

The Self and the Other in Walt Whitman's Mirror: English Literature and Culture from an American Perspective

By **Raoul Granqvist**

Umeå University

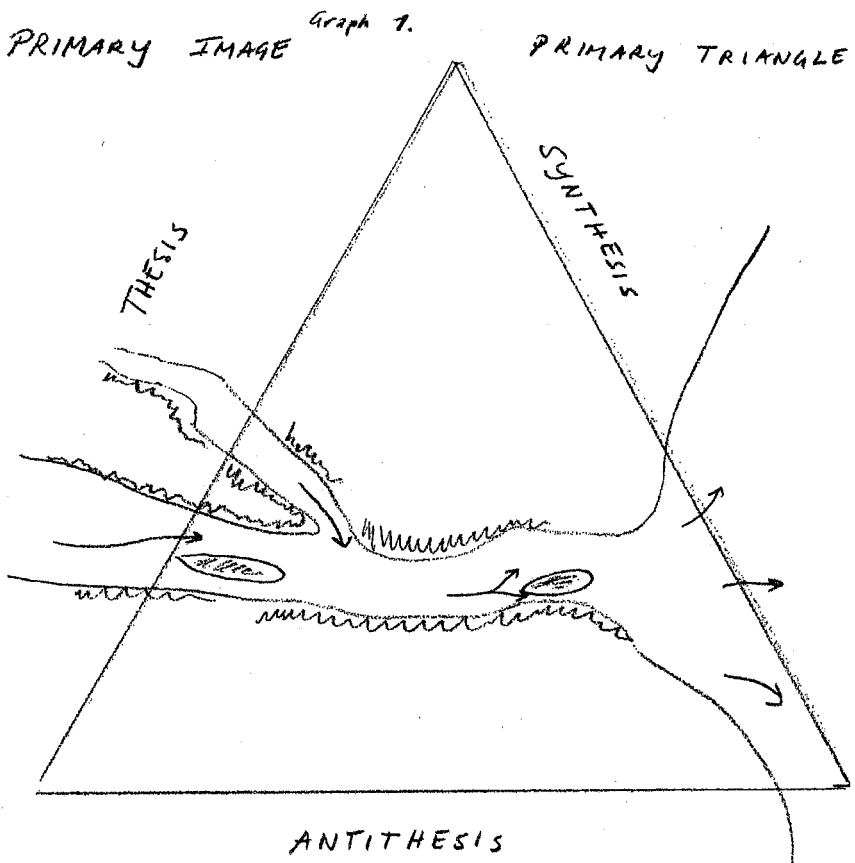
It has been well known for a long time that Whitman's positing of a competitive dualism of experience, of contrasts and oppositions colliding and coalescing, of a process of history linked with a furtherance of moral aims, derives largely from the influence of German and British thinkers.¹ His adoption of their ideas shaped the base of his aesthetic values.

According to Hegel the whole earth,... with its infinite variety, the past, the surroundings of to-day, or what may happen in the future, the contrarieties of material with spiritual, and of natural with artificial, are all, to the eye of *ensemblist*, but necessary sides and unfoldings, different steps or links, in the endless process of Creative thought, which, amid numberless apparent failures or contradictions, is held together by central and never-broken unity—not contradictions and failures at all, but radiations of one consistent and eternal purpose; the whole mass of everything steadily, unerringly tending and flowing toward the permanent *utile* and morale, as rivers to oceans.²

This passage is highly informative and illustrative of Whitman's ornate style and liberal thought. On the semantic level it is informed by a number of antithetical expressions: variety-unity, failures-links, material-spiritual. On the (let's call it) metaphysical, the same terms serve to project a cardinal image, the ever-expanding river with its many dams, eddies, and cross-currents. Truly Hegelian as this paradigm may sound, it represents, to a large extent, the very essence of Whitman's philosophy. Hegel's "reconciliation" of the "alienations" (to employ his own terminology) had a theological purpose: the "ocean" towards which man was hurrying was the emblem of his urge to fulfill God's wish.³ Whitman's, on the other hand, was materialistic and idealistic, empty of any God-given hope for salvation. Man still had to pursue it, fight all the obstacles along the route, and

overcome the fatigue. His rewards would be as great, Whitman implied, but collected from this world. The turbulent river in Whitman's metaphysical landscape is the meeting-ground for the "me". The river flows from the "outside" toward the "inside". The experiences merge.

The Hegelian "triad" presupposes that humanity progresses towards states of "reconciliations" or "syntheses" as a result of its yielding to the critical interplay between opposite forces, between the "thesis" and the "antithesis". Reverted into Whitman's river image, "synthesis" would correspond to the steady flow of the river and its ultimate integration with the ocean, "thesis" and "antithesis" to the elements that check and modify the stream. The river image could be transposed into a triangle, in which each side represents one of these interlocked elements. We could call this a "primary" triangle. (See graph 1).



In fact, this triangle includes other triangles, each of which embodies the essentials of the first. In the following I shall treat them one by one. They are three, not counting the "primary" triangle. (See graph 2). The difference between them is their degree of generality. In the analysis of them I will move from the general to the particular. My examination then of Whitman's endless ruminations in prose about Old World sentiments, about England and her literature and their relationship with America, will be assisted by these triangles. With their graphic help I hope to demonstrate, with more accuracy, the subtlety of Whitman's position vis-à-vis English literature. On another level the essay proposes to illuminate the process building of American sensibility and American identity. In this struggle Whitman was one of the chief engineers.

II

When Whitman considered American events and American qualities he measured them on scales that had their complementary weights rooted in the European scene. This juxtaposition was almost instinctual with him. It was close to an obsession that he shared with most of his contemporary intellectuals. He was attracted as well as repelled by England and everything she represented. His criticism of English literature is then monotonously repetitive. He loaded it with reminiscences of aristocratic glory, with characterizations of corruption and ultra-refinement, with descriptions of an inhibiting feudal order that ranked people according to class ("caste" was his term) and heritage. This image of the old country haunted him his whole life.

"Feudalism" was the key-term in his semantics of this liaison. His application of the word reveals a pattern that we have already identified. England is, he observed, the home of princes and princesses; present-day America adores them, but has eventually started to question their hegemony; future America, in accordance with its allegiance to republican ideals, will ignore them and foster its own heroes and heroines. This is the formula he applied to almost any rambling thought on these issues. The tripartite pattern of views is easily recognized here as well as elsewhere. But, as we will see, it is far from simple and uniform. A quote from his "Democratic

Vistas" (1871) will underscore its range and the ambiguities involved. On one hand, it includes nostalgia and admiration for the coherence of the Old World value system, for its dignity and dynamics; on the other, contempt for its incompleteness and injustice and its sustained power over American minds (by implication, also his own). The Americans languish under it, he complained. But as is usual with Whitman, each of these views could be reversed. Whitman wrote:

The main support of European chivalry, the feudal, ecclesiastical, dynastic world over there - forming its osseous structure, holding it together for hundreds, thousands of years, preserving its flesh and bloom, giving it form, decision, rounding it out, and so saturating it in the conscious and unconscious blood, breed, belief, and intuitions of men, that it still prevails powerful to this day, in defiance of the mighty changes of time. (II, 366)

Self-confidence is what the Americans need, Whitman preached. He made it his life-long project to lay bare the pride and glory of the past and fill the American present with modern versions of it. In this endeavor he was repeatedly carried away. The echoes of the past lingered with him, affecting his style and seemingly confusing his arguments. No wonder that Whitman always has been accused of fitfulness and lack of a philosophic stance. "But his "inconsistency" is consistent, one could say. "Sincerity" is perhaps a more pregnant word to qualify his approach to the tensions in the "Not Me - Me" network.

So far, our Democratic society ... possesses nothing ... to make up for that glowing, blood-thrbbing, religious, social, emotional, artistic, indefinable, indescribably beautiful charm and hold which fused the separate parts of the old feudal societies together, ... and loyalty running one way like a living weft - and picturesque responsibility, duty, and blessedness, running like a warp the other way. (11,533)

So although he debunked "feudalism, its castles, courts, etiquettes, personalities" (11,478) most frequently, he could also with no apparent bewilderment (even within the same paragraph) expound on its rewards. "Allowing all the evil that it did, we, get, here and to-day, a balance of good out of its reminiscence almost beyond price" (11,478). "We can by no means afford to be oblivious of them," he continued.

The past, in Whitman's metaphysics, is allowed to fuse with the present.

Thus two sides of the triangle meet. American present must feed on English past, despite the qualms it produces. His favorite image of time as the great reconciliator was, as we observed initially, the current or the river that amalgamates, combines and appropriates the particles it encounters. "Consolidation," "balancing," "modification" were some of the epithets he loved and used indiscriminately (i.e. II, 402-403). The "now" in Whitman's temporal cosmos was an active agent that operates on the past, selecting, rejecting, adopting.

Those wondrous stores, reminiscences, floods, currents! Let them flow on, flow hither freely. And let the sources be enlarged.... (II, 487)

All serves our New World progress, even the bafflers, headwinds, cross-tides. Though many perturbations and squalls, and much backing and filling, the ship, upon the whole, makes unmistakably for her destination. (II, 490)

So "consolidation" guarantees a future for the New World that will then be imbued with new values, sifted through the great sieve of time. Egalitarian America, as Whitman would have it, is the learner today, and the leader tomorrow. The man on the road should be free to adopt the beliefs of the courtier, provided that he can transform them to attune with his needs. This was Whitman's project. The act of beholding the "other" and absorbing the instructions it yielded would reinforce the process of self-identification. "Nations or individuals," he said, "learn deepest from unlikeness, from a sincere opponent, from the light thrown even scornfully on dangerous spots and liabilities" (I, 261). And when the lessons had been learned and America had freed herself from all the dependences, her identity would be established for good. "Today, ahead, though dimly yet, we see in vistas, a copious, sane, gigantic off-spring," he divined (II, 362). "The United States are destined," he continues, "either to surmount the gorgeous history of feudalism, or else prove the most tremendous failure of time" (II, 363).

America's answer to "feudalism" would be what Whitman regarded as its absolute opposite, "aggregation, this image of completeness in separation" (II, 374). Only democracy of this brand, individualism cum collectivism, can supplant, in his opinion, the "old belief in the necessary absoluteness of establish'd dynastic rulership, temporal, ecclesiastical, and scholastic" (ibid.). So the task for a future generation of Americans is to adjust the old elements to "new combinations" (II, 402), to infuse the American constitution with the spirit of the past, the reality of the present, and the

aspirations of the future. America must, he concluded, betake "herself to formative action" (ibid.).

The first triangle is now complete. Its concepts of time—past, present, future—has provided us with a formula to discuss the three corresponding elements in Whitman's vision of the self and the resultant appropriation, and American democracy. It has demonstrated his proto-evangelical faith in the remedial impact of history.

III

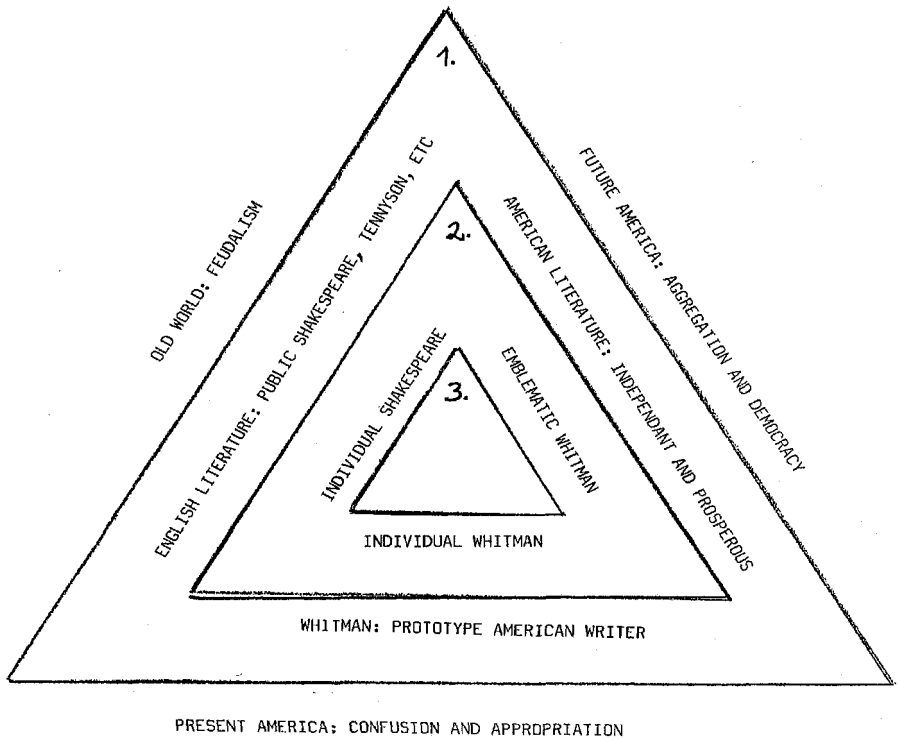
When we start probing Whitman's suggestions for a programme with which to launch the "formative action," we also enter the second transcending triangle. We then also approach his literary criticism and the specific areas of writers' reputations. English literature and some of its protagonists occupy the position in the triangle correlative to that of feudalism. In other words, Whitman's suggestion was that English literature is basically "undemocratic." Both in style and content it is intended to appeal to groups outside the mainstream of life.

Whitman launched himself as the prototype American writer, whose role it was to encourage and set examples for a coming race of independent American writers. So Whitman, the prototype, relates to the second base of the triangle; his prospects for the emergence of American literature to the third.

It would have been foreign to Whitman to project ideas and formulate aspirations and hopes without, at the same time, offering straightforward advice. In this sense Whitman was the typical blunt, but honest street corner moralist. His talks dealt naturally mainly with literature. American identity, so frail and incomplete, will, Whitman drummed into the ears of his listeners, evolve and consolidate through a literature that is born and bred in America, but attentive to alien ideals.

Whitman's concept of English literature was as ambiguous as his view of feudalism. In approaching English writers, whether his contemporaries or old English writers, he seems to have been forced into two, sometimes antagonistic, positions: one public, the other private. It is the former we discuss in this section. We meet the public Whitman, the American writer, reading and evaluating, for instance, the public Shakespeare, the English writer. Whitman institutionalized himself. One segment of his Shakespeare

criticism (as well as criticism of other English writers) is then predictable. Shakespeare was apportioned a number of normative roles: the foreign writer, seen in contrast to the American; the writer of "sunset feudalism"; the aristocrat; the writer of passions and fury; the stylist. As can be understood from this rather two-edged catalogue Whitman faced numerous critical problems in his dealings with the English dramatist. But we also have to realize that Shakespeare for Whitman was far more than an individual writer of fabulous texts: he was a concept, a focal point.



Shakespeare's plays represented, in Whitman's view, "the gathered sunset of the stirring days of feudalism" (I, 349; see also II, 406-407). This dictum occurs in more or less the same form in most of his utterings on the writer, whether they are *ad hoc* or part of a specific essay on him. "He is not only the tally of feudalism, but I should say ... is incarnated, uncompromising feudalism, in literature" (11,522; cf. 11,664). In "Democratic Vistas" he

addressed the public Shakespeare on a handful of occasions, always with much agitation and rhetoric. He declared

What has fill'd, and fills today our interest, our fancy, furnishing the standards therein, is yet foreign. The great poems, Shakspeare included, are poisonous to the idea of the pride and dignity of the common people, the lifeblood of democracy. The modes of our literature, as we get it from other lands, ultramarine, have had their birth in courts, and bask'd and grown in castle sunshine; all smells of prince's favours. (11,388)

This image of Shakespeare as the leading protagonist of European gallantry and superiority was employed by Whitman and others to advance the ideas of an autochthonous American expression.⁵ It was especially useful because Shakespeare was indeed looked upon as an "American" writer, so intimately was he integrated with mainstream American culture.⁶ The image involved two complementary viewpoints, each of which Whitman inadvertently communicated to his readers. One was "take care, don't be mesmerized by this man, trust yourself!"

[In] Shakspeare's characters ... [as] in those presentments in Tennyson ... as in all the great imported art-works, treatises, systems ... there is a constant lurking, often pervading something, that will have to be eliminated, as not only unsuited to modern democracy and science in America, but insulting to them, and disproved by them. (11,485)

This "lurking," he elaborated, is "a certain constipating, repressing, indoor, and artificial influence, impossible to elude." It must be countered and balanced by "that freeing, dilating, joyous one, with which uncramp'd Nature works on every individual without exception" (ibid.). Two theses are being juxtaposed: the quality in Shakespeare to fetter the past and the necessity, on part of modern readers, to break the bonds. He develops this idea further. "The plan of a select class, superfin'd, ... the plan of the Old World lands and literatures, is not so objectionable in itself, but because it chokes the true plan for us, and indeed is death to it" (II, 517; see also II, 558).

However, on a number of other occasions, he starkly, it seems, contradicted himself, assigning to English literature and to Shakespeare quite other functions. We hear him then tell his audience: "listen to the Old Masters, they render us a service!" Whitman's fluctuations are not contra-

dictory in themselves, but, as we have seen, can be attributed to a mind always groping for answers and never satisfied with receiving them.

Shakspeare—and ... his legitimate followers Walter Scott and Alfred Tennyson—with all its tyrannies, superstitions, evils, had most superb and heroic permeating veins, poems, manners; even its errors fascinating. It almost seems as if only feudalism in Europe, like slavery in our South, could outcrop types of tallest, noblest personal character yet—strength and devotion and love better than elsewhere—invincible courage, generosity, aspiration, the spine of all. Here is when Shakspeare and others I have named perform a service incalculably precious to our America. (II, 475-476)

A similar statement, by Whitman, that Scott, Tennyson, Carlyle, Shakespeare have "done more for popular political and social progress and liberization and for individuality and freedom, than all the pronounced democrats one could name" (II, 767-768) sounds like an inverted joke or "tongue-in-the-cheek" cynicism. But when coupled with the expressions we have just heard about the exemplary virtues to be found in these writers, we understand their role in his patriotic campaign. They could cooperate with him. In his much-discussed article "What Lurks behind Shakespeare's History Plays" (1884), he suggested with even more subterfuge that these plays are informed by an "essentially controlling plan" that on further investigation might come out as the "inauguration of modern Democracy" (II, 555, 556). It is difficult to know exactly what he had in mind? But the suggestion is in line with his other pronouncements on the evolution pattern he had anticipated for his country. The aestheticism of Shakespeare was not in itself a model for American writing, but its theoretical frame was. If he would not accept what Shakespeare said, he sympathized at least with the conviction and the passion that sustained the words.

The English writers he most often referred to in his prose writings were Shakespeare, Scott, Carlyle, and Tennyson. They more or less have the same functions. He used them to promote himself and advance his project. Thus he treated them in lump.⁸ The differences one can notice in his characterizations of them are mainly stylistic. Whitman had a talent for echoing, or parrotting, the authors he was reading. In the following example he is commenting on Tennyson, his contemporary and correspondent. The subject is the influence of the "Old Poets."

His effusions ... are very attractive and flowery to me—but flowers, too, are at least as profound as anything; and by common consent T. is settled as the poetic

cream-skimmer of our age's melody, *ennui* and polish— a verdict in which I agree, and should say that nobody (not even Shakspeare) goes deeper in those exquisitely touch'd and half-hidden hints and indirections left like faint perfumes in the crevices of his lines. (11,661)

The point he made is that Tennyson is off the beat, an English aristocrat intoxicated by his own perfume. Yet one can also sense Whitman's fascination, inhaling the ultramarine smells.

The two remaining aspects of the triangle we are exploring need little further commentary. Whitman clearly saw himself as the prototype American poet. So when he mounted the pulpit to orate about his dreams of a future class of American writers drinking deep from the European wells, but responding to the American scene and its requirements, he alluded to himself. It is he who wrote, he insisted, the *song* that sings of the "average Identity." The association of the reader, the "Yourself" of the poem, he explained in the Preface (1876) to the *Leaves of the Grass*, with his project to describe the "irresponsible yearning," the "never-satisfied appetite for sympathy," and the "universal democratic comradeship," was rooted in the "energy of estrangement." The American reader needed to synthesize the "self and the other" ("estrangement") to be able to accompany Whitman and his "average man" on his "flight," "loftier than any of Homer's or Shakspeare's" (II, 470-471). Again, the full realization of human potential was possible to Whitman only through the interplay of geography, tradition, and history. It was his mission, he believed, to forward this view. He is Shakespeare's disciple, but he is also the Shakespeare of the U.S.A.

If I had not stood before those poems [Shakespeare's] with uncover'd head, fully aware of their colossal grandeur and beauty of form and spirit, I could not have written "Leaves of Grass." My verdict and conclusions as illustrated in its pages are arrived at through the temper and inculcation of the old works as much as through anything else As America fully and fairly construed is the legitimate result of an evolutionary outcome of the past, so I would dare to claim for my verse. Without stopping to qualify the averment, the Old World has had the poems of myths, fictions, feudalism, conquest, castle, dynastic wars, and splendid exceptional characters and affairs, which have been great; but the New World needs the poems of realities and science and of the democratic average and basic equality, which shall be greater. (11,721)

Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* would be the "fit emblem" of America, the carrier of faith and confidence for the future. The work was to signify a new direction in American literature. On no other theme was Whitman so extravagant in expression and choleric in mood as when foreseeing its bearing and impact. Quite early in his literary career, as a journalist for the *Brooklyn Daily Express*, he took his fellow Americans to task for their servitude to British taste and beliefs. "Shall Hawthorne get a petty seventy-five dollars for a two volume work? - Shall real American genius shiver with neglect while the public run after foreign trash?," he wrote in 1846.⁹ Are we a mere suburb to London, he asked repeatedly, and for most of his life kept reminding his audience that they should be concerned about their own authors. But with equal rhetorical tour de force he clamped down on those who were betraying the "Idea of the States," those "genteel little creatures" (I, 388), as he called anyone who did not comply with his twofold ideals. What America requires is a national literature, "a people's genuine literature" (II, 407), "native expressers in the highest fields" (474) who responded to the demands true to society. America belongs to the future and thus it is all the more imperative for her to develop "a class of bards who will, now and ever, so link and tally the rational physical being of man, with the ensembles of time and space, and with the vast and multiform show Nature, ..." (II, 421). America needs them, and the world needs them, rehearsed Whitman. Her songs must be native, they must emerge out of "our own soil and soul, its area, spread, idiosyncracies, and ... duly returning there again" (II, 667). His trust in his own dream about a glorious future for American literature and culture, equalled only his trust in himself. American literature will "prove grander than its material wealth and trade ..." (II, 664). One wishes that history had proved him right!

IV

In our pursuit of Whitman's composite view of "himself and the other," we have now reached the section where his self dominated and his urge to preach the dreams of a national culture was checked. "The other" is now an equal trading partner, not a hostile opponent or a harsh peer. Our last

triangle enfolds then Whitman's personal attachment to English writers and to English literature.

Returning to Whitman's attraction to Shakespeare and to the "private" Whitman, we must remember that most Americans, of little or even no literary background, had in one way or another internalized Shakespeare. Whitman, as nobody else, typifies the different modes of American nineteenth-century reception of the English writer: the popular interest in oral, moral and burlesque Shakespeare; the "scientific" curiosity about Shakespeare and his text; and his "utility" as a trade name to sell various merchandise, from Bibles, lectures in elocution, to New York shoe-polish.¹⁰

In old age Whitman reminisced (1881) about the time when he, on vacation trips to Coney Island, used to "race up and down the hard sand, and declaim Homer or Shakspeare to the surf and sea-gulls by the hour" (I, 12). He loved to recite from Shakespeare, to "spout" passages from the plays, often in public. Traveling on the Broadway omnibuses he would, in the company of bus drivers, the passengers, and street noises, roar out "some stormy passages from Julius Caesar and Richard." And, he added, as in a footnote, "those Broadway omnibus jaunts and drivers and declamations and escapades undoubtedly enter'd into the gestation of 'Leaves of Grass'" (I, 18-19).¹¹ Whitman took an enormous pleasure in the theater, frequented New York playhouses regularly, reviewed performances and talked and gossiped about the actors. "As a boy or young man I had seen, (reading them carefully the day beforehand,) quite all Shakspeare's acting dramas, play'd wonderfully well" (I, 21) and he saw apparently all the celebrated actors of his time, including Junius Brutus Booth, Edmund Kean, and J. H. Hackett.¹² But Whitman's Shakespeare interest also involved inquiries into the authenticity of his text and speculations about the authorship. These were the great matters for speculation of the day. Whitman took an active part in the most spectacular of the literary controversies in nineteenth century America: the Bacon-Shakespeare feud.¹³ So on all these issues Whitman stands out as the prototype of the American Shakespearians, combining layman inquisitiveness with an enthusiasm that bordered on hero-worshipping or iconoclasm.

Whitman was immersed in the Bard. His own style of writing shows clear traces of consanguinity of both matter and *sprachgefühl* (which only a quick glance at the quotations in this essay would corroborate): unexampled cultivation of the vernacular, concoction of all levels of linguistic usage, rhythm of speech that harmonizes with both the thought and the emotion, and so on.¹⁴ "I do not wonder he so witches the world" (II, 476), was Whitman's own comment.

The other English writer Whitman took to was Tennyson. Whitman courted his favours bluntly, and was jubilant when Tennyson, more as a gesture of formality, asked him to visit England.¹⁵ They exchanged a handful of letters: Whitman's are demonstratively self-centered and forward; Tennyson's obsequious and over-attentive. They never met, however. Using hackneyed Freudian terminology one could say that their "relationship" resembles that between father and son, or between master and servant, where the weaker part seeks to other's assistance to make up for flaws in the self-image. Typical of Whitman's ingratiating attitude was the following note from a letter by his to William Michael Rossetti (1876).

I am not sure that A. T. sees my poems—but I DO HIS, & strongly, ... - but I think he sees me—& nothing could have evidenced more courtesy, & manliness, & hospitality, than his letters have shown, for five years.¹⁶

What did Whitman "see" in Tennyson? What appealed to him was Tennyson's "ease and velvet and rosewood and copious royalties" (II, 561), i. e., his luxury of style, which, we remember, also had rendered Tennyson the epithet "the poetic cream-skimmer." He annotated Tennyson's "De Profundis" as follows:

Today I spent half an hour ... reading Tennyson's new poem I should call the piece, ... a specimen of the mystical—recherche ... not simple Like rose-buds, but gem-lines, ... cut by a lapidary artist.¹⁷

David Daiches has shrewdly suggested that "Whitman's insight into some important aspects of Tennyson's art is bound up with his own clear intention of avoiding precisely what he describes so well."¹⁸ This could as well be said about his Shakespeare connections. But as we have discovered he did not manage to escape the influences of these English writers. Responding to the criticism that Emerson lurked behind the genesis of *Leaves of Grass*, he wrote in a letter to William Sloane Kennedy (1887) in the following twisted, but significantly sensible manner:

Whatever the amount of this may be or not may be, it is certainly not *Emersonian*, not Shakspeare, not Tennyson—indeed, the antipodes of E. and the others in essential respects. But I have not suggested or exprest myself well in my book unless I have in a sort included them and their sides and expressions too -¹⁹

These lines summerize nicely the intertext of the self and the other in his criticism. Whitman could never separate for any length of time the "self" and the "other;" they constantly fuse.²⁰

NOTES

1. See Mody C. Boatright, "Whitman and Hegel," *Studies in English*, University of Texas Bulletin, No. 9 (July 8, 1929), pp. 134-150; Robert P. Falk, "Walt Whitman and German Thought," *JEGP*, 40 (1941), 315-330; Alfred H. Marks, "Whitman's Triadic Imagery," *American Literature*, 23 (1951), 99-126; and Gay Wilson Allen, *The New Walt Whitman Handbook* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), pp. 257-260.
2. Walt Whitman, *Prose Works 1892: Speciman Days*, ed. Floyd Stovall, Vol. I of the *Collected Writings of Walt Whitman* (eds. Guy Wilson Allen and Sculley Bradley) (New York: New York University Press, 1963), p. 259. Page references to this work and to the second volume, *Prose Works 1892: Collect and Other Prose*, ed. Floyd Stovall (New York: New York University Press, 1964) hereafter occur in the text.
3. See Hans-Georg Gadamer, "Hegel's Philosophy and Its Aftereffect until Today," in *Reason in the Age of Science* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1983), pp. 34-35.
4. See Maurice O. Johnson, *Walt Whitman as a Critic of Literature*, *Studies in Language, Literature and Criticism*, No. 16 (Lincoln, Nebraska: The University of Nebraska, 1938), pp. 48-50.
5. See, i.e., Georg Wilkes, *Shakespeare from an American point of View; Including an Inquiry as to His Religious Faith, and His Knowledge of Law; with the Baconian Theory Considered* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1882).
6. See my "Some Traits of Cultural Nationalism in the Reception of Shakespeare in Nineteenth Century U. S. A.," in *Europe and America: Criss-crossing Perspectives, 1788-1848*, ed. Jaques Porte (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1987), pp. 61-104.
7. Clifton Joseph Furness, among others, considered this article a proof of Whitman's tendency of "About, face!" See his article "Walt Whitman's Estimate of Shakespeare," in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philosophy and Literature*, No. 14 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1932-33), pp. 19-20.
8. See Whitman, *Prose Works*, I, 261; 11, 476, 485, 490, 533, 666, 725, and 767. Earlier instances - similar in substance - can be studied in Whitman, *The Gathering of the Forces*, ed. Cleveland Rodgers and John Black (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920), 11, 239-240, 243, 265, 291.

9. *The Gathering of the Forces*, 11,245.
10. See Lawrence W. Levine, "William Shakespeare and the American People: A Study in Cultural Transformation," *American Historical Review*, 89 (1984), 34-66.
11. See also *Prose Works*, II, 722, 725; Walt Whitman, *The Correspondence: 1868-1875*, ed Edwin Haviland Miller (New York: New York University Press, 1961), Vol. II of the *Collected Writings of Walt Whitman*, p. 218; Walt Whitman, *Daybooks and Notebooks: Daybooks 1876 - November 1881*, ed William White (New York: New York University Press, 1978), p. 144.
12. See *Prose Works*, I, p. 21; II, pp. 597,693-695; Furness, p. 14.
13. See *Correspondence: 1876-1885*, Vol. III, ed. Haviland Miller (New York: New York University Press, 1964), pp. 119,295,307,351; *Correspondence*, Vol. V (1969), p. 266; see also the Index of Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*. The five volumes record Traubel's conversations with Whitman between March 28, 1888 and April 7, 1889 and the Index of *Daybooks and Notebooks*.
14. Allen, *The New Walt Whitman Handbook*, pp. 207-248.
15. John M. Ditsky, "Whitman - Tennyson Correspondence: A Summary and a Commentary," *Walt Whitman Review*, 18 (1972), 75-82.
16. *The Correspondence*, III, p. 52. See C. B. Willard, "Whitman and Tennyson's 'Ulysses'," *Walt Whitman Newsletter*, 2 (1956), 9-10 and Robert H. Woodward, "The Journey Motif in Whitman and Tennyson," *Modern Language Notes*, 72 (1958), 26-27.
17. *Daybooks and Notebooks: Diary in Camden, Notebooks, Index*, Vol. III (1978), p. 618.
18. "Imagery and Mood in Tennyson and Whitman," in *English Studies Today: Second Series, Lectures and Papers, from the Fourth Conference of English Held at Lausanne and Berne August 1959*, ed. G. A. Bonnard (Bern: Francke Verlag Bern, 1961), p. 224.
19. *Correspondence*, IV (1969), pp. 69-70.
20. The difficulty of positioning Whitman has caused critics to disagree severely. One assumption has been that Whitman actively changed his mind vis-à-vis English literature, see Richard Clarence Harrison, "Walt Whitman and Shakespeare," *PMLA*, 23 (1923), 1201-1238 and Furness, pp. 1-33; a contrary view has maintained that he was faithful to his early impressions throughout his life, see Floyd Stovall, "Whitman, Shakespeare, and Democracy," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 51 (1952), 457-182; and in between these extremes is the third attitude that alleges that Whitman's criticism of English literature is marred by its "duality" to double standards, see Maurice O. Johnson, *Walt Whitman as a Critic of Literature*, pp. 23-29, 35-61 and Alwin Thaler, *Shakespeare and Democracy* (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee, 1941), pp. 45-61.