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CARPENTER
COLLECTION

MSS. 233

Some friends of Walt Whitman:
A study in Sex-Psychology

In putting down some notes about Walt Whitman's friends I have felt that these may not be without value on account of the light they throw upon the Poet himself. As is well known Whitman's friendships were of an ardent character ^{& blotted largely in his life} and that fact is illustrated by the many passages in his poems referring to the subject — notably by the group entitled 'Calamus' — of which I shall have to refer more than once.

I need hardly say that in most biographies the friendship side of the subject is passed by in a somewhat casual manner as a matter of little importance ^{which I regard as a great mistake — but} though personally I regard ~~this~~ as a mistake yet it may carry with it this advantage that in that way we are spared a good deal of annoyance; for to have ignorant & importunate critics rummaging in the vitals of men & women with the view of exposing them to the common gaze would indeed add a new terror to life.

In the case of Whitman his love-nature, by all accounts,

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accounts, was singularly grand and noble. We are think of his labours & ministrations in the Army Hospitals during the American Civil War, of the hundred thousands or so of wounded soldiers he passed through his hands, of the countless stories of personal affection & devotion given & received, one of the many poems in Leaves of Grass ^{at least three} ~~which run~~ ^{the grandeur & nobility of his mind} ~~well that the~~ become apparent ^{are}. Dr. Buckle — who knew Whitman so intimately as a personal friend — says of him after describing their first meeting: "Any attempt to convey to another even the faintest notion of the effect upon me of that short & seemingly commonplace interview would be hopeless, probably ~~too~~ foolish. Briefly, it would be nothing ~~more than the~~ ^{+ one} simple truth to state that I was, by it, ~~too~~ lifted up & set upon a higher plane of existence, ^{lived} upon which I have more or less continuously ~~lived~~ ever since — that is, for ~~as~~ a period of eighteen years. And my feeling towards the man, Walt Whitman, ~~was~~ from that day to the present has been and is that of the deepest affection & reverence."

Of course it may be said, & probably will be said that Mr. Buckle Whitman met with a man of ability ~~but~~ whom

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in whom he ~~met~~^{discovered} a response and an appreciation
which he would not have found in an ordinary & perhaps
undiscerned son or daughter of the people - and that this ac-
counts for the extraordinary impression produced. But I do
not think this explanation is by any means adequate; for as
a matter of fact (as is well known) the response to him
from the roughest & most uncultured individuals or classes
was quite as warm a vivid as that from the educated - in fact
generally
more so. And if there is to be an 'explanation' of this I sug-
gest that
~~some~~ it will be found in a certain quality of ^{Whitman's} which
lay below all ordinary ~~expression~~; but on this subject ^{of his mind} ~~though~~
~~he~~ (I cannot decide at present, ~~but~~) I will try &
disentangle & make clear later time.

At this point I may perhaps insert a few words from
my own account of my first meeting with the Poet (says with
World Warman, London, George Allen & Unwin, p. 5).
"Meanwhile in that first ten minutes I was becoming ~~conscious~~
conscious of an impression which subsequently grew even more
marked - the impression, namely, of immense vista or background
in his personality. If I had thought before (and I do
not know that I had) that Whitman was eccentric, ~~unbalanced~~,
unbalanced,

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violent, my first interview certainly produced a quite contrary
effect. No one could be more considerate, I may almost
say courteous; no one could have more simplicity of manner
and freedom from egotistic wrigglings; and I never met
any one who gave me more the impression of knowing what he
was doing than he did. Yet away & beyond all this I was
aware of a certain, radiant power in him, a large benign
effluence & inclusiveness, as of the sun, which filled out the place
where he was - yet with something of reserve & sadness in it
too, and a sense of remoteness & inaccessibility."

To clinch what I have just said about the direct
attraction which Walt exercised on plain unsophisticated
folk, I may ~~snow~~ quote a few words from an Interview
~~which is printed in~~ ^{had been} with Peter Doyle ~~in 18~~ ¹⁸ ~~the~~ Doyle ~~was~~ baggage-man
(a little book entitled Calamus) ^{had been} on one of the trains flying between Washington & New York,
and at a still earlier date had been conductor of a horse (tram)
car at Washington. It was in this earlier capacity that
Doyle met Whitman. "You ask where I first met him?
curious story. We fell ~~to~~ each other at once. I

* Reference

Calamus, a series of letters written during the years 1868-1880 by Walt
Whitman to a young friend (Peter Doyle) - edited with an introduction by
Richard Maurice Bucke M.D. one of Whitman's literary executors.

Published by Lawrence Maynard at 287 Congress St., in Boston 1897

was a conductor. - The night was very stormy, - he had been over to see Burroughs before he came down to take the car - the storm was awful. Walt had his blanket - it was thrown round his shoulders - he seemed like an old sea-captain. It was the only passenger, it was a lonely night, so I thought I would go in & talk with him. Something in me made me do it and something in him drew me that way... ~~He used to say there was something in me that had the same effect on him.~~ Anyway I went into the car, we were familiar at once - I put my hand on his knee - we understood. He did not get out at the end of the trip - in fact went all the way back with me. I think the year of this was 1866. From that time we were the biggest sort of friends. I stayed in Washington until 1872, when I went on the Pennsylvania Railroad."

In another portion of the same interview, speaking of Whitman's relation to women, Pete says ~~as follows~~ in his roughings:

"I never knew a case of Walt's being bothered up by a woman. In fact, he had nothing special to do with any woman except Mrs. O'Connor & Mrs. Burroughs. His disposition was different. Women in that sense never came into his head... ~~Walt was too~~

~~he always behaved as though she was not there. No trace of any kind of disposition in him.~~ I might & know about him those years - we were awful close together. In the afternoon ~~as~~ I would go up to the Treasury building & wait for him to get through if he ~~as~~ was busy. Then ~~we'd~~ we'd stroll out together, often without any plan, going wherever we happened to get. This occurred days in & out, months running. Towards women gene, Walt had a good way - he very easily attracted them. But he did that with men too. And it was an ~~unresistable~~ irresistible attraction. Pete had many tell me - men & women. He had an easy gentle way - the same for all, no matter who they were or what their sex."

The series of letters (to Pete) which follow in this book are full of interest & repay a careful study on account of the sidelights which they throw upon both characters (Walt & Pete) & on their relation to each other. Here is one (letter VIII) which returns to the same subject, namely his relation to women, and is which - notwithstanding its somewhat jocular air - impresses the reader with the sense that Walt's so-called flirtations were not very serious. He is speaking of some evening party,

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and says: - "I also made love to the women, & flatter myself that I created at least one impression - & with a gay decoror that I am! The truth is, Peter, that I am here at the present time mainly in the midst of female women, some of them young & jolly, and meet them most every evening in company; and the way in which this aged party comes up to the scratch & cuts out the youthful parties & fills their hearts with envy is absolutely a caution. You would be astonished, my son, to see the brass & coquetry & the capacity of flirtation & carrying on with the girls - I would never have believed it of myself!"

This letter seems to me personally very characteristic, with its slightly histrionic air, & enjoyment of the ~~poor~~ Don Juan pose, and its perfect understanding (as between Pete & himself) that it was only a pose. Looking through the whole series, of over 100 letters, there emerges just such a figure as one might expect from such a correspondence - humorous, shrewd, motherly, & intensely real in its forthrightness & devotion for a younger friend.

I have felt unwell almost every day or some days not so bad. Besides I have those spells again; none, but longer ones now, 2-3 days + suddenly break. It is hard to tell exactly what it is.

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There are plenty of other letters in the same book from which ^(This for instance speaking of his giddy fits.) one might make extracts which would effective pictures of the Doctor. But these dizzy spells are all from their hospital malaria, hospital poison absorbed in the ~~system~~ system years ago --- I have taken three or four of my favorite rides on Broadway, I believe I described them to you in my letters a year ago. I find many of my old friends, & new ones too, and am received with the same warm friend ship & ^{love} as ever. --- Tell Johnny Lee I send him my love, & hope he is well & hearty."

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Thus far we have the poets' love-nature portrayed mainly from the man's side - portrayed, that is, by himself or by friends like Dr. Bucke who were closely in touch with him or who understood his temperament. It may interest us to approach the subject from the woman's side.

In 1918 there ~~came out~~ a book entitled : The Letters of Anne Gilchrist & Walt Whitman, which for our present purpose is extremely interesting & helpful, ^{though sometimes almost painful}. It contains 76 letters ^{in all - 5 being} from Whitman to Mrs. Gilchrist, and some 64 from Mrs. Gilchrist to the Poet, ^{while} the remaining 7 ~~were~~ letters from outsiders. Anne Gilchrist, as we know from independent considerations, ^{was} a woman of fine instinct & considerable literary ability - the widow of Alexander Gilchrist who wrote the life of Blake. At her first reading of Whitman's Leaves of Grass, ^{in about 1864} she practically fell in love with the Poet (when ^{up to} that time she had never seen, & when she did not even meet till 1876 ^(or 7 years later) when she came to Philadelphia). She soon made herself more familiar with the book, her devotion ~~growing~~ ^{now} more definite & urgent; and she soon made up her mind to cross the Atlantic and make Whitman personal acquaintance.

Bucke W.W.
p. 204

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Her intense enthusiasm for Leaves of Grass may be judged from the letters she wrote to William Rossetti, ~~in~~ and which appeared under the title A woman's estimate of Walt Whitman in the Boston Radical of May 1870: - "I had not dreamed that words could cause to be words, & become electric streams like these. I do assure you that, strong as I am, I feel sometimes as if I had not bodily strength to read many of these poems - In the series headed "Calanques", for instance, in some of the "Songs of Parting", the "Voice out of the Sea", the poem beginning "Tears, Tears" &c., there is such a weight of emotion, such a tension of the heart, that mine refuses to beat under it - stands quite still - and I am obliged to lay the book down for a while." As she grew more familiar with the poems her devotion grew more definite & urgent; and before long she made up her mind to cross the Atlantic and make Whitman personal acquaintance.

This resolution to cross the Atlantic was, as may be imagined, no small matter. It included the idea of taking her three ^{young} ~~small~~ children with her, & placing them out at School or College in Philadelphia. Naturally

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the scheme could not be carried out at once, and, as a matter of fact it was not till 1876 that she actually made the passage.
~~though her first letter to the poet is dated September 1869,~~ as
fix your caption. It was early in September 1871, ~~but~~ I believe,
that she first wrote to Whitman - a truly ardent letter, inspired by
what she had read of the Poems - & even then casting her ~~soul~~, so to speak,
at his feet: "O come my darling & look into these eyes & see the loosing
ardent aspiring soul in them". But he had delayed to answer. Perhaps
the offer was too sudden & unexpected! Then she wrote again: ~~and still~~
~~so much to say~~ I wrote you a letter the 6th:
September & would fain know whether it has reached your hand.
If it has not I will write to you again quickly & you - if I
have I will wait you time with courage & patience for an answer;
but spare me the needless suffering of uncertainty at this point, & let
me have ~~one~~ one line, one word, of assurance that I am no longer
hidden from you by a thick cloud - ~~in~~ that love thee day & night
last thoughts, first thoughts, my soul's passionate yearning toward
thy divine soul, every hour, every deed & thought - my love
for my children, my hopes, aspirations for them, all taking
new shape, new height through this great love thine.

~~Again there was a long delay. But at last, in November of the same year~~

* Letters of Anne Gilchrist & Walt Whitman, Letter III p. 65
Edited by Thomas B. Warner, T. Fisher Unwin, London (No date)

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We must remember, in reading this letter, what makes it the more
impressive, that Anne Gilchrist, at the time of writing it, was no mere
juvenile enthusiast but a literary woman of considerable experience, some
40 years of age, who had assisted her husband during his lifetime in an
important literary work and now after his death was engaged in preparing
a second & enlarged edition for publication, who was full of plans &
activities, including the bearing & education of 3 children, and had no
little experience of the world & the vicissitudes of life & fortune. These
considerations help us to realize what such a letter meant and the
light it necessarily throws back on the personality & character of the
woman who inspired it.

Again, however, there was a long delay. But at last, in November
of the same year,

the ~~the~~ reply ~~came~~^{arrived}. It was kindly, but obviously not on the same plane of intensity. He says he has ^{been writing} quite a while for time & the right mood ~~for~~ ^{for} answering her letter.

"I wish to give it a day, a sort of Sabbath or holy day, apart & itself, under serene & propitious influences, confident that I could then write you a letter which would do you good, & me too. I too send you my love. And do you feel no disappointment because I now write so briefly. My book is my best letter, my response, my truest explanation of all. In it I have put my body & spirit. You understand this better & fuller & clearer than any one else. And I too fully & clearly understand the loving letter it has evoked. Enough that there surely exists a beautiful & delicate relation, accepted by both of us with joy."

"There is always," as the French say, "one who loves & the other who consents to be loved". And it is the most difficult thing in the world for the lover, who of course desires an ardent return of affection to ~~permisce himself~~ ^{to believe} (what is so often the fact) that there is (in the ~~himself~~) ~~that~~ ^{he can expect to know that there} heart of the other party no true ~~heart of the other party~~ ^{experience} ~~is in any reciprocal manner~~, but only a passive ~~agreement~~ ^{before us}.

In the case the real nature of the relation is evident. Anne Gilchrist loved W.W. with all the force of a highly strong & powerful

nature, and she could not, could not, believe that her passion was merely accepted and not really reciprocated. Realizing the true situation, ^{as one can do,} one reads the correspondence with a painful sinking of the heart. It happened to me at that time to be in touch with both parties. I was staying in Mr. Gilchrist's house (1929 N-22nd Str. Philadelphia), having indeed been introduced to the Gilchrist's by Whitman himself; and Whitman for a few days was also staying there. I of course knew nothing about the said correspondence (^{was private ~~and~~}) which only saw the light years afterwards), but the general situation ~~soon became~~ ^{was} evident ~~to me~~ — it could hardly be concealed. I saw that Anne Gilchrist was suffering. I saw that Whitman was all kindness — kindness itself ~~towards her~~; but no word was spoken, as regards ~~any~~ ^{any} ~~knowledge~~ ^{of} her, but at the same time ~~it~~ ^{she} ~~saw~~ ^{that} this his relation to her did not go ~~further~~ farther than ~~her~~ ^{she} ~~would~~ ^{have} ~~thought~~ ^{or doubtless} ~~the world~~ ^{she} ~~would~~ ^{have} ~~perceived~~ the truth; but that love itself, as we all know ^{she} ~~knows~~, is in such cases blind.

It was really a tragic situation; ~~but~~ there was no escape ~~from it, except~~. Gradually, two weeks & months of pain — exquisite pain, no doubt, the conviction must have grown

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established itself in her mind that he did not ^{and could not,} love her in ~~in the way she hoped~~ ^{so fondly} — that her dreams of ~~to~~ ^{her} a heart-response from this beloved friend, of a perfect understanding, of a ~~to~~ union of lives, of a final settlement with her children in ~~the~~ New World, were all destined to be utterly dashed. It must have been a painful blow (and no doubt many more acres would say it was very foolish ^{of her} to expose herself to the possibility of it) but ^{such a thing} ~~would do foolish things, and~~ a noble & courageous woman as she was — she took this without a murmur; and to the end of her volume her letters ^{though} are strong & dignified & entirely free from words of reproach.

Nevertheless the blow was too heavy for ~~she~~ ^{her} to recover from it. She returned to England in June 1873; ~~but~~ ^{then in 1885} a most serious complaint ^{ran its malignant course for 5 or 6 years,} festered itself upon her, and she died in November 1885.

^{(on one side at any rate,}
Such was the tragic end of the relationship between two very noble characters — It is sad to think of because in many ways (~~not in all~~) these two were so well fitted to become life long friends. No doubt many critics following the story have been inclined to ~~judge~~ dismiss Whitman as an impulsive slow-moving character destitute of ^{incapable} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~passionate~~ ^{passionate}

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+ absorbing emotion. Yes in the latter part of their lives: ^{as my next few words will show.} Whitman as a matter of fact was subject to strong & passionate ^{love-affairs} ~~emotions~~, which were sometimes — especially in his earlier years — almost violent in their intensity.

In the 1860 edition of Leaves of Grass there is a poem (p. 355, of that edition*) written on the occasion of his desertion or betrayal by some one whom he loved very dearly, which is almost painful to read on account of the weight of feeling with which it is charged. In later editions this and one other similar poem are excised & omitted — probably I should say on account of that very weight of feeling ^{wh. they reveal} ~~in them~~ (for Whitman — great artist that he was — could never ^{bear} have anything excessive or unbalanced in his work), though to us that weight of feeling makes them all the more indispensable & precious. Who that "someone" was is whom Walt was, for the time being, so devoted, we do not know; but the internal evidence points conclusively to a man friend; and some of the points to which I shall refer presently make the situation easier to understand ...

* See also p. 56 of My Days with Walt Whitman by E. Carpenter, where the poem is quoted in full.

The poem in question is as follows:—

Hours continuing long, sore & heavy-hearted,
 Hours of the dusk, when I withdraw to a lonesome and un-
 peopled spot, seating myself, leaning my face in my hands;
 Hours sleepless, deep in the night, when I go forth, speeding swiftly the
 Country roads, or through the city streets, or pacing miles & miles,
 Stifling plaintive cries;
 Hours disengaged, distracted — for the one I cannot content myself
 without, soon I saw him, content himself without me;
 Hours when I am forgotten (Weeks & months are passing,
 but I believe I am never to forget!)
 Sullen & suffering hours! (I am ashamed — but it is useless
 — I am what I am ;)
 Hours of my torment — I wonder if other men ever have the
 like, out of the like feelings?
 Is there even one like me — distracted — his friend, his lover
 lost to him?
 Is he too as I am now? Does he still rise in the morning, de-
 jected, thinking who is lost to him? and at night
 awaking, thinking who is lost?
 Does he too harbor his friendship silent ^{and} endless? harbor
 his anguish & passion?
 Does some stray reminder, or the casual mention of a name,

bring the fit back upon him, taciturn & dejected?
 Does he see himself reflected in me? In these hours does he see
 the face of his hours reflected?

No one can doubt the intensity of feeling & the anguish of mind
 from which that poem sprung. But in this case we see that
~~some~~^{the} ~~same~~^{other} ~~feels~~^{is called} an unusual passion — the passion namely
 that ~~passion~~^{of} emotion was ~~raised~~^{by} ~~another~~^{man} for another
 man. We in this Society, who have studied the by ways
 of Sex Psychology are not surprised at this. We know
 now that although love between persons of opposite sex is as a
 rule the most powerful & absorbing, that is by no means
 always so, and that there are ~~rare~~ cases of overwhelming passion
 between those of the same sex. The whole of that section
 of Leaves of Grass which is called "Calamus" illustrates this
 fact, and it would seem that Whitman ^{by} collecting out
 of the great mass of ~~his~~ his poems just this group ~~wanted~~
 to illustrate and give expression to what we should now call
 the homosexual passion — which to ~~exist~~^{exist}, though at
 that time ignored & unacknowledged by the world, was
 living freely within him & pressing for deliverance.

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The whole section "Calamus" is as I say occupied with this subject, and to those who wish to gain an insight into Whitman's inner nature I strongly recommend a reading through of that section. At the present moment it may suffice to quote two or three of the poems contained in it. Here for instance is one entitled A Glimpse: —

A glimpse thro' an intestine caught,
Of a crowd of workmen & drivers in a bar-room around the stove
late of a winter night, and I unremarked feasted in a corner,
of a youth who loves me & whom I love, silently approaching & seating
himself near, that he may hold me by the hand,
At long while amid the noise of coming & going, of drinking & oath
& smoky jest,

There we two, content, happy in being together, speaking little, perhaps
not a word.

Or this: —

When I pursue the conquest'd fame of heroes and the victories of mighty
generals, I do not envy the generals,
Nor the President in his Presidency, nor the rich in his great house,
But when I hear of the brotherhood of lovers, how it was with them,
How together through life, through dangers, odium, unchanging,
long & long.

Through youth & thro' middle & old age, how infallibly, how
affectionately & faithfully they were,
Then I am pensive — I hastily walk away filled with the
bitterest envy.

Or this: —

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Earth, my likeness,
Though you look so impressive, ample & sphæric there,
I now suspect that is not all;
I now suspect there is something fierce in you eligible to burst forth,
For an athlete is enownd of me, & I of him,
But towards him there is something fierce & terrible in me eligible
to burst forth.
I dare not tell it in words, not even in these songs.

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John Addington Symonds, as we all know, wrote a great deal about Whitman, and about the homosexual temperament both in the Greek world and in more modern times ; and his work has been most valuable, but it has been somewhat vitiated — (to some decrease) — by a certain lack of ~~sincerity~~ and self-reliance in ^{Symonds} nature. Symonds' visits to England were but rare, and I actually met him only once — though we corresponded occasionally ; but I have no doubt at all about his attitude to homosexuality. He shared the temperament completely, and everything which threw light on the subject interested him. But in his expressions about it he vacillated somewhat. (We must remember that he wrote ~~so~~ ^{at a} time ago when people were more hesitating & less outspoken ^{on such subjects} than they are now.) And while sometimes he wrote with ardour as almost a propagandist of the faith, at other times he hedged & went backwards ^{on} himself as one alarmed at his own humanity. This change of attitude is for instance very conspicuous in the last pages of his Problem in Greek Ethics, for while throughout the ~~less~~ body of that

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workmore he handles the question magnificently, and lays out his description of the Greek customs like one intent only on arriving at an accurate statement of them and with no particulars on either side, in those last pages he almost runs away from himself, and might almost be accused by an unfriendly critic of throwing dust in the eyes of the reader & deliberately causing the latter to mistake his real meaning. When I say this I am sure my audience will not charge me with unfriendly sentiments towards Symonds, for whose memory I have the greatest respect ; but this is a case in which absolute truthfulness must not be dispensed with, and I feel sure that by his occasional vacillation & timidity Symonds did as a matter of fact do a certain amount of injury to the cause which really lay so close to his heart.

The same trouble may be observed in Symonds dealing with correspondence with Whitman himself and (consequently) in his book about Whitman. After reading & studying for some time the group of poems entitled "Calamus", Symonds

* Walt Whitman, a Study, by John Addington Symonds (London now published by George Routledge & Sons).

felt uncertain ~~about~~ (as no doubt many other people have felt uncertain) how far the natural inferences from these poems about physical relationships among men were distinctly contemplated by & envisaged by the author. He therefore wrote to Whitman - not once only, but several times - posing this question.

I think most people will admit that this was a very foolish & ^{+ mistaken} thing to do. No one cares to be pinned down to a statement in black & white of his views on a difficult & complex subject. Least of all was Whitman open to such treatment.

He hated sharp questions & answers generally. Knowing how seldom such things arrive ^{nowhere near} - But here was

Symonds putting him in a very awkward position. ~~Whitman~~
He could hardly with truthfulness deny any knowledge or contemplation of such inferences; but if on the other hand he took what he might call the reasonable ~~line~~ line, & said that, ~~of course he made allowance while not advocating~~ while not advocating abnormal relations in any way, he of course made allowance for possibilities in that direction, & the occasional development of ^{such} abnormal relations, why, he knew that the moment he said ~~such~~ such a thing he would have the whole American

Press at his heels, snarling & slandering, & distorting his words in every possible way. Things are pretty bad here ^{in this country;} but in the States they are ten times worse. Symonds ought to have known & allowed for this, but apparently did not do so. In the end Whitman wrote a letter ^(which is quoted in part by Symonds) book ^(part) in the shape of a defense approach in which he expressly repudiates, disowns, & brands as damnable all "mortal inferences" which may be drawn from the gospel of comradeship. ~~though he is prepared to extend the letter to the whole human race~~ That of course was a perfectly safe & correct line to take, but it does not bring us much farther on our way, as it still leaves open the question what inferences are really mortal & that are not so. It is evident that Symonds' ill-judged letter annoyed & irritated the Poet - & very naturally so - and I (for one) can only regret that S. ever wrote it; for the incident has given a handle to the reactionary folk and a push in the direction of Constance & all his crew. We must remember too how different the atmosphere on all these matters was then, especially in the U.S. from what it is now in the centres of modern culture and in places like Oxford & Cambridge & London where you can nowadays talk as freely as you like, & where sex variations & even ^{abnormalities} are almost a stock subject of conversation.

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Personally & having known Whitman fairly intimately I do not lay any great stress on that letter. W. was in his real disposition the most candid, but also the most cautious of men. An attempt was made ^{on this occasion} to drive him into some sort of confession of his real nature; and it may be that ~~the~~ ^{that} very effort to do so ~~in excess~~ aroused all his resistance & caused him to hedge more than ever. In the book, ^{entitled} Walt Whitman in Camden there is a report of an after dinner speech in which W. speaks of Symonds' ^{as} being of a very "insidious" disposition. ^(At first I was baffled by the expression, but on a second reading) The context led me to suppose that this was said in allusion to those repeated enquiries on Symonds' part, and that Whitman interpreted them as conveying ~~some~~ ^{some} suspicion of his own ~~actions~~ ^{character} the idea thus he (Whitman) had things (memories, motives, &c) which he was anxious to conceal.

Then there is our friend Leon Bazalgette who has written an excellent book on Whitman (sa vie et son œuvre), and who is an enthusiastic disciple of the Poet, but who is also (curiously enough) a strenuous opponent

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opponent of the theory that Whitman himself had any homosexual tendencies or ~~sympathies~~. Thus we are left divided in opinion and a good deal mystified. But I can not help thinking - though it may of course be wrong - that Bazalgette has been swayed in his judgment by the domination of French public opinion which is ^{and generally} ~~has always~~ ^{been} so much inclined toward the adoration of the Female and so adverse to or negligent of romantic attachments between men

also
There is a little book, lately published, entitled Walt Whitman's Anomaly. ^{which by any means} though not very scientific in treatment ~~is~~ is stated in the introduction to be by "a Medical man", and is published by George Allen + C. of London. It embodies again the same defect which we find in the French school - a defect wh. I can only describe as a certain vulgarity of view. The author, in fact, in alluding to or trying to describe the particular wherein Whitman's nature differs from the normal temperament is content all along to accentuate the petty or pathological ~~marks~~ ^{marks} but fails altogether to realize that the feminine characteristics in such a case may have a most important meaning as pointing to the evolution of a higher type of humanity than that which we are accustomed to, and may indicate an effort of Nature towards a superior form - a form inclusive of the feminine as well as the masculine. I say the

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author passes by all such superior considerations and dwells with a certain vulgarity of outlook on the meaner & pleasanter aspects possible to the subject. One can hardly hope to arrive at true or far-reaching conclusions by such a method. In fact we see plainly enough that if ever there is to be evolved a higher type of humanity of such a nature as to include male & female characteristics it is pretty certain that on the way to that ideal there will occur topsided & untenanted types, but that we need not on that account abandon our faith in an ultimate and admirable result.

Summarizing our conclusions we may certainly say without fear of contradiction that Walt Whitman was a great lover of mankind - one of the greatest that has ever appeared. In the nobility of his devotion, in the tenderness of its expression, in the width of its embrace, in reaching to the poorest & most ignorant, to all classes, ~~or both sexes~~, in the intense humanity & freedom from anything like affectation and patronage, he stands almost without a rival. And here the word "Man" must of course be taken to include Woman. He was an ardent & faithful lover of humanity in its every phase, ~~& in both sexes~~. At the same time ~~we~~ ^{and} we must thank him for this - there is nothing woolly & vague about his expression, or so lofty &

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otherworldly that it will do to mean anything - or nothing! It has definite form and outline. When you hear of people who love everybody, somehow you instinctively shrink from them, fearing & indeed feeling that such a person must be terribly dull & depressing - not to say devoid of character. And nine times out of ten that instinct is correct. It is definiteness & decision that attract; & Whitman had that power to a quite remarkable degree, of holding people off & at a distance, and at the same time of drawing them to himself by invisible and almost irresistible bonds.

I say he was a passionate lover of mankind. But although I have just used the word (mankind) in its more general & vaguer application ^{as} to the human race, I must now explain this & mean it also & particularly in its application to one section of the race. There is no doubt in my mind that Walt was before all a lover of the Male. His thoughts turned towards Men first & foremost, and it is no good disguising that fact. A thousand passages in his poems might be quoted in ~~support~~ ^{import} of this contention - passages in which the male, perfectly naturally and without affectation, ~~are~~ clearly figures as the main object of his attention, and ~~we~~ hold the words as the ideal to which his thoughts are directed. These passages are convincing I think in their scope, their power & their

Sincerity. ~~This is not good~~ In such a case as that ~~saying~~
 rush in with ~~or talk about~~ it is useless to
~~the~~ Some tag of warning & propriety or morality. What we
 have to do first is to establish a fact, and then afterwards to analyse,
~~that fact~~ analyse & discuss ~~it~~; and it seems to me - though of course
 I may be wrong - that the plain fact is his preoccupation, ^{with} throughout his poems, with the male rather than ^{the} female.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that according to the usual standards of life this is a strange preoccupation - something not easy to classify - something distorted, ~~unreasonable~~ out of joint. Still, there it is, and we have to reckon it up and take account of it. Here was a man who notwithstanding the obvious superiority of the female as a mate, her superior adaptation in the matter of physical structure, mental build & temperament etc - did actually prefer the male, and continued all through life to favour a ~~given~~ expression to that preference. Here we seem to come face to face with a strange anomaly. ^{But} We ~~who~~ ^{already} ~~have studied~~ the phenomena of sex-mission are ~~not~~ accustomed to the existence of the anomaly. ^{this anomaly?} Can we explain it? - here is: - or at least - since we cannot really explain anything - can we by due consideration of these numerous exceptions to a ^{giving to our} general law succeed in ~~lifting~~ ^{giving to our} statement of the law enter a new & a better form?

I think we can. I think we may say that the widespread existence of this anomaly (common not only in man, but in various animals) by which the male ~~prefers~~ ^{prefers to make} the female, perhaps after all proves to us ~~that he~~ ^{that he} ~~sometimes~~ ^{sometimes} ~~fails~~ ^{fails} ~~to~~ ^{to} in the continuation of the race ~~is~~ ^{is} the main object of love & mating and ~~of the common~~ ~~of the sexes~~ is ~~not~~ ^{not} by any means adequate. Some other aspect or explanation of the matter is needed. Undoubtedly the continuation of the race is important. Undoubtedly one of the results of mating throughout the animal kingdom is the production of offspring. But is this the sole or even the main result? I doubt it. It seems to me much more reasonable & even logical to regard the offspring of the sexes as a ~~by~~ ^{necessarily} product - a valuable & beautiful ~~by~~ ^{necessarily} product if you like, but not ~~after all~~ the main thing. The main thing is the actual establishment & consolidation of a ~~new~~ new form of life - the double life. When two people love each other to that degree that they become in effect one person they take on this new character, & may almost be said to enter into a new order of existence. It is that the new & double life which is the main thing, and if that can be attained without marriage, or apart from what is usually called marriage, why, the main purpose of

marriage is already fulfilled. In the case of Whitman - united as he was by most intimate ties to one or more men-friends, we ~~see~~ see already the emergence of a new organic inspiration and a new power of life. His poems radiate this power in all directions. Thousands date from their first reading of them a new era in their lives just as decidedly as they might date a similar era from the arrival of their first child. Thousands date from the reading of them a new inspiration and an extraordinary access of vitality carrying ~~their~~ activities & energies into new channels. How far this process may go we hardly yet know, but that it is one of the factors of future evolution we can hardly doubt. I mean that the loves of men towards each other - & similarly the loves of women for each other - may become factors of future human evolution just as necessary & well-recognised as the ordinary loves which lead to the propagation of birth of children & the propagation of the race. If so, we may safely say that we see here in operation a great power which is already playing its part in moulding the world, and one which we ~~are~~ ^{must} morally bound not to deny & disown, and not to run away from, at risk of denying our humanity & committing ^{the sin} ~~the sin~~, so execrated in the N.T. of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost.

Walt Whitman never married, nor is there as far as I am aware, a suggestion anywhere that ~~he~~ ever thought ~~of~~ ^{about} marriage. He leaves us a problem the answer to which, if ever found, will probably contain in itself the key to some ages of future development. We cannot at our present stage say ~~and~~ exactly what that key is or where to be found. But what I think is important on us to do is to confront the problem in question as directly and soberly as we can; ^{comparatively in blunderous security on the other side;} not to shirk it or dodge it, but as far as it touches our own lives to acknowledge it boldly & soberly - as if we indeed were that person concerned, and convinced that in solving the problem in any degree for ourselves we shall be solving it for thousands & millions of others and so helping to lighten a great load which today presses upon humanity.

MS. A. 23

Consult the book Walt Whitman in Camden, for an afternoon speech in Mr. W.W. Spotswood's grounds on Long Island very impromptu & impulsive

Also p. 23. Title & estimate of book by Ben Bagley (Savvier Son)

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