PART I

Locations

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Cambridge University Press 978-1-108-41895-9 — Walt Whitman in Context Edited by Joanna Levin , Edward Whitley Excerpt <u>More Information</u>

CHAPTER I

Long Island William T. Walter

In his autobiographical account *Specimen Days* (1882) Whitman acknowledged the claims of both nature and nurture, identifying three "formative stamps to my own character, now solidified for good or bad." The first was the "maternal nativity-stock brought hither from far-away Netherlands"; the second was "the subterranean tenacity and central bony structure [...] which I get from my paternal English elements"; and the third was environmental, beginning with "the combination of my Long Island birthspot, sea-shores, childhood's scenes, absorptions, with teeming Brooklyn and New York" (PW, 1:22–23). This essay follows Whitman's lead elaborating on the family histories and formative settings that, as Whitman noted, "are woven all through L. of G." (PW, 1:11). "The successive growthstages of my infancy, childhood, youth and manhood were all pass'd on Long Island, which I sometimes feel as if I had incorporated," Whitman reflected; he thus linked his personal and poetic development to his birthplace and, by extension, the larger nation (PW, 1:10).

Whitman's childhood

As David Reynolds has noted, Whitman's fusion of "personal ancestry and national history" on Long Island helped the poet to cultivate "the representative 'I' who embraced all America" (Reynolds, 8, 18). Whitman's ancestors were among the early European settlers in the town of Huntington on Long Island in New York. The Whitman line in America began when Englishman John Whitman arrived in Weymouth, Massachusetts in 1640. John's brother Zechariah settled in Milford, Connecticut, and in 1657 Zechariah's son Joseph, at about seventeen years old, crossed the Long Island Sound to Huntington (Reynolds, 9–10). The history of European settlement on Huntington dates to 1653, when three English settlers acquired six square miles of land from the Matinecoc.¹ On April 1, 1668, Walt's great-great-great-grandfather, Joseph

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Whitman, is listed in the record of a Huntington town meeting as follows: "it was voted and agreed the same Daie that Joseph Whitman shall take up ten or twelve acars of land on the west sid of the south path on the hether side of Samuell Ketchams hollow, it being toward his second division."2 This parcel of land in the West Hills section of Huntington, according to Walt, grew to "500 acres, all good soil, gently sloping east and south, about one-tenth woods, plenty of grand old trees" (PW, 1:5-6). When Walt later wrote about "Far-swooping elbow'd earth – rich apple-blossom'd earth" in "Song of Myself," this ancestral land could have provided an accompanying visual (LG, 49). This was the farm of Nehemiah Whitman, Joseph's grandson and Walt's great-grandfather. This large tract of land, cultivated in part with the labor of African American slaves, brought prosperity to the Whitmans.³ Nehemiah, his wife Phoebe White Whitman, and their son Jesse W. Whitman were the last of the substantial Whitman landowners in West Hills. When Jesse died in 1802, the estate was then left to his young children - Jesse, Walter, Tredwell, and Sarah. Walt's father, Walter, born on Bastille Day in 1789, was fifteen when he was sent for an apprenticeship in carpentry under his cousin Jacob Whitman, who was a carpenter and woodworker in Brooklyn. After spending three years in New York City Walter Whitman Sr. returned to Huntington, built a house for his own family in 1810, and a second similar house, most likely in 1819, on nearby land that was originally a farm of 80 acres acquired by Richard Colyer from Tredwell Whitman. Walter married Louisa Van Velsor in 1816. Their first three children – Jesse in 1818, Walt on May 31, 1819, and Mary Elizabeth in 1821 – were born in the Huntington house their father built.⁴

Far less is known about the ancestry of Walt's mother, Louisa Van Velsor. Louisa's mother, Walt's maternal grandmother, was Naomi Williams Van Velsor. Walt called her Amy. She was one of seven girls in a Quaker family named Williams who were of Welsh descent. Many were sailors. Her father and only brother were lost at sea. Walt's maternal grandfather, Cornelius Van Velsor, carried the title of "Major" and was a descendant of the early Dutch settlers on Long Island. The family had been horse breeders. Walt said that his mother, in her youth, was a "daily and daring rider" of horses (PW, 1:6–8). Like the Whitmans, the Van Velsors had lived for many generations on the same farm. As a boy Walt often visited his Van Velsor cousins in Cold Spring Harbor, which was not much more than a mile from his grandfather Jesse's farm. Walt never knew his grandfather Jesse, who died in 1789. His grandmother, Hannah Brush Whitman, who lived in the ancestral Whitman homestead, had been a school mistress and was a strong character fond of telling stories that

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had been passed on from one generation to the next, including tales of oppression and terror during the British occupation of Huntington. She died when Walt was about sixteen (Reynolds, 10–11).

Walt began his life on an international boundary. In the 1600s, English colonial settlements had moved west from Plymouth into Western Massachusetts into Connecticut and across the Long Island Sound to Southhold (the south holdings of Connecticut settlers) on Long Island.⁵ The Dutch began Fort Amsterdam on the island of Manhattan, which was purchased from the Lenape Indians, then crossed the East River to start what became a city called Brooklyn and moved further east on Long Island to establish farms and ports to supply land crops and seafood. The English took over New Netherland in 1664, without firing a shot. All that changed was that the Dutch rules were changed to English rules. The hills furthest west on Long Island occupied by the English settlers were called West Hills, while the hills furthest east reached by the Dutch were called East Hills. Today this provides Long Islanders with the amusing fact that West Hills is east of East Hills. To Walt Whitman it provided diversity, for the Dutch were accompanied by many other nationalities and ethnicities including Portuguese, Spanish, French, Germans, and Jews.⁶

By the year 1643 there were thirteen different tribes of indigenous peoples living on Long Island, but by 1658 a smallpox epidemic reportedly killed two-thirds of the tribes in the area. The influx of white settlers and the resulting expansion of farmland drove animals away, and the Native Americans who were hunters migrated to the mainland in pursuit of game. By 1741 it was estimated that only 400 Natives remained on the island. By the time of the American Revolution in 1775 Native Americans were a rare sight on the island. During the first decades of the nineteenth century Walt's mother, Louisa, had an encounter with a young indigenous woman on Long Island that left such an impact on her that she later shared it with her son, who then recounted the experience in section six of the poem "The Sleepers":

A red squaw came one breakfast-time to the old homestead,

On her back she carried a bundle of rushes for rush-bottoming chairs, Her hair, straight, shiny, coarse, black, profuse, half-envelop'd her face, Her step was free and elastic, and her voice sounded exquisitely as she spoke.

My mother look'd in delight and amazement at the stranger, She look'd at the freshness of her tall-borne face and full and pliant limbs, The more she look'd upon her she loved her,

Never before had she seen such wonderful beauty and purity,

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She made her sit on a bench by the jamb of the fireplace, she cook'd food for her,

She had no work to give her, but she gave her remembrance and fondness.

The red squaw staid all the forenoon, and toward the middle of the afternoon she went away,

O my mother was loth to have her go away,

All the week she thought of her, she watch'd for her many a month,

She remember'd her many a winter and many a summer, But the red squaw never came nor was heard of there again.

of there again. (LG, 429-30)

This account of Louisa's experience with an indigenous woman on Long Island carries with it the mix of racism ("squaw" is a derogatory term for Native women) and exoticism (the woman speaks "exquisitely" and is an object of "wonderful beauty and purity") that nineteenth-century Americans had come to expect from representations of Native peoples; the account also captures Walt's longing for the "old homestead" on Long Island (LG, 429), and the mythic status it had achieved among the Whitmans as a place of romanticized wonder after the family had moved inland to Brooklyn. Walt would continue to associate his nostalgic memories of life on Long Island with Native American culture. He insisted on calling Long Island by its Lenape name – "Paumanok," meaning "land of tribute" – and even used the pseudonym "Paumanok" to identify the authorship of some of his early work.7 Beginning with the third edition of Leaves of Grass in 1860, Walt added a poem towards the beginning of the book that carries the lines: "Starting from fish-shape Paumanok where I was born, / Well-begotten, and raised by a perfect mother," paying homage both to the indigenous heritage of his birthplace and to the Whitman family's history there (LG, 15).

Walt spent his early years in West Hills with an active, large, and busy family. The 1820 census lists ten persons in the Whitman household: Walter Sr., his wife Louisa, and their children Jessie, Walt, and Mary Elizabeth; Louisa's mother, Naomi Van Velsor, was also present, having moved temporarily from Cold Spring Harbor to help with her grand-children; Uncle Treadwell Whitman (Walter Sr.'s brother), his wife Maria Mc Cunne, and daughter Mahatta were also living in the new house; Uncle Jessie Whitman (Walter Sr.'s bachelor older brother) and Grandmother Hannah Brush Whitman were also counted as part of the Whitman household in the census, despite living up the road in the ancestral home.⁸ Furniture inside the house was rude, but substantial. No carpets or stoves were known, and clothes were mainly homespun. Food also was plain – no coffee, and tea or sugar was only for the women, with the men commonly drinking cider. Rousing wood fires gave both warmth and light

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on winter nights. Books were scarce. The annual copy of the almanac was a treat, and was pored over through the long winter evenings.⁹

Although Walter Sr. built houses and called himself a carpenter, he also had responsibility of a 30-acre farm and an additional interest in contiguous acreage to the north from the traditional Whitman homestead. He probably continued with his brothers to follow the time-honored planting of crops typical to Long Island: oats, buckwheat, flint corn, winter wheat, and rve. Adjacent to the farmhouse were an apple orchard and a cornfield, while a fenced-in kitchen garden fronted the south side of the house. The barnyard – the setting for the daily routine of milking cows, feeding and watering the animals, mucking out stalls, and grooming animals - was defined by a group of buildings that included a carriage shed, henhouse, smokehouse, and corn crib. While the men were out in the fields from before sunrise, the women were active in the house, kitchen, and yard providing warm water and preparing breakfast. A wood fire was started in the bake oven located in the out kitchen, and while the fire heated the bricks members of the household prepared pies, cakes, stews, and bread for the evening meals. At midday they would rake the ashes out of the bake oven and place earthen-ware vessels filled with foods such as pork, poultry, beef, vegetables, and grains inside the oven to be slow-cooked by the heat of the bricks. Hot coals would also be raked from the fireplace and moved underneath the laundry kettle in the out kitchen to ensure a clean wash. Walt Whitman, in later years, would remember these formative years as ones of security and prosperity (PW, 1:9-11).

After his family had relocated to Brooklyn, Walt was able to return to Long Island during some of the succeeding summers. Reminiscing in Specimen Days, he noted that, "The whole experience comes back to me after the lapse of forty and more years - the soothing rustle of the waves, and the saline smell - boyhood's times, the clam digging, bare-foot, and with trowsers roll'd up - hauling down the creek - the perfume of the sedge-meadows - the hayboat, and the chowder and fishing excursions" (PW, 1:12). These childhood joys on Long Island - and the sense of wonder that they instilled in the poet are nowhere more evident than in an 1855 poem that would later be titled "There Was a Child Went Forth." The poem features a curious child who is utterly transformed by his experiences with the natural world: "There was a child went forth every day, / And the first object he look'd upon, that object he became, / And that object became part of him" (LG, 364). The surroundings explored by the poem's titular child sound very much like the Whitman homestead on Long Island, not to mention the use of the terms "fourthmonth" and "fifth-month" (for the months of April and May) that the Whitmans would have adopted from their Quaker neighbors:

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The field-sprouts of Fourth-month and Fifth-month became part of him, Winter-grain sprouts and those of the light-yellow corn, and the esculent roots of the garden,

And the apple-trees cover'd with blossoms and the fruit afterward, and wood-berries, and the commonest weeds by the road,

And the old drunkard staggering home from the outhouse of the tavern whence he had lately risen,

And the schoolmistress that pass'd on her way to the school,

And the friendly boys that pass'd, and the quarrelsome boys,

And the tidy and fresh-cheek'd girls, and the barefoot negro boy and girl,

And all the changes of city and country wherever he went. (LG, 364–65)

The major work of Walt's career – the poem "Song of Myself" – is characterized by a mutual absorption between the poet and his surroundings: "And what I assume you shall assume. / For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you" (LG, 28). The Long Island child who made the natural world "part of him" was already moving toward the complete absorption of both the nation and the globe that is on full display in "Song of Myself": "In me the caresser of life wherever moving, backward as well as forward sluing, / To niches aside and junior bending, not a person or object missing, / Absorbing all to myself and for this song" (LG, 40).

Long Island also provides the setting for an 1859 poem describing the moment from Walt's childhood when he claimed to have received the calling to be a poet. Taking place on the island of "Paumanok, / When the lilac-scent was in the air and Fifth-month grass was growing" (LG, 247), Walt hears the plaintive cry of a mockingbird pining for its lost love and resolves himself to be from that day onward a singer of songs:

[H]e sang to me in the moonlight on Paumanok's gray beach,With the thousand responsive songs at random,My own songs awaked from that hour,And with them the key, the word up from the waves,The word of the sweetest song and all songs. (LG, 253)

As Jerome Loving has observed, Walt

was a seashore poet, the poet of "Paumanok" who envisioned some of his greatest themes in terms of the land and the sea, between life and death. [...] We see this relationship most clearly in the poem "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," where he describes the island's lock on his imagination as the man-child wakes up to the call of "a thousand singers, a thousand songs." (Loving, 26)

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Brooklyn and a return to Paumanok

On May 27, 1823 (four days before Walt's fourth birthday), Walter Whitman Sr. took his pregnant wife and three young children from West Hills to seek his fortune in Brooklyn. He did not want to be a farmer, as four generations of Whitmans had been before him. Walter expected success as a builder of small frame houses in Brooklyn since it was in an early phase of an expansion from a rural village to a major American city. However, Brooklyn did not treat Walter Sr. well, and finances were not his forte. Mortgages, speculation, and the aftermath of the 1819 panic all negatively impacted the family's financial health, leading young Walt to drop out of school and begin his employment first as an office boy and then a printer's apprentice. Walter Sr. moved the family back to Long Island in 1833 (Reynolds, 25–26, 53).

Walt remained in Brooklyn to continue working as a printer's devil for the Long Island Star. In the summer of 1835 Walt completed his printing apprenticeship and became a journeyman printer; in August, however, a huge fire wiped out many of the printing establishments and printing jobs disappeared. In May of 1836 Walt accepted a fourweek teaching position in Norwich near his grandfather's farm in Cold Spring and a short journey to the Whitman family home in Hempstead. In the fall of the same year he accepted a three-month teaching position in Babylon, Long Island, on the Great South Bay, also near to where his family was living. In the spring of 1837 Walt taught in Long Swamp (Huntington) close to his birthplace in West Hills and by the fall he began his most successful teaching assignment in Smithtown, which continued through the winter and spring terms. Whitman's story "The Shadow and Light of a Young Man's Soul" (1848) provides a semi-fictive account of this period in his life. Like Whitman, the protagonist, Archibald Dean leaves the city as a result of the "destructive New-York fire of '35" and "take[s] charge of a little district school"; it is probable that Whitman also shared Archibald Dean's sense of despair at this change in fortune, a feeling that "the last float-plank which buoyed him up on hope and happiness, was sinking, and he with it."10

Walt was seventeen when he began teaching. He did not want to be tied down in the endless cycle of farm work and never spent a significant amount of time working as a farm laborer. Teaching positions appeared to offer a new adventure. Long Island towns would construct a one-room schoolhouse and then seek a contract schoolteacher whose low salary was

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often supplemented by free room and board in the homes of their pupils, termed "boarding round" - that is, living two or three days with one family and perhaps a week with another and so on. Walt said the experience "gives a first-rate opportunity for the study of human nature."^{II} Walt loved to roam through the villages interacting with the farmers, bay fishermen, keepers of general stores, blacksmiths, millers, and local officeholders. According to records in Smithtown, Walt was paid \$72.20 for approximately five months of teaching reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, and geography. At one time he had eighty-five pupils from ages five to fifteen (Reynolds, 59). Normally the teaching methodology was rote repetition in which a single teacher handled large classes through a network of student monitors. Walt, however, preferred a teaching method more like twenty questions (Reynolds, 62). Reflecting on Whitman's pedagogical approaches, one former student, Charles A. Roe later recalled that "His ways of teaching were peculiar. He did not confine himself to books, as most of the teachers then did, but taught orally - yes, had some original ideas, all his own. [...] The plans he adopted were wholly of his conception, and most successful."12

Walt joined the local debating society in Smithtown – which included two judges, a congressman, a justice of the peace, doctors, businessmen, and farmers – and was appointed secretary. His minutes have been preserved by the descendants of one of the members. Debating society records show that Walt took part in eleven debates during his stay in Smithtown, his side winning six with two judged to be ties. Walt's Smithtown experience – where he arranged his own living quarters, won recognition through his skill as a debater and felt comfortable in the company of the town's elite – made him feel that this was the time to move on to accomplish a dream he had since he was a printer's apprentice.¹³

In the spring of 1838 Walt left Smithtown and moved back to his home town of Huntington to start his own weekly newspaper, the *Long-Islander*. Walt was publisher, editor, compositor, pressman, and distributor. Each week Walt mounted his horse, Nina, and made a thirty-mile circuit delivering his paper and picking up news and stories for the next issue.¹⁴ Whitman ran the *Long-Islander* for ten months and then sold it in the spring of 1839 to E. O. Crowell, who revived the paper on July 12 promising readers to faithfully "continue it regularly and permanently."¹⁵ Apparently the appearance of Walt's papers had not been following any fixed schedule. Unfortunately, none of the issues under Walt's ownership have survived.

After leaving the *Long-Islander* Walt found work during the summer of 1839 in Jamaica, Long Island with the *Long Island Democrat* as a typesetter.

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In December 1839 he began teaching at Little Bay Side near Jamaica. In the spring of 1840 Walt taught in Trimming Square (about two miles from Hempstead), then in Woodbury (near West Hills) during the summer. His mood darkened in Woodbury and he wrote in 1840 to his friend, Abraham Paul Leech, that Woodbury with its "ignorance, vulgarity, rudeness, conceit, and dulness [*sic*]" was a "deuced sink of despair" (Corr., 7:3). This note of darkness also predominates in Whitman's first-known story, one that as its title indicates takes a school-room as its setting: "Death in the School-Room" (1841). While promoting educational reform ("We are waxing toward the consummation when one of the old-fashion'd schoolmasters, with his cowhide, his heavy birch-rod, and his many ingenious methods of child-torture, will be gazed upon as a scoron'd memento of an ignorant, cruel, and exploded doctrine"16) the story nonetheless engages in what David Reynolds has called "dark-reform," namely "the description of vice so vivid that the vice itself predominates over the ostensible moral" (Reynolds, 75). His final teaching post was in Whitestone (near Jamaica) during the fall, and by May 1841 Walt appears to have abandoned school teaching, left Long Island, and returned to Manhattan where he went to work at the weekly paper the New World. While still employed as a teacher, Whitman published a series of essays titled "Sun-Down Papers, From the Desk of a Schoolmaster" in three Long Island newspapers: the Hempstead Inquirer, the Long-Island Democrat, and the Long-Island Farmer.¹⁷ Adopting the "Schoolmaster" persona, Whitman promoted various moral reforms and took aim at such habits as tobacco chewing and excessive alcohol consumption. He also looked toward the future, imagining that one day he would "compose a wonderful and ponderous book. [...] Yes: I would write a book!"18

Walt's Paumanok visits

Even though Walt had now moved to New York City, he did make trips out to Long Island. In either 1853 or 1854 Walt had taken his ailing father to visit West Hills for a final three-day visit. They probably took the train as far as Hicksville and then a stage to Woodbury, where they proceeded on foot along the turnpike and across lots to the Colyer Homestead built by Walt's father probably in 1819. The farm had originally belonged to Jesse Whitman, Walt's grandfather. The house is still standing on Mount Misery Road in excellent repair. "I pumped in the kitchen door," wrote Walt, noting that "Aunt S., father's sister, was standing there – I knew her at once, although it is many years since I saw her, and she looked very old

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and bent."¹⁹ Later, Walt and his father walked down Chichester Road past weathered grey farm buildings and the Peace & Plenty Inn to the earlier house his father had built and where Walt was born. Then they slowly climbed up the shady, myrtle-edged path to the family burial ground on the hill behind the house that was originally that of Nehemiah Whitman, Jesse's father and Walt's great-grandfather.

In July 1881, as his father had done before him, Walt returned to West Hills, with his Canadian friend Dr. Maurice Bucke, and visited the family cemetery. Walt wrote,

I now write these lines seated on an old grave (doubtless of a century since at least) on the burial hill of the Whitmans of many generations. Fifty and more graves are quite plainly traceable, and as many more decay'd out of all form – depress'd mounds, crumbled and broken stones, cover'd with moss – $[\ldots]$. My whole family history, with its succession of links, from the first settlement down to date, told here – three centuries concentrate on this sterile acre. (PW, 1:6)

Walt Whitman on Long Island today

Walt Whitman has become Huntington's most famous resident. His name is on roads, a park, a high school, a major shopping mall, and many businesses and commercial establishments. The newspaper Walt began in 1838 continues to be published and today is Huntington's major weekly newspaper. In 1949 Walt's birthplace was placed for sale and a group of his admirers organized and received a charter from New York State to preserve and protect it as a historic landmark. As the Walt Whitman Birthplace Association this group acquired the site and donated it to New York State in 1957. A cooperative agreement was formed between New York State and the Association for the restoration, preservation, interpretation, and use of the Walt Whitman House. The Association maintains a website at waltwhitman.org, publishes the newsletter Starting from Paumanok, and runs programs including Walking With Whitman. Each year it selects a Poet-in-Residence for a celebration close to May 31 (Walt's birthday), honors a Champion of Literacy, and designates a Long Island Poet of the Year all in accordance with the Association's mission: "Walt Whitman Birthplace Association is Walt Whitman's voice today, celebrating the poet's vision of democracy, diversity, and creativity. Our programs and exhibits educate the public on Whitman's life and times, explore his contribution to our nation's rich cultural heritage, and inspire young poets and writers."²⁰

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Notes

- 1. "The Early Years," *Town of Huntington, Long Island, New York*, http://hun tingtonny.gov.
- 2. Charles R. Street, *Huntington Town Records: Including Babylon, Long Island, N.Y., 1653–1688*, vol. 1 (Huntington and Babylon, NY, 1887), 117. Joseph married Sarah Ketchum about 1660 and the two had six sons together; they established the Whitmans as a family of prominence on Long Island.
- 3. Slavery was introduced to Long Island in 1660 and not abolished until 1828. As was generally true throughout Long Island, the Whitman and Van Velsor slaves generally stayed in the kitchens of the homesteads (PW, 1:8–9). David Reynolds has argued that Whitman "always maintained a lurking sympathy for the South" in part because of his "nostalgia for his ancestors' ways" (Reynolds, 20). Walt recalled that one of his closest companions during his youth was a liberated West Hills slave named Old Mose: "He was very genial, correct, manly, and cute, and a great friend of my childhood" (PW, 2:580).
- 4. Bliss Perry, *Walt Whitman: His Life and Work* (New York, NY: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1906), 4–8. See also Reynolds, 10–11.
- 5. Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000), 14–19.
- 6. Ibid., 56-72.
- Ed Folsom, Walt Whitman's Native Representations (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 85–87.
- 8. "Residence 278 Huntington Township," *Fourth Census of the United States* (1820), 1820, Microfilm Roll 74 (Suffolk County), National Archives and Records Administration, http://archives.gov.
- 9. Richard Ryan (Curator at the Walt Whitman Birthplace and Old Bethpage Restoration Village) in discussion with the author, February–March 2017.
- Walt Whitman, "The Shadow and Light of a Young Man's Soul," *The Union Magazine of Literature and Art* 2 (June 1848), 280–81, WWA.
- 11. Walt Whitman, *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, vol. 2, ed. Emory Holloway (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, and Co., 1921), 13.
- 12. Horace L. Traubel, "Walt Whitman, Schoolmaster: Notes of a Conversation with Charles A. Roe," *Walt Whitman Fellowship Papers* 14 (1895), 81–87, quoted in *Whitman in His Own Time*, ed. Joel Myerson (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 1991), 110.
- 13. Bertha H. Funnell, *Walt Whitman on Long Island* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1971), 42.
- 14. David S. Reynolds, *Walt Whitman* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2005), 8.
- 15. Karen Karbiener, "*Long Islander*," in *Walt Whitman: An Encyclopedia*, eds. J. R. LeMaster and Donald D. Kummings (New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 1998), WWA.
- 16. Walt Whitman, "Death in the School-Room," *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 9 (August 1841), 177, WWA.

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- 17. Jason Stacy, "The Sun-Down Papers," WWA.
- 18. Walt Whitman, "The Sun-Down Papers-No. 7," Long-Island Democrat (Long Island, NY), September 29, 1840, 3, WWA.
- 19. Papers of Walt Whitman (MS 3829), Clifton Waller Barrett Library of American Literature, Albert H. Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia; Trent Collection of Whitmaniana, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, WWA.
- 20. "Our Mission Statement," Walt Whitman Birthplace Association, http://walt whitman.org/.