to Johnston's letter regarding the possibility of Wallace visiting America: Traubel extends an invitation to Wallace to stay in their home, which is not far from Whitman's house. With an attached note to Johnston from Anne Traubel, in support of the invitation to Wallace.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

3 sheets.
Eng 1172/3/3  Letter  3 Nov 1891

Informs Johnston that Wallace left their home that morning, and is to meet [Robert Green] Ingersoll before sailing for Britain; he mentions Whitman's pleasure at Wallace's visit; expresses his own affection for Wallace; and describes how their parting has affected him.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

2 sheets.

Eng 1172/3/4  Letter  10 Nov 1891

Refers to Johnston's generosity in sending various papers, and a rumour reported in the Literary World. He advises Johnston to ask Wallace for the truth behind such rumours when he arrives home, and criticizes the practises of reporters.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

2 sheets.

Eng 1172/3/5  Letter  10 Nov 1891

Traubel sends an additional note of greeting, via Johnston, to Wallace and the Bolton college; he praises the growth of solidarity between individuals, states and institutions, and refers to the work of his comrades in Bolton and America towards this principal. He wonders what Wallace's thoughts on his pilgrimage to America will be, and sends regards to [Richard] Greenhalgh [a member of the Bolton group].

Includes envelope with note inscribed on reverse, describing Whitman's condition.

3 pieces.

Eng 1172/3/6  Postcard  1 Apr 1892

Informs Johnston that he is sending copies of Harper's Weekly for Wallace and Johnston.

Eng 1172/3/7  Letter  1 Apr 1892

Traubel describes his feelings in the aftermath of Whitman's death; he has not written much; [R.M.] Bucke is with him still, although [John] Burroughs has returned home; he feels it will be a long time before he becomes adjusted to the situation; he is to have all Whitman's papers sent to his house the following day. He comments on how little the professional world knows of Whitman, and mentions that he has received no real messages apart from Harry Bonsall's.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].
Eng 1172/3/8  Letter  2 Apr 1892

Refers to: the daily messages he continues to send out of habit [now it is no longer necessary to send regular reports on Whitman's condition]; an article by [John] Burroughs in the Critic; Burroughs's opinion that Whitman's later poems are not moving; letters received from Johnston and Wallace; Whitman's final few days; Whitman's room, which is looking "utterly despoiled".

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Eng 1172/3/9  Postcard  4 Apr 1892

Traubel wonders whether [the Rev F.R.] Hutton [a member of the Bolton group] is coming to America during the spring, and whether he could bring Traubel some books from [Harry Buxton] Forman.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA.

Eng 1172/3/10  Postcard  5 Apr 1892

Traubel asks Johnston to clarify how many green books Traubel owes him.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA.

Eng 1172/3/11  Letter  14 May 1892

Refers to: the postponement of his pamphlet; [R.M.] Bucke, who has written from New York about new examples of "cosmic consciousness"; Anne and Gertrude; the recent lack of correspondence from Johnston; a request from H[enry] S. Salt to quote Whitman in Songs of Freedom.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/3/12  Letter  16 May 1892

Refers to: a letter he has received from [John Addington] Symonds in Venice; the New Review received from Wallace; Wallace's and Johnston's kindness; his work and moods; Anne and the baby [Gertrude]; his constant feeling that Whitman is with him; Whitman's encouragement to Traubel to fight the battle for their cause after his death; the expense caused by his pamphlet and an extra issue of the Conservator.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/3/13  Letter  18 May 1892

Traubel laments the lack of appreciation of Whitman's work in the American literary world, commenting that most of his literary admirers praise incidental beauties, and fail to appreciate Whitman as man, philosopher and seer. He refers to money owed to him by the Bolton group, insists that he will give a copy of his pamphlet to each member of the group despite the necessity of selling them to cover his costs, and describes his material poverty.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].
Traubel quotes a letter he has received from Miss Clarke at the Poet Lore office, who is honoured to receive Good bye and hail Walt Whitman from him; he also quotes a letter from Miss Porter, who refers to the current debate over Whitman raging in various journals, which reveals the significance of the poet.

Refers to: pamphlets he is sending for various named members of the Bolton group; his pamphlet, which he compares to song notes and heart throbs; the "emotional man".

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Printed card issued by the Society for Ethical Culture, Philadelphia [of which Traubel was Secretary and Treasurer], detailing meetings and talks to be given during June, including two by Traubel.

Refers to: an article on Whitman in a woman's paper (apparently sent to him by Johnston), which shows no real understanding of the poet's meaning; [William] Clarke's book [Walt Whitman] which he likes, despite its failure to cover new ground, especially his defence of the 'Children of Adam' poems; his own belief that Whitman cannot be understood in isolated lines, only in looking at the broad sweep of his work; [R.M.] Bucke, who misses Whitman.

Refers to: the Bolton Chronicle and two pamphlets on alcohol received from Johnston; Johnston's writing, which he praises, commending its democratic nature.

Refers to further copies of his Whitman memorial (the booklet Good Bye and Hail) he is sending for Johnston to distribute, and sends love from Anne.

Refers to: their inability to prevent R[ichard] Worthington from publishing a volume of selections from an old pirated book [the third edition of Leaves of Grass] on which the copyright was not renewed; Whitman's copyrights, which he was deceived into thinking were all in good shape, although this particular instance was missed; Traubel's interest in the future of the spiritual Whitman rather than the money to be made from his work.

Refers to: various items sent by Johnston, some of which were damaged in transit; their fellowship and its value in promoting democracy.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].
Eng 1172/3/22  Letter  17 Jun 1892
Refers to: some books for which Johnston has sent payment; his heavy workload; his insistence on sending extra copies as a presentation to the Bolton group; the letters included in the book to Whitman from his dearest friends, including one from Wallace.

Eng 1172/3/23  Letter  19 Jun 1892
Refers to [Daniel] Brinton, who plans to travel in America over the summer, after which he will read a paper at the Convention for the American Association for the Adv[ocation] of Peace; Brinton has recently read an acclaimed paper on [R.M. Bucke's] *Cosmic Consciousness* before the Browning Society in Boston; he describes Brinton's character.

Eng 1172/3/24  Letter  23 Jun 1892
Traubel refers to a letter received from Mrs [Elizabeth] Fairchild, enclosing a letter from writer, Harriet Waters Preston, in which she praises Whitman; he also refers to Mrs Fairchild herself, whom he loves although they have never met; Whitman also loved and respected her, and commented that after Mrs [Anne] Gilchrist he had known no such friend among women.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Eng 1172/3/25  Letter  24 Jun 1892
Refers to: the weight of his workload; their shared appreciation of Whitman which stands in contrast to the opinions of the literary classes who praise in Whitman's work the properties valued least by the poet himself; the spiritual and infinite meaning of Whitman's work, which even their friend [Harrison S.] Morris failed to appreciate.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/3/26  Letter  25 Jun 1892
Refers to "that alcohol business", apparently in reference to a "spiritual theft" suffered by Johnston; Traubel asserts that the man in question will drop down in his profession. He also refers to his great fortune in having known Whitman and the grief he feels at losing him; and describes Whitman's opinion of the [ancient] Greeks.

Eng 1172/3/27  Letter  27 Jun 1892
Refers to: a circular [Samuel] Murray is producing, which will include photographs of his bust [of Whitman], and which Traubel will send to Johnston; the bust itself, which [Thomas] Eakins commended, and of which bronze copies are available. Traubel cannot afford a copy but [Thomas] Harned is to take one.

Eng 1172/3/28  Letter  28 Jun 1892
Refers to: inscribed books he is sending to various individuals in the Bolton group; his workload ("[y]ou can hardly realize the extent to which I am made 'answerer' for other peoples' duties and whims"); the summer weather.
Eng 1172/3/29 Letter

Refers to: books sent by [Harry Buxton] Forman which have tempted him to re-read Keats and Shelley; the evils of the American tariff system and the fashionable middle classes, whose achievements have been made possible by the sacrifice of others; his admiration for "the sturdy fellows who subject themselves to the severe regimen of austerity".

30 Jun 1892

Eng 1172/3/30 Letter

Refers to telegrams received from [R.M.] Bucke and Anne [Traubel, who is staying in London, Ontario, with Bucke]; and quotes a note received from Hallam Tennyson, thanking Traubel for a volume on behalf of his father [Alfred], and commenting on Whitman's death; Traubel mentions that he will send the book to [Charles F.] Sixsmith.

5 Jul 1892

Eng 1172/3/31 Letter

Refers to [John H.] Johnston [of New York], who has not contacted him regarding the Twilight [Club, New York] Dinner [in honour of Whitman]; and urges Johnston to come and stay with them for 5 weeks instead of the proposed 3, commenting on the "treasures" of which he will partake if he comes [probably Whitman's papers]; refers to the hot summer weather and the absence of Anne.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

13 Jul 1892

Eng 1172/3/32 Letter

Refers to: the Twilight Meeting which [John H.] Johnston informs him is to take place in October; [J.H.] Johnston's proposed visit to [R.M.] Bucke; the health of Anne and the baby [Gertrude]; [Robert Green] Ingersoll, who is at Dobbs' Ferry, New York, for the summer; news of [Thomas] Harned and his family holiday; their purchase of all [Richard] Worthington's stock, [plates for the third edition of Leaves of Grass] which is to be stored at Traubel's house; news of [Daniel] Brinton's holiday.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

15 Jul 1892

Eng 1172/3/33 Envelope

Empty envelope addressed by Traubel to Johnston at Bolton.

21 Jun [1892]

Eng 1172/4 Letters to Charles F. Sixsmith from Horace Traubel

This class consists of letters sent by Traubel to Sixsmith over a seventeen-year period, although they predominantly date from 1892-4. Traubel seems to have begun writing to Sixsmith after hearing of his interest in Whitman from Wallace.

These letters are different in tone from those sent to Wallace and Johnston. When writing to the young Sixsmith, Traubel seems to have cast himself in the role of spiritual advisor and interpreter of Whitman's message. He writes emotionally about visionary concept of brotherhood in Whitman's work, emphasising the 'adhesive love of comrades'. On his side, Sixsmith seems to have looked up to Traubel with great admiration: Traubel felt it necessary to remind him that he was simply an individual working to further the Whitman cause.

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Sixsmith, however, developed his own ideas about Whitman's message of freedom and democracy, and his views reflect the differing interpretations placed upon Whitman's work by Traubel and the British Whitmanites: Sixsmith (along with many members of the Bolton group) was a socialist and believed Whitman's ideals could be achieved through the socialist movement, whereas Traubel advocated a much wider, all-embracing spiritual brotherhood.

There is a gap of 18 months in the correspondence following Traubel's letter of 23 July 1894 (Eng 1172/4/41), which is unusually terse in tone, and is a response to Sixsmith's criticisms of the International Whitman Fellowship which Traubel was trying to establish. The Bolton group wished to be affiliated to this movement but under their own terms, and they apparently disagreed with the formal organisation and subscription fees required.

The correspondence between Traubel and Sixsmith never seems to have returned to its early intimacy after this date, and the subsequent letters are much fewer in number, with a gap of 16 years from 1896 to 1912.

48 items.

Related materials: there are further letters to Sixsmith from Traubel and other Traubel-related correspondence in Eng 1170.

Eng 1172/4/1  Letter  6 Jan 1892
Traubel acknowledges Sixsmith's last note; and refers in emotional terms to the previous night, which was "dedicated to Walt" and "was equally consecration and dedication".

Archivist's note: in the light of Eng 1172/4/2, which dates from August 1892 and is apparently an introductory letter, this more familiar letter may have been written in January 1893 and erroneously dated by Traubel.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/4/2  Letter  19 Aug 1892
Traubel is glad to hear from Wallace that Sixsmith has become interested in Whitman; welcomes him as a brother into "this fresh life", and hopes he may come to know him better.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/4/3  Letter  23 Aug 1892
Traubel thanks Sixsmith for his good fellowship, claiming he does not deserve the words Sixsmith expresses to him; he concurs in all Sixsmith says regarding Whitman, and describes what Whitman meant to him; he also agrees with Sixsmith's recognition of Wallace, who they all love.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].
**Eng 1172/4/4**  
*Letter*  
6 Sep 1892

Traubel hopes Sixsmith will write again when the mood recurs; and describes the beautiful autumn weather.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

**Eng 1172/4/5**  
*Letter*  
10 Sep 1892

Traubel sympathises with Sixsmith's description of his struggle with "English moneyism and snobocracy", which they experience in America too; he mentions that he has given Sixsmith's address to [Joseph] Fels [rich American socialist, soap manufacturer and Whitmanite], who is looking for an English salesman for his soap.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

**Eng 1172/4/6**  
*Letter*  
13 Sep 1892

Traubel is glad to hear from Wallace that his note "was not mere snow, to melt and disappear in the rays of your warm heart", and hopes Sixsmith will continue to write to him, stressing the importance of the "salutations of lovers".

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

**Eng 1172/4/7**  
*Letter*  
7 Oct 1892

Refers to his return from a trip to [R.M.] Bucke's in London [Ontario], and thanks Sixsmith for his letter, assuring him that he is in the track of a great man and will in time realise that he has come in touch with "the greatest soul" of his age.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

**Eng 1172/4/8**  
*Letter*  
11 Oct 1892

Traubel extols Whitman's vision of the world and the message of brotherhood he promoted, and assures Sixsmith that as time passes he will also enter the land of this riper vision and spread the message to others as it is now bestowed upon him.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

In pencil.

**Eng 1172/4/9**  
*Letter*  
14 Oct 1892

Traubel hopes one day to see Sixsmith in America; he also hopes he will increasingly become a partner in the life Whitman prophesied for men and women; he doubts that he can write anything of interest to Sixsmith but is confident his letters will be accepted; and sends love to the Bolton college group.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].
Eng 1172/4/10  Note

Traubel sends a message of love to Sixsmith, accompanied by a poem, "Let the bird sing on the bough."

26 Oct 1892

Eng 1172/4/11  Letter

Traubel suggests that Sixsmith helps to distribute his book and house circulars [probably a fundraising leaflet for the purchase of Whitman's home in Mickle Street]; he entreats Sixsmith to love Wallace and treat him well; and stresses that his letters to Lancashire represent only a small part of his real self.

Camden [New Jersey].

28 Oct 1892

Eng 1172/4/12  Letter

Refers to: a picture of Sixsmith he has received; his busy job as a bank clerk and all his other work; his opinion of [author, Frederick] Marryat ("rough, but great").

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

18 Nov 1892

Eng 1172/4/13  Letter

Refers to: his inability to respond fully to Sixsmith's letter; their recent elections, his support for the Democrats and his belief in slow, rather than radical, reform; Wallace, and his need of Sixsmith's help (due to his eye problems); Traubel's book and circular; progress in his work for Whitman generally; his sense of Whitman's constant presence; the guidance Whitman can offer Sixsmith.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

22 Nov 1892

Eng 1172/4/14  Letter

Refers to: a copy of Leaves of Grass which he is sending, and which is a reprint from the plates of the 1860 edition.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

25 Nov 1892

Eng 1172/4/15  Letter

Traubel urges Sixsmith to visit the Chicago [World's] Fair in 1893; his poor financial situation means he is unsure whether he can attend. He comments that Wallace only writes briefly now, but he is glad he is resting his eyes; he also recommends reading [Whitman's] Democratic Vistas.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

6 Dec 1892
Eng 1172/4/16  Letter  13 Dec 1892

Refers to: Sixsmith's letter discussing the labour troubles in Lancashire; the international labour movement, which he sees as a brotherhood, undivided by geography; and the labour struggles in America. He is glad of Sixsmith's interest in "the great cause" but stresses that the cause is much wider than that covered by the term "labour". He thanks Sixsmith for his part in the invitation to England, but regrets that he cannot visit due to his restricted finances.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/4/17  Letter  20 Dec 1892

Traubel expresses his desire to meet Sixsmith, urging him to visit when he can. He sends greetings to the [Bolton] college, and stresses that Sixsmith must not dwell on Traubel as an individual but on their mutual cause. He refers to his "born day" the previous day, which was spent in "solemn review and resolve".

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/4/18  Letter  17 Jan 1893

Traubel returns Sixsmith's New Year's message, and stresses that he is only a plain citizen, doing what he can to serve man, urging Sixsmith never to forget that he is no more than this.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/4/19  Letter  24 Jan 1893

Traubel thanks Sixsmith for his letters (which are like "sweet leaves on the autumn wind"), exhorts him to take his part in the struggle, and comments that "you stand by the side of a brave soldier. I am only a plaything – Wallace is master and king".

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/4/20  Note  7 Feb 1893

Traubel expresses his great desire to cross the sea to England and describes his friends in Bolton as "phantom companions, inhabiting the air I breathe".

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/4/21  Letter  27 Feb 1893

Traubel is glad to hear that Sixsmith has written to [William] Innes [a musician and Whitmanite of Philadelphia], and stresses the importance both of transatlantic links and of breaking down barriers to achieve their spiritual brotherhood; he has heard from Wallace of Sixsmith's faithful service to him; he also refers to his own work.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].
Traubel thanks Sixsmith for an inscribed volume, and comments that he can recognise the value in books like this one [apparently a work of literary criticism], although he personally resents explication; he transcribes a telegram received from [Robert] Ingersoll, in which Ingersoll regrets he cannot attend an event.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Traubel describes [William] Innes, his work as a musician, a job Traubel has secured for him with his printer, Billstein, and mentions that he is sending a picture of him for Sixsmith to see. Traubel also points out Sixsmith's failure to understand his position regarding the individual and his place and work in the social man, an issue he will take up another time.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Traubel regrets being unable to write a full-length letter, mentions letters received from Sixsmith, Wallace, and Johnston, refers to his work, and stresses the need for them all to remain close.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Refers to his joy at thinking of the spiritual experiences awaiting Sixsmith in *Leaves of Grass*, which will give him refreshment and hope.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Refers to: his book work, which takes up much time; [William] Innes, who has more time to answer Sixsmith's questions, and will tell him all about "what a rascal" Traubel is; [John Addington] Symonds, and Traubel's increasing belief that life and death are one.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Refers to: a talk on Whitman he is to give to some working men in Philadelphia; the path his soul is to follow, building links with the hands of faith; some lines which touched Sixsmith; a short speech he read on the anniversary of Whitman's death, which won an enthusiastic response from [William] Innes and [Philip] Dalmas [another musician and Whitmanite from Philadelphia, who was a close friend of Traubel]; Traubel's opinions of [William] Gladstone; his hopes for Irish Home Rule, and conviction that "English-dom must become a federation. The born queens and kings must retire".

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].
Traubel thanks Sixsmith for some papers, and comments on the achievements of [John Addington] Symonds, who "fought against the stream, for years, nobly; and he seems to have done his best work against heavy odds"; he also refers to their need to fight for their own cause.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Traubel stresses his closeness to Sixsmith although he does not write frequently, depending instead on Sixsmith to "exhale the feeling I would express" from his unsaid words [a note signed by J[ohn] J[ohnston] next to this passage comments, "a good idea this?"] Traubel also discusses [William] Innes, and the "adhesive" affection Sixsmith has established with him.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Refers to: the accumulation of duties he faces; papers sent by Sixsmith; a dinner attended in New York and a subsequent trip from which he has recently returned.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Refers to: Sixsmith's "hot and impetuous" mood which revives memories of Traubel's own youth; Sixsmith's enthusiasms, which bring to mind a comment made by [Robert] Ingersoll about his love for those men (including Whitman) who inspired enthusiasms in him; and the fellowship of men. He urges Sixsmith to stay close to the "inner spring" of his soul, and refers to a recent trip during which he met the three men he considers to be greatest souls on the continent [John Burroughs, R.M. Bucke and Richard Ingersoll]. He casts himself in the role of spiritual advisor – hoping to become to Sixsmith "a play-man of dreams, a bringer of light".

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

2 sheets.

Traubel offers further advice to Sixsmith, suggesting that he avoid doctrines and let the great problems remain unsettled for a time, as he prepares himself for the opening of his life.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Traubel sends love to Sixsmith and offers encouragement, stressing that he is very near him in his trouble.
Eng 1172/4/34  
Letter  
Refers to a book he is sending by a friend of his who is an Episcopal minister, but who apparently disregards the conventional theology of the church and has moved to a slum area to pursue his ideas of philanthropy – ideas with which Sixsmith may disagree.
Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/4/35  
Letter  
Traubel thanks Sixsmith for a picture and some papers and asks him to write when his heart bids him; he is relying on Wallace to keep Sixsmith informed of all news; he also refers to their book [probably In Re Walt Whitman] which is soon to come out.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/4/36  
Letter  
Refers to: some English papers sent by Sixsmith and some American papers he is sending in return, which will help Sixsmith gain a better idea of current issues in American life. He wonders whether Sixsmith has heard about the Lehigh railroad strike which Traubel supported.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/4/37  
Letter  
Traubel thanks Sixsmith for some papers and asks for a list of names and addresses of Whitman enthusiasts to whom he can send circulars; he mentions a Bolton paper received from Johnston, and discusses [William] Innes.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/4/38  
Letter  
Refers to: papers sent by Sixsmith; his doubts about the future of the Conservator; his belief in "self-dependence" and liberty as the prerequisites for the great changes needed in society.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/4/39  
Letter  
Refers to: copies of the Chronicle sent by Sixsmith; his opinions on [Keir] Hardie's paper [The Labour Leader]; his interest in the Workman's Times and the Clarion; Edward Carpenter's 'Towards Bureaucracy', published in the Labour Prophet, which Traubel has reproduced in the Conservator; and Wallace's speech, which will be printed in the June issue of the Conservator.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/4/40  
Letter  
Refers to copies of the Chronicle received, and comments on the assassination of [French President, Marie Francois Sadi] Carnot by a youth [Italian anarchist, Caserio] in what he conceived to be a good cause.
Written by Traubel apparently in response to Sixsmith's criticism of the Whitman Fellowship Traubel was setting up [he hoped to establish a worldwide organisation of Whitman lovers]: he agrees the Bolton group have a right to form any Whitman organisation they choose, but the branch they have formed has at present no connection with the Whitman Fellowship in America. He outlines the organisation of this Fellowship, whereby branches are formed by declaring their membership and paying fees to headquarters; he stresses that fees are low and necessary to cover expenses, and that he has no power to alter the form of the organisation. He states that the aim of the fellowship is human, not literary, and comments that if Sixsmith had read the papers sent to him, he would understand that the scheme must be accepted as it is and not altered. He ends by demanding, "[n]ow – do any among you intend to become members?".

3 sheets.

Traubel thanks Sixsmith for his prompt note and refers to their continuing fight [presumably for the Whitman cause]. He inquires whether Sixsmith has ever come into contact with Ed Innes [brother of William], who is working with Traubel on the recovery of the Conservator [which seems to have come near financial collapse], and mentions that he wrote to Sixsmith in the hope that he would give them some assistance. He is sending some American newspapers and refers to the current crises in Venezuela and the Transvaal.

2 sheets.

Informs Sixsmith that they have transferred their Whitman books to [William Sloane] Kennedy; he has told Kennedy to send Sixsmith a copy of volume 2, and volume 3 will be out in October [possibly his With Walt Whitman in Camden, although the third volume was not published until 1914]. He is currently visiting the Bains [a Canadian couple who were also Whitman enthusiasts]. He expresses his love for Sixsmith, and admires the pictures of "the youngster" [Sixsmith's son].

Includes envelope.

Montreal [Canada].

He thanks Sixsmith for sending [Edward] Carpenter's new book to Camden, where Anne has received it, and inquires whether Sixsmith saw Traubel's introduction in the Walt Whitman Everyman.

Montreal [Canada].
Sheet addressed to Sixsmith, displaying a series of signatures arranged in a pattern. Signatures include those of Traubel, Frank and Mildred Bain, J. William Lloyd, and one other; dated at Montreal.

Enclosed with the note are 3 photographs: (1) Whitman's house in Mickle Street [Camden] (June 1911); (2) a group photograph taken in C.N. Needham's art studio; includes Dr Needham, C.N. Needham, Mrs [Helen] Saunders, Frank and Mildred Bain, Horace Traubel and Dr Wiksell (June 1911); (3) the ferry Wenonah, mentioned in Whitman's Specimen Days (4 June 1913).

Refers to: the Bains, with whom he is staying; his feelings about the War; a book by [William English] Walling entitled Whitman and Traubel, which is soon to be published.

Traubel apologises for his delay in writing, citing various problems, including his financial difficulties; and reports that [Frank] Bain has been transferred to a job in the Royal Bank in Havana [Cuba].

Written on the reverse of a printed statement, dated 1918-19, appealing for contributions to The Conservator, which is in severe financial difficulties.

Sheet on which Traubel has written a number of poetic quotations; signed by Traubel, William Innes and W. Lee.

This class is comprised of letters from Traubel which have no named recipient, and which cannot obviously be attributed to one individual from internal evidence. They are, however, almost definitely written either to Wallace or Johnston, and they date predominantly from May 1892.

Topics covered include: reactions to Whitman's death; differing opinions on the poet's work, and the publication of various books and pamphlets about Whitman; Traubel's own work in furthering the 'cause' and attempting to publish more of Whitman's poems (notably 'A Thought of Columbus'); and news on the activities of various other prominent American Whitmanites.

17 items.
Traubel reports that [John H.] Johnston in New York has received a letter from Tennyson acknowledging receipt of some papers sent to his home on the Isle of Wight; outlines his opinions on the work of [John Addington] Symonds; refers to the departure of the old generation, and the constant reminders of Whitman he finds in each face he sees; muses on life, and sends news of Anne and the child [Gertrude].

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Refers to: [R.M.] Bucke, who has visited and is now on his way to [Walt's brother] George Whitman's at Burlington, where Traubel and [Thomas] Harned are to join him the following day; Bucke's meeting with Anne and the baby [Gertrude], which provoked discussion of birth and death.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Traubel describes his visit to see George Whitman at Burlington; he learnt there that Mrs Whitman has Bolton ancestry, and asks the recipient if he knows anyone with the name Haslem or Haslam. He received a packet of notes from George relating to Whitman's early life; and gives a description of George, who loves Walt but does not understand him; George's memories of Walt's early life are general and vague, but he refutes stories of Walt's early dissipation.

2 sheets.

Refers to: a speech made that night by [R.M.] Bucke, on 'The origin of insanity'; Bucke's plans to go to New York the following day; Traubel's pamphlet which is in proof stage; some [Rudolph] Schmidt-[William] O'Connor pictures he possesses, as well as autographed pictures of Schmidt and of [John Addington] Symonds which belonged to Whitman, and Whitman's army knapsack; his intention to publish the Columbus poem ['A Thought of Columbus'] soon; a study of Whitman in the Century.

Camden [New Jersey, USA].

Traubel transcribes a note received from [Robert] Ingersoll, regretting that he cannot attend a meeting as he is to be in New Mexico at that time; he comments on Ingersoll's notes, and mentions that the journal Poet Lore is to reprint the grave speeches in full [presumably speeches made at Whitman's funeral].

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].
Eng 1172/5/6  Letter  13 May 1892

Refers to: his pamphlet; another work entitled *Walt Whitman and Some of his Friends* on which he is working; [Percival] Chubb, who has recently married an American girl and is to return to America from Europe; a paragraph attacking Whitman in *The Daily Register*, which he transcribes.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/5/7  Letter  15 May 1892

Refers to: a recent storm; a visit from [John] Clifford and a visit to the Fels; his pamphlet; a reception they are planning for [William Mackintire] Salter, whom he describes; a lecture on 'Life in Australia' planned for Wednesday from an English-Australian; the proofs of [Whitman's] 'Death's Valley' received from Harper's, a later version of which will be used for a book in preparation; his love of life.

Eng 1172/5/8  Letter  20 May 1892

Refers to: the joy and privilege he feels at having known Whitman; his pamphlet which has now been printed; the health of Anne and Gertrude.

Eng 1172/5/9  Letter  21 May 1892

Refers to: some pictures of William O'Connor he has received from Mrs [Ellen] O'Connor; his admiration for O'Connor, who has been appreciated by few as yet, but who he believes will be properly recognized in the future.

Eng 1172/5/10  Letter  22 May 1892

Refers to: the Columbus poem [Whitman's 'A Thought of Columbus'] for which he is trying to find a publisher; [R.M.] Bucke's feeling of bafflement at the poem, and Traubel's conviction that Bucke will come to find many meanings in the work in time; the importance of the poem as Whitman's last formal composition.

Eng 1172/5/11  Letter  23 May 1892

Refers to letters received from: [William Dean] Howells, who inquires after *Walt Whitman and Some of his Friends* and the Columbus poem; [Richard Watson] Gilder who also inquires about 'A Thought of Columbus'; and [John] Burroughs, who has been sent 900 press cuttings on Whitman by [R.M.] Bucke, many of which infuriate him. Traubel praises the influence of Burroughs' articles in increasing Whitman's popularity.

Eng 1172/5/12  Letter  2 Jun 1892

Refers to: William O'Connor's chair which he has received from Mrs [Ellen] O'Connor, along with a medallion of Whitman; a bust of Whitman recently completed by [Samuel] Murray, a young sculptor working with [Thomas] Eakins; [John] Burroughs who was taken sick in New York and has returned home; a proposed Whitman night at the Twilight Club in New York during September.
Eng 1172/5/13  Letter  3 Jun 1892

Refers to: the Columbus poem ['A Thought of Columbus'] which is to be printed in *Once a Week* in facsimile, having been turned down by [Richard Watson] Gilder of the *Century* on the grounds that it would disappoint readers.

Eng 1172/5/14  Letter  9 Jun 1892

Refers to: a party convention taking place at Minneapolis to nominate a Presidential candidate, and his dislike of the constant coverage of the event; Whitman's great interest in politics, and his preference for political figures who were "redolent of the soil" and had the "smack of America" upon them; Whitman's prediction that more would be heard from [Stephen Grover] Cleveland [President from 1885 to 1890 and re-elected in 1893]; Traubel's choice of Cleveland as a candidate as far as he supports anyone; he also refers to [Robert] Ingersoll and [Isaac N.] Baker.

Philadelphia [Pennsylvania, USA].

Eng 1172/5/15  Letter  11 Jun 1892

Refers to: news from Arthur Stedman in New York about a selected edition of *Leaves of Grass* to be published by [Richard] Worthington, a man despised by the trade; Traubel's intention to take up Worthington's offer of buying his plates of the volume; Traubel's main purpose in all of this, which is to get the book accepted and absorbed by the world at large.

Eng 1172/5/16  Letter  7 Aug 1892

Refers to: a copy of the *Press* which he is sending, containing an article on [Robert] Ingersoll; an accusation that Ingersoll is 100 years behind the times, which Traubel refutes in an article written that day; [Thomas] Harned whom he expects the following day; [Joseph] Fels, who is currently ill.

Eng 1172/5/17  Card  19 Dec 1918

Printed card with verse, signed by Traubel and sent out on the occasion of his birthday.
This subgroup contains a collection of papers reflecting many of Sixsmith's varied interests and activities. There are drafts, news cuttings, and correspondence relating to two regional radio broadcasts he made in the 1930s, on the subject of fabric design in an industrial context and the cotton trade with West Africa. There is also some material relating to a talk by Sixsmith on the English countryside and the dangers posed by developments such as urbanization, increased road building and car use. Also included are papers relating to Sixsmith's involvement in discussions and conferences on industrial relations after the First World War. His Walt Whitman interest is reflected in a small quantity of papers relating to meetings of the Bolton Whitman group, and in the general correspondence, which also embraces other interests, such as the socialist movement and the work of Edward Carpenter. Also of interest is a series of letters (Eng 1330/6) between Sixsmith and Bolton City Librarian, Harold Hamer, dating from the early 1950s. These relate to his book and manuscript collections, which he ultimately decided to leave to the John Rylands Library following a dispute with Bolton Library over the provenance of some Whitman material, and what he perceived as dishonest behaviour on the part of Minnie Whiteside (J.W. Wallace's devoted housekeeper and companion, whom he always referred to as his adopted daughter, and who came into possession of Wallace's Whitman collection after his death).

Archivist’s note: some of the material was already arranged into bundles of related papers – letters from one individual, or papers relating to a specific subject or event – and these groupings have been retained. The remainder of the material which had no obvious order has been arranged into classes according to physical form.

The arrangement is as follows:

Eng 1330/1 Papers relating to Sixsmith's radio broadcast on furnishing fabrics
Eng 1330/2 Papers relating to Sixsmith's radio broadcast on the West African cotton trade
Eng 1330/3 Papers relating to Sixsmith's talk on the English countryside
Eng 1330/4 Papers relating to industrial relations
Eng 1330/5 Papers relating to the Bolton Whitman group
Eng 1330/6 Papers relating to the Whitman collection at Bolton Central Library
Eng 1330/7 General correspondence
Eng 1330/8 Miscellaneous manuscript notes
Eng 1330/9 Typescript drafts
Eng 1330/10 Portraits

10 classes; 67 items.
Papers relating to Sixsmith's radio broadcast on furnishing fabrics

This class contains material relating to a talk by Sixsmith which was broadcast by the Northern Region of BBC radio on 6 March 1933. The talk formed part of the 'Thing of Beauty' series, which took art and industry as its subject, concentrating on the importance of beauty in everyday manufactured consumer goods. Sixsmith was involved in forming the Design and Industries Association, which was established to promote the improvement of design in machine made goods, aiming to bring the spirit of Ruskin and Morris into the modern factory. In his talk, he focused on furnishing fabrics, the history and processes of producing different types of cloth, and the principles of beauty in relation to furnishing rooms. The class contains various drafts of the talk, showing its evolution from rough notes to a fair version, as well as news cuttings relating to the broadcast, and correspondence relating to Sixsmith's research for the talk as well as responses to the broadcast.

3 sub-classes; 14 items.

Notes and drafts

This sub-class contains a series of notes and drafts which illustrate the development of Sixsmith's talk, from his initial ideas, through various manuscript and typescript drafts, to a fair version. Includes: 7 pages of rough manuscript notes (1/1/1); 14-page manuscript draft of the entire talk (1/1/2); an early 11-page annotated typescript draft (1/1/3); a 9-page annotated carbon copy of a typescript draft, with one additional manuscript sheet attached to p. 8 (1/1/4); 9-page annotated carbon copy of a typescript draft (1/1/5); 8-page annotated carbon copy of a typescript draft (1/1/6); 8-page annotated typescript draft (1/1/7).

7 items.

News cuttings

This small sub-class contains 3 news cuttings relating to Sixsmith's talk: a report on the first talk in the 'Thing of Beauty' series by T.D. Barlow, and 2 notices of Sixsmith's talk.

3 items.

Correspondence

General correspondence relating to the broadcast, comprised of letters to Sixsmith from various individuals and some copies of Sixsmith's replies. Includes: letters from a BBC representative relating to arrangements for the broadcast; correspondence relating to Sixsmith's research for the talk; and correspondence with individuals prompted to write to Sixsmith after hearing the broadcast.

Archivist’s note: all letters consist of one sheet only unless stated otherwise.

4 items; 24 pieces.
Letters from Olive B. Schill of the British Broadcasting Corporation in Manchester: she invites Sixsmith to contribute a talk to a new series on art and industry, with the aim of making people aware of their responsibility for beauty as consumers of everyday articles; she confirms arrangements and encloses a contract (1/3/1/3); she comments on the manuscript of his talk and suggests alterations; mentions the interest aroused by the series as a whole, and the positive comments she has received about Sixsmith's talk.

5 pieces; Eng 1330/1/3/1/3 & 4 each contain 2 sheets

Letters from two individuals to whom Sixsmith sent his talk for comments and additional information before completing the final version. H. Foxton encloses some extracts from articles and lectures he has given on 'Foxton Fabrics' (on which Sixsmith drew for ideas when writing his talk); and Frank Pick praises the talk, commenting that he has taken some ideas from it and put them forward to the organizers of an exhibition on British industrial art.

3 pieces; 1130/1/3/2/1 contains 6 sheets.

Correspondence with Margaret Pilkington, the Honorary Secretary of the Red Rose Guild of Artworkers in Manchester. Comprised of letters from Pilkington and one copy of a letter to Pilkington from Sixsmith. Contents refer to: a talk Pilkington is to give on handicrafts as a part of the 'Thing of Beauty' series, on which she asks Sixsmith's advice; Sixsmith's comments on her ideas, in which he stresses the value of handicrafts as an inspiration for machine industries, and the influence of African and Indian hand weavers on fabric design; her completed talk; other individuals who are taking part in the series; responses to her broadcast.

5 pieces; 1330/1/3/3/1 & 2 contain 2 sheets.

Correspondence resulting from Sixsmith's broadcast. Includes responses to the talk and comments on aspects of its content offered by various individuals, as well as some of Sixsmith's copy replies. Correspondents come from Manchester, Lytham St Annes [Lancs], Wilmslow [Ches] Hoghton [Lancs], Belfast, Chester, and Bolton [Lancs].

1330/1/3/4/1, 4, 7 & 9 include envelopes.

11 pieces; 1330/1/3/4/1 contains 2 sheets, and 1/3/4/9 & 11 contain 3 sheets.
Papers relating to Sixsmith's radio broadcast on the West African cotton trade

This class contains material relating to a talk by Sixsmith, entitled 'West African trade: then and now', which was broadcast on BBC radio on 16 February 1934. In it Sixsmith discussed the cotton trade with West African countries, whereby British manufactured cotton goods were exported to Africa and bartered for various goods to be sold in Britain. Sixsmith spoke in favour of this trade, and criticized the Japanese trade with West Africa: whereas Africans bought Japanese textiles, the Japanese did not import African goods. He referred to the Anglo-Japanese textile discussions set up to consider the matter.

4 items; 13 pieces.

Eng 1330/2/1 Bundle n.d.

Manuscript drafts of the talk, including: an initial 10-page draft with amendments, revealing how Sixsmith had to omit and condense much of his original version (2/1/1); a 9-page draft incorporating the omissions, and with some additional corrections (2/1/2); an 8-page fair draft, with some further amendments (2/1/3).

3 pieces.

Eng 1330/2/2 Bundle n.d.

2 annotated typescript drafts of the talk: a 7-page draft (2/2/1) and a more final 5-page version, incorporating the amendments made to the earlier draft (2/2/2).

2 pieces.

Eng 1330/2/3 Bundle 16-17 Feb 1934

2 news cuttings relating to the talk – a notice and a report on the broadcast.

2 pieces.

Eng 1330/2/4 Correspondence 6 Feb-3 Mar 1934

Letters from 5 individuals relating to the talk: J. Welsh of Rock Ferry, Ches, offers his opinions as a merchant on the West African textile trade (commenting that "we are evidently losing the large share in the world trade that we have hitherto enjoyed"), and praising Sixsmith's talk (2/3/1-2); and various other individuals, some with connections to the cotton trade, praise his talk and comment on certain aspects of its content.

1330/2/4/1-5 include envelopes.

6 pieces; 1330/2/4/1 contains 3 sheets and 2/4/3 contains 4 sheets.
Eng 1330/3  

**Papers relating to Sixsmith's talk on the English countryside**  
c.Mar 1934

This small class consists of notes, manuscript drafts and one typescript draft of different versions of a talk by Sixsmith on the changing nature of the English countryside, in which he discussed the increased use of motor vehicles, road building, pollution, urbanization, and ribbon development. He stressed the need to be aware of the dangers to the countryside, and to plan, care for and manage it. Adapted versions of the talk were given on various occasions. Includes: 19 pages of notes for the talk (3/1); a 15-page manuscript draft of the talk (3/2); a 5-page manuscript report on a meeting of the Bolton Field Naturalists, at which Sixsmith gave a version of the talk, entitled 'Shall England's beauty perish; a plea for the countryside', which is summarised here (3/3); a 10-page manuscript draft of the same countryside speech, here headed 'for Chorley Rotary Club' on 12 Mar 1934 (3/4); and a 6-page annotated typescript draft of another version of the speech, in which Sixsmith stresses the responsibilities held by himself and others as Rural District Councillors (3/5).

5 items.

Eng 1330/4  

**Papers relating to industrial relations**  
Nov 1917- Apr 1918

This class contains material relating to Sixsmith's interest and involvement in industrial relations. He was present at conferences held at the Cliveden home of the MP, Waldorf Astor, to discuss relations between employers and workers, and the establishment of local employer/worker groups. The sociologist, Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree (who was very active in the study and practice of industrial management) was also involved in these meetings. Includes: copy of notes on a meeting held at Major [Waldorf] Astor's [at Cliveden] on 27 Nov 1917 (4/1); notes on discussions held at Cliveden house on 15-16 Dec [probably 1917] (4/2); a circular enclosing a draft statement offered as a contribution towards a policy of industrial reconstruction from the viewpoint of the employer, promoting the formation of cartels on the German model (4/3); a pamphlet containing a report on the reconstruction of industry prepared after a series of conferences of employers and trade unionists from Cornwall and Plymouth held in Mar-Apr 1918 (4/4).

4 items. 1330/4/1 consists of 8 pages; 4/2, 21 pages; and 4/3, 6 pages.

Eng 1330/5  

**Papers relating to the Bolton Whitman group**  
1920-1934


4 items. 1330/5/1/1 contains 14 sheets; 5/2, 14 sheets; 5/3, 10 sheets; and 5/4, 16 sheets.
Correspondence relating to the Whitman collection at Bolton Central Library

This class consists principally of a series of letters and copy letters between Sixsmith and Harold Hamer, the Bolton City Librarian. It relates to Sixsmith's objection to the way in which certain Whitman-related items were acquired by Bolton Library: various items were given to the Library by Minnie Whiteside (J.W. Wallace's companion and housekeeper), who failed to acknowledge that the items had in fact been entrusted to her keeping by Harriet Sprague, a Whitman enthusiast and collector of New York. Sixsmith claimed that Minnie Whiteside dishonestly retained these items for a long period, when she had been asked to hand them over to the Library, and he objected to the Library's failure to acknowledge Mrs Sprague as the originator of the gifts. The result of the dispute was Sixsmith's decision to bequeath his Whitman and Carpenter collections to the John Rylands Library in Manchester instead of Bolton Library as he had planned. In addition to the Hamer correspondence, there are 2 news cuttings and 2 letters from a B.F. Davies, who also had an interest in the affair.

Archivist's note: these letters and news cuttings were stored inside one envelope – either bundled together by Sixsmith or by Library staff. This arrangement has been retained, its order reflecting both sides of the correspondence.

16 items.

Eng 1330/6/1 News cuttings

2 annotated copies of the same news cutting from the Bolton Evening News, reporting the acquisition by Bolton Central Library of a collection of Whitman-related correspondence, along with Whitman's cup and saucer and his stuffed canary. The material is reported as the gift of Mrs [Minnie] Whiteside, housekeeper and close friend of J.W. Wallace.

2 pieces.

Eng 1330/6/2 Copy letter

To Mr [Harold] Hamer from Sixsmith, in which he informs Hamer he is now considering leaving his Whitman and Carpenter book collections to a Manchester library rather than Bolton City Library as he had planned, following the publication of the report in 1330/6/1. He points out errors in the news report: the cup and saucer, canary and other items were in fact the gift of Mrs [Harriet] Sprague of New York; she had sent the material to Minnie Whiteside who agreed to give it, via Sixsmith, to the Bolton Library. He believes that readers of the newspaper should be informed of the error, and disputes a claim made in the article regarding the importance of the Bolton collection.

1 sheet.
Notes made by Sixsmith recording the aftermath of his letter (1330/6/2): he describes a meeting with Hamer, who agreed to have the material in question recorded as the gift of Mrs Sprague. He learnt from Hamer that Minnie Whiteside withheld the card originally kept with the stuffed canary, which displayed an autographed version of Whitman's poem, 'My Canary Bird', thereby rendering the object meaningless; he also learnt that the Whitman portrait at Bolton Library is in fact a photograph of that sent to Wallace, not the original.

1 sheet.

Letter

To Sixsmith from Harold Hamer, who expresses his concern over Sixsmith's letter (1330/6/2), and relates that Minnie Whiteside has delayed giving the Whitman items to the Library, offering various excuses, the main reason being her belief that Harriet Sprague no longer had any claim on the material after Mrs Whiteside had taken care of it for around 24 years. On 20 October Hamer visited her and she invited him to take any Whitman items in her possession which interested him as a gift from her to the Library. He clarifies the statements he made regarding the importance of the Bolton Whitman collection.

Bolton [Lancs].

Includes envelope.

2 sheets.

Copy letter

To Harold Hamer from Sixsmith: he thanks Hamer for his explanation, and criticizes Minnie Whiteside's actions, claiming that "[s]he retained them [the Whitman items] I consider for her own vainglory". Sixsmith hopes that the Library will record the gift as Mrs [Harriet] Sprague's and send thanks to her. He refers to the obvious misreporting of Hamer's comments on the importance of the Bolton collection. He also mentions his own collection of Whitman and [Edward] Carpenter material, which he hopes Hamer will come to see.

1 sheet.

Letter

To Sixsmith from Harold Hamer, thanking him for his letter, commenting on the misreporting in the press of subjects discussed in committee meetings, and promising to discuss the Whiteside affair when he sees Sixsmith.

Bolton [Lancs].

Includes envelope.

1 sheet.
Eng 1330/6/7  Copy letter  7 Nov 1950

From Sixsmith to Hamer, thanking him for his letter, but regretting the absence of any assurance from Hamer that Mrs Sprague's gift will be accurately recorded and that the Library will send her their thanks. He intends to write to Mrs [Anne] Traubel [widow of Horace Traubel, who was a close friend of Whitman and one of his literary executors] to tell her the true story.

1 sheet.

Eng 1330/6/8  Letter  15 Nov 1950

To Sixsmith from B.F. Davies, who refers to a conversation he has had with Mr [Harold] Hamer regarding J.W. Wallace's Whitman collection: he reports what the Librarian said regarding Minnie Whiteside, who is apparently very difficult to deal with, and who is convinced her long-term possession of the Whitman material gives her right of ownership and therefore authority to give up the items on her own terms; Hamer assured Davies that Mrs Sprague will receive full recognition for the gift. Davies would like to write an article on the collection, but Hamer thinks this may make Minnie Whiteside harder to deal with and prevent her from giving other material she possesses to the Library.

Bolton [Lancs].

1 sheet.

Eng 1330/6/9  Letter  15 Nov 1950

To Sixsmith from Harold Hamer, writing to arrange a date when they can meet and discuss the matter quietly.

Bolton [Lancs].

Includes envelope.

1 sheet.

Eng 1330/6/10  Copy letter  19 Nov 1950

From Sixsmith to Hamer, confirming a meeting for the following week, and regretting again that Hamer has offered no assurance that Mrs Sprague will receive thanks for her gift: "[i]t is hard for me to believe that Bolton Library could be an accessory in what I regard as a dishonest transaction".

1 sheet.

Eng 1330/6/11  Letter  22 Nov 1950

To Sixsmith from B.F. Davies, who refers to: his willingness to help Sixsmith catalogue his collection; the Whiteside affair, which he has mentioned to Councillor Lucas, a member of the Libraries Committee; a book on or by Edward Carpenter which has altered his preconceptions about him.

Bolton [Lancs].

1 sheet.
Eng 1330/6/12

Letter

To Sixsmith from Harold Hamer, who refers to: Sixsmith's hospitality when Hamer visited him; a recent bout of pneumonia he has suffered; B.F. D[aves]'s article on Sixsmith's Whitman and Carpenter collection.

Bolton [Lancs].

Includes envelope.

1 sheet.

Eng 1330/6/13

Letter

To Sixsmith from Harold Hamer, who has heard that Sixsmith is unhappy about Whitman's stuffed canary in a case which is still recorded by the Library as a gift of Mrs Whiteside. He expresses regret that any action of his has interfered with the good relations between Sixsmith and Bolton Library. He assures Sixsmith that he has sent thanks to Mrs Sprague, and acknowledges Sixsmith's work in promoting international bonds between Whitman enthusiasts.

Includes 2 enclosures: a copy letter from Harriet Sprague dated 21 Jun 1951, in which she acknowledges the Library's annual report (attributing the Whitman gifts to her), and mentions her work to raise funds for the purchase of the Whitman Birthplace; and a copy letter from Hamer to Harriet Sprague dated 17 Jul 1951, expressing his gratitude for her gifts to the Library and regretting that they were so long in obtaining possession of the items.

Bolton [Lancs].

3 pieces.

Eng 1330/6/14

Draft letter

From Sixsmith to Harold Hamer. He queries the whereabouts of a large autographed photograph of Whitman taken in 1890, of which the Bolton Library have only a copy, and of the card displaying Whitman's 'My Canary Bird'. He reiterates his criticism of Minnie Whiteside's dishonest behaviour, reminding Hamer that it was only under pressure from Sixsmith that Mrs Sprague received an acknowledgement of her gift. He informs Hamer that he has decided to leave his own collection to the John Rylands Library. He bears no ill will towards Hamer, although he cannot forget the incident.

1 sheet.

Eng 1330/6/15

Letter

To Sixsmith from Hamer, who reports that Minnie Whiteside has been unable to find the signed canary poem, and that on examining the 1890 Whitman portrait they have discovered the signature is a photographic reproduction which has subsequently been written over by hand. He regrets that Sixsmith's collection is to go to the Rylands Library rather than to Bolton, which is the spiritual home of Whitman in England.

Bolton [Lancs].

2 sheets.
Typed copies of the correspondence between Sixsmith and Hamer, consisting of the letters listed in 1330/6/2-7, 9 & 10.

7 sheets.

This class consists of letters sent to Sixsmith, and 2 letters between other correspondents. The letters come from friends and acquaintances, including 3 from Edward Carpenter, and 1 from Anne Traubel [the widow of Horace Traubel, Whitman's close friend and admirer]. Topics covered largely relate to Sixsmith's activities and interests, such as socialism, the work of Carpenter and Whitman, and literature generally.

Archivist’s note: the general correspondence was originally dispersed throughout the collection, in no apparent order and with no obvious connection to the surrounding material. It has now been placed together in one class, the letters being ordered chronologically and by correspondent.

10 items; 21 pieces.

To Sixsmith from 'E' [apparently a good friend or relation]. Contents refer to: Lilly [possibly the writer's wife] and her pleasure at Sixsmith's comments on 'The Birds and the Trees' written by E [see 1330/9]; the War and possibilities for peace; his plans to stay in Lyme Regis over the summer and his desire to learn about bee-keeping; Russia, the peace achieved there and an article on the country he is sending Sixsmith; the concern felt by Lilly and himself for Lucy [Sixsmith]; letters received from mutual friends. Lyme Regis [Dorset].

Both letters include envelopes.

2 pieces. 1330/7/1/1 contains 3 sheets and 7/1/2, 2 sheets.

Of material sent to Sixsmith by his friend, the socialist and writer, Edward Carpenter. Includes: a printed Christmas card; a review of John Burroughs' *Whitman: a study* by Henry S. Salt from *The Vegetarian Review*; and a postcard advertising Edith Mary Moore's novel, *The Spirit and the Law*, on which he invites Sixsmith to stay.

1330/7/2/1 and 2 include envelopes.

3 pieces. 1330/7/2/2 contains 3 sheets.

Depicting a photograph of Millthorpe [Derbys, where Edward Carpenter lived] to Sixsmith from Sanshiro Ishikawa [who translated Carpenter's 'Never again!' into Japanese]. He sends his best wishes and comments that he has been staying at Millthorpe on the way to Japan. Includes an additional note from G[eorge] M[errill, Carpenter's partner], mentioning Carpenter's [76th] birthday [on 29 Aug].

2 Sep 1920
Eng 1330/7/4  Letter  16 Sep 1924

To Sixsmith from Bristol Socialist, Robert Sharland, who refers to their friend Edward Carpenter's 80th birthday and the greetings he received. He mentions that he is enclosing more press cuttings for Sixsmith [not included here]. He is glad Carpenter is getting stronger again and working on his new book on the poet, Shelley, with the help of his friend, G. Barnefield [The Psychology of the poet Shelley by Carpenter and George Barnefield was published in 1925]. Sharland hopes Sixsmith managed to visit Carpenter at Guildford [his final home].

Bristol [Glos].

1 sheet.

Eng 1330/7/5  Letter  19 Apr 1939

To Sixsmith from Frank Bain, a Whitman enthusiast from Toronto in Canada, who corresponded with many of the Bolton Whitman followers. Refers to: photographs sent by Sixsmith, and some he is sending in return; the Whitman paper also sent by Sixsmith; his lack of contact with Anne Traubel; the newspaper headlines of the previous day which mentioned Chorley [Lancs] in relation to a "spy scare".

Toronto [Ontario, Canada].

Includes envelope.

1 sheet.

Eng 1330/7/6  Letter  20 Apr 1939

Letter to John [Ormrod, a member of the Bolton Whitman group and a friend of Sixsmith] from Anne Traubel [widow of Horace, Whitman's close friend and admirer]. Refers to: an inaccurate article about the weaving of Paisley shawls; her family background and her grandfather's emigration from Scotland to America. She asks about a fabric called 'oiled chintz' which her grandfather took to America, and suggests that John pass her query on to Charlie Sixsmith if he cannot answer it himself.

With enclosure: a cutting from The Christian Science Monitor about woven shawls.

Includes envelope.

2 pieces.

Eng 1330/7/7  Application form  20 Feb 1940

Printed application form for membership of the Walt Whitman Society of America, sent to Sixsmith by the Society.

Envelope is a first day cover with a stamp depicting Whitman, and a small portrait of the poet.
Eng 1330/7/8  
**Letter**  
8 Feb 1944

To [Leeds Socialist,] Alfred Mattison from Stanley Unwin of the publishing house, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. In response to his query he suggests contacting L.H. Green, one of Edward Carpenter's literary executors, regarding the Edward Carpenter Centenary; he informs Mattison that [Carpenter's] *Pagan and Christian Creeds* is out of print, and comments that there has been a drop in interest in Carpenter's work, some of which is becoming dated.

London.

Typescript with autograph.  
1 sheet.

Eng 1330/7/9  
**Bundle**  
3 Dec 1944-  
16 Jun 1945

Letters from the doctor, researcher and writer, J[ohn] H[enry] Douglas Webster. Contents refer to: information Webster is gathering on Edward Carpenter for a meeting; Sixsmith's paper, 'Edward Carpenter. In Appreciation'; the days when Carpenter lived in Millthorpe [Derbys]; Whitman; the history of Webster's interest in and admiration for Carpenter and his work, and his visits to Carpenter; Webster's own poetry; Sixsmith's book collection; an illness of Sixsmith; the Poetry Society, where Webster is giving a paper; Webster's daughter; a meeting where Sixsmith and Webster discussed Whitman and Carpenter.

Also 2 programmes for events being held by the Poetry Society at 33 Portman Square, London; these include 2 talks by Webster, on 'Whitman and Carpenter as men and poets' and 'Victor Hugo and Heredia'.

Includes 1 envelope.  
8 pieces.

Eng 1130/7/10  
**Card**  
n.d.

Coloured card printed on parchment, displaying a quote from Whitman. No named addressee; signed with good wishes from C.A. Weetman and H.M. Shannon.

Eng 1330/8  
**Miscellaneous manuscript notes**  
1888-1920s

This class contains various manuscript notes, some in Sixsmith's hand and others by unidentified writers. It includes transcripts of poems, notes relating to Whitman, references to Carpenter, quotes and extracts, and a receipt. Included in 1330/8/3 is a notebook containing a draft talk, possibly by J.W. Wallace.

4 items. 21 pieces.

Eng 1330/8/1  
**Bundle**  
1888-1917 &  
n.d.

Transcripts of poems and extracts of poetry by various authors, including some English translations of German poems; in a number of different hands.

6 pieces.
Eng 1330/8/2  Bundle  

Rough notes made by Sixsmith which relate in some way to Walt Whitman, including quotes from books which mention Whitman and references to articles and books on Whitman.

6 pieces.

Eng 1330/8/3  Bundle  

Miscellaneous manuscript notes, mainly in the hand of Sixsmith, which relate to his interests and include: a notebook containing a draft of a talk dated 24 Feb 1900 on 'The democratic ideal in literature', making reference to the work of Whitman and Carpenter [possibly in the hand of J.W. Wallace, and intended as an address to the Bolton Whitman group]; rough notes, quotes and extracts; a memorandum book containing references to poems and articles by or about Carpenter.

8 pieces.

Eng 1330/8/4  Receipt  

From the National Labour Press Ltd, for circulars, cards and envelopes purchased by Sixsmith.

Eng 1330/9  Typescript drafts  

This class contains typescript drafts of 3 different short stories, all of them anonymous, although at least one of them (1330/9/4) seems to be written by 'E' of Lyme Regis, who refers to the story in a letter to Sixsmith (1330/7/1). The final typescript is an extract from a work by Swinburne with a Whitman connection.

5 items.

Eng 1330/9/1  Typescript draft  

Duplicated typescript draft of a short story, 'An Old Tiresome Story'.

3 sheets.

Eng 1330/9/2  Typescript draft  

Original typescript draft of a short story (possibly incomplete) entitled 'Youth'.

4 sheets.

Eng 1330/9/3  Typescript fragment  

Duplicated typescript sheet which forms the final page of a short story containing the same characters as that in Eng 1330/9/2; possibly a different draft.

1 sheet.
**Eng 1330/9**  
*Typescript drafts*  
n.d.  
Original typescript draft and carbon copy of a short story, 'The Birds and the Trees'.  
2 pieces; 12 sheets.

**Eng 1330/9/5**  
*Typescript extract*  
n.d.  
Carbon copy of a typed extract from [Algernon Charles] Swinburne's *William Blake* (1868), in which he compares Blake and Whitman.  
3 sheets.

**Eng 1330/10**  
*Portraits*  
1894 & 1925  
This class contains 2 portraits – a photograph and a pencil drawing – which were not obviously kept with or specifically related to any other material in the collection.  
2 items.

**Eng 1330/10/1**  
*Photographic print*  
1894  
Inscribed by Johnston on reverse, with 2 dates – 25 May 1837 [presumably his date of birth], and 1894. Photograph by Rockwood of 17 Union Square (West), New York.  
Carte de visite; 10.8 x 16.5 cms.

**Eng 1330/10/2**  
*Portrait*  
16 Aug 1925  
Pencil portrait of an unidentified man [possibly Sixsmith]; drawn by P. Swift.  
24.5 x 27 cms.
C.F. Sixsmith Collection of Printed and Photographic Material

This subgroup is comprised of a collection of printed and photographic material which was amassed by Sixsmith over a long period. In addition to a series of photographic prints, it includes periodicals, cuttings from periodicals and newspapers (principally British and American), offprints, pamphlets, flyers, and posters. The largest subdivision of material relates to Carpenter; Sixsmith appears to have collected anything he came across in relation to his friend. There is also a substantial amount of printed matter relating to Whitman. Notable material includes: a range of Carpenter's own writings (articles, poems, and short stories) often as they appeared in their first published form in magazines and periodicals; reviews of some of Carpenter's major works; general and critical articles on Carpenter's life and work; similar articles on Whitman; and reviews of all the major studies and biographies of Whitman written up to the 1950s. Other Whitman and Carpenter-related material covers such topics as book and manuscript sales, commemorative events, exhibitions, and organisations set up to promote and celebrate their work (including, in Whitman's case, some papers relating to the Bolton Whitman Fellowship), and brief references to both writers in apparently unrelated contexts.

In addition to his Whitman and Carpenter collections, Sixsmith obviously kept cuttings on any other topics in which he had an interest. Items in this collection embrace areas such as socialism, local issues, Carpenter's work as a councillor, conservation and the countryside, religion and alternative beliefs, and articles on his friends, acquaintances and other figures he admired.

The photographs in the collection consist predominantly of prints of Whitman and Carpenter, along with four prints of Bolton College members, and a number depicting friends of Whitman from America, such as Horace Traubel. The Carpenter photographs span more than 50 years and a number of them are inscribed by Carpenter himself.

The collection as a whole has obvious value for both Whitman and Carpenter studies; in particular it documents early responses, critical reception and general popularity of both authors, and it is significant in bringing together many short works by Carpenter in their first or only published form. The collection contains numerous periodicals which were retained by Sixsmith on the strength of one article relating to Whitman or Carpenter, but many of these also have a wider interest. Some of the main areas covered include: socialism and the Labour movement; the Labour Church movement in Yorkshire and Lancashire; anarchism and communism; British politics; humanitarianism; attitudes towards sexuality and homosexuality; alternative religion; vegetarianism and animal rights.

Archivist’s note: this material was originally stored together in one large trunk. It was recorded in the Library’s accessions register as accompanying Sixsmith's collection of printed books but appears to have been treated as a discrete collection from the outset, and has now been allocated a number in the English MS sequence. A few of the items are marked with original accession numbers and where this is the case these references have been noted.

The material was stored in no obvious order, and Sixsmith's own original ordering of the material is unclear. The material has therefore been arranged according to archival principles, with the aim of reflecting Sixsmith's reason for retaining each item. There are some obvious divisions in the material: the photographs had largely been separated from the printed material and these form a discrete group; the printed material is divided between items relating to Whitman, Carpenter, and general topics. The printed items
have not been classified according to physical form (cuttings separated from complete journals and so on) as the emphasis is on Sixsmith's motivation for keeping the material. There are some bundles of material which had clearly been brought together by Sixsmith himself (e.g. reviews of particular works by Carpenter), and where this is the case, these original groupings have been preserved.

There is a small amount of material which does not strictly fit into the printed category, but which has been left in place: this is predominantly typescript material, although there are some manuscript items; the latter, however, tend to be accompanying printed or photographic material.

The collection has been divided into sub-subgroups as follows:

/1 Printed material relating to Walt Whitman
/2 Printed material relating to Edward Carpenter
/3 General printed material
/4 Photographs and artistic representations

Within each class, the material is arranged chronologically, with undated items placed at the end.

31 classes; 683 items.

Eng 1331/1 Printed material relating to Walt Whitman 1857-1952

This sub-subgroup consists of printed material collected by Sixsmith which relates in some way to Whitman's life, the critical reception of his work, and his general popularity. It includes: articles on Whitman and his work, from pieces written during his lifetime through to the 1950s; reviews of all the major biographies and studies of Whitman published after his death to the 1950s; material relating to book and manuscript sales, commemorative events and exhibitions; papers relating to Whitman's followers in Bolton; and material which contains incidental – and often very brief – references to Whitman and his work in other contexts. The material comprises cuttings from periodicals and newspapers, entire periodicals, offprints, pamphlets, and posters.

Archivist’s note: the material is arranged in classes according to subject matter, with the aim of reflecting Sixsmith's reason for retaining the items.

The classes are as follows:

/1 Articles on Whitman's life and work
/2 Notices and reviews
/3 Extracts from Whitman's work
/4 Papers relating to book and manuscript collections and sales
/5 Papers relating to commemorative events and exhibitions
/6 Miscellaneous material relating to Whitman
7 Papers relating to the Bolton Walt Whitman Fellowship

7 classes; 169 items.

Eng 1331/1/1 Articles on Whitman's life and work 1857-1952

This class consists of articles on Whitman's life and work, from early pieces by his friends and acquaintances, such as John Burroughs and Horace Traubel, to mid-twentieth century discussions of his influence and contemporary relevance. There are articles by various well-known writers, notably Algernon Charles Swinburne's famous outspoken criticism of Whitman's work, 'Whitmania' (1331/1/1/1). There is also an article by J.W. Wallace (1331/1/1/26), reflecting Sixsmith's involvement in the Bolton Whitman Fellowship. The articles include: reminiscences about Whitman's life; discussions of his poetry and ideas, such as his views on democracy and the American Civil War; pieces on Whitman's importance to early socialists; articles marking the centenary of his birth in 1919; foreign translations of his work; and studies of his influence on musicians, such as Ralph Vaughan Williams.

The material consists of entire periodicals – literary, political and general – in which the relevant articles have often been marked by Sixsmith or friends, cuttings from newspapers and periodicals, pamphlets, and offprints. Some periodicals contain articles on Whitman which have not been marked, although the volumes were clearly retained for their Whitman content. The publications come predominantly from Britain and America.

Archivist’s note: in the case of entire periodicals, the relevant article/s have been noted.

All cuttings consist of one sheet only unless stated otherwise.

The Whitman article in 1331/1/1/31 is in French, and some of the journals contain other non Whitman-related pieces in French.

48 items.

Eng 1331/1/1/1 Extract Apr 1857

From an unidentified periodical: an article on 'Literary Style', including a short section on Whitman's work, which it is argued exemplifies "the spasmodic style in all its glory and perfection".

8 sheets.

Eng 1331/1/1/2 Periodical Aug 1887

The Fortnightly Review, CCXLVIII, new series, containing 'Whitmania' by Algernon Charles Swinburne, 170-76.

Eng 1331/1/1/3 Periodical May 1891

New England Magazine, new series, V, 3, containing 'Walt Whitman at Date' by Horace Traubel, 275-91.

A number of pages are missing from the periodical, including pp. 281-90 of the Traubel article. The cover is also ripped.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Eng 1331/1/1/4</strong></th>
<th><strong>Periodical</strong></th>
<th>Aug-Sep 1892</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All the pages except those relating to Whitman are uncut.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Eng 1331/1/1/5</strong></th>
<th><strong>Periodical</strong></th>
<th>Jun 1893</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Both covers are detached and in a fragile condition.</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Eng 1331/1/1/6</strong></th>
<th><strong>Periodical</strong></th>
<th>Oct 1893</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poet-Lore, V, 10, containing 'Walt Whitman's Artistic Atheism' by Horace L. Traubel, 498-505.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Includes some uncut pages.</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Eng 1331/1/1/7</strong></th>
<th><strong>Periodical</strong></th>
<th>Feb 1894</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poet-Lore, VI, 2, containing 'Walt Whitman and his Art' by John Burroughs, 63-69, and 'In Re Walt Whitman and other books on Whitman' by &quot;P&quot;, 95-101.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Includes some uncut pages.</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Eng 1331/1/1/8</strong></th>
<th><strong>Periodical</strong></th>
<th>Oct 1894</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poet-Lore, VI, 10, containing 'Whitman and Murger' by Horace L. Traubel: Whitman's 'The Midnight Visitor', a translation of Murger's 'La Ballade du D, with a commentary by Traubel.</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Eng 1331/1/1/9</strong></th>
<th><strong>Periodical</strong></th>
<th>Feb 1895</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Labour Prophet with Cinderella Supplement, IV, 38, containing an article by the editor, 'Walt Whitman', 17-18.</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Eng 1331/1/1/10</strong></th>
<th><strong>Extract</strong></th>
<th>Jun 1899</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 pieces.</td>
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<td>Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>16 Sep-28 Oct 1899</td>
<td>Extracts from <em>The Co-operative News and Journal of Associated Industry</em>, XXX, 37-43: a series of articles on Whitman's poetry by Geraldine Hodgson. 7 pieces; 1331/1/1/11/1, 4 &amp; 7 have 2 sheets.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7 Sep 1901</td>
<td><em>Literature</em>, 203: 'Special illustrated Walt Whitman number', containing a literary portrait of Whitman by E.H. Lacon Watson, 219-26, and a separate supplement depicting a reproduction of a woodcut of Whitman by R. Bryden.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 Oct 1904</td>
<td>From unidentified publication: 'Conventions and the Hero' by G.K. Chesterton.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Oct 1905</td>
<td>From the <em>Manchester Guardian</em>: 'Thoreau and Walt Whitman' by H[enry] S[alt].</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jun 1907</td>
<td><em>The Atlantic Monthly</em>, 99, 6, containing 'Personal Recollections of Walt Whitman' by Ellen M. Calder, 825-34.</td>
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<td>Code</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/1/1/21</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From the <em>New York Herald</em>: unattributed illustrated article, 'Summer Visits to Walt Whitman Shrines on Long Island'.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>30 Aug 1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/1/1/22</td>
<td>Cuttings</td>
<td>From <em>Everyman</em>: 2-part article by Ernest Rhys, 'Masterpiece of the Week: Walt Whitman's <em>Leaves of Grass</em>'.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>28 Feb-7 Mar 1913</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/1/1/23</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From <em>Bibby's Annual</em>: 'Walt Whitman and the American Civil War, 1861-1864' by Elinor Dunlop.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1916</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/1/1/24</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From <em>The Manchester Guardian</em>: 'Whitman in 1918' by H.B.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7 Sep 1918</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/1/1/25</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From <em>The Nation</em>: 'The world of books' section includes a discussion of Whitman's <em>Drum Taps</em> and its relevance to World War I, by H.M.T.</td>
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<td>12 Oct 1918</td>
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<td>22 Mar 1919</td>
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<td>29 May 1919</td>
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<td>31 May 1919</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>n.d. [31 May 1919]</td>
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205
**Eng 1331/1/1/30**  
*Cutting*  
From the *Daily Herald*: 'The People's Poet' by Henry W. Nevinson.  
*n.d. [31 May 1919]*

**Eng 1331/1/1/31**  
*Extract*  
*14 Jun 1919*

**Eng 1331/1/1/32**  
*Periodical*  
*Revue Anglo-Américaine*, 8th year, 1, containing: 'Walt Whitman, le Pote' by C. Cestre, 19-41.  
*In French. Oct 1930*

**Eng 1331/1/1/33**  
*Periodical*  
*Apr 1931*

**Eng 1331/1/1/34**  
*Cutting*  
From *The Saturday Review*: 'Letters to the editor', including a letter from Will S. Monroe, requesting any information on a statement made by a European man of letters on American ignorance about Whitman, and referring to a new Russian translation of *Leaves of Grass*.  
*6 Jun 1936*

**Eng 1331/1/1/35**  
*Offprint*  
From the *Boston Chapter (Special Libraries Association) News Bulletin*: 'Walt Whitman and Music', by Clifton Joseph Furness, transcribed from notes of a lecture by David Goodale.  
*1937*

**Eng 1331/1/1/36**  
*Periodical*  
*Oct 1939*

**Eng 1331/1/1/37**  
*Newsletter*  
*Salute to Freedom* (published by the Walt Whitman Society of America), containing various Whitman-related articles, quotes, poems, and details of the Society and its members.  
*Jan 1942*

**Eng 1331/1/1/38**  
*Periodical*  
*The Saturday Review of Literature*, XXVI, 42, containing 'Problem Child of American Literature' by Henry Seidel Canby, 6-8, and 'Posterity Looks Back at the Critics', 8 (quotes from contemporary reviews of Whitman's work).  
*16 Oct 1943*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eng 1331/1/1/39</th>
<th>Cutting</th>
<th>11 May 1944</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From The Listener: 'Whitman and the Musicians' by Stanley Bayliss.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eng 1331/1/1/40</th>
<th>Cutting</th>
<th>22 Aug 1946</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From The Listener: 'Walt Whitman in English Music' by Norman Suckling.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eng 1331/1/1/41</th>
<th>Cutting</th>
<th>21 Mar 1937</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eng 1331/1/1/42</th>
<th>Cutting</th>
<th>9 Oct 1947</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From The Listener: 'Walt Whitman in his Old Age' by Alys Russell (excerpt from a BBC Third Programme talk).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eng 1331/1/1/43</th>
<th>Periodical</th>
<th>Apr 1948</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Aryan Path, XIX, 4, containing 'Whitman and the Orient' by Emory Holloway, 155-60.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Includes loose leaflet.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eng 1331/1/1/44</th>
<th>Cutting</th>
<th>12 Apr 1951</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From The Christian Science Monitor: 'Whitman's Views on Schoolteaching': extract from Walt Whitman Looks at the Schools by Florence Bernstein Freedman (1950).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eng 1331/1/1/45</th>
<th>Cutting</th>
<th>7 Mar 1952</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From the Radio Times: 'Beethoven and Whitman' by Harold Rutland.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eng 1331/1/1/46</th>
<th>Cutting</th>
<th>n.d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From unidentified publication: 'Walt Whitman, Editor', quoting excerpts from an Atlantic Monthly article on Whitman in the role of editor.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eng 1331/1/1/47</th>
<th>Extract</th>
<th>n.d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From the Family Herald: 'Walt Whitman: an Appreciation' by &quot;an English working-woman&quot;, 182-3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sheets.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eng 1331/1/1/48</th>
<th>Cutting</th>
<th>n.d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From [The Times?): unattributed article, 'Walt Whitman', 285-6.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notices and reviews

This class consists of publishers' advertisements, notices, reviews and discussions of books, articles, and talks on Whitman, and editions of his literary work and letters which were published after his death. It covers most of the major studies and biographies of the poet published after his death to the early 1950s.

The material is comprised of complete periodicals, cuttings from periodicals and newspapers, and leaflets. Most of the publications are English or American, although there is one from France (1331/1/2/13) and one from Israel (1331/1/2/30).

Archivist's note: the material is arranged chronologically; reviews of the same work have been bundled together. The year of publication of the books reviewed is that which is marked in the date field of the catalogue unless stated otherwise in the item description.

33 items.

Related materials: see Eng 1331/2/1/35 for an additional review of a Whitman biography which occurs in a periodical kept by Sixsmith mainly for its Carpenter content.

**Eng 1331/1/2/1**

Cutting

28 Aug 1897


**Eng 1331/1/2/2**

Bundle

n.d. [1897]

Publishers leaflet advertising the forthcoming publication of *Calamus: a series of letters written during the years 1868-1880 by Walt Whitman to a young friend* (Peter Doyle) ed. R.M. Bucke (Boston: Laurens Maynard); and 2 cuttings, from the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Manchester Guardian*, discussing the volume.

3 pieces; 1331/1/2/2/2 is in a fragile condition and is torn in places.

**Eng 1331/1/2/3**

Bundle

1902-1903

Leaflets advertising and inviting subscriptions for Horace Traubel's forthcoming publication of a facsimile edition of Whitman's personal annotated copy of *Leaves of Grass* (3rd edition, 1860); also a reservation form and a list of subscribers.

3 pieces.

**Eng 1331/1/2/4**

Cutting

n.d. [1905]


**Eng 1331/1/2/5**

Bundle

[1908 x 1914]-1953

Leaflet and 2 cuttings relating to *With Walt Whitman in Camden* by Horace Traubel: 1/2/5/1-2 refer to volumes I-III (1906, 1908 & 1914) and 1/2/5/3 to volume 4 (1953).

3 pieces.
From the Manchester Guardian: an unattributed report of the ladies' dinner of the Colquhoun Club of the Royal Society of Literature, with a summary of a speech on Whitman made by Edmund Gosse.

From unidentified publication: a letter to the editor from Grace Gilchrist Frend [daughter of Anne Gilchrist, close friend of Whitman] referring to a book currently being advertised and purporting to be the 'Love letters of Walt Whitman and Anne Gilchrist' [probably The Letters of Anne Gilchrist and Walt Whitman ed. Thomas B. Harned (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co, 1918)].


3 reviews of Walt Whitman by John Bailey (London: Macmillan): an unattributed review from The Times Literary Supplement; a review by Edmund Gosse in The Sunday Times; and a review by Basil de Slincourt from an unidentified publication.

From unidentified publication: unattributed review of Whitman: an Interpretation in Narrative by Emory Holloway (London: Alfred A. Knopf).


Eng 1331/1/2/15 Cutting


Eng 1331/1/2/16 Cutting


Eng 1331/1/2/17 Cutting

From the *Manchester Guardian*: 'Modern American poets: the faith of Whitman': a report on a lecture on Whitman by Dr Edwin Mims of Vanderbilt University, Tennessee, held at University College, London.

Eng 1331/1/2/18 Cuttings


Eng 1331/1/2/19 Bundle


3 pieces.

Related materials: Eng 1331/1/2/18 contains a review of the same book as part of a longer article.

Eng 1331/1/2/20 Cuttings

A review by H[ugh] l'A[anson] Fausset in the *Manchester Guardian* of Walt Whitman's *Pose* by Esther Shephard (Harrap); and an unattributed review in *The Times Literary Supplement* of the same book, along with *A Lincoln and Whitman Miscellany* by Carl Sandburg (Chicago: Holiday Press), and *Walt Whitman: Complete Poetry and Selected Prose and Letters* ed. Emory Holloway (Nonesuch Library), p. 492; with additional
section, 'Whitman and Democracy' on 493.

2 pieces.

Eng 1331/1/2/19.

Eng 1331/1/2/21 Cutting 


Eng 1331/1/2/22 Cuttings 

Notice and review of a BBC radio programme on Whitman by Stephen Spender, as part of the 'New Judgements' series.

2 pieces; 1131/1/2/22/1 has 2 sheets.

Eng 1331/1/2/23 Cuttings 


2 pieces; 1331/1/2/23/2 has 2 sheets.

Eng 1331/1/2/24 Newspaper supplement & cutting 

2 reviews of Walt Whitman: Poet of Democracy by Hugh l'Anson Fausset (Cape): unattributed review in The Times Literary Supplement, 126, (with additional section on Whitman, 'Masses or Men?', 127); and a review by Desmond MacCarthy from unidentified publication.

Eng 1331/1/2/25 Cuttings 


2 pieces; 1331/1/2/25/1 has 2 sheets.

Eng 1331/1/2/26 Cutting 

From The Times Literary Supplement: unattributed article, 'Poets in Politics', on Whitman and the new Everyman edition of Leaves of Grass.

Eng 1331/1/2/27 Cuttings 


211
From The Radio Times and The Listener: a listing and a review of a programme in the 'Spoken Word' series on the BBC Third Programme, 'Walt Whitman: a programme of reminiscence and appreciation', including a talk by Alys Russell (sister of the essayist, Logan Pearsall Smith, who was a friend of Whitman).


Scopus, 6, 1 (published by the Hebrew University at Jerusalem): includes 'Walt Whitman in Hebrew' by Dr Sholom J. Kahn, 6-7, on a recent Hebrew translation of Leaves of Grass by Simon Halkin (Workers' Book Guild).

With a letter to Charles Sixsmith from Edward Robertson of the of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, dated 12 May 1952, enclosing the periodical for Sixsmith's interest.


Advertising Walt Whitman, the Prophet Poet by Roland D. Sawyer (Boston [Mass]: Richard G. Badger).

From unidentified publication: an article on the comparative treatment of Whitman and other American writers by British and American critics.

This small composite class consists of some brief extracts and reprints of Whitman's own writings, namely a poem, two prose pieces, and a letter written by Whitman.

Lippincott's Monthly Magazine, XX, including: 'Walt Whitman's Birthday' by Horace L. Traubel, 229-39 (an account of Whitman's 72nd birthday dinner); and 'Walt Whitman's
Last', 256: an excerpt from Whitman's 'Good-bye my fancy', the second annex to *Leaves of Grass*.

Condition: the back cover of the volume is detached.

**Eng 1331/1/3/2**

*Periodical*

*The Atlantic Monthly*, XCIII, 558, containing 'An American Primer' by Whitman, 460-70: extracts from a lecture planned by Whitman in the 1850s, edited from the manuscript and with an introduction by Horace Traubel.

**Eng 1331/1/3/3**

*Cutting*


Condition: the paper is in a very fragile state.

**Eng 1331/1/3/4**

*Offprint*

Printed copy of a letter written by Whitman to Peter Doyle in 1873, referring to [William] Ingram from Philadelphia; with a reminiscence about Whitman by William Ingram.

Noted by Sixsmith as received from Ingram.

**Eng 1331/1/3/5**

*Cutting*

From the *Free Trade Broadside*: 'Walt Whitman on Protection Plunder', a short extract of a journalistic piece by Whitman on protectionism.

**Eng 1331/1/4**

*Papers relating to book and manuscript collections and sales*

This composite class contains various papers relating to discoveries, collections (public and private) and sales of different printed editions of Whitman's work - such as early editions of *Leaves of Grass* - and personal papers. The material is English, Canadian and American, and includes: booksellers' catalogues and extracts from the same which contain Whitman-related material; letters to Sixsmith from booksellers relating to Whitman books in which he is interested; order forms and invoices for books; and cuttings reporting on collections and sales with a Whitman connection.

1/4/7 reports on the sale of Walt Whitman's will in April 1936 at a price of £620. The material is predominantly printed although some typescript items are included.

24 items.

**Eng 1331/1/5**

*Material relating to commemorative events and exhibitions*

This class consists of programmes, cuttings, an invitation and a poster relating to: events held in America by the Walt Whitman Fellowship International in 1896 and 1900; the fundraising and purchase of Whitman's birthplace on Long Island; Whitman's house at Mickle Street, Camden, New Jersey; a bronze bust of Whitman sculpted by Chester
Beach which was installed in the Hall of Fame at New York University in 1931; a commemorative plaque to the poet erected in Brooklyn in 1931; and a Whitman exhibition held at the American Library in London in 1954.

1/5/11 consists of an envelope addressed to Charles Sixsmith from Mrs F.J. [Harriet] Sprague [an American Whitman enthusiast and collector], enclosing: a copy of *Newsday* paper, devoted to the campaign to save the Long Island birthplace of Whitman, and some advertising material using the image of Whitman to sell products.

11 items.

Related materials: for further advertising material using Whitman's image, see Eng 1331/1/6.

**Eng 1331/1/6**

**Miscellaneous material relating to Whitman**

This class consists principally of cuttings from magazines, periodicals and newspapers, although there are also some printed cards. The material was obviously retained by Sixsmith for its Whitman connection although this is often very slight. Topics covered include: incidental references to Whitman made in articles on other subjects; references made to the poet in speeches and addresses, such as a speech by Winston Churchill in the House of Commons in November 1942 (1/6/13); musical settings of Whitman's work, including Ernest Bryson's setting of *Drum-Taps* (1/6/8), Philip Dalmas's 'As I Watch'd the Ploughman Ploughing and Other Chants of Freedom' (1/6/19), and a production in New York of 'Salut au Monde!' as a pageant with music and dancing, details of which were sent to Sixsmith by Anne Traubel (1/6/6); 2 advertisements using the image of Whitman to sell products (1/6/18 & 21); and printed greetings cards displaying quotes from Whitman (1/6/3, a New Year card for 1916 from actress Mona Limerick and her actor-manager husband Ben Iden Payne; and 1/6/4-5, Christmas cards from Canadian Whitman enthusiasts Henry and Helen Saunders of Toronto).

21 items.

Related materials: for 2 further examples of advertising material using Whitman's image, see Eng 1331/1/5/11.

**Eng 1331/1/7**

**Papers relating to Bolton Walt Whitman's Fellowship**

This class contains various papers relating to the group of Whitman enthusiasts based in Bolton. Papers date from the time of Sixsmith's first involvement with the 'Eagle Street College' in the early 1890s, through to the 1930s. Despite growing apart from Wallace, the group's leader, in the early 1900s, Sixsmith maintained an active involvement in promoting the work of Whitman in the North West.

The material consists of: reports of celebrations held in honour of Whitman's birthday; poems read at these events; addresses made by or about the Bolton group; general articles about the group; and items relating to the collection of Whitman-related books and manuscripts held at Bolton Central Library, which had its foundation in gifts and bequests made by group members.

Archivist's note: Eng 1331/1/7/3/4 consists of a copy, in both manuscript and typescript, of a review from the *Times Literary Supplement*, which was stored amongst this printed material and has been retained here for its connection to the Bolton group.
4 sub-classes; 27 items.

**Eng 1331/1/7/1 Papers relating to Whitman birthday celebrations** 1893-1937

This sub-class contains material relating to the annual celebrations held by the Whitman group on or near Whitman's birthday on 31 May. These events often attracted visitors from outside the group, and usually involved an address on a Whitman-related topic, discussion, poetry recitals and songs. Includes: a 5-page manuscript account of the 1893 birthday celebration held at Fred Wild's house in Chadwick Street, Bolton; 4 offprints from the *Annandale Observer* reporting on the birthday celebrations in 1905, 1907, 1908 and 1913; a printed poem written for Whitman Day 1908 by group member Walt T. Hawkins; a bundle of material (1/7/1/7) dating from 1922-3 containing a manuscript letter from group member Wentworth [Dixon] to Will and Maggie, along with some manuscript and typescript poems by Dixon, including a poem written for the 1922 Whitman birthday celebration at Bolton; and 2 news cuttings from local papers reporting on birthday celebrations in 1936-7.

Archivist's note: for a copy of an address read at the 1925 birthday celebration see Eng 1331/1/7/2.

9 items.

**Eng 1331/1/7/2 Bolton group addresses and talks** 1925-1938

This sub-class contains typescript copies of addresses and printed reports of talks made by members of the Bolton group, on the subject of other members, the activities of the Bolton group, and Whitman's work. Includes: a talk by J.W. Wallace for the Whitman birthday celebration of 1925, 'If Walt Whitman Came to Walker Fold' [Walker Fold was the home of group member, John Ormrod]; 'An Old Friend', a talk on J.W. Wallace, given by Wentworth Dixon to the Mens' Class at Bank Street School, Bolton, 7 Feb 1926; 'An Address in Memory of the late J.W. Wallace, Wentworth Dixon and Dr J. Johnston', by William Broadhurst, 6 Dec 1930; a news cutting dated 9 Apr 1938 giving a transcript of a paper by Sixsmith to the Lancashire Authors' Association on 'The Lancashire friends of Walt Whitman'; and an undated cutting reporting on Sixsmith's paper on Whitman given to the Horwich and District Literary Society.

5 items.

**Eng 1331/1/7/3 General papers relating to the Bolton group** 1891-1930

This general sub-class consists of: /1: an offprint from a newspaper from Camden, New Jersey, reporting on the visit to Bolton of Whitman's friend and biographer, R.M. Bucke, and the visit of J.W. Wallace to America in 1891; /2: carbon copy of a 4-page manuscript letter sent to Bolton College members by J.W. Wallace on 6 Jan 1893, urging them to celebrate their comradeship, which should override political differences and the recent disagreements between members over socialism; /3: a news cutting relating to the visit of William Ingram [of Philadelphia, a friend of Whitman] to Bolton; /4: a manuscript and typescript copy extract from a review in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 3 Jan 1918, discussing the volume by J.W. Wallace and Dr Johnston, *Visits to Walt Whitman in 1890-1891* (1917); /5: a news cutting on the Bolton group and the visit to Bolton by American academic and researcher on Whitman, Will Seymour Monroe, in 1930; /6: a cutting reporting on an article about the Eagle Street College which appeared in the Walt Whitman Birthplace Bulletin.
6 items.

Eng 1331/1/7/4 Papers relating to Bolton Library Whitman collection

This sub-class is comprised of cuttings from North-West newspapers concerning the Whitman collection of books and manuscripts held at Bolton Central Library, which had its nucleus in a bequest by Dr John Johnston of all his Whitman-related books. Cuttings relate to: a visit by Professor Will S. Monroe to the Library; Dr Johnston's collection; a gift of 100 volumes presented to Bolton Library by Yale University Library; manuscript material of J.W. Wallace presented to the Library by his companion and adopted daughter, Minnie Whiteside; and material donated by John H. Johnston, a Whitmanite of New York.

1/7/4/5 is a bundle of 3 items clipped together and consists of cuttings relating to the Bolton group and the Bolton Library collection, along with a small sheet from a 1947 calendar which displays a Whitman quote.

7 items.

Eng 1331/2 Printed material relating to Edward Carpenter

This sub-subgroup contains Sixsmith's collection of printed material relating to the life and work of Carpenter, and consists of periodicals, cuttings, pamphlets and some typescript papers. It includes: general articles on his life and work; reviews of his published work and lectures; cuttings relating to the controversy initiated by M.D. O'Brien over Carpenter's essay, *Homogenic Love*; papers relating to Carpenter's birthdays, death, and memorials; publisher's advertisements; papers relating to book and manuscript collections; and miscellaneous references to Carpenter in other contexts. In addition, there is a large selection of Carpenter's own writings, often in their first published form; these include articles, poems, short stories and reviews.

Archivist's note: the material has been arranged into 11 classes, largely reflecting subject matter. Some of these are based on groupings which were evident in the material as it was found.

The classes are as follows:

/1 Carpenter's writings

/2 Book reviews

/3 Papers relating to Carpenter's lectures

/4 General articles on Carpenter's life and work

/5 'Sage of Holmesfield' newspaper correspondence

/6 Papers relating to Carpenter's birthday celebrations

/7 Obituaries and related cuttings

/8 Papers relating to anniversaries and memorials

/9 Publishers' advertisements

1892-1951
/10 Papers relating to book and manuscript collections
/11 Miscellaneous material relating to Carpenter

11 classes; 296 items.

Eng 1331/2/1  Carpenter's writings  1892-1924

This class consists of cuttings, journals, and pamphlets containing articles, poems, short stories, reviews, and letters written by Carpenter, many of which are first publications. Topics covered vary vastly and embrace many of Carpenter's interests, including various progressive causes which would become major issues later in the twentieth century. Subjects include: the early Labour movement and socialism; syndicalism; imperial expansion; prison reform; the abolition of the death penalty; general social reform; animal rights; foreign affairs and politics, and the First World War; Walt Whitman; smoke problems and pollution; health and the human body; sexuality; mountaineering and walking.

Archivist's note: all the pieces are by Carpenter unless stated otherwise. The items are arranged chronologically. Undated items have been dated as far as possible using A Bibliography of Edward Carpenter, published by Sheffield City Libraries in 1949. Items for which a date cannot be determined have been placed at the end of the class.

61 items.

Related materials: Eng 1331/2/2/2/1 contains a short poem by Carpenter, entitled 'Two Gifts'.

Eng 1331/2/1/1  Periodical  Dec 1892

The Labour Prophet ('the organ of the Labour Church'). Includes a review of Fred Henderson's By the Sea and Other Poems, 89-90.

Partly uncut.

Eng 1331/2/1/2  Cutting  n.d. [1893]

From unidentified publication: poem, 'The Smith and the King'.

Eng 1331/2/1/3  Periodicals  May 1894

2 copies of The Labour Prophet with Cinderella Supplement ('the organ of the Labour Church'), III, 29: includes 'Towards Democracy', 49-51, an article by Carpenter about his book of the same name. Includes portrait of Carpenter, which has been cut out of copy 2/1/3/2.

2 pieces.

Eng 1331/2/1/4  Cutting  n.d. [9 Jun 1894]

From unidentified publication [probably The Clarion]: 'Smoke', a letter to the editor.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Call No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/5</td>
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<td>From <em>The Clarion</em>: article, 'Democracy and the Delegate-Theory'. Condition: fragile, with a tear and some flaking to the paper.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/6</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From <em>The Clarion</em>: article, 'Vivisection'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/7</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From <em>The Labour Leader</em>: 'The Humanising of our Prisons', article in the form of a letter to the editor. Condition: includes some small tears.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/10</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From <em>The New Age</em>: poem, 'In a Scotch-Fir Wood'.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/12</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From <em>The Reformer</em>: poem, 'The Open Secret'.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Index Number</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Date/Period</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/14</td>
<td><strong>Periodical</strong></td>
<td>15 Aug 1897</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>The Reformer</em>, I, 6. Includes 'An Unknown People', 157; concluding article.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/15</td>
<td><strong>Cutting</strong></td>
<td>n.d. [25 Aug 1898]</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From unidentified publication [probably <em>The New Age</em>]: poem, 'The Lake of Beauty'.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/16</td>
<td><strong>Periodical</strong></td>
<td>Aug 1898</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Includes a loose flyer advertising the publication.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/17</td>
<td><strong>Periodical</strong></td>
<td>15 Sep 1898</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/18</td>
<td><strong>Bundle</strong></td>
<td>5-16 Jan 1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 pieces; 1331/2/1/18/2 has 1 sheet; the 2nd sheet of 2/1/18/1 is torn.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/19</td>
<td><strong>Periodical</strong></td>
<td>30 Nov 1899</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>The New Age</em>, X, 270. Includes 'Narayan, a Tale of Indian Life', IV, 203-4; penultimate article in a series.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/20</td>
<td><strong>Periodical</strong></td>
<td>7 Dec 1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/21</td>
<td><strong>Leaflet</strong></td>
<td>1899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prison Reform Leaflets, No. IV: 'Mary Ansell and Capital Punishment'; Carpenter on the abolition of the death penalty.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>With a manuscript note by Sixsmith indicating that the leaflet was received from Carpenter.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/22</td>
<td><strong>Bundle</strong></td>
<td>1 Jan 1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 duplicate leaflets, published by the Labour Press, Manchester: 'Boer and Britain'; Carpenter on the Boer War.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1331/2/1/22/2 and 3 include manuscript notes (probably in Carpenter's hand): in /2 the date &quot;New Year's Day&quot; has been altered to &quot;Xmas&quot; 1900; and /3 is inscribed with best wishes for the New Year.</td>
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<td>Document ID</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/23</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From <em>The New Age</em>: a prose poem, 'Monte Carlo', 26-27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/24</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From <em>Sandow's Magazine</em>: 'An Open-Air Gymnasium', article.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/25</td>
<td>Periodicals</td>
<td>2 copies of <em>Humanity</em>, IV, 3. Includes article, 'High Street Kensington', 19.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In 1331/2/1/25/1 the Carpenter article itself has been marked in pencil; in 2/1/25/2 it has been marked on the title page.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pages of both copies are uncut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/26</td>
<td>Periodical</td>
<td><em>The Ethical World</em>, III, 24. Includes poem, 'Empire', 369-70.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/27</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From the I.L.P. <em>News</em>. Includes article, 'India, China and Ourselves'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/28</td>
<td>Periodical</td>
<td><em>The Reformer</em>, VI, 38. Includes article, 'Walt Whitman's Children', 87-93.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Condition: cover is detached and in fragile and flaking condition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/30</td>
<td>Leaflet</td>
<td>Depicting 2 woodcuts by Alfred Rethel, with a commentary; and including poem, 'Recognition' by Carpenter. Issued by the Ancoats Brotherhood.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Eng 1331/2/1/32**  
*Periodical*  
Aug-Sep 1906

*l'Ère Nouvelle*, 4th series, 43. Includes 'Pour faire rflchir', an introductory section by Carpenter.

In French.

The pages are uncut.

**Eng 1331/2/1/33**  
*Cutting*  
Oct 1906

From *The Humanitarian*: article, 'Social reform and the protection of animals'.

**Eng 1331/2/1/34**  
*Cutting*  
22 Nov 1906

From *The New Age*: article, 'Government in Morocco', part I.

2 sheets.

**Eng 1331/2/1/35**  
*Periodical*  
29 Nov 1906


Condition: the paper is fragile and flaking at the edges.

**Eng 1331/2/1/36**  
*Periodical*  
6 Dec 1906


**Eng 1331/2/1/37**  
*Cutting*  
4 Jul 1908

From *The New Age*: 'Mountain Climbing and Walking', a letter to the editor.

**Eng 1331/2/1/38**  
*Cuttings*  
27 Aug-3 Sep 1909

From *The Labour Leader*: article in 2 parts, 'The New South African Union'.

**Eng 1331/2/1/39**  
*Cutting*  
9 Sep 1909


**Eng 1331/2/1/40**  
*Cutting*  
29 Apr 1910

From *The Labour Leader May Day Supplement*: article, 'A Thought for May-Day'.

**Eng 1331/2/1/41**  
*Cutting*  
2 Jun 1910

From the *Sheffield Telegraph*: article, 'The Smoke Pall: a plea for more sunshine'.

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Eng 1331/2/1/42 Cutting
From the *Sheffield Telegraph*: article, 'The Smoke Pall: how to cleanse Sheffield's air'.

Eng 1331/2/1/43 Cutting
From *Country Life*: article, 'The Language of Domestic Fowls'.
2 sheets.
Related materials: Eng 1331/2/1/47.

Eng 1331/2/1/44 Offprint
From the *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie*: article, 'On the Connexion between Homosexuality and Divination'.

Eng 1331/2/1/45 Periodical & cutting
*The Syndicalist*, 1, 4. Includes article, 'Long Live Syndicalism!' Together with a cutting of the same article.

Eng 1331/2/1/46 Cutting
From *The Christian Commonwealth*: 'Carpenter and Bergson', a short letter to the editor from Carpenter relating to the correspondence begun in the paper by 'Delta'.

Eng 1331/2/1/47 Periodical
Related materials: Eng 1331/2/1/43

Eng 1331/2/1/48 Periodical
*The Humanitarian*, VI, 141. Includes article, 'Sport and Agriculture', 178-81

Eng 1331/2/1/49 Periodical

Eng 1331/2/1/50 Cutting

Eng 1331/2/1/51 Cutting
From *The Nation*. Includes article, 'The Trojan War and Constantinople'.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/52</td>
<td>Bundle</td>
<td>Envelope addressed to Sixsmith [from Carpenter] containing, in pamphlet form, 3 versions of the musical score of a song by Carpenter entitled 'The City of the Sun': 1 copy of a version published by the Reformers' Bookstall Ltd, Glasgow as part of the Reformers' Music Series (No. 4); 2 copies of a version available from the author; and 2 copies of a version published by The Labour Leader, Manchester. Plus an additional copy of the author's own pamphlet, not originally stored with the envelope, and inscribed to Charlie and Lucy [Sixsmith] from Carpenter in Feb 1918. 7 pieces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/53</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From The Herald: 'Workers, Get on with the [...]': includes untitled article by Carpenter on Labour and war-weariness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/54</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From unidentified publication: 'To the Land and People of Belgium', an address to Belgium urging courage during the War.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/56</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From The English Review: poem, 'At the very Edge of Death'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/57</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From Il Notiziario: article, 'La Bellezza Nella Vita di Tutti i Giorni'; translated and abridged by Biagio Di Paola. In Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/58</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From The Labour Leader: 'A Drama of Injustice', a review by Carpenter of John Galsworthy's play, Justice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng 1331/2/1/59</td>
<td>Leaflets</td>
<td>2 copies of the musical score of a song by Carpenter, 'The People to their Land', published by the Land Nationalisation Society, London. 2 pieces.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cuttings from unidentified publication: parts I, III, IV & V of an article, 'The Smoke-Dragon, and how to Destroy it'.

4 pieces. Condition: 1331/2/1/59/1 is torn and /2 is in 2 pieces.

Cuttings from unidentified publication: parts I, III, IV & V of an article, 'The Smoke-Dragon, and how to Destroy it'.

4 pieces. Condition: 1331/2/1/59/1 is torn and /2 is in 2 pieces.

Cuttings from unidentified publication: parts I, III, IV & V of an article, 'The Smoke-Dragon, and how to Destroy it'.

4 pieces. Condition: 1331/2/1/59/1 is torn and /2 is in 2 pieces.

Cuttings from unidentified publication: parts I, III, IV & V of an article, 'The Smoke-Dragon, and how to Destroy it'.

4 pieces. Condition: 1331/2/1/59/1 is torn and /2 is in 2 pieces.
Eng 1331/2/2/1/4  Cutting


Eng 1331/2/2/1/5  Cutting


Eng 1331/2/2/1/6  Cutting

From *Second Christmas Supplement*: an unattributed review of *Who shall command the heart?* [London: Sonnenschein and Co].

Eng 1331/2/2/1/7  Supplement

*Supplement to the Literary Guide*, dedicated to a long review of *Towards Democracy* (Parts I-IV) by F.J. Gould.

Eng 1331/2/2/1/8  Cutting


Eng 1331/2/2/1/9  Cutting

From *The Workman's Times*: a review of *Towards Democracy* by 'Gurth'.

Eng 1331/2/2/2  Reviews of *Love's Coming of Age*

*Love's Coming of Age: a Series of Papers on the Relations of the Sexes* was first published in 1896 by the Labour Press in Manchester, and consisted of three pamphlets originally published separately in 1894, namely: *Sex-Love, and its Place in a Free Society; Woman, and her Place in a Free Society*; and *Marriage*. This sub-class contains reviews from:

/1  *The Adult*, 2, 1 (Feb 1898), by 'Sagittarius', 12-16.

/2  *The Daily Herald* (17 Jun 1914), by 'R'.

Archivist's note: *The Adult* also contains a short poem by Carpenter, entitled 'Two Gifts', 18.

2 items.

Eng 1331/2/2/3  Reviews of *Civilisation: its Cause and Cure*

This sub-class contains 2 items relating to the volume *Civilisation: its Cause and Cure, and Other Essays*, first published by Swan Sonnenschein of London in 1889: a review by Leo Tolstoy of 'Modern science: a criticism' (one of the essays in the volume) in *The New Age*, 31 Mar 1898, and a small cutting referring to Tolstoy's opinions on the essay.
2 items.

Eng 1331/2/2/4  Reviews of The Art of Creation  1904-1905

This sub-class contains reviews of Carpenter's book on the achievements of the modern biological sciences and psychology in relation to human thought on creation. The Art of Creation: Essays on the Self and its Powers (London: George Allen) was first published in 1904.

/1  The Reformer, VIII, 72 (15 Dec 1904), by A.H.S., 763-67.

/2  From The Literary World, 23 Dec 1904, unattributed.

/3  From The Sheffield Daily Independent, 5 Jan 1905, by J.D.

/4  From The Daily News, 16 Jan 1905, unattributed.

/5  From The Manchester Guardian, 19 Jan 1905, unattributed.

/6  From The Labour Leader, 20 Jan 1905, by M.

/7  From The Vegetarian Messenger and Health Review, n.d., unattributed.

7 items. All items are cuttings except 1331/2/2/4/1 which is an entire journal. Condition: 1331/2/2/4/3 is torn; 2/2/4/6 is in 2 parts and very fragile.

Eng 1331/2/2/5  Reviews of The Drama of Love and Death  1912

This sub-class contains reviews of Carpenter's mystical and pseudo-scientific study of death, The Drama of Love and Death: a Study of Human Evolution and Transfiguration (London: George Allen, 1912).

/1  The Athenaeum, 4,402 (9 Mar 1912), unattributed review, 274-5.

/2  The Nation, X, 24 (16 Mar 1912), unattributed review, 977-8.

/3  From T.P.'s Weekly (29 Mar 1912), unattributed review, 395.

/4  From The Labour Leader (5 Apr 1912), by Charles F. Sixsmith.

/5  From The Manchester Weekly Citizen (20 Apr 1912), by Tom Swan.


/8  From The Review of Reviews (Apr 1912), unattributed review.

/9  From unidentified publication (2 May 1912), unattributed review.

/10 From The Daily News (6 May 1912), by Conrad Noel.
/11 From The Manchester Guardian (8 Jul 1912), by J.A. Hobson.

/12 From The Chicago Sunday Tribune (n.d.), unattributed review.

12 items; All are cuttings except 1331/2/2/5/1, 2 & 6 which are entire publications; 2/2/5/4 consists of a cutting and a proof sheet. Condition: 2/2/5/12 is in a fragile state.

Eng 1331/2/2/6 Reviews of My Days and Dreams

This sub-class contains reviews of Carpenter's autobiography, My Days and Dreams: being Autobiographical Notes (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1916). The reviews are all in the form of cuttings.

/1 From The Times Literary Supplement (22 Jun), unattributed.

/2 From The Daily Chronicle (23 Jun), by Tighe Hopkins.

/3 From The Co-Operative News (8 Jul), by Bevis Hampton.

/4 From The Clarion (21 Jul), by R.B. Suthers.

/5 From The Labour Leader (3 Aug 1916), by Charles F. Sixsmith (2 copies).

/6 From The Darwen News (5 Aug), by Harrison Marsden.

/7 From The Saturday Westminster Gazette (5 Aug), unattributed.

/8 From The Farnworth Chronicle (25 Aug 1916), unattributed.

/9 From The Herald (16 Sep), by Gerald Gould.

/10 From The New Age (5 Oct), by A.E.R. (also includes a review of A.H. Moncur Sime's Edward Carpenter: his Ideas and Ideals.

/11 From The Challenge (27 Oct), by Harold Anson.

/12 From The Clerk (Nov), by F.H.

/13 From The Manchester Guardian (n.d.), by R.

/14 From unidentified publication (n.d.), unattributed review, 'The World's Dreamers: publication of Mr Edward Carpenter's reminiscences'.

Archivist's note: these cuttings were originally bundled together in an envelope, with a manuscript list in Sixsmith's hand noting all the reviews included. The envelope and list are included as nos. 15-16.

16 items; 1331/2/2/6/3 contains 2 pieces.

Eng 1331/2/2/7 Reviews of Never Again!

Never Again! a Protest and a Warning Addressed to the Peoples of Europe, Carpenter's protest against the bloodshed of World War I, was published in various editions during 1916. This sub-class contains 2 cuttings:
/1 From *The Nation* (14 Oct), unattributed review and essay.

/2 From C.U. (25 Nov), by B.H.

2 items; 1331/2/2/7/1 contains 2 pieces.

**Eng 1331/2/8**  
**Reviews of Pagan and Christian Creeds**  
1920


/1 From *The Observer* (1 Feb), by A.E. Crawley.


2 items.

**Eng 1331/2/2/9**  
**Reviews of other works**  
1908-1910

This sub-class contains reviews of two other works by Carpenter, each of which is represented in Sixsmith's collection by a single review only.

2 items.

**Eng 1331/2/2/9/1**  
**Proofs**  
1908


3 sheets.

**Eng 1331/2/2/9/2**  
**Cutting**  
3 Feb 1910


**Eng 1331/2/3**  
**Papers relating to Carpenter's lectures**  
1902-1918 & n.d.

This class consists of periodicals and cuttings which contain reports of addresses and lectures given by Carpenter. These include: a speech to the London Spiritualist Alliance on dream and thought images, 1902 (2/3/1); an address to the Conference of the Head Teachers' Federation in Sheffield in 1904 on 'Citizenship in Schools', 1904 (2/3/2); a speech to the Vegetarian Society, 1909 (2/3/3); a lecture on 'Beauty in Civic Life' in Bolton, 1912 (2/3/4); a statement sent to the Thoreau Centenary meeting at Caxton Hall, Westminster, 1917 (2/3/5); an address to the Annual Meeting of the Humanitarian League at Caxton Hall, 1918 (2/3/6); an undated speech on 'The Rights of the Pig' at a Humanitarian League meeting in Manchester (2/3/7); an undated address at Essex Hall on 'The Simplification of Life' (2/3/8); an undated lecture on real and dream worlds to Sheffield Theosophical Society (2/3/9); an undated lecture at Ancoats [Manchester] on life in China (2/3/10); an undated lecture on 'The Path to Peace' at the King's Weigh House (2/3/11); and an undated address to an ILP meeting in Blackburn, on 'Aspects of Socialism' (2/3/12).
12 items. 1331/2/3/1, 5 & 6 are entire periodicals, and the remaining items are cuttings.

2/3/1 consists of 2 pieces (2 copies of the same periodical); 2/3/3 has 6 sheets;

Eng 1331/2/4  General articles on Carpenter's life and work  1895-1945

This class contains articles on Carpenter's life and work, various papers on Carpenter read at public occasions, interviews with Carpenter, and four reviews of books about him. Included are pieces by a number of well-known writers from the fields of socialism and literature, such as John Bruce Glasier, Henry S. Salt, and E.M. Forster. 2/4/14 and 34 are by Sixsmith and 2/4/19 and 45 are reports on papers given by him. 2/4/12 is a copy of M.D. O'Brien's attack on Carpenter's pamphlet, *Homogenic Love* and his socialist beliefs (see Eng 1331/2/5 for further details of this controversy). Most of the articles dating from 1944-5 (2/4/31-41) were written at the time of Carpenter's centenary.

The material consists of complete periodicals and cuttings, except 2/4/38 which is a typescript of a radio talk by Forster. The material is predominantly British, although some American publications are included.

47 items.

Related materials: other articles on Carpenter's centenary can be found in Eng 1331/2/8.

Eng 1331/2/4/1  Offprint  27 Jul 1895

From *D.F. Advertiser*: 'Edward Carpenter', a paper read by S.C. Cronwright-Schreiner before the Kimberley Literary Society on 10 July 1895.

Former reference: R101317.

Eng 1331/2/4/2  Cuttings  23-30 Apr 1896


3 sheets.

Eng 1331/2/4/3  Periodical  28 Jul 1900


Eng 1331/1/2/4/4  Periodical  Nov 1901


Eng 1331/1/2/4/5  Periodical  Dec 1901

Eng 1331/2/4/6  Periodicals

2 copies of *The Free Comrade*, new series, 3, 10 (edited by J. William Lloyd of Westfield, New Jersey, USA). Most of the pamphlet is dedicated to an article on Carpenter ("the greatest man of Modern England").

Former reference: R101317 (2/4/6/1 only).

2 pieces.

Eng 1331/2/4/7  Periodical

*The Humane Review*, 14, containing 'Edward Carpenter's Writings', 160-71 (anonymous, but attributed to H.S. Salt in manuscript note).

Eng 1331/2/4/8  Cutting


Eng 1331/2/4/9  Cutting


Eng 1331/2/4/10  Periodical

*The Craftsman*, XI, 1, containing 'Edward Carpenter, the Philosopher: his Gospel of Friendship and Simplicity' by John Spargo, 44-56.

Eng 1331/2/4/11  Periodical


Eng 1331/2/4/12  Pamphlet

*Socialism and Infamy. The Homogenic or Comrade Love Exposed, an Open Letter in Plain Words for a Socialist Prophet, to Edward Carpenter, M.A.* by M.D. O'Brien of Dronfield near Sheffield (O'Brien's virulent attack on Carpenter's pamphlet *Homogenic Love* and his socialist beliefs).

Eng 1331/2/4/13  Cutting

From the *Labour Leader*, 34, 6: 'Towards the Real Democracy: an Interview with Edward Carpenter' by C.L.E.

Former reference: R101317.

Eng 1331/2/4/14  Cutting

From the *Blackburn* [...] unattributed article, 'Author and Poet: Mr Edward Carpenter's Visit'.
With manuscript note identifying the author as C.F. S[ixsmith].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aug 1912</td>
<td>Periodical &amp; cutting</td>
<td>The Socialist Review, 9, 54, containing 'Edward Carpenter – Witherwards?' by J[ohn] Bruce Glasier, 443-52; also a cutting (5 sheets) of the same article. 2 pieces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Feb 1913 &amp; n.d.</td>
<td>Bundle</td>
<td>3 cuttings relating to a village club founded by Carpenter in Millthorpe [Derbyshire, his home village] and their performance of Carpenter's St George and the Dragon. 2/4/18/1 is by C[harles] F[ sixsmith] in The Labour Leader. 3 pieces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 [,,]uary 1913</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From The Journal[...]: 'Library Lecture: Carpenter - Poet and Prophet': an unattributed report of a lecture on Carpenter given by Charles Sixsmith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Mar 1914</td>
<td>Cutting</td>
<td>From The Bystander: an article in the 'Makers of Movements' series, no. XII: 'Edward Carpenter and Creative Democracy' by Holbrook Jackson; with a full-page photograph portrait of Carpenter by Alvin Langdon Coburn. Former reference: R101317. 2 sheets.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the *Bristol Daily Press*: 'Edward Carpenter: Poet of Democracy' by Rose E. Sharland.

Former reference: R101317.


From the *Daily News*: 'Our Splendid Young Women Growing Better: Tribute by Edward Carpenter' from a special correspondent in Guildford. An interview with Carpenter on his 82nd birthday, on modern women and the trade union movement.


*Simple Life*, I, 1, containing 'Edward Carpenter: his Days and Dreams' by C.R., 13-14 & 18. A general article on Carpenter's life and work, including a list of his works published.
by Allen and Unwin.

Eng 1331/2/4/31 Cutting
From *The Sheffield Telegraph*: 'Foorsook Wealth for City Slum: Apostle of Democracy' by Councillor J.H. Bingham. 28 Aug 1944

Eng 1331/2/4/32 Cutting
From *The Yorkshire Post and Leeds Mercury*: 'Edward Carpenter and Leeds' and 'Woodhouse Moor Star-Gazers', 2 unnatributed sections on Carpenter and his time in Leeds as a university extension lecturer. 29 Aug 1944

Eng 1331/2/4/33 Extract
Pages 1-6 of *The Manchester Guardian*, including a section on Carpenter in the London correspondence section and an article, 'Edward Carpenter' by S.K. Ratcliffe, both p. 4. 2 sheets. 29 Aug 1944

Eng 1331/2/4/34 Bundle
3 copies of a cutting from the *Bolton Journal*: 'Centenary of a Prophet: Edward Carpenter's Bolton Following' by C.F. Sixsmith. 3 pieces. 29 Aug 1944

Eng 1331/2/4/35 Periodical
*The Times Literary Supplement*, containing an unattributed article, 'Poet of Democracy: Edward Carpenter's Dream. Aeons of Peace and Progress', 426. 2 Sep 1944

Eng 1331/2/4/36 Periodical and cutting
*The Listener*, XXXII, 817, containing 'Edward Carpenter: Minor Prophet' by Desmond MacCarthy, 270-71. Also a loose cutting of the same article. 2 pieces; 2/4/35/2 is 2 sheets. 7 Sep 1944

Eng 1331/2/4/37 Newspaper
*The Tribune*, 404, containing 'Edward Carpenter: a Centenary Note' by E.M. Forster, 12-13. 22 Sep 1944

Eng 1331/2/4/38 Bundle
"Edward Carpenter" by John Stewart Collis, 137-9.

index: The Aryan Path, XVI, 8, containing 'Edward Carpenter: a Centenary Tribute' by Hugh Harris, 297-300.


From unidentified publication: 'Edward Carpenter and Brighton' by Henry S. Salt.

From unidentified publication: 'The Man as he is: Edward Carpenter' by W.M.

From unidentified publication: 'Farnworth [Lancs] Literary and Debating Society'. A report on a lecture by the President of the Society, Sixsmith, on 'Edward Carpenter, Poet and Reformer'.


From The Plebs: 'Edward Carpenter' by T. Ashcroft.

This class contains cuttings taken from the Sheffield Daily Telegraph; these are principally letters to the editor printed under the title 'The Sage of Holmesfield'. The correspondence was initiated by a letter from Carpenter himself, protesting against the publication of a pamphlet by M.D. O'Brien entitled Socialism and Infamy: the Homogenic or Comrade Love Exposed, an Open Letter in Plain Words for a Socialist
Prophet, to Edward Carpenter, M.A. (see Eng 2/4/12 for a copy of this pamphlet). O'Brien came from Dronfield, near Carpenter's home at Millthorpe, and in this pamphlet he voiced his vicious anti-socialist feelings and expressed his suspicions of Carpenter's advocacy of 'comradeship', with its implications of homosexuality. He attacked in particular Carpenter's essay, Homogenic Love, first published in pamphlet form for private circulation in 1894, and subsequently incorporated into the volume, The Intermediate Sex (1908).

The correspondence includes letters from both Carpenter and O'Brien, including a challenge from O'Brien for a public reading of Homogenic Love in Holmesfield, with Carpenter present to offer explanations for the contents of the work. In addition there are letters from other individuals attacking or defending Carpenter and his work.

Eng 2/5/10 is a later cutting reporting that O'Brien has been committed for trial in a libel case, accused of publishing defamatory libels against his daughter and others.

Archivist's note: the material in this class was bundled together in an envelope by Sixsmith, and has therefore been treated as a discrete grouping.

Former reference: R101317.

11 pieces.

Eng 1331/2/6 Papers relating to Carpenter's birthday celebrations

This class contains press cuttings and other printed material relating primarily to Carpenter's seventieth and eightieth birthdays, celebrated on 29 August 1914 and 1924 respectively. In 1914, a committee which included Sir W.P. Byles, MP, Havelock Ellis, and Henry S. Salt amongst others (with Charles Sixsmith as secretary), prepared an address of congratulation for Carpenter, signed by various socialists, Labour leaders, eminent literary and theatrical figures and personal friends. This class includes: invitations from Sixsmith to potential signatories, together with samples of the printed address at various stages in its preparation (2/6/1-2); loose drafts of the printed address (2/6/3-5); 2 printed copies of Carpenter's reply to the address, which included an exposition of his views on the War (2/6/6-7); and a bundle of press cuttings relating to his birthday, the committee, and his reply (2/6/8-12).

Carpenter's eightieth birthday fell during Labour's first period in government under Ramsay MacDonald. He received a birthday message from all the members of the Cabinet, together with Will Thorne, George Lansbury and Augustine Birrell. Included here are cuttings and periodicals, comprising: congratulatory messages and reports on his birthday; reports on the Cabinet message and Carpenter's reply; outlines of his work and career; and interviews with Carpenter himself.

Eng 2/6/27 is a cutting relating to Carpenter's eighty-fourth birthday in 1928.

Archivist's note: 1331/2/6/15 is a bundle of cuttings originally pinned together (some of which duplicate the other loose cuttings), and with their source and date noted in a hand which is not Sixsmith's. They have therefore been listed together as one item.

Former reference: R101317 (2/6/4, 5, 11, 12 and 16).

27 items. 1331/2/6/1 contains 4 pieces, 2/6/2 and 2/6/18, 2 pieces, and 2/6/15, 9 pieces.
Carpenter died, aged 84, on 29 Jun 1929 in Guildford, Surrey, where he had moved in 1922. His funeral took place on 1 July at a cemetery near his home; he was interred in the same grave as his long-term partner, George Merrill, who had died the previous year. This class contains 3 complete periodicals and a bundle of cuttings from various publications, and was mostly found bundled together, possibly by Sixsmith himself. The material includes: reports of Carpenter's death; accounts of his funeral; obituaries; reminiscences; evaluations of his life and work; a report on his will (2/7/26); and a later cutting referring to the neglected state of Carpenter's grave.

2/7/3 contains 2 copies of the same article from different editions of The Manchester Guardian; 2/7/22-23 are duplicate copies of the same periodical, containing 2 articles on Carpenter.

28 items. 1331/2/7/2 and 14 contain 2 pieces, and 2/7/3, 3 pieces.

After Carpenter's death, the Edward Carpenter International Memorial Trust was established to raise funds for the purchase of Carpenter's Millthorpe home as a memorial. Due to a shortage of funds the Trust negotiated with the Workers' Travel Association, and a scheme to turn Millthorpe into a 'Socialist Memorial Guest House' was suggested. This, too, fell through, and ultimately the house was sold to a private individual.

Memorial services, however, continued to be held for Carpenter. The first annual service was held at Millthorpe on 29 June 1930, and these services continued until after the Second World War.

This class contains leaflets, programmes, news cuttings, other printed matter and some typescript material, relating to the memorial fund and services. It had no clear order within the collection and has been divided into 2 sub-classes according to the physical nature of the material.

2 sub-classes; 25 items.

Related materials: other more general articles written at the time of Carpenter's centenary can be found in Eng 1331/2/4.

This sub-class consists of printed and reproduced typescript material relating to the annual Carpenter memorial services and fund appeals for the purchase of Carpenter's Millthorpe home. It includes invitations, notices issued by Sheffield Public Libraries to advertise the services, programmes, and appeals for funds.

2/8/1/11 is a 12-page booklet containing biographical information on Carpenter, a record of the 1946 memorial service and a programme for the 1947 service; 2/8/1/16 is a card advertising Edward Carpenter's house at Millthorpe as a guest house run by Mrs Annie Nicholson.

16 items. 1331/2/8/1/1 and 14 each contain 2 pieces, and 2/8/1/4 contains 4 pieces.
En 1331/2/8/2  

**Cuttings**

This sub-class consists of cuttings from various local and national newspapers, which include: reports on Carpenter memorial services and on fund-raising efforts for the purchase of Millthorpe; and a number of articles on Carpenter written at the time of the Centenary of his birth in 1944 (2/8/2/2-4).

2/8/2/2 is a cutting accompanied by a card from John Oramrod, a member of the Bolton Whitman Fellowship and a friend of Sixsmith.

9 items. 1331/2/8/2/2 contains 2 pieces.

Related materials: other more detailed and analytical articles written on Carpenter's centenary can be found in Eng 1331/2/4.

Eng 1331/2/9  

**Publishers' advertisements**

This small class contains a pamphlet and a bundle of flyers issued by publishers to advertise available or forthcoming books by Edward Carpenter. They are issued by the Labour Press, Manchester; Swan Sonnenschein, London; S. Clarke, Manchester; George Allen, London; the Church Historical Society; and Stockham Publishing, Chicago [USA].

1331/2/9/1 includes an envelope addressed to Sixsmith.

9 items. 1331/2/9/1 contains 2 pieces.

Eng 1331/2/10  

**Papers relating to book and manuscript collections**

This small class consists of a copy typescript, cuttings and leaflets concerning Carpenter-related book and manuscript collections held in the North-West of England. Topics covered include: the acquisition by Sheffield Public Libraries of Carpenter's book and manuscript collections in the possession of Mr T. Nicholson of Millthorpe, who offered the material to the Library in November 1933 [in 2/10/2 Sixsmith notes that these collections belonged not to Nicholson, but to Carpenter's literary executors]; the publication of *A Bibliography of Edward Carpenter* in 1949 (a catalogue of the material held at Sheffield); and an exhibition of Carpenter books and manuscripts at Bolton Central Library, loaned by Sixsmith, on the occasion of Carpenter's centenary in 1944.

6 items; 1331/2/10/1 contains 5 pieces and 2/10/4, 2 pieces.

Eng 1331/2/11  

**Miscellaneous material relating to Carpenter**

This class contains cuttings from various publications, 2 typescript extracts, and a printed advertisement, all of which have some kind of Carpenter connection (often slight or incidental) and which do not fit easily into any other class. The material includes: brief references to Carpenter's work or ideas in articles on other topics, sometimes with a note by Sixsmith to explain the connection; book reviews containing references to Carpenter; reviews of performances in 1909 of Rutland Boughton's *Midnight*, a setting to music of a poem by Carpenter (2/11/2-3); a cartoon, and newspaper photographs of Carpenter and some of his fighting ancestors; typescript excerpts from books which refer to Carpenter; and an advertisement for a photograph of Carpenter.

16 items; 1331/2/11/7 contains 2 sheets.
General printed material

This sub-subgroup contains the remainder of Sixsmith's large collection of printed material. In addition to his Whitman and Carpenter collections, Sixsmith appears to have retained any other cuttings he found of interest, and the topics covered by this material are wide ranging. They include: Sixsmith's local area in Lancashire; his work as a local councillor; conservation and the countryside; literature; arts and crafts; the design of manufactured goods; architecture; socialism; foreign affairs; and the work of various individuals with whom he was acquainted or whom he admired.

Archivist's note: most of this material was in no apparent order and has largely been rearranged by the archivist. Some items were obviously bundled together and where this is the case these groupings have been retained. Otherwise, the material has been arranged into classes according to subject matter, which aim to reflect Sixsmith's reason for retaining the items.

9 classes; 168 items.

Material relating to local issues and Sixsmith's role as a councillor

This class consists of material relating to: Sixsmith's work as a member of Chorley Rural District Council, where he served as a Councillor for 37 years; activities of the various other councils on which he served; issues relating to Sixsmith's local area, including Rivington and Chorley; and other cuttings of local interest, such as a picture of Sixsmith's garden at Brownlow, Anderton (3/1/5).

All items are news cuttings, predominantly from North-West papers, except 3/1/1 which is a printed letter from Sixsmith, seeking re-election to the Council for the 22nd year in 1934; and 3/1/8 which is a complete copy of the Chorley Guardian, containing an obituary of Sixsmith and outlining his work.

13 items. 1331/3/1/4 contains 2 pieces.

Material relating to the countryside and environmental issues

This class contains news cuttings relating to the preservation of the countryside and threats to the environment posed by various forms of pollution. Sixsmith had a great interest in this subject, and he was a member of the executive of the Lancashire branch of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England.

Topics covered in the cuttings include: demands by motorists for more roads in the Lake District in 1913; great increases in London traffic during the 1920s; the work of Sixsmith and the North-West branches of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England; the dangers of motor vehicles; atmospheric pollution in cities, particularly smoke pollution in the Manchester area.

3/2/6 is a bundle of 4 cuttings which were stored together, and which relate to pollution caused by soot in towns and cities.

7 items. 1331/3/2/3 contains 2 pieces and 3/2/6 contains 4 pieces.

Material relating to literature and drama

This class reflects Sixsmith's literary interests, consisting of articles on various aspects of literature and drama, and book reviews.
3 sub-classes; 42 items.

Eng 1331/3/3/1  

Book reviews  

This sub-class is comprised of miscellaneous book reviews and longer articles on specific books, including works of fiction, biography, autobiography, poetry, history, social and foreign affairs, religion, mythology, and dialect. Often an entire review section has been kept, rendering it hard to determine which review prompted Sixsmith to retain the item.

All items are cuttings or extracts from local and national British newspapers and journals, except 3/3/1/1 which is an offprint of an article from The Conservator [Horace Traubel's publication], by Isaac Hull Platt, entitled 'The Ethics of Trilby'.

3/3/1/6 is a bundle of 3 cuttings, all containing reviews of the autobiography of Margaret Sanger, the American birth control pioneer. 3/3/1/10 contains 2 cuttings of reviews of Sunlight on the Foothills, the autobiography of journalist and political reporter, Sidney R. Campion.

Archivist's note: some book reviews may be found in other classes which are arranged by subject matter.

1331/3/3/1/1 is inscribed to Sixsmith by Isaac Hull Platt.

22 items. 1331/3/3/1/6 and 3/3/1/8 each contain 3 pieces; 3/3/1/10 contains 2 pieces.

Eng 1331/3/3/2  

Dramatic reviews and the theatre  

This small sub-class of press cuttings consists of dramatic reviews and articles on the theatre and playwrights. 3/3/2/1 includes reviews of Mozart's The Magic Flute and Wagner's The Mastersingers of Nuremburg performed in Manchester, and an extract from a letter by George Bernard Shaw on 'Emotion in Art and in Church'; the other cuttings relate to: a performance of John Galsworthy's Joy; reminiscences of playwrights J.M. Synge and Charles McEvoy; and an address by John Palmer to Manchester Playgoers' Club.

5 items.

Eng 1331/3/3/3  

Items relating to literature in general  

This sub-class consists of material relating to literary matters, including articles on specific writers, literature in general, and poetry. Material relates to H.G. Wells, Anatole France, John Addington Symonds, George Gissing, Thomas Carlyle, and Tolstoy, amongst others. Also includes a short story, 'The Derelict', by Eleanor Gaukroger, and a poem, 'The Voice of Nature' by Tom Swan.

All items are press cuttings or offprints, apart from: 3/3/3/4, which is a card giving notice of a meeting to celebrate the centenary of Henry D. Thoreau; 3/3/3/6 which is a carbon copy of a typed biographical note on Will Seymour, American educator, psychologist, and author; and 3/3/3/13, which is a leaflet advertising Mrs [Edith] Havelock Ellis's first American lecture tour.

15 items. 1331/3/3/3/3 contains 2 pieces.
Material relating to art, crafts, design and industry

Material in this class primarily relates to one of Sixsmith's major interests: design, handmade goods, and the production of quality manufactured items. Sixsmith was involved in forming the Design and Industries Association, which was established to promote the improvement of design in machine made goods, aiming to bring the spirit of Ruskin and Morris into the modern factory. Sixsmith felt strongly about the importance of beauty and quality in everyday manufactured consumer goods, and applied his ideas in his own working life, as managing director of a company which manufactured and dyed woven cotton goods for the West African market.

Main topics covered include: lectures given by various speakers on the importance of beauty in life, the revival of handicrafts, and fabric dyeing; an Arts and Crafts exhibition held at the Royal Academy in 1916; the declining craft of the printer in an age of mechanization; industrial art; and the work of Frank Pick, former chairman of the Design and Industries Association.

All items in the class are press cuttings, except: 3/4/16, which is a copy of the Design Industries Association News Sheet, 1941; 3/4/19, which is an extract from a journal, The Re-Education of the Adult, containing an article by Henry Wilson, 'The Convalescent as Artist-Craftsman'; and 3/4/20, which is a carbon typescript copy of W.R. Lethaby's Foreword to M.E. Waring's An Embroidery Pattern Book, on embroidery design.

3/4/7-14 are letters to the editor of the Manchester Guardian, dating from February-March 1941, which form part of an ongoing debate provoked by an article on 'Art, Craft, and Common Sense' by Ivor Brown. The writers explore the topics of: increasing mechanization; the capitalist system and the exploitation and alienation of workers in the machine age; the importance of producing goods of excellent quality and design; the importance of educating people in art and aesthetic appreciation; and the provision of decent leisure occupations for workers.

20 items; 1331/3/4/19 contains 2 sheets.

Material relating to architecture and reconstruction

This class contains material relating to architecture in general, and in particular to planning and reconstruction after World War II, both in the Manchester area and nationally.

3/5/2 and 6-8 are articles on reconstruction written by Charles Holden, the well-known architect, who came from Bolton and was a friend of J.W. Wallace; Sixsmith may therefore also have been acquainted with him.

All items are cuttings from the Manchester Guardian except 3/5/2 (from journal, The Friend) and 3/5/11 (from the Sunday Times).

Related materials: Eng 1331/3/9/24 contains a bundle of articles by Ivor Brown on various topics.

11 items.
**Material relating to Henry S. Salt**

This class contains material relating to Henry Shakespear Stephens Salt (1851-1939), scholar, author, naturalist, socialist and founder of the Humanitarian League which existed from 1891 to 1919. Salt was a friend of Edward Carpenter, and Sixsmith may have become acquainted with him through Carpenter.

Material includes: cuttings relating to Salt, principally a bundle of 5 obituaries, originally stored together in an envelope; a publisher's advertisement; and 4 periodicals containing a letter and 3 articles by Salt: 'Thoreau in Twenty Volumes' (3/6/3); 'Reminiscences of Ernest Bell' (3/6/4); and 'The Memorial Window to Lord Fortescue' (3/6/5).

7 items.

**Material relating to Horace Traubel**

This class contains material pertaining to Horace Logo Traubel (1858-1919), who was a close friend of Whitman during the latter's residence in Camden, New Jersey, where he spent the last years of his life. Traubel became a champion of Whitman after his death, and produced the nine-volume *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, a minutely detailed diary of his visits to Whitman from 1888 to the poet's death in 1892, only 3 volumes of which were published during Traubel's lifetime. Traubel also wrote his own poetry, producing three volumes of verse during the period 1904-1915.

This material consists of American, French, and German cuttings and periodicals, and includes articles by and about Traubel and his work. 3/7/7-8 are tributes to Traubel dating from the months following his death; 3/7/2-5 are inscribed to Sixsmith from Frank Bain, a Whitman enthusiast from Montreal in Canada, with whom he corresponded; and 3/7/3 includes an article, 'Horace Traubel: Propagandist and prophet' by Mildred Bain, wife of Frank.

1331/3/7/1 is in French; 3/7/4 is in German.

9 items. 1331/3/7/8 has 3 pieces.

**Material relating to Henry Havelock Ellis**

This class contains cuttings, an offprint and a pamphlet relating to Henry Havelock Ellis (1859-1939), critic, essayist, editor, and pioneer in the scientific study of sex. Ellis's major work was *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, published in 7 volumes over the period 1897-1910. 3/8/1 relates to the arrest of bookseller George Bedborough, prosecuted in 1898 for selling the first volume in this series, *Sexual Inversion*. The class also includes: an article by Ellis, 'Are the Anglo-Saxon Dying Out?' (3/8/2); advertisements for and reviews of other volumes in the *Psychology of Sex* series, and other works by Ellis; 3/8/6-9 are obituaries.

10 items. 1331/3/8/1 and 7 each contain 2 pieces, and 3/8/2 contains 5 pieces.

**Miscellaneous printed material**

This class consists of cuttings, pamphlets and periodicals of a miscellaneous nature which do not obviously fall into any other category. Includes individual articles relating to friends of Sixsmith or individuals he admired, such as R.M. Bucke, the birth control pioneer Margaret Sanger, and socialist Robert Blatchford. Also includes articles on
humanitarian issues, socialism, politics, foreign affairs, the two World Wars, poverty and social issues, religion and alternative beliefs, and travel.

Some items consist of a number of related cuttings which had clearly been retained for the same reason, such as their subject matter or author; some of these had been put together by Sixsmith, and others have been grouped by the archivist. These consist of: 3/9/5, material relating to Ernest (Howard) Crosby (1856-1907), American author and social reformer; 3/9/7, material relating to animal rights; 3/9/24, articles by Ivor Brown which were published in the Manchester Guardian during World War II; 3/9/25, obituaries of the political philosopher Dr C. Delisle Burns; 3/9/26, material relating to the death of Leeds socialist, Alfred Mattison in 1944; 3/9/30, relating to Bengali poet, Rabindranath Tagore; 3/9/31, part of a series of 'Traveller's Tales' [probably from the Manchester Guardian] by 'Don'; 3/9/40, 2 brief cuttings relating to Cabinet official and academic, Dr Thomas Jones.

1331/3/9/5 is predominantly in French; 3/9/10 is in Italian.

49 items. All items contain 1 piece only except: 1331/3/9/5, 25 30, 37, 40 and 43 (2 pieces); 3/9/22, 26 and 31 (3 pieces); 3/9/7 (5 pieces); 3/9/24 (8 pieces).

Condition: both periodicals in 3/9/5 are in a fragile condition, with flaking paper.

Eng 1331/4

Photographs and artistic representations

This sub-subgroup is comprised of original photographic prints, photographic reproductions, and commercially-produced postcards. As well as photographs of Whitman and Carpenter, there are four prints of the Eagle Street College, and a class of general photographs which includes some prints of American friends of Whitman, namely Horace Traubel, R.M. Bucke and William Ingram. A number of the Carpenter photographs were clearly sent to Sixsmith by Carpenter himself, who has inscribed and signed them.

Archivist's note: all the photographs, picture postcards and other visual images had been grouped together within the collection, either by Sixsmith himself or by former Library staff. This material therefore forms a separate grouping. It has been arranged according to subject, and within the classes relating to Whitman and Carpenter a division has been made between prints of the subjects themselves, and prints of artists' representations of the subjects, such as paintings and sculptures.

All sizes quoted include frames and mounting boards.

4 classes; 50 items.

Eng 1331/4/1

Material relating to Whitman

This class has been divided into two sub-classes: the first is devoted to portrait photographs of Whitman and original photographs with a Whitman connection. The prints in the second sub-class depict artistic representations of the poet.

2 sub-classes; 15 items.
Photographs of and relating to Whitman

This sub-class includes original prints, photographic reproductions and commercially produced postcards. The prints consist primarily of well-known portrait photographs of Whitman. Dating is uncertain as the prints themselves are probably later copies taken from earlier photographs or negatives, and all the reproductions are undated. There is in addition a photograph of Whitman's tomb at Harleigh Cemetery, and 1331/4/1/1/1 includes a letter to Sixsmith which accompanied one of the photographs.

11 items.

Mounted photographic print

Copy of a head and shoulders portrait photograph of Whitman [dating from 1855].
Print by Rockwood, 1440 Broadway, New York. With handwritten caption on reverse.
16.5 x 10.8 cms.

Printed photograph

Reproduction of a three-quarter length portrait photograph of Whitman [dating from the 1860s].
15.9 x 21.7 cms.

Framed photographic print

Print of a head and shoulders portrait photograph of Whitman [dating from the 1870s].
29.5 x 37.5 cms. Mounting board is in poor condition.

Mounted photographic print and letter

Letter to Sixsmith from [Professor] Will S. Monroe [American academic and writer on Whitman], referring to: Sixsmith's letter and review; a scrapbook of Whitman-related cuttings he is preparing; a planned volume of portraits of Whitman and Whitmanites, which will include pictures of the Bolton group; a third volume of pamphlets in preparation; a visit to Whitman in 1885 when Whitman gave Monroe a photograph of himself, known as the "Gutekunst Butterfly Portrait", of which he encloses an enlargement for Sixsmith.

Encloses mounted print of the butterfly portrait.

Photograph taken by the Barbeau Studio, Oswego, New York. Includes envelope.
4 pieces; photograph 20 x 30.3 cms.

Printed photograph

Reproduction of a head and shoulders portrait photograph of Whitman in profile [dating from the 1880s].
15.8 x 21.7 cms.
Eng 1331/4/1/1/6  
*Printed photograph*  
n.d.

Reproduction of a head and shoulders portrait photograph of Whitman [dating from the 1880s].

Produced by F. Gutekunst of Philadelphia.

15.9 x 23.2 cms.

Eng 1331/4/1/1/7  
*Framed photographic print*  
n.d. [c. 1880s)

Head and shoulders portrait photograph of Whitman.

30 x 35 cms.

Eng 1331/4/1/1/8  
*Printed photograph*  
n.d.

Reproduction of head and shoulders portrait photograph of Whitman [original possibly c.1880s-90s].

15.9 x 21.7 cms.

Eng 1331/4/1/1/9  
*Framed photographic print*  
n.d.

Whitman's tomb [at Harleigh Cemetery, Camden, New Jersey], with 2 unidentified men standing alongside.

16.6 x 13.4 cms. The image is badly faded.

Eng 1331/4/1/1/10  
*Postcard*  
n.d.

Commercially-produced postcard depicting photographs of Whitman himself and his tomb at Harleigh Cemetery, Camden, New Jersey.

Eng 1331/4/1/1/11  
*Postcard*  
n.d.

Commercially-produced postcard depicting photographs of Whitman himself and his last house in Mickle Street, Camden, New Jersey.

Eng 1331/4/1/2  
*Artistic representations of Whitman*  
1915 & n.d.

This sub-class contains reproduced prints and a postcard depicting an engraving, a portrait, and two sculptures of Whitman - most of them very well-known images.

4 items.

Eng 1331/4/1/2/1  
*Photographic reproduction*  
n.d.

A reproduction of the engraving of Whitman used for the frontispiece of the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* (1855).

Eng 1331/4/1/2/2  
*Postcard*  
Sep 1915

Commercially-produced colour postcard depicting 'Portrait of Walt Whitman', painted by
John W. Alexander.

The postcard was sent to Sixsmith from America by 'B.I.P.', noted in another hand as Ben Iden Payne [British actor and producer], who comments that he was reminded of Sixsmith when he saw the Whitman portrait recently [at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York].

Eng 1331/4/1/2/3  Photographic reproduction  n.d.

2 copies of the same reproduction of a photograph, showing a model of a Whitman statue which was inspired by Whitman's 'Song of the Open Road'. Both copies have explanatory manuscript notes on reverse, each in a different hand.

2 pieces.

Eng 1331/4/1/2/4  Photographic reproduction  n.d.


15.9 x 21.7 cms.

Eng 1331/4/2  Material relating to Carpenter  1876-1928 & n.d.

This class is divided into 4 sub-classes which contain: original photographs of Carpenter spanning a 52-year period; group photographs which include Carpenter; photographs of Carpenter's property at Millthorpe, Derbyshire; and prints of paintings and a sculpture of Carpenter.

4 sub-classes; 23 items.

Eng 1331/4/2/1  Photographs of Carpenter  1876-1928

This sub-class contains original photographs of Carpenter from the age of 32 to the year before his death. It includes both formal portrait photographs and informal snapshots.

11 items.

Eng 1331/4/2/1/1  Mounted photographic print  1876-7

Head and shoulders portrait photograph of Carpenter.

Taken by Mayall of 91 King's Road, Brighton. Manuscript caption on reverse supplying date.

Carte de visite; 6.2 x 10.3 cms.

Eng 1331/4/2/1/2  Mounted photographic print  1900

Portrait photograph of Carpenter seated beside a table, with walking stick.

Photograph by Fred Hollyer, 9 Pembroke Square, Kensington. Inscribed on reverse by Carpenter to Sixsmith for Christmas 1900.
16.5 x 10.5 cms.

**Eng 1331/4/2/1/3**  
*Mounted photographic print*  
n.d. [1905]

Full-length shot of Carpenter [outside his house at Millthorpe, Derbys].

24.3 x 28.5 cms.

**Eng 1331/4/2/1/4**  
*Reproduced print*  
n.d.


Print by Alf Mattison of Leeds. Signed by Carpenter.

22.6 x 28.5 cms. The border is suffering from bad spotting.

**Eng 1331/4/2/1/5**  
*Mounted photographic print*  
[1910]

Portrait photograph of Carpenter in profile, seated.

Inscribed from Carpenter to Charlie and Lucy Sixsmith for New Year 1911.

21.5 x 29.8 cms.

**Eng 1331/4/2/1/6**  
*Mounted photographic print*  
n.d.

Head-and-shoulders portrait photograph of Carpenter.


24.6 x 29.6 cms.

**Eng 1331/4/2/1/7**  
*Mounted photographic print*  
n.d.

Half-length portrait photograph of Carpenter.

Photograph by Lena Connell, 50 Grove End Road, St John's Wood.

17.1 x 22.7

**Eng 1331/4/2/1/8**  
*Mounted photographic print*  
n.d.

Half-length portrait photograph of Carpenter, from the same session as the print in Eng 1331/4/2/1/7.

Photograph by Lena Connell, 50 Grove End Road, St John's Wood.

23 x 31.2 cms.

**Eng 1331/4/2/1/9**  
*Mounted photographic print*  
n.d.

Head-and-shoulders indoor shot of Carpenter.

19.8 x 24.5 cms.
Eng 1331/4/2/1/10  
**Photographic print**

Informal shot of Carpenter beside some poppies [in his garden at Millthorpe, Derbyshire].


14.7 x 9 cms.

Eng 1331/4/2/1/11  
**Photographic print**

Snapshot of Carpenter seated in rural setting.

With note on reverse naming photographer as [Teuton?] Porter.

6 x 8.5 cms.

Eng 1331/4/2  
**Group photographs**

This sub-class contains group photographs which include Carpenter. Other individuals depicted are close friends of Carpenter - George Hukin, George Merrill, Sixsmith, and 2 unidentified men.

5 items.

Eng 1331/4/2/1  
**Mounted photographic print**

Formal seated photograph of Carpenter (right) with George Hukin.

Photograph by Mason and Basebe, Cambridge.

25.5 x 20.3 cms.

Eng 1331/4/2/2  
**Mounted photographic print**

Half-length shot of Carpenter (right) and George Merrill outside Carpenter's house at Millthorpe, Derbyshire.

24.8 x 22.4 cms.

Eng 1331/4/2/3  
**Mounted photographic print**

Outdoor shot of Carpenter (centre), George Hukin (left), Sixsmith (right), and George Merrill (centre front).

17.7 x 12.7 cms.

Eng 1331/4/2/4  
**Photographic print**

Outdoor shot of (l-r) Sixsmith, George Hukin and George Merrill, from the same session as Eng 1331/4/2/1.

15.7 x 11.4 cms.
Eng 1331/4/2/2/5  Mounted photographic print  n.d.

Outdoor shot of (l-r) George Hukin, Carpenter, and George Merrill, from the same session as Eng 1331/4/2/2/1-2.

17.7 x 12.7 cms.

Eng 1331/4/2/2/6  Photographic print  n.d.

Informal indoor shot of Carpenter (centre) with 2 unidentified men.

10.7 x 6.5 cms.

Eng 1331/4/2/3  Photographs of Millthorpe  1916 & n.d.

This sub-class contains 4 photographs of Carpenter's property at Millthorpe, Derbyshire.

/1-2: mounted and an unmounted print of the same shot of Carpenter's house and part of the garden.

/3: mounted photograph of Carpenter's house with a large part of the gardens in the foreground.

/4: postcard photograph sent to Sixsmith by George H[ukin], depicting the hut where Carpenter wrote Towards Democracy.

4 items.

Eng 1331/4/2/4  Artistic representations of Carpenter  n.d.

This sub-class consists of 3 prints, depicting:

/1: 1921 painting of Carpenter by T. Binney Gibbs.

/2: another unidentified painting of Carpenter.

/3: bronze sculpture of Carpenter's head by Dorothea Clement.

Eng 1331/4/2/4/1 includes envelope addressed to Gibbs.

3 items.

Eng 1331/4/3  Photographs of the Eagle Street College  1894 & n.d.

This class contains 4 group photographs depicting various members of the Eagle Street College, the group of Bolton Whitman enthusiasts founded by J.W. Wallace in 1885. The earliest of these photographs dates from the early 1890s, the period of Sixsmith's first involvement in the group.

4 items.

Eng 1331/4/3/1  Framed photographic print  1 Jul 1894

Outdoor shot of 8 men: (l-r standing) C.F. Sixsmith; Fred Wild; Dr John Johnston;
Wentworth Dixon; J.W. Wallace; and visitors to the group (l-r seated) John H. Johnston of New York, Dr Eccles and A. Beville.


22.2 x 17.4 cms.

Eng 1331/4/3/2  Framed photographic print  n.d.

Informal shot of 11 men in a rural setting. Includes both Sixsmith (3rd from left, standing) and J.W. Wallace (2nd on Sixsmith's right).

14.3 x 11.6 cms.

Eng 1331/4/3/3  Mounted photographic print  n.d.


16.5 x 10.7 cms.


29.9 x 25 cms.


This general group of photographs includes prints of: Horace Traubel, writer and close friend of Whitman; William Ingram, another friend of Whitman; R.M. Bucke, Whitman's official biographer; George Merrill, Carpenter's partner; and some busts sculpted by Charles Austin Needham.

8 items.

Eng 1331/4/4/1  Mounted photographic print  1897

Half-length portrait photograph of Horace Traubel.

Inscribed to Sixsmith from Traubel.

6.3 x 10.5 cms.

Eng 1331/4/4/2  Mounted photographic print  1905

Horace Traubel seated in his study.

Signed by Traubel, with a note that the photograph was taken by G[ertrude] Traubel [his
daughter].

12.5 x 9.2 cms.

Half-length portrait photograph of William Ingram of Philadelphia [an abolitionist and a friend of Whitman].
17 x 22.7 cms.

Eng 1331/4/4  Mounted photographic print  n.d.
Head-and-shoulders portrait photograph of William Ingram.
Print by Weatherley Brothers of 33 Manchester Road, Bolton.
11 x 16.6 cms.

Eng 1331/4/4/5  Mounted photographic print  n.d.
Half-length portrait photograph of Dr Richard Maurice Bucke [close friend and official biographer of Whitman].
20.2 x 25.1 cms.

Reproduction of the print of Dr R.M. Bucke listed in Eng 1331/4/4/5.
Includes reproduction of inscription by Bucke to [writer] Elbert Hubbard.
15 x 19.5 cms.

Eng 1331/4/4/7  Framed photographic print  n.d.
Outdoor shot of unidentified man and George Merrill seated on bench.
Inscription on reverse to Charlie [Sixsmith] which names the subjects as Harold and George.
18.1 x 15.5 cms. The print is suffering from spotting.

Postcard.
This major series of microfilms, which began in the 1960s, includes over 100 titles and covers many aspects of American history. Material ranges in time from the colonial period to the twentieth century and in place from Quebec to the West Indies. The series includes records relating to trade, industry, plantations, agriculture and ranching, immigration and settlement, the anti-slavery movement, politics and military affairs. There are personal papers and diaries as well as state documents and the records of industrial and commercial concerns. Primary printed material (newspapers, pamphlets, bibliographies, etc.) as well as manuscript collections are included. Each title is accompanied by a printed guide which contains a short introduction to the microfilmed collection along with a contents listing. A digital version of the guide is also available on our website.

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