

THE GISSING JOURNAL

“More than most men am I dependent on sympathy to bring out the best that is in me.”  
– George Gissing’s *Commonplace Book*

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Volume XXVII, Number 4  
October, 1991  
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ISSN 017-0615

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Gissing and the *London Figaro*

Pierre Coustillas

That Gissing had no great respect for the press is a fact which is clearly established by his correspondence as well as his works. Yet he was an assiduous reader of newspapers and periodicals, and it was thanks to these only, especially when he lived away from London, that he could keep informed about current events, whether political, social or artistic. Until he left London for Exeter he was a regular patron of news rooms such as the Temple News and Reading Rooms in Fleet Street where, although he was not fascinated by print in the same manner as Percy Dunn in the short story aptly entitled “Spellbound,” he was at least interested

enough to read on and on. The press was useful to him in more ways than one. For instance, in the early eighties he extracted from it the raw material for his contributions to *Vyestnik Evropy*; in the literary columns he found accounts of new books and later, when writers came to be regarded as personalities whose most insignificant doings were worth reporting, he came across paragraphs that made most of his *confrères* more vivid to him. Some police news could suggest a subject for a short story—"Lord Dunfield" and "The Day of Silence" were inspired respectively by a report on the misconduct of a peer of the realm at a fashionable wedding and by some account of a domestic tragedy on a broiling hot summer day. Newspapers could also function as a quarry for material on any subject that was relevant to his scrapbook, whether the stage, local government or the so-called woman question, or even for portraits of public figures which he cut out and—strangely enough—preserved with greater care than the letters he received from casual correspondents.

Early on he came to fear printed appraisal of his work. An album in which he pasted reviews of his novels soon ceased to be used systematically; he only kept those cuttings he cared for. The average notice only served to distract him—he asked Smith & Elder to stop

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sending him clippings since assessments were as a rule unperceptive and only betrayed critical incompetence. His *Commonplace Book* offers some startling examples of ludicrous criticism of literary works from other pens than his. Occasionally—more frequently, it would seem, than his diary and what is known of his correspondence would lead us to believe—he would receive from a well-meaning reader some flattering notice of one of his books, but although he replied genially, he scarcely concealed his poor opinion of the piece concerned, doubtless because he found it depressing to be praised for irrelevant or uninteresting reasons. There were exceptions of course, but if the critical faculties of friends like Morley Roberts and H. G. Wells could not be trusted, what about those of the hacks who wrote for dailies and weeklies? Interviews he shunned at all times—one recalls his letters to Frederick Dolman and W. W. Whitelock in which he made much of the geographical distance between his correspondent and himself. The only exception on record seems to be Joseph Anderson of the *Boston Evening Transcript*, but Gissing was on his guard. He requested a proof of the article and made corrections. The fact that Joseph Anderson was the brother of the famous actress Mary Anderson, whom he had seen with pleasure on the stage and whose connection with Broadway, Worcestershire, he was aware of, may have inclined him to leniency.

It was with all these facts in mind that the research which eventuated in the present article was attempted, not hopefully, since a refusal to help a journalist could hardly have had positive results. But one knows of cases like that of John Northern Hilliard who, short of securing an interview, fabricated one with the confessional odds and ends he had extracted from Gissing's letters to him.

To all appearances Gissing's relations with the *London Figaro* began and ended in early March 1887 when, on returning from an ill-timed holiday in wind-swept Eastbourne, he was surprised to find in his mail a letter from that newspaper forwarded by Smith, Elder & Co. Would he oblige the editor by sending a photograph of himself which would appear together with an article on his works? Curiosity about him had been roused by Smith & Elder's disclosure of the authorship of *Demos* in their announcements of *Thyrza*, which was not to appear until late April. The editor of the *London Figaro*, one James Mortimer about whom reference works have nothing to say, naturally thought of him as a good subject for his weekly feature on "Coming Men." Speculation about the author of the anti-socialist novel which had been so widely discussed in the previous year had abruptly ended and the time had come to

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introduce Gissing to the readers of the *London Figaro* as a man with a future. Predictably the well-meant offer was turned down. "I am sensible of the compliment you pay me in desiring to

have my photograph for the 'Lond. Figaro,'" he reported having replied in his letter of 3 March 1887 to his brother; "will you forgive my inability to comply with your request? It would be painful to me to see any likeness of myself put before the public at this very early stage of my literary career."<sup>1</sup> An overmodest refusal if any and a disingenuous one as well, it would seem. For one thing, whether Gissing had a suitable portrait to send is doubtful. We know he did not like the portrait photograph taken by Naudin in May 1884<sup>2</sup> and there is no evidence that he had in hand a more recent one. But he knew that no photo would be reproduced, only a line drawing made from whatever likeness of himself he might offer, and he feared that the article on his work in such an unpretending newspaper might be totally inadequate. *Infra dig* is the phrase that occurs to one as summing up his opinion of the whole affair. The *London Figaro* was a weekly newspaper selling at a penny, and it consisted of notes and paragraphs on current topics—mainly politics and the stage—but it did publish some reviews of new fiction. Doubtless Gissing had many times walked past its editorial and publishing office at 74, Strand.

At that the affair rested from the writer's point of view, but not from the standpoint of posterity. A careful examination of the files of the *Figaro* has led to the discovery of seven reviews of his early novels, all of them unknown to modern biographers and critics, three of which had appeared by the time James Mortimer sought Gissing's assistance. Taken as a whole they constitute an enlightened assessment which places the novelist in the odd position of an (unconsciously) ungrateful author. Whoever wrote these reviews—they not improbably came from the same pen—understood Gissing's artistic aims in a manner which strikes one as exceptional at the time, and no apology is required for rescuing them from oblivion. The four that achieved publication from 1887 to 1892 furthermore show that Gissing was borne no malice for having refused to send a photograph of himself and possibly some biographical information which most likely would have been requested in a second letter from the editor or his staff. They are reproduced here as a contribution to a better knowledge of the critical reception of his works in his lifetime. The abrupt cessation of fiction reviewing in the early 1890s points to financial difficulties in the management of the newspaper. The *London Figaro*, while continuing to appear in the same format (approximately that of the *Spectator* and the

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*Saturday Review*), increasingly sought the patronage of readers who found their favourite mental pabulum in such papers as *Tit-bits* and *Answers*. It lived on until 31 December 1898, by which time its offices had moved to 279, Strand, and it was "illustrated by photographs only."<sup>3</sup> It had become far too modest-looking a journal to compete successfully with the many profusely illustrated weekly magazines available at the turn of the century. They offered much more copious matter at a price which, if higher, could nonetheless be contemplated by those readers whom Gissing had with pungent perceptiveness called the quarter-educated in *New Grub Street*.

The Book Market: *The Unclassed*  
20 September 1884, p. 15

It cannot be denied that Mr. George Gissing has not chosen a savoury topic. Yet, 'The Unclassed' (Chapman & Hall) is a work of considerable power, and the story, repugnant as it is in many respects, will compel attention. Mr. Gissing has been blamed in some quarters for writing so much about people of disreputable character, and it is startling to find an author choosing as his heroine a young woman who is an outcast from society. But then Mr. Gissing's title indicates the contents of his book. 'The Unclassed' consists of outcasts, and Bohemians, and the like. It is as well that there should be no mistake on that point. Let it be distinctly understood that the novel deals with questions which are not, or were not, discussed in drawing-rooms—that it is a book which was not written nor intended for the perusal of young girls. For the rest, we are not sure that the author has not placed the public under an obligation. He has painted a picture of things as they are. He has shown that persons who live by the

practice of vice are not always irredeemably bad, that it is possible, even for such sinners, to repent and become respectable. But he has also done justice to the seamy side; the book will not tempt the virtuous to forsake the straight path. Moreover, though he is outspoken, he is not coarse. There is some danger that the precedent he has set may be copied by individuals of a different cast of mind, who would not treat the topic with the tact he has manifested. But Mr. Gissing cannot be held responsible for want of delicacy in others. His literary skill is beyond doubt, and we should not be surprised to find him producing one of these days a brilliant work of fiction. 'The Unclassed' has a touch of genius.

New Novels: *Demos*  
24 April 1886, p. 14

Who is the author of 'Demos' (Smith, Elder, & Co.)? We strongly recommend this book, and we venture to predict that the author will make a very considerable reputation in the literary world. It is not an easy matter to write a story of English Socialism on attractive lines. But

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'Demos' is attractive because it is not only interesting, but also because the author has endeavoured to be fair both to Socialists and to those who are totally hostile to doctrines which are undoubtedly spreading in this country, to the great injury of the people. The sympathies of a considerable proportion of the readers of the novel will be with Richard Mutimer, the Socialist, whom the author has invested with qualities which, at any rate, account for the influence he exercised apart from his suddenly-acquired wealth. But we confess that in our opinion and notwithstanding the efforts of the novelist to show Mutimer has redeeming qualities, the hero—if the word is applicable—of 'Demos' is a thoroughly hateful character. He is painted with great skill, and it may be conceded that he possesses a certain amount of dogged courage. The thin veneer of education does not, however, at any stage of the story, hide the illiterate brute. It is no surprise that, when he has to submit to revenge, he indulges in the use of coarse language and insults, and disgusts his wife. The wonder is that he succeeded in gaining the hand of such a woman. It is sufficiently obvious that Adela never loved him, and equally so that she was not prompted by any base motive to marry him. Her delivery comes at last, and with it the happiness of the only man in the book whom it is possible to admire. Emma, the girl whom Mutimer so grossly deceived, is an excellent study. She also is illiterate, but the difference between her and her sometime lover is that the one has a heart of gold, while the other is a miserable cur. Compared with Mutimer the husband of Alice—"the Princess"—is almost a gentleman. For some reasons we prefer a downright scoundrel like Rodman to a boastful cad like Mutimer. Some of the dialogue is exceedingly good, and, altogether, 'Demos' is a novel that deserves to make a hit. If it points a moral, it has not a dull page; in some chapters there is the ring of genius.

New Novels: *Isabel Clarendon*  
7 August 1886, p. 14

A novelist who possesses abilities and is not regardless of criticism intended for his benefit can scarcely fail to make progress. We congratulate Mr. George Gissing upon his new book. He has previously written novels which, though undoubtedly clever, were repellent in tone, and wanting in taste. 'Isabel Clarendon' (Chapman & Hall) is not in some respects so clever as 'The Unclassed,' but the tone of it is healthy, and there is no necessity to caution fathers of families to keep it out of the way of their young daughters. At the same time, without being unduly exciting, it is full of powerful situations, and shows a knowledge of the world which cannot fail to be still more useful to the author. The heroine, a young, but not very young, widow, is not merely charming; she is a woman to love and a woman to trust. If Mr. Gissing had only created Isabel Clarendon herself, he would have increased his reputation. But there are several characters,

notably Kingcote, and Ada Warren [sic]. Some will complain of the manner in which Mrs. Clarendon is disposed of. We are inclined to praise Mr. Gissing for, among other things, persistently wandering away from the beaten track. What plot there is in the novel is fairly

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original, and the methods are quite the author's own. It would not be hard to find fault with 'Isabel Clarendon,' but nothing can alter the fact that without any attempt to create a sensation Mr. Gissing sustains attention throughout the whole of the two volumes, and we prefer to welcome, without reserve, the successful effort of a rising man.

New Novels: *Thyrza*  
21 May 1887, p. 15

We congratulate Mr. George Gissing on having written one of the novels of the season. 'Thyrza' (Smith, Elder & Co.) is a work of great merit, far superior to any of the author's previous productions, and more than justifying the high hopes that were entertained of him by those who recognised in 'Demos' and 'The Unclassed' the hand of genius. Mr. Gissing might easily have been sensational, but he has deliberately chosen the better path, and has sought, with entire success, to interest his readers in his characters, in their daily toil and adventures, rather than in the development of an exciting plot. And yet there are situations so strong that they may almost be called dramatic, and incidents so stirring that they cannot fail to create a powerful impression. The heroine, Thyrza Trent, is a girl in humble circumstances, and the scene of the major portion of the story is laid in unfashionable Lambeth. Mr. Gissing has studied the working classes to some purpose. He does not hide their vices or exaggerate their virtues, but his pictures will live. They are the portraits of flesh and blood people. The Idealist, as the author aptly styles Egremont, is not exactly a working man, though his father was only a manufacturer of oil-cloth, and he has comparatively aristocratic friends. But neither he nor they are very remarkable. When we have said that Mrs. Ormonde is an excellent lady, and Annabel a charming creature, we have exhausted the vocabulary of praise. As to Egremont, he is a clever creation, not wanting in originality, but it is impossible to admire him. Unstable throughout, he ultimately achieves more happiness than he deserves, but his fickleness at the last is infinitely more objectionable than his conduct when it was erroneously supposed he had been guilty of perfidy to a companion and baseness to a woman. All our sympathies are reserved for Thyrza and her self-denying and devoted sister, with Gilbert Grail and Totty Nancarrow. Probably Mr. Gissing intended that they should. It is clear that he meant to show that the highest graces of character may be found in low places. We do not object to his teaching, except when he seems to intimate the non-importance of religious creeds. But whatever exception may be taken to his views on some questions, 'Thyrza' is a literary masterpiece. The heroine is a diamond, planted in the middle of several gems. The story of her life and love is intensely pathetic, and is worthy to rank with the finest efforts of modern novelists.

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New Novels: *The Emancipated*  
14 June 1890, p. 4

If 'The Emancipated' (Bentley & Son) cannot be described as Mr. George Gissing's most successful novel, it is written with great ability, and can scarcely fail to strengthen the hold which he has obtained on the public as an author of singular originality, who can be unconventional without being coarse. The heroine of his new book is Miriam Baske, a young widow of personal attractions but strong religious prejudices. In the end, however, she discovers that she is mistaken in many points, and she marries a man who, though by far the finest character in the book, is a confirmed Bohemian of the best type. Thus she gains her freedom,

and learns what happiness means. There is, however, a great deal that is depressing in the story. The fate of Cecily is about as sad as it could have been. Perhaps if she had married Mallard he would not have been so contented as he was with the woman whom he afterwards loved, but that she should have been fascinated by Reuben Elgar is intensely disappointing. Nevertheless it only too often happens in life that good-looking scoundrels win the love of women whom they are not fit to approach. Apparently Mr. Gissing seeks to invest Elgar with redeeming traits, but he fails. The man is utterly contemptible, and Mallard's predictions, when Elgar had the impertinence to say that he was worthy of such a wife, were fulfilled to the letter. There are several interesting persons of secondary importance, notably the Denyers and Mr. Musselwhite. Commonplace as Musselwhite seems at the boarding-house on the Mergellina, he was far superior to the brilliant Elgar. His love for Barbara Denyer, and his suppression of his feelings until he was in a position to offer her a home, stand out in striking contrast to the conduct of the self-seeking, self-loving man who wanted Cecily for the moment, and the command of her money as long as it could be had. The chapter in which the honest gentleman asks poor Barbara, who had almost given him up, weary of his silence, has that touch of pathos which is one of the charms of Mr. Gissing's works.

New Novels: *New Grub Street*  
13 June 1891, p. 4

It may be taken for granted that a novel by Mr. George Gissing will not be wanting in originality. He is always himself. His style is his own, as well as his methods. His striking individuality will be observed in *New Grub Street* (Smith, Elder & Co.), which is, in some respects, the most powerful story he has written. We will not say the most pleasant, though it is not the most unpleasant. Mr. Gissing, it need hardly be said, does not profess to take his readers across summer seas. He draws from life—from among people whose habits and passions, whose hopes and fears, are not calculated to excite enthusiasm. He does not, we are afraid, lay on his colours too thickly, even in the case of *New Grub Street*. Withal, it must be confessed that the

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exceedingly realistic pictures which he gives of a certain literary class are, in the main, unexaggerated. For instance, his successful man, Jasper Milvain, calculating, self-contained, confident as to his own powers, is a very accurate specimen of a type of journalist with which newspaper editors are perfectly familiar. He is not a villain, he would not steal a pin. But he allows nothing in the shape of feeling to stand in the way of his own advancement; a broken heart is a trifle when it is weighed against the stepping-stones to the goal he has set before him. Not by any means as detestable as Jasper, Amy Reardon is a consistent sketch of a woman who cannot endure privation. For her, however, there is some excuse. Reardon, her husband, is rather a poor sort of creature, for whom it is not easy to entertain much sympathy, though he has to undergo both moral and physical suffering. Her selfishness is not, however, redeemed by a touch of nobility; and her record is not that of a woman one would desire to know, albeit there are many like her. Alfred Yule, the father of Marian, is another character whose egotism is unendurable; but here, again, there would be no difficulty in finding counterparts. Marian herself is an exception to the sordid, self-loving, and feeble persons by whom *New Grub Street* is peopled, and Dora is a pleasant contrast to her successful brother. Those who can appreciate a novel of great intellectual strength, which is not sensational and is without elements of romance, will do justice to the great abilities of the author.

“Figaro on Fiction”: *Denzil Quarrier*  
6 April 1892, p. 13

It is impossible to accuse Mr. George Gissing of conventionality. Some of his readers are probably of opinion that he takes pain to be unconventional. *Denzil Quarrier* (Lawrence &

Bullen) is not inferior in power to any of Mr. Gissing's previous works, and though in one respect daringly unconventional, no fault can be found with the author on the score of lack of refinement. He tells his original and powerful story delicately enough. But the lady with whom Denzil Quarrier lives is not legally his wife, and both he and she know it, though it must be added on her behalf, that she does not acknowledge or believe that the ceremony into which she had been tricked by Northway, her legal husband, was binding. Denzil, in narrating the circumstances to his friend Glazzard, says:—

“We agreed to live a life of our own, that was all. To tell you the truth, Glazzard, I had no clear plans. I was desperately in love, and—well, I thought of emigration some day. You know me too well to doubt my honesty. Lilian became my wife, for good and all—no doubt about that! But I didn't trouble much about the future—it's my way.”

Denzil accepts an invitation to contest the borough of Polterham in the Liberal interest, and finally takes up his abode there, with his wife. For some time things seem all right, and no one

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imagines that they are not married, like other folks. But Northway, the legal husband, comes out of prison, and Glazzard, who has always been on the look-out for him, is apprised of his whereabouts. Not because he dislikes Denzil, nor yet because he is in love with Mrs. Quarrier, this curiously-constituted creature interviews Northway, and gives him information about his wife. Ultimately he bribes the man to go to Polterham and proclaim his identity. The truth about Northway is disclosed to Lilian and Quarrier, but Glazzard's betrayal of his friend does not transpire until much later on. There are some capital political and election scenes in the novel, but the interest centres in the relations between Denzil and Lilian. It is impossible not to sympathise with them, and yet they were utterly in the wrong, as Mr. Gissing knows.

By the time this last review was published, Gissing's attention had been drawn twice to the *London Figaro*. The first occasion was shortly before he left 7K Cornwall Residences and its pestilential atmosphere for the sweeter climes of Devon. The diary entry for 27 December 1890 records a visit from Morley Roberts, who came with the proofs of an article on himself that was soon to appear in the “Coming Men” series. Gissing noted the event, adding with significant brevity: “Some years ago the *Figaro* applied to me for my photograph, and I refused it.” For once an article about Roberts failed to mention Gissing, but as the piece has much to say on *In Low Relief* (1890), in which John Torrington is recognizably Gissing, and as it contains information about Roberts's activities in the years for which his correspondence with Gissing has been lost, the article perhaps also deserves a second lease of life. It appeared with a line drawing of Roberts, who looks quite unlike the portrait of him which was published in the November 1892 number of *The Novel Review*.<sup>4</sup>

Coming Men: Mr. Morley Roberts  
10 January 1891, p. 4

Bohemian stories are frequently unpleasant, and often objectionable. This may be because those who are most competent to write them meet with a great deal that is unpleasant, and much that is objectionable in their own experiences. But Bohemian life has its good side as well as its bad, and there is no reason whatever why people who abjure society should not be as worthy of respect and admiration as the lion of a London season, or the belle of a brilliant ball. “In *Low Relief*,” a new novel which has recently been published by Messrs. Chapman and Hall, need not be taken up with the apprehension that there is something dreadful in it—something which ought not to be read by decorous subscribers to *Mudie's*. It is, in fact, a book which no one can

finish without feeling grateful to the author for having written it. One of the many merits of the

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poem in prose, for which the community is indebted to Mr. Morley Roberts, is the remarkable purity of its tone. But "In Low Relief" is as strong as it is pure, and the delicacy of touch which the author displays is not more noteworthy than the skill with which he portrays character, and the interest with which he invests the most trivial of his details. It is probable that Mr. Roberts, who calls his story "A Bohemian transcript," is, or has been, acquainted with the counterparts of Paul Armour, John Torrington, and Mary Morris, otherwise known as "Saint Priscilla," who, with the exception of Torrington's sister, are the principal individuals in the book who claim or absorb attention. Armour is an artist, and Torrington a literary man, who "picked up a precarious livelihood by pot-boiling articles in various magazines." He also "wrote verse, which, if not brilliant, was at least fair in quality, and by adding gradually a certain flashy dexterity in water-colour work, he bade fair to become an artistic Jack-of-all-trades." It is difficult to determine which of the two, if either, is intended to be the hero. Paul Armour has a more balanced mind, and many excellent qualities which Torrington does not possess. But Torrington is more original, and his poverty and his failures excite more sympathy than Armour's success. Both are in love with "Saint Priscilla," though it is not until Torrington wants to make her his wife that Armour reveals the fact of his love. Had he done so earlier, he would have saved Torrington, and Priscilla herself, a considerable amount of misery, for it was the grave and even-tempered artist whom Priscilla loved. She was his model, and his kind and courteous treatment of her excited her gratitude, which grew into love, not the less intense because it was carefully concealed. It is a terrible disappointment to Torrington to learn that Armour loves her, and the scene in which the two men, who are friends, agree to a course of action which must mean for one of them the keenest suffering, is so impressively depicted that it is easy to realise the mental and moral struggle going on. In this instance the victory is Paul's, but there comes a time when it is Torrington's turn to manifest the self-sacrifice of which he can be capable. It may seem strange to some that men so vastly above the average as Torrington and Armour, should be so stirred by devotion to a girl who is not supposed to be an embodiment of beauty, and has not enjoyed the education or the environment of a lady. Yet those who enter into the spirit of the book, and understand the circumstances, will not accuse Mr. Roberts of exaggeration. There is nothing unnatural in the tender, not to say exalted affection, which Priscilla inspires, for lowly as her origin was, and humble as her vocation is, she has the characteristics which entitle her to the name bestowed upon her by Torrington, not as a jest or gibe, but with a sense of reverence which never deserts him. It is the sense of reverence which makes his love as beautiful as it is true. In Bohemia dinner parties are rare, and chaperons superfluous. It does not seem a proper thing for a young man to have a girl alone to tea at his rooms, but the highest lady in the land could not have been treated with more deference than was Priscilla by Torrington when she accepted his invitation. The romantic element in the novel is its most potent charm, but there are merits of another order which help to account for the harmony of the whole. Mr. Roberts does not exhaust his abilities in evolving the issue of one of

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the prettiest love stories which has ever been printed, though the final choice of the heroine is, of course, the climax to which all other events lead up. Even the dialogue is not all about Priscilla, and master of the art of pathos as Mr. Roberts proves himself to be, he is not less humorous than pathetic. The impecuniosity of Bohemians is graphically illustrated in a conversation between Torrington and Gaskell, when the former wants to borrow from the latter one-and-fivepence in order to owe him altogether half-a-sovereign, and Gaskell contrives to manage sevenpence. This was during a modest meal, after which "the boy from Mason's" took away the dishes. "When he was gone, Gaskell carefully closed the door after him. The reason was soon apparent when a knock came to the door. Arthur made no motion. 'Don't you hear?'

asked Torrington lazily. 'Shut up,' said Arthur in a low voice. 'It's the baker.' 'Don't you want any bread?' 'I don't want his bill. I'm tired of getting it. I shan't have any money till Saturday, if I get it then.' After a few knocks, the desperate baker gave it up and retired." Not that these Bohemians cheated their tradespeople. When they had money they paid gladly enough, but sometimes they had nothing to pay with. There is one rather slight sketch which deepens the conviction that the author of "In Low Relief" is versatile as well as clever. Mabel, Torrington's sister, is not only a lady, but has been brought up like one. Her manner towards Priscilla when she met the artist's model at her brother's rooms, suggests a very fine character, and it is not surprising that when John put his sister into an omnibus, some vulgar girls standing at the corner of the road exclaimed—"Well, why don't you kiss 'er?" Mr. Morley Roberts, who has fairly gained admission into the ranks of rising novelists, is the son of Mr. W. H. Roberts, a well-known civil servant at Somerset House, and was born in London in 1857. He was educated at Bedford Grammar School and Owens College, Manchester, where he did nothing in particular. In 1876, seized with a desire for adventure, he went in the steerage of a sailing vessel to Melbourne, and obtained employment in the railway goods-sheds there. Next he proceeded to New South Wales, and worked in the bush at Dora Dora, Mahonga, Burrawang near Forbes, and Mossgiel in the Lachlan Back Blocks, mostly with sheep, cattle, and horses. He left the last place at Christmas, 1878, and was almost starved to death at Bulligal Creeks, being four-and-a-half days without food. After this he shipped in Melbourne as an able seaman. His Australian experiences have been recited in the pages of *Murray's Magazine*, and it must have been a pleasant change for him when he secured an appointment as a writer in the War Office. Here, and in a similar capacity in the India Store Department, he spent upwards of three years. But in 1884 his health, which had long been indifferent, broke down, and he started to Texas. In Texas he herded sheep, and subsequently travelled all over America, tramping thousands of miles. "The Western Avernus," his first book, which was written when he returned to England at the end of 1886, contains a full account of his wanderings. It was published by Messrs. Smith and Elder, and was a literary success, though it did not excite any particular notice. Mr. Roberts, who writes occasional verse, and is a contributor to the magazines, has now, however, made his

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mark so conclusively that the novel which he hopes to bring out in the autumn will certainly be asked for. If it strengthens the reputation which "In Low Relief" has secured, his name will soon be familiar far and wide. As may be imagined from his antecedents, Mr. Roberts is something of an athlete and a good swimmer. Last year he saved three lives at Shoreham, in Sussex, for which he received the certificate for gallantry, on vellum, of the Royal Humane Society. One of the three young ladies who, but for his efforts, would have been drowned, is the eldest daughter of Mr. James Aumonier, the well-known artist. Mr. Roberts frequents some of the chess resorts in the West-End of London, and is regarded as a very fair player. But it is in the world of literature that he is likely to shine; and he cannot do better than exercise himself in the cultivation of the gifts and the insight, without which he could not have produced "In Low Relief."

The second occasion on which Gissing's attention was drawn to the *London Figaro* was the appearance of a similar article on his brother. If Gissing had "muckle dubitation" about Roberts being a coming man (nowadays he lives on only through the books about his friends Gissing and Hudson), he must have looked upon the depiction of Algernon as another promising writer with sad mirth. But he would not discourage poor Alg, who although still only a beginner, had not spent out his capital of illusions. Again Gissing recorded the event in his diary, and his correspondence with his brother contains additional comments of interest. Although a letter from George to Algernon which, according to the diary, he wrote after he finished reading *A Masquerader* on 31 March 1892 is missing, it can safely be asserted that his first reaction on hearing of the offer made by the *London Figaro* was, as in 1887 and 1891, a negative one.

However, he quickly came to change his mind, for a purely accidental reason. On 6 April, after hearing again from Algernon, he returned to the subject:

“I am inclined to think that I have behaved rather foolishly in the advt. business. By all means let the Figaro man write what he likes about you; we simply cannot afford to be so scrupulous. Not long ago, Roberts gave them his portrait & sketch of his life. At that time, he asked Fred Chapman’s opinion on the matter, and was advised by all means to agree. Chapman said that all men of any note had passed through the Figaro. The paper has scarcely any London circulation, but a very large one in the provinces. It may do you good—must, indeed, do some good.”<sup>5</sup>

The reason for this change of mind is to be found in the next paragraph and in the diary entry for 5 April, on which day Morley Roberts told him that he had just written an article on his

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works for the *Novel Review*, a monthly then edited by Henry Hyde Champion. Obviously the advice George had given his brother now appeared in a new light. Although Roberts’s article was more ambitious than the sketch on Algernon that was to appear in the *London Figaro* on 27 April 1892, it was nonetheless—if George’s point of view stands at all—something of an “advertisement.” There was no difference between the two pieces that could justify opposite attitudes to them. On the 9th he approved of the autobiographical sketch that was submitted by Algernon:

“I should say your sketch will do very well. Of course they will work it up with what flourishes their nature bids. No, I think the kinship needn’t be mentioned; the fact of the matter is that my position doesn’t warrant any reference of that kind; not one person in every hundred reading the Figaro (or any other paper) will have heard my name. Doubtless this has brought you a measure of encouragement. I hope you will work on more hopefully.”<sup>6</sup>

Later in the day he had an afterthought, advising his brother on a postcard to send Wilson—this was the man with whom Algernon had been corresponding—a full list of the books he had hitherto published.<sup>7</sup> Algernon must have followed this advice, since, as can be seen below, his five titles to date were scrupulously listed in the article. He was not to read many more pieces of that kind in his long, disappointing career. He had to be content with reviews of his stories, considered individually.

#### Figaro’s Coming Men: Mr. Algernon Gissing

There are many types of novelists. There is the sensational novelist, who always plans a series of crimes or a succession of tragedies; the sentimental novelist, whose invariable method is to depict the temporary tortures of lovers who are made happy in the end; the historical novelist, who distorts history for the purpose of rounding off a romance; the nautical novelist, who is only happy in dealing with life on the ocean wave. Mr. Algernon Gissing is none of these. He belongs to the idyllic type. He devotes his energies to novels illustrative of the life and aspect of his two favourite districts,—the green hills, elm-shaded villages, and moss-grown orchards of the Cotswolds at one time, the silent moorland wastes of the Northumberland border at another. The scene of Mr. Gissing’s new novel, “A Masquerader,” published by Hurst and Blackett, is laid in Northumberland. It would be doing the author an injustice to say that there is no plot. Though he does not rely on the plot for sustaining the interest of his readers, he has constructed a set of circumstances which give a sufficient air of mystery to the book, and render

revelations about some of the characters indispensable. The Whinstones, who are the occupants of High Feldom Hall, consist of Mr. Whinstone, the representative of an old Border family and a successful barrister, who spends most of his time in London; his daughter, or supposed daughter, who has spent most of her life away from Northumberland; Mrs. Whinstone, and Paul, the only son, known as "the young squire," who have spent most of their lives at High Feldom. The father is an excellent specimen of the cold, unromantic man of the world, who has nevertheless had his romance. Margaret is a bright, good-looking, selfish girl, who having tasted the sordid side of life, would sooner do anything than return to it; Mrs. Whinstone is an agreeable, and in all respects admirable, lady; while Paul, if not endowed with every attribute of virtue, is a manly and straightforward fellow, passionately fond of the country and of sport. The neighbours of the Whinstones are Mrs. Monk, an attractive woman with a past, and her niece, or supposed niece, Clare Langtoft, an unconventional but delightful girl; the vicar, Mr. Crook, whose "clear eyes and rather thin, firmly set lips gave a vivacity of expression, indicating the heyday of intellectual activity, with not a little of the optimistic outlook of youth; whilst creases in the forehead, positive wrinkles about the eyes, and ridges between the cheeks and nostrils, betrayed unmistakable maturity of days;" Hugh Winlaw, and his sister Maisie, who have seen better days, and remain a true gentleman and a true lady; the Kidlands of Kidland Castle, and the Selbys. It is with these persons that Mr. Gissing concerns himself, and, like a wise man, he does not neglect to introduce the love element. There are Allan Kidland and Walter Selby for Margaret to flirt with. Paul is at one time satisfied that he cannot live without Clare, and then finds that Maisie Winlaw is the pattern of perfect womanhood; and Hugh, first shepherd, and afterwards successful politician, has his dreams, which are not wholly futile. No one, save Mrs. Monk, Mr. Whinstone, and perhaps the reader, is prepared for the startling *dénouement* which takes place in the third volume; but even apart from this climax, to which the story gently leads up, "A Masquerader" is a clever and entertaining novel, with plenty of brisk dialogue and minor incident. Mr. Gissing's affection for the country, his keen appreciation of all its beauties, is constantly apparent, and it is impossible to peruse his pleasant pages without catching the spirit which inspires them. His own career has been tranquil. The chief events have taken place within the limits, not necessarily narrow, of his own consciousness, and without any great reference to the external world. Born at Wakefield, and now only in his thirty-first year, he has, however, plenty of time for more stormy experience, while his youth goes far to justify the conviction that his best literary work remains to be accomplished. Mr. Gissing was educated originally for the law, and he was admitted a solicitor early in 1882. He practised for a period in his native town, during which he was cultivating literary instincts. Finding the legal profession uncongenial to his temperament, he ultimately abandoned it, and faced seriously that of letters. For awhile after this he lived in London, engaged in various literary work of a general kind, but his love of the country impelled him to withdraw thither, and for the last few years he has spent the bulk of his

time in rural seclusion. His first novel made its appearance in 1888 with the fanciful title of "Joy Cometh in the Morning." It was followed in 1889 by "Both of this Parish." In 1890 came "A Village Hampden;" in 1891, "A Moorland Idyll"; and in 1892, "A Masquerader." It is evidently Mr. Gissing's idea to produce a novel a year, and if he has no difficulty about his material, this ought not to expose him to the risk of writing himself out. There is no desire that he should cease to be idyllic, but more movement would add to the strength of his works without impairing the charm. (pp. 3-4)

In his diary for 29 April George's conclusion reads laconically: "On Wednesday appeared a portrait of Alg, with sketch of career, in the *London Figaro*. Wood-cut of course ludicrous." Thus the *Figaro* vanished from his papers and correspondence.

<sup>1</sup>Letter to Algernon Gissing in the Berg Collection, to be published in Volume III of the *Collected Letters* in 1992.

<sup>2</sup>Portrait photograph reproduced in Volume II of the *Collected Letters* (1991).

<sup>3</sup>See the entry on p. 44 of *A Handbook for Writers and Artists*, “by a London editor,” London: Charles William Deacon & Co. 1898.

<sup>4</sup>Raymond Blathwayt, “A Chat with Mr. Morley Roberts,” *The Novel Review*, November 1892, pp. 698-708. The portrait is on p. 699.

<sup>5</sup>Letter to his brother begun on 3 April and completed on the 6<sup>th</sup>, to be published in Volume V of the *Collected Letters* (Yale University Library).

<sup>6</sup>Letter to Algernon, also to be published in Volume V of the *Collected Letters* (Yale University Library).

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*

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Jonathan Keates, in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 5 July 1991: “What this first volume of correspondence so fascinatingly outlines is the rapid, if often painful evolution of a distinctive voice, the most arresting in late nineteenth-century English fiction. Without Gissing, no Wells, no Bennett, no Shaw, no Orwell (who nobly acknowledged his debt). That his novels, major or minor, are not continuously accessible to the general reader is scandalous and incomprehensible.” No reader of the *TLS* has written to the editor to question this statement.

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Adulation and Paranoia: Eduard Bertz's Whitman Correspondence  
(1889-1914)

Walter Grünzweig  
Universität Graz

The Letters (concluded)

X

[Dedication by Bertz to Johannes Schlaf in an offprint of “Walt Whitman. Ein Charakterbild” dated 4 September 1905. Johannes Schlaf Archiv, Querfurt, Germany.]

“Herrn Dr. Johannes Schlaf ganz ergebenst überreicht vom Verfasser. Potsdam, 4. Sept. 1905.”

[Translation of 10]

“Dedicated to Dr. Johannes Schlaf by the author. Potsdam, 4 September 1905.”

XI

[Bertz to W. C. Rivers, 12 March 1913. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress.]

Waisenstrasse 27,  
Potsdam.  
March 12th, 1913.

Dear Sir,

Your book on "Walt Whitman's Anomaly"<sup>44</sup> came to me as a most valuable aid, and I beg to express to you my sincere gratitude. Though the results of my investigation met with such a favourable reception, from a number of competent judges, that I could no longer doubt of the victory of my cause, I have been persecuted by the Whitmanites with the utmost hatred, and the obstinate denial, in those circles, is still so strong, that a confirmation like yours, especially as you are an Englishman, moves me to great rejoicing.

I was told, two years ago, that my books on Whitman are well-known in England, among people who take an interest in the question of inversion. Also Mr. Edward Carpenter<sup>45</sup> wrote to me, in 1906, that he thought my first paper ("Ein Charakterbild")<sup>46</sup> "extremely good and complete." At the same time he mentioned that Dr. Havelock Ellis<sup>47</sup> "thinks highly of it." But there was no public acknowledgment, till now, except by Dr. James Burnet who, likewise in

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1906, briefly stated in the "Medical Times and Hospital Gazette," that he thought it "capital."<sup>48</sup> In his book entitled "The Intermediate Sex," which first appeared in German, Mr. Carpenter curiously charges me with begging the question, because I had said that Whitman's gospel, as it originated in his personally abnormal instincts, was without value to the normal. Of course Mr. Carpenter cannot be impartial, seeing that he entirely shares Whitman's fatal delusion<sup>49</sup>

In America my books were favourably received by people of German origin chiefly. The greatest help there came to me from Dr. O. E. Lessing, Professor at the University of Illinois, whose essay on "Whitman and His German Critics"<sup>50</sup> I beg to forward to you, as it will no doubt interest you. He, indeed, who had formerly lived at Munich, has saved my "Yankee-Heiland"<sup>51</sup> from being annihilated by the machinations of the "Whitman Fellowship."<sup>52</sup> For, being originally opposed to the theory of Whitman's inversion, he was entrusted, by the German publishers of Binns' biography,<sup>53</sup> with the task of writing about me in a leading German Review *with the express purpose of tearing my book to tatters*. He, however, by reading and re-reading it, became convinced that I was right, and, instead of helping in my destruction, he entirely justified me, and recalled his own former mistakes.

As to the "Whitman Fellowship," it made me the object of international denunciation, the most fanatically and perfidiously active instrument of which was an American lady of Polish origin, Mrs. von Ende. Their tactic is nothing less than a conspiracy against truth, characterized by the members' mutually backing each others' [sic] stupidity. M. Bazalgette f.i., *who knows no German* and had therefore been unable to read either Schlaf's or my own contributions to the discussion, had nevertheless venomously attacked me in his book,<sup>54</sup> and whitewashed Schlaf, *on the sole authority of "The Conservator."* Thereupon Dr. Lessing tried to make him see his error. But M. Bazalgette replied:

"However serious Johannes Schlaf's shortcomings and mistakes in his translations and interpretations of Whitman may have been, his superiority lies in his being *a poet* [double underlining], and B. only a critic. And *a poet who is wrong is better than a critic who is right*. (Please do not infer from this sentence that I suppose B. is right in his scholarly opinion of Whitman—as *Whitman eludes all criticism*)."

This will no doubt amuse you.

As to Schlaf's poetical standing, by-the-by, he is a very mediocre poet indeed, and besides, as I did not know when I wrote my "Whitman-Mysterien,"<sup>55</sup> he is an incurable lunatic (*folie raisonnante*): one of the symptoms of his insanity is megalomania, seeing that, two years ago, he created a sensation, by announcing that he had destroyed the Copernican system, and reinstalled the earth in its old position as the centre of the universe.<sup>56</sup> As a consequence of his disease, his moral sense has suffered a gradual deterioration. (I may also mention that a far more excellent *poet* than Schlaf, viz. the late Swiss *Joseph Victor Widmann*, was wholly on my side.)<sup>57</sup>

One of the most decisive actions in my favour was an essay by *Walther Schöne*, entitled "*Walt Whitman und seine Phalluspoesie*," which appeared in "*Sexual-Probleme*," a German monthly published at Frankfurt am Main (VII. Jahrgang, Heft 3, 4, & 5—March, April, and May, 1911). It must be in the British Museum, I should think. It would certainly meet with your approval if you could manage to get a look at it.

The instance of heredity which you mention on p. 6, seems to me very important. But if heredity is assumed, only the *later* theory of *Freud*, viz. the assumption of a "diathesis of inversion" (which, as you are aware, originated long before Freud) seems to me tenable. *Stekel's*<sup>58</sup> is a very paradoxical mind. In the current issue of "*Die neue Generation*" Dr. Heinrich *Koerber*, an intimate friend of mine, who is *a thorough disciple of Freud*, declares:

"Parallel laufend, aber durchaus nicht direkt abhängig von dieser Praedestination zu einer bestimmten Keimproduktion müssen wir ein *praeformiertes*, endogenes oder *psychisches Sexualzentrum*, eine *sexuelle Stimmungslage* bei jedem Menschen annehmen, die wohl schon *vor der Geburt* des einzelnen seine *psychosexuelle Disposition* und sein späteres *sexuelles Tendieren festlegt*."<sup>59</sup>

But, though the *origin* of inversion may be doubtful, of the *fact* of Whitman's inversion there can be no doubt whatever.

I quite agree with you that many of those stigmata<sup>60</sup> adduced by me, *if taken separately*, prove nothing. However, they strengthen the evidence, I believe, if they accompany those stigmata which have a direct bearing upon inversion, and only if all the four classes of stigmata occur in the same person, a *typical* "Charakterbild" of the extreme, viz. effeminate, type of inversion comes forth. But of course, if the case is to be stated briefly, it is greatly simplified by omitting the secondary characters, and laying stress on the primary ones only, as you do, and the convincingness [sic] is increased.

As to the question whether Whitman's inverted feelings found physical vent, you are right in hinting that in "Whitman-Mysterien" I meant to reply to it in the affirmative. Still, I had a strong suspicion only, at the time. But subsequently, in a lecture which I was requested to give at Berlin, in April, 1911, before a medical audience, I was able to refer to living witnesses.<sup>61</sup> The person mentioned on p. 171 of "Whitman-Mysterien," is the well-known American writer *James Huneker*,<sup>62</sup> who has personally investigated the case, and elicited a mass of details about Whitman's homosexual intercourse, from working men, etc., who, when young fellows, had been the objects of Whitman's appetite, or knew all about it. And last year I heard from Dr. *Hirschfeld*<sup>63</sup> that the [... one line inked out!] has told him of a personal avowal he received from an American lawyer still living at Chicago. This lawyer, *when a boy of fourteen (!)*, has been made an object of *fellatio* [double underlining] by the great Walt Whitman. In that and in similar cases, then, the poet was *active*. That, of course, would be no indication against your diagnosis of Whitman's "passivity," for *fellatio* is active in appearance only. And indeed, I believe that Whitman was a *fellator* in an objective as well as in a subjective sense. The poem quoted by you on p. 15, viz. "I mind how once we lay,"<sup>64</sup> is, as I now feel convinced, a confession, slightly

veiled only, of *passive fellatio*. (By-the-by, this form of homosexual practice seems to be especially common in the United States; at least that thought struck me when I read Ellis's "Sexual Inversion").

In conclusion, let me say that you have certainly strengthened the case. And to me it gave an especial satisfaction that you arrived at your results quite independently of previous investigations. But indeed, the truth is so evident that one hardly understands how any sane man can have the courage to deny it.

I am, dear Sir,

Very sincerely Yours,  
Eduard Bertz.

P.S. By-the-by, on p. 10 you quote a passage from *George Gissing's* "Ryecroft."<sup>65</sup> Do you know that I am the E.B. to whom he erected a memorial of friendship, on p. 169, 1st edition, of that book? Unfortunately, since his death ten years ago, my English style has become somewhat rusty.

Dr. W. C. Rivers,  
London.

## XII

[Bertz to W. C. Rivers, 29 March 1913. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress.]

Waisenstrasse 27,  
Potsdam.  
March 29th, 1913.

My dear Sir,

I was very glad that my letter gave you pleasure. I hope you will be able to pursue your investigations. By united effort, even the slightest doubt about Whitman's sexual practice should soon be removed. That, of course, would, as you recognize, complete our evidence.

I do not think that *Huneker* has published his investigations, but the fact that *Prime-Stevenson* (Xavier Mayne)<sup>66</sup> and *Viereck*,<sup>67</sup> who know nothing of each other, independently told me that they were informed by himself, leads to the conclusion that privately he must have spread his knowledge broad-cast.

When speaking of the attacks on me of the Whitman Fellowship circle, I was thinking, firstly, of *Schlaf's* pamphlet entitled "*Walt Whitman Homosexueller?*"<sup>68</sup> (1906) to which my "Mysterien" were the answer (I am not sure, from your book, whether you know it); and also of a nonsensical book of his, likewise published in 1906, entitled "*Christus und Sophie*."<sup>69</sup> Secondly, of Bazalgette's book. Thirdly, of two reviews and a speech by *Amelia von Ende*. The former two of these appeared in the New York "Nation"<sup>70</sup> and the New York "Times,"<sup>71</sup> and

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concerned the "Yankee-Heiland"; the speech was uttered at the anniversary dinner of the Fellowship, and appeared in the "Conservator" for June, 1907.<sup>72</sup> Traubel had furnished her for the purpose with a letter of mine written to Whitman at the time when I was still an immature and uncritical admirer of the poet; it was, of course, in no way suited to refute the critical thought of my maturity. But by the appearance of my "Mysterien," Mrs. von Ende too was silenced, and, indeed, nobody has dared, as yet, to grapple with that book.

After all, you may have thought that the persecution I spoke of, was more untiring. It was not calculated to be, as most of the American and French Whitmaniacs read no German, and as my "Mysterien" put a stop to their attempts. Bazalgette's, in fact, only was a belated shot, as of a blundering soldier firing his gun when the battle is over.<sup>73</sup> Far more dangerous than the open attacks is their change of tactics, viz. the conspiracy of silence to which they have now resorted, for it is practiced by those who address themselves to a popular audience, and it is enforced by the agitation, in Germany, for such confusing books as the miserable translation of Binn's "Life." But I am satisfied if my results are acknowledged in scientific circles, for, in the end, not the quantity but the quality of votes will be decisive.

You kindly speak of my "freedom of time," but that, unfortunately, is a mistake. For I am now sixty years of age, and though I try to follow Horace's advice, viz.: "*Spatio brevi spem longam resces*,"<sup>74</sup> I have still so many tasks before me which I should dearly like to finish

before night-fall, that it is extremely doubtful whether I shall be able to recur once more to Whitman; especially as, by the state of my eyes, my working-hours are sadly reduced, for I have to do all my writing by day-light.

As to the rustiness of my English, by-the-by, I was quite serious about it. It is twenty-nine years since I came back to Germany, and there was very seldom an opportunity of talking in your language, since then. And as I have got no regular correspondent, since George Gissing's death in 1903, also my facility of writing it is constantly diminishing. Though, of course, I continue reading it. There was a time when I wrote like an Englishman, as competent people told me. But nothing lasts forever. However, I am grateful for your forbearance.

I quite agree with you that the aspect of the question is likely to be confused by the theories of *bisexuality* and *sublimation*. But the former can and will be met by the unquestionable fact that there are innumerable degrees of bisexuality, openly admitted by some adherers of Freud, such as my friend Koerber. And the second, in Whitman's case, should be opposed by the fact that the Freudian conception does not apply to Whitman. According to Freud, the sensual is replaced by the spiritual; but in Whitman there was no such supplanting. Theoretically, he did indeed sublimate his sexual instinct, but practically he did not even attempt to do so. Therefore, in him, sublimation and sexuality *do not exclude each other, but go together*.

I am afraid that your opinion of Germany as a "truth loving country" is far too favourable. In sexual matters, as well as in everything else, only a minority have the courage and consistency to acknowledge facts, while in the general public and those who create public

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opinion, prejudice and intellectual dishonesty are still of overpowering extent. The case of *Michael Angelo* which you quoted, is one instance of many.<sup>75</sup> Among the authorities dealing with him in Germany, the majority wilfully ignore the true meaning of the sonnets.

Well, my dear Sir, I feel convinced that with you our common cause is in safe hands. If I should be called off, you will continue the struggle, and, sooner or later, all the mystifiers will be routed. Your book gave me the assurance that "*la vérité est en marche, rien ne l'arrêtera.*"

Believe me, Very sincerely Yours  
Edward Bertz.

### XIII

[Bertz to W. C. Rivers, 18 June 1913. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress.]

Waisenstr. 27,  
Potsdam.  
June 18th, 1913.

Dear Dr. Rivers,

James Huneker's letter which you kindly transcribed for me, interested me much.<sup>76</sup> Your conclusion that he does not care to say anything definite, is no doubt right. He evidently is afraid to have his name publicly mentioned in this connection, as people might surmise that Whitman's intimates would not have imparted their secret to any one of whom they had not good reason to believe that he belonged to their kind.

But, at the same time, he *admits* that he heard much, etc. That, to a certain degree, is a *confirmation* of what I was told about his knowledge.

Now let me repeat: Viereck and Prime-Stevenson are total strangers to each other, and never met, perhaps do not even know of each other's existence. But I heard the same story about Huneker from either of them, and both asserted that he had told them. So he *must* have told them, for it would be a miracle if both had invented the same story about the same man, especially as there was no reason for such invention.

By-the-by, Viereck's later story, that of the Chicago lawyer, was not derived from Huneker,

but extracted by himself. That story he told Dr. Hirschfeld from whom I got it.

However, I quite expect that [name inked out but intelligible: Viereck], if cross-questioned, will likewise deny. I know nothing of Huneker's personal character, but of [name inked out but intelligible: Viereck] I know that he is a vain poseur who will pronounce any untruth if it should suit his interest, a man without a particle of sincerity in his constitution.

There will always remain this difficulty: only partners in guilt *can* know anything definite about Whitman's sexual activity, and they will be afraid because they would accuse themselves.

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Pity that Peter Doyle<sup>77</sup> died a few years ago. He, I think, would have spoken out, if only a sensible person had interviewed him. Bucke and Traubel were too silly for the purpose.

But you remember the passage from Schölermann's introduction, quoted in my *Charakterbild*, p. 167, viz. that Whitman had been charged with illicit but unproven connections with young fellows.<sup>78</sup> I doubted the truth at the time, but I do so no longer. Anyhow, the charge was there, and it must have originated with personal observers, I should think.

Then, there are these two passages in Walter Schöne's long article (*Sexual-Probleme*, vol. VII):<sup>79</sup>

1., p. 194. Diese Auffassung von Whitmans Geschlechtlichkeit wird auch von kritischen Geistern in Whitmans Heimat geteilt. Dort haben *Nachforschungen* dasselbe Ergebnis gehabt, und "es ist auch durch Zeugnisse noch heut Lebender erhärtet." Ich entnehme diese Nachricht einer Korrespondenz mit einem sehr angesehenen und bekannten Schriftsteller, der es "aus erster Quelle weiss."

2., p. 196. Selbst Ed. Bertz hat ja die Betätigungsfrage ausdrücklich offen gelassen. Heute weiss ja die Whitmanforschung auch darüber mehr, als vor vier Jahren der Verfasser des "Charakterbildes."<sup>80</sup> –

All the objections of which you said in a former letter that they were likely to be raised, viz. that of sublimation, bisexuality, etc., were repeatedly put forth against me. So I was already accustomed to them, and prepared to answer them.

As to J. A. Symonds<sup>81</sup> whom you mention, I too feel certain that he was more than theoretically interested in the subject of homosexuality. Otherwise his great interest in Ulrichs,<sup>82</sup> quoted by him in his book on Whitman, would be unintelligible. For he undertook a pilgrimage to Aquila, Abruzzi, where Ulrichs was living, spent a day with him, and wrote with enthusiasm about him as a man of genius, comparing him to Chrysostomos (Cf. his *Biography*, by Horatio F. Brown, p. 467).<sup>83</sup>

Did you hear anything of the discussion about Whitman's burial, in the *Mercure de France*? It began in April with the report of an eye-witness, published by Guillaume Apollinaire.<sup>84</sup> The proceedings were described as a drunken bout, and it was mentioned that not only Whitman's mistresses and perhaps his children had been present, but also a great lot of homosexual people, for Whitman had never concealed his philopédie.

In consequence, Apollinaire was severely attacked, privately as well as publicly. There appeared two letters, in reply, the one by Stuart Merrill,<sup>85</sup> from Brussels, the other by one DeCasseres,<sup>86</sup> from New York. Both fervidly protested against such a desecration of the saint, and Merrill asserted that Bazalgette had long since refuted all the charges brought forth against Whitman.

Now it happened that Dr. Eugen Wilhelm,<sup>87</sup> from Strassburg, paid a visit to the bureau of the *Mercure* and, in conversation with the editors, told them that there was no longer any doubt about Whitman's homosexuality. Thereupon they said that they would like to publish a letter by some one regarded as an authority on the subject, and Dr. Wilhelm was asked to induce me to

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write to them. At first I was not inclined to do so, partly from want of time, but chiefly because I should appear to speak in my own interest rather than in that of truth. For you know how I have

been attacked by Bazalgette, though, knowing no German, he never read my three essays; and I had, of course, to refute him first. Besides, it was likely that the *Mercure* would have a business interest in suppressing the truth, for Bazalgette's book is published by the *Société du Mercure de France*. And then, Bazalgette is the centre of a big *clique* which lives by mutual advertising.

However, as it would be a great advantage to have the truth stated in France, for once, I overcame my unwillingness, and *did* write the letter, at last. It is a week, now, that I dispatched it.<sup>88</sup> So it remains to be seen whether they will bring it out. If so, the "fellowship" will be in a rage, and very likely they will throw stones at me.

In your last letter, you ask whether our country is going to fight yours? No, I am convinced that it will never do such a thing. We, in Germany, are amazed whenever we read of English people's suspicion. Everybody, with us, desires to live in peace with England, except a small party of would-be mischief-makers, who are of no consequence. A short time ago, our Minister of War, in the *Reichstag*, said: "*Deutschland ist friedlich bis auf die Knochen*,"<sup>89</sup> and he spoke the truth. Our ever growing armaments are very terrible, and almost unbearable already, but their purpose is only that of defence. This is not a personal impression only, for I am accustomed to read liberal as well as conservative papers, and I find that the desire for peace is the same in all parties.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

Edward Bertz.

#### XIV

[Bertz to W. C. Rivers, 8 February 1914. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress.]

Waisenstrasse 27.

Potsdam.

Febr. 8th, 1914.

Dear Dr. Rivers,

Many thanks for your very interesting letter. So you have done with the Sanatorium. May your new sphere of work give you much satisfaction.

I am very glad you followed the discussion in the *Mercure de France*. I was at first most unwilling to take part in it, and did so only after repeated urging from Dr. Wilhelm, of Strasbourg. What at last decided me, was the reflection that I ought not to neglect this opportunity of setting myself right in France, against Bazalgette, who, for five years, had been proclaimed, by his clique, as the infallible authority on Whitman. But I came to repent of my

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step, for such a public quarrel is disgusting to me, and besides, I felt hampered throughout by a latent current, in the *Mercure*, unfavorable to outspoken statement of the truth, and averse to a real solution of the question.

However, it was not my intention at all fully to demonstrate Whitman's homosexuality. I only wanted to show that it is accepted as a fact by a number of competent judges, and that, consequently, Bazalgette's assertions deserve no credit.

The publication of Apollinaire's first article was an act of mere thoughtlessness. After it, the Directeur of the *Mercure*, Vallette, found himself in a conflict of interests. On the one hand, they had a business interest in protecting Bazalgette; and, as I now see from your letter, Merrill's influence, as a "supporter and backer," demanded consideration; besides, there was the large clique to which Bazalgette belongs. On the other hand, disavowing Apollinaire would have meant disavowing himself; and at the same time, it seemed desirable to cover Apollinaire, since he is a valuable member of the editorial staff.

Without a decided partiality for Bazalgette, Vallette could hardly have published his two insulting letters.<sup>90</sup> And without such a partiality he would not have allotted to Merrill's arrogant article such an exceptional and independent place,<sup>91</sup> since it actually formed only part of the general discussion. I felt that it was *not fair* to let him have that advantage.

Only after considerable hesitation I sent in my second letter<sup>92</sup> (the answer to Bazalgette's first). And I had decided not to answer the *latter's* second letter at all: in fact, I *did* not answer it; it was Dr. Wilhelm who actually wrote the answer (my *third* letter),<sup>93</sup> and I only complied to sign it. On the other hand, Dr. Wilhelm was of opinion that I could *not* reply to *Merrill's* article; so I wrote the fourth letter<sup>94</sup> on my own impulse, and I think I was right. But I quite understood that I had to be satisfied with the inevitable self-defense and that the *Mercure* was not the place for finally proving my case.

Now I am greatly interested to hear that you are the real author of that excellent characterization of Merrill's attitude, in the *Archives*, as *sentimentalisme récalcitrant*.<sup>95</sup> It applies, not to his letter only, but just as much to his refutation so-called. The latter which I have commented line by line, is full of contradictions, and calculated to dazzle the ignorant only; on examination, it proves wholly futile.

While the quarrel was going on, I was secretly hoping that you would come to my help, and I was glad to hear that you *have* actually written to the *Mercure*. I think it is quite possible that they will still publish your contribution. If they fail to do so, it would be another proof of their partiality.

It does not matter that you wrote in English, for they have got their translators. Also my own letters were not written in French, since I had been informed by Dr. Wilhelm that there were no objections to my writing in German. Unfortunately, the translations contain several mistakes by which my thought is distorted.

You thought that the discussion was now finished, and I should have rejoiced, I confess, if you had been right. But in the *Mercure* of Febr. 1st the quarrel is reopened by Albert Schintz

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[*recte*: Schinz],<sup>96</sup> the French author of a book entitled "Anti-Pragmatisme" which is in my possession, and he publishes a letter from Harrison S. Morris.<sup>97</sup> Schintz, as Merrill had done before him, perfidiously or at least frivolously misinterprets the true meaning of my words about culture. Bazalgette had expressed his *contempt of science in general*. To this I had replied in my original text:

"Aber glaubt er wirklich, seine verlorene Stellung dadurch zu retten, dass er mit Verachtung von der *Wissenschaft* und ihren Vertretern spricht? Für alle unbefangenen Denkenden bezeugt er damit nur von neuem, dass der *schwärmerische Whitman-Kultus* reaktionär und dem Kulturfortschritt feindlich ist."<sup>98</sup>

Evidently this only means that an uncritical enthusiasm which leads its adherer to *despise science*, is reactionary and opposed to culture. Besides, if inimical, I did not say that it is *dangerous*. For not every enemy is to be feared. I am very far from such a ridiculous overvaluation of the possible influence, either for good or bad, of the Whitmaniacs.

As to Morris, he does not remember two of the people with whom he rode to the cemetery, and he even forgot where the coffin was placed. So his memory is faulty. On the other hand, he rode in a *carriage*, very likely in conversation with his three companions, and paid no attention to what was passing on the road. And he assisted at the ceremony, as is to be presumed, *under the tent*; he, therefore, had no opportunity of observing what was going on in the large crowd outside. His testimony, therefore, is by no means conclusive. Also, as he rode in a carriage, his holding a "*cordon du poêle*" seems to have been *merely nominal*. (There were about twenty-six men to whom that office had been assigned).

But I shall not reply to this new onslaught. As long as none of those who so emphatically protest, have recourse to any of the books in which the matter is exhaustively treated, they deserve no answer.

It is very good that you communicated with Reeves<sup>99</sup> and that he gave you some American addresses. It would certainly be important to find out some courageous witness to Whitman's homosexual *deeds*. For the diagnosis of homosexuality, such deeds are of secondary importance only, it is true; the manner of feeling, as unveiled in Whitman's works, is primarily evidential. But there are many people, and Merrill is typical, who do not believe in any merely psychical demonstration.

But very likely Merrill's rejection of anonymous witnesses is a mere trick only. He must be aware that actual witnesses, i.e. participators, are most unlikely to traduce themselves; and, in demanding names, he demands what he must know to be almost impossible. I had already laid stress on that difficulty, in my second letter, but he saw fit to ignore it.

There is one line of research which might perhaps with advantage be pursued. Peter Doyle, unfortunately, is dead; he died at the end of 1906 or in the beginning of 1907. But some of his intimates must still be alive, and if they could be found out, revelations might come forth.

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Apollinaire, in his last article, said that Gilbert,<sup>100</sup> in "Patience" already, had playfully referred to Oscar Wilde's inverted tastes. The text is not accessible to me: do you happen to know whether Apollinaire is right?

And there is one other question which I should be glad to have answered by your kindness if opportunity offers: In your book, p. 24, you refer to a remark of Whitman's on Tennyson (unnatural and shocking passion for some girl or woman). I have several times looked through the Prose Works, but cannot find the passage. Or is it contained in one of Traubel's volumes? I should be glad if you could tell me where to look for it.<sup>101</sup>

By-the-by, I have got the first two volumes of Traubel's "Camden," and ordered the third more than a year ago, but am still waiting for it. The advertisement (and even some review) was premature, as Prof. Lessing, on inquiry, learned from the New York publisher.

In the course of the *Mercure* discussion, I once more took up Bazalgette's book, and thoroughly worked through it. It is remarkable how many passages there occur in it which must lead any critical reader to the conclusion: *Ergo* Whitman was homosexual. But it is even more remarkable that, on such occasion, Bazalgette regularly argues: *Ergo* he was *not* homosexual!

But besides, in reading the book, I was struck by the essentially *feminine* qualities of this writer's mind. Still, I had not expected the explanation of this peculiarity which came to me the other day from Guillaume Apollinaire, viz. that Remy de Gourmont<sup>102</sup> had just now confided to him that *Bazalgette is himself homosexual*.

After reading the book, I think this is very probable. But in that case Bazalgette's fanatical denial, and insulting attitude towards those who assert the truth, would be hypocritical and contemptible in the extreme. Why could he not pass over the question in silence? However, a similar part has been played by many inverts before him.

Apollinaire does not want this matter to be spoken of, and of course I shall make no public use of my knowledge. But I see no reason why it should be kept from you who have made a special study of the whole problem.

As to the article you want to publish in German, if it is not very extensive, I think I might manage to undertake the translation myself—of course as a friend and fellow-worker—, as the subject is of so much importance to me.

But as you wrote it for a French public, originally, would it not be better if the *Mercure* should not bring it out after all, first to try *Archives* of Lacassagne?<sup>103</sup> They are *very likely* to accept it.

As to *Sexual-Probleme*, I feel convinced that, being an English medical man, you would be very welcome as a contributor. But I don't feel equally sure whether they would like to publish another article on *Whitman*, after that long one by Schoene.<sup>104</sup> At the time, it surprised me that they had accepted the latter, and they were slow in bringing it out, for it seems to have been in their hands, about two years till at last it was printed. The interest taken here in Whitman's

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homosexuality is not very great. Besides, I believe, he is the only person of renown ever dealt with in this way, till now, in that paper, from such a point of view.

In any case, I think it would be wise to ask beforehand whether Marcuse,<sup>105</sup> the editor, would like to have such an article.

This is a very long letter: so let me conclude, though much I should have liked to speak about, remains unsaid.

With kind regards,  
Yours very sincerely,  
Edward Bertz.

XV

[Bertz to W. C. Rivers, 20 May 1914. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress.]

Waisenstrasse 27,  
Potsdam.  
May 20th, 1914.

Dear Dr. Rivers,

Today I only want to let you know that I have written to Dr. Bloch about your willingness to contribute to the new *Zeitschrift für Sexual-Wissenschaft*.<sup>106</sup> He is glad of it and has inserted your name in the list of contributors.

The articles you intend for the paper, you may, as he tells me, send to him directly (Dr. Iwan Bloch, *Charlottenburg, Leibnizstr.* 104), as he reads English. He will then hand them over to me for translation.

I informed him that you propose an article under the title "Sexological *Obiter Dicta*,"<sup>107</sup> but you hoped that some other title might occur to you. I should think it would be advisable to choose something that would better indicate the contents.

It struck me that for you an especially suitable subject would be something about the sexual lives of consumptives, and I mentioned it to Bloch. He replied: "'*Die Vita sexualis* [last two words double underlining] der Tuberkulösen' ist ein gutes Thema."<sup>108</sup>

By-the-by, he also refers to a little book by Sir William Osler entitled "A Way of Life," in which the author mentions that he has been Whitman's physician, for some time.<sup>109</sup> (I had myself spoken of it in *Whitman-Mysterien*, p. 104, on Traubel's authority). Bloch suggests that Osler, as he is still alive, might be able to tell us more about Whitman.

A short time ago, Messrs. Constable & Co. advertised, among Standard Works, Osler's "Science and Immortality," and I ordered it at once, but my bookseller informed me that it was entirely out of print. Isn't this strange?

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I am just now writing for the new *Zeitschrift* an article which will go through two numbers, on "*Das Schamgefühl*" (sexual modesty). I have also promised articles on Whitman and the German poet Storm.<sup>110</sup>

I heard to-day from Dr. Wilhelm who mentions that your article in the *Archives*<sup>111</sup> is already out. He too, I regret to say, thinks that your evidence as to Whitman's own homosexuality is not convincing. But never mind!

With kind regards  
Yours sincerely,  
Edward Bertz.

[Bertz to W. C. Rivers, undated, incomplete. Feinberg Collection, Library of Congress.]

[The incomplete letter starts in the middle of a sentence] of Miss Christabel Pankhurst uttered in *The Suffragette*. Very rightly, it seems to me, it taxes that warlike young lady with *infantile Rückständigkeit*.<sup>112</sup> The author says:

“Die Heiterkeit, welche uns kontinentale Barbaren angesichts einer derartigen Auffassung des Liebeslebens und des Kampfes gegen fürchterliche Würengel der Volksgesundheit ergreift, weicht bald dem Entsetzen über die verheerenden Folgen eine gewollten Nationalstupidität.“

*Ein Charakterbild* appeared in Vol. VII of *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* which was indeed published by Spohr, but was only written for the *Jahrbuch*. Then a small separate edition was issued which is now out of print. I am aware that Spohr still advertises it, but what he sells is only a cutting from the *Jahrbuch*. I doubt whether he has a right to do so, but I do not interfere because I cannot believe there is a considerable demand. With Spohr himself I have nothing to do in the matter.

Certainly Havelock Ellis is normal, but so was the late Edwin Bab<sup>113</sup> whom you mention. He was a medical man, and I happened to know him. He was something of a charlatan, and his strange views were wholly suggested to him by one of the most eccentric among homosexuals, Brand,<sup>114</sup> more than half a madman, I think, a dangerous fellow who suffered imprisonment for publicly taxing Prince Bülow<sup>115</sup> with homosexuality. Among the German specialists on Inversion there are certainly many who are themselves inverted, and of course their personal bias seduces them (just like Carpenter) to unduly glorify their own nature, and to exaggerate their claims; especially as there are among them not a few anarchists (again like Carpenter). Nevertheless, their contributions are not without merit, I think. For what should we know of the problem if men like Ulrichs had not lifted the veil? However, most of our *foremost* specialists, f.i. Westphal,<sup>116</sup> Casper,<sup>117</sup> Liman,<sup>118</sup> Krafft-Ebing,<sup>119</sup> Eulenburg,<sup>120</sup> Bloch, Rohleder,<sup>121</sup> Naecke etc., were or are unquestionably normal.

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But in my opinion you overestimate the danger of a possible emancipation of homosexuals. Look at France and Italy where there are no laws against inverted acts as such: in those countries, there is no more homosexuality than in Germany, or in England, either. Indeed, from all I hear, the frequency of homosexual acts is hardly influenced by legislation, only the secrecy is, but the latter effect is attained in France by stern laws against *public* violation of decency. There cannot be the slightest doubt, I think, that society is morally justified in protecting its *youth* against being debauched, as well as in preventing any *public* breach of modesty. But is there any justice in criminally punishing private homosexual intercourse among *adults*? In two respects such interference is in contradiction with the spirit of modern legislation. For one thing, it violates the principle of individual liberty. This, I believe, was the chief reason why the French *Code* passed over homosexual acts. It was supposed that society has no right to interfere with the private life of individuals, as long as no third person, nor public interests, are damaged. And, on the other hand, justice demands that there be no punishment where there is no *guilt*. And there really is not if, as cannot be doubted, homosexuality is an *inborn*, or *constitutional*, or *pathological* anomaly. Not all, but the majority of homosexual acts are committed under an impulse which to a great degree excludes responsibility. This at least was the view of thousands of the most eminent men in Science and Art, in this country, who signed the petition for the abolishment of the law in question, and to me their reasons seem to be quite sensible.

Of course there remains this dilemma: how is society to deal with corrupters of boys? Must it shut them up in asylums? Must it, as they are not really insane, found special asylums for their kind? A certain degree of dishonour would be connected with this mode also, and, besides, the

term would have to be much longer than that of imprisonment, so that most of those who were to undergo it, would think it even harder than criminal punishment. It is a difficult problem. Of course, Carpenter and other enthusiasts will never succeed in convincing normal people of the social utility of inverts. Though homosexuals, as individuals, may often be socially useful, as a class they are certainly not desirable.

However, all that is just now of little practical avail. The agitation of the Berlin Committee had, indeed, the positive result of enlightening many people; but, especially after Harden's sensational affair,<sup>122</sup> it had also the negative effect of calling forth a violent counter agitation, and the latter seems to prove by far the stronger, for the present, so that those laws, instead of being abolished, are now much more likely to be made a great deal more severe, by the *Reichstag*.

Anyhow, the severity of *English* legislation (in the Criminal Law Amendment Act) is excessive and barbarous. It would have been impossible if public opinion on sexual matters, in England, were not groping still in Egyptian darkness.

As to the *Kammerlichtspiele* you asked about, some time ago, I have now made inquiries, but Viereck's assertions were not affirmed.<sup>123</sup> If there ever was such a license as is mentioned by him, it certainly does no longer exist, and could only have been of brief duration. All films, at

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Berlin, are subjected to the censorship of the *Polizeipräsidium*<sup>124</sup> and those regarded as in any way immoral are ruthlessly suppressed. The *Verein Berliner Presse* of which I am a member since nearly thirty years—it is the oldest and most influential association of the kind in Germany—was invited a year ago by the President of Police, for information's sake, to assist a specially arranged presentation of a representative selection of forbidden and confiscated films, and it was evident that nothing doubtful is allowed to pass.

So I think I have conscientiously replied to all you wanted to hear about, and I trust that I did not tire you beyond endurance.

Yours very sincerely,  
Edward Bertz.

#### Notes

<sup>44</sup>Bertz's correspondent is the British physician and sexual researcher W[alter] C[ourtenoy] Rivers. Bertz refers to Rivers' *Walt Whitman's Anomaly*, London: Allen, 1913. In this short study, Rivers mentions Bertz favorably and agrees with him on Whitman's homosexuality (pp. 4-6). The sale of the book was "restricted to members of the medical profession."

<sup>45</sup>Edward Carpenter (1844-1929), English social reformer and Whitmanite. Carpenter had met Whitman in 1877 and 1884. His book, *The Intermediate Sex* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1908) deals with homosexuals and homosexuality. Carpenter was a well-known advocate of homosexuals and he was very open about his own homosexuality.

<sup>46</sup>Actually: "Walt Whitman: Ein Charakterbild," *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, Vol. 7 (1905), pp. 153-287.

<sup>47</sup>(Henry) Havelock Ellis (1859-1939), English physician and sexologist. His main work, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (7 vols., 1897-1928) takes up enlightened positions on homosexuality, women's sexuality, and sex education. Ellis' *Studies* also include references to Whitman's "case."

<sup>48</sup>"Some Aspects of Neurasthenia," *Medical Times and Hospital Gazette*, 3 February 1906, pp. 58-59. Burnet offered no review of Bertz's long essay but merely said that "The Year-book for 1905 [...] contains, among other matters, a capital character sketch of Walt Whitman."

<sup>49</sup>Edward Carpenter, *The Intermediate Sex: A Study of Some Transitional Types of Men and Women*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1908, p. 117: "Dr. E. Bertz in his late study of Whitman as a person of strongly homogenic temperament brings forward the objection that Whitman's gospel

of Comradeship as a means of social regeneration is founded on a false basis—because (so Dr. Bertz says) the gospel derives from an abnormality in himself, and therefore cannot possibly have a universal application or create a general enthusiasm. But this is rather a case of assuming the point which has to be proved. Whitman constantly maintains that his own disposition at any rate is normal, and that he represents the average man. And it may be true, even as far as his Uranian temperament is concerned, that while this was specially developed in him the germs of it are almost, if not quite, universal. If so, then the Comradeship on which Whitman founds a

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large portion of his message may in course of time become a general enthusiasm, and the nobler Uranians of to-day may be destined, as suggested, to be its pioneers and advance guard.”

<sup>50</sup>In: *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. 9 (1910), pp. 85-98.

<sup>51</sup>*Der Yankee-Heiland. Ein Beitrag zur modernen Religionsgeschichte*, Dresden: Reißner, 1906.

<sup>52</sup>The “Whitman-Fellowship,” initiated by Traubel in 1894, was an organization of devoted American Whitmanites connected with Whitmanites around the world. Leftist in orientation, it attempted to use Whitman’s poetry politically. In essence, Traubel’s *Conservator* served as the organization’s journal. In spite of his friendly earlier contacts with Traubel, Bertz was by now convinced of the conspiratorial quality of the organization.

<sup>53</sup>Henry Bryan Binns, *A Life of Walt Whitman*, London: Methuen, 1905.

<sup>54</sup>Léon Bazalgette, *Walt Whitman. L’Homme et son Oeuvre*, Paris: Mercure de France, 1908. Bazalgette (1873-1928) was France’s foremost Whitmanite. Closely connected with the “Fellowship,” he had also translated the *Leaves*.

<sup>55</sup>Eduard Bertz, *Whitman-Mysterien. Eine Abrechnung mit Johannes Schlaf*, Berlin, 1907.

<sup>56</sup>See Johannes Schlaf, *Religion und Kosmos*, Berlin: Hofmann, 1911; *Kosmos und kosmischer Umlauf. Die geozentrische Lösung des kosmischen Problems*, Weimar: Lit. Institut, 1927; *Die Erde—nicht die Sonne. Das geozentrische Weltbild*, München, Wien, Zürich: Dreiländer, 1919.— After his propagation of Whitman’s works, the reinstatement of the geocentric universe was the second central “project” of Schlaf’s life.

<sup>57</sup>Joseph Viktor Widmann (1842-1911), Austrian-Swiss writer and critic. Bertz’s letters to Widmann which contain a series of interesting remarks on Gissing and Whitman, will be published in one of the forthcoming issues of the *Gissing Journal*.

<sup>58</sup>Wilhelm Stekel (1868-1940), Austrian psychoanalyst, colleague of Freud and Jung, fled from Hitler in 1938; suicide in London in 1940.

<sup>59</sup>Parallel but in no way directly dependent on this predestination of a certain germ production we must hypostasize a *performed*, endogenous or *psychological sexual center*, a *sexual mood* in each human individual, which probably determines the psychosexual disposition and the later sexual tendency of each individual already prior to his birth.

<sup>60</sup>In his oversized 1905 article on Whitman.

<sup>61</sup>Notice in the *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, Vol. 11 (1910-11), p. 443: “On 28 April 1911 there was a meeting of the [scientific-humanitarian] committee at the Hotel ‘Altstädter Hof,’ in which the author Eduard Bertz, recognized as best German Whitman-researcher, gave an excellent lecture on ‘Walt Whitman.’ The audience followed his spirited and exceedingly captivating lecture with close interest and received it with lively applause.”

<sup>62</sup>James Gibbon Huneker (1857-1921), U.S. music historian and critic writing in the areas of literature, music and the arts. Important cultural mediator between the United States and Europe. Frequently called the most important critic in his generation.

<sup>63</sup>Magnus Hirschfeld (1868-1935), physician and sexual researcher. Hirschfeld was an early activist for homosexual emancipation, headed the “Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee” and edited the *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*.

<sup>64</sup>This is the famous passage in section 5 of *Leaves of Grass*:

“I mind how once we lay such a transparent summer morning,  
How you settled your head athwart my hips and gently turn’d over upon me,  
And parted the shirt from my bosom-bone, and plunged your tongue to my bare-stript heart,  
And reach’d till you felt my beard, and reach’d till you held my feet.”

Bertz’s interpretation appears to be wrong as the lyrical persona is addressing its “soul.”

<sup>65</sup>Rivers, *Walt Whitman’s Anomaly*, p. 10: “Experience offers proof on every hand that vigorous mental life may be but one side of a personality, of which the other is moral barbarism.”

<sup>66</sup>Edward Irenaeus Prime-Stevenson (1868-1942), pseudonym Xavier Mayne, was a gay critic and novelist from New Jersey who moved to Europe sometime after 1900 in order to escape what he considered oppressive homophobia in the United States. Stevenson was in touch with Hirschfeld.

<sup>67</sup>George Sylvester Viereck (1884-1962), poet, pro-German activist in World Wars I and II, in earlier years obsessed with the themes of pan- and bisexuality.

<sup>68</sup>*Walt Whitman Homosexueller? Kritische Revision einer Whitman-Abhandlung von Dr. Eduard Bertz*, Minden i.W.: Bruns, 1906.

<sup>69</sup>Wien & Leipzig: Akademischer Verlag, 1906.

<sup>70</sup>Anon. (i.e. Amalie von Ende), review of Bertz, *Yankee-Heiland*, *The Nation*, Vol. 84 (21 February 1907), pp. 179f.

<sup>71</sup>A. von E., “Whitman in Germany. Edouard Bertz Now an Apostate from the Whitman Cult. A Bitter Arraignment of the Camden Poet,” *New York Times Saturday Review*, 9 March 1907, p. 146.

<sup>72</sup>“Whitman and the Germans of Today,” *The Conservator*, Vol. 18, no. 4 (1907), pp. 55-57.

<sup>73</sup>Actually, this turned out to be wrong. The long debate in the *Mercure de France* was just about to start.

<sup>74</sup>Horace, *Odes*, I, xi, 6. “Trim lengthy hope to the short space of our lives.”

<sup>75</sup>The case of Michelangelo was important to the early German gay movement. In volume 2 (1900) of the *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, pp. 254-267, N. Prätorius (i.e. Eugen Wilhelm), wrote an article on “Michelangelo’s Urningtum” which he introduced with the following lines: “A large number of famous men have been suspected of being homosexuals. In the case of many, it may be doubtful whether this suspicion is justified and it may be altogether difficult ever to know the complete truth. However, there is no individual, in whom the homosexual nature is as unambiguous as in Michelangelo” (p. 254).

<sup>76</sup>Apparently, Rivers contacted Huneker about the statements Bertz made in his letter of 12 March 1913. In a pencilled note on that letter, we read: “Huneker denies all knowledge ... but I believe Bertz rather than H.”

<sup>77</sup>Peter Doyle (1845?-1907) was a close friend of Whitman’s, possibly in a homosexual or homoerotic relationship.

<sup>78</sup>Bertz, “Walt Whitman: Ein Charakterbild,” p. 167, quotes Schölermann as saying: “In this way, he was said to have had illegal but unproven relationships with young people.” Wilhelm Schölermann translated Whitman in 1904 (Grashalme, Leipzig: Diederichs). His translation follows a strong German nationalist ideology interpreting Whitman as a Germanic bard.

<sup>79</sup>Walter Schöne, “Walt Whitman und seine Phalluspoesie,” *Sexualprobleme*, Vol. 7 (March-May 1911), pp. 185-198, 261-272, 319-335.

<sup>80</sup>Translation of text on p. 194: “This view of Whitman’s sexuality is also shared by critical spirits in Whitman’s native country. There, *investigations* have had the same result and ‘it is also

backed up by testimonies of individuals who are still alive.’ This piece of news, I am gathering from a correspondence with a well-known author with an excellent reputation, who knows it ‘from an original source.’”

Translation of text on p. 196: Even Eduard Bertz has left the question of actual sexual activities open. Today, Whitman scholarship knows more about this question than the author of the “Charakterbild” four years ago.

<sup>81</sup>John Addington Symonds (1840-1893), British poet and art historian. His books *A Problem in Greek Ethics* (1871) and *A Problem in Modern Ethics* (1881) were pioneer works on the subject of homosexuality.

<sup>82</sup>Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825-1895), German lawyer and classical philologist, was an early homosexual activist who wrote a series of pioneering works on male homosexuality. The terminology used by him was very important for early research into homosexuality. He coined the term “urning” and described an urning as a man possessing a female soul in a male body; an idea which influenced important sexologists including Hirschfeld.

<sup>83</sup>*John Addington Symonds: A Biography*, London: Nimmo, 1895, has this section on p. 344 in volume II.

<sup>84</sup>Guillaume Apollinaire (1880-1918), “Modernist” French poet, influenced by Cubism, major inspiration for the French surrealists. His whimsical, widely misunderstood report on Whitman’s burial has the character of a literary hoax (“Funérailles de Walt Whitman racontées par un témoin,” *Mercure de France*, Vol. 102 (1 April 1913), pp. 658-659).

<sup>85</sup>Stuart Fitzrandolph Merrill (1863-1915), French-Belgian writer of American origin, had met Whitman personally in 1891 and considered him one of the great experiences of his life. With short intervals in the U. S., he spent his life mainly in Paris and Brussels.— Merrill’s open letter appeared in the *Mercure de France*, Vol. 102 (16 April 1913), pp. 890-892.

<sup>86</sup>Benjamin De Casseres (1873-1945), New York critic and writer. His “Lettre à la rédaction à propos de Walt Whitman” appeared in the *Mercure*, Vol. 103 (June 1913), p. 67.

<sup>87</sup>Eugen Wilhelm was a judge in Strasbourg. In the *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, he wrote bibliographical reviews and articles under the pseudonym of “Numa Praetorius.”

<sup>88</sup>Edouard Bertz, “A propos de Walt Whitman: les funérailles, l’homosexualité de Whitman,” *Mercure de France*, Vol. 104 (1 July 1913), pp. 204-210.

<sup>89</sup>Erich von Falkenhayn (1861-1922), Prussian minister of war from 1913 until 1915. His statement, characterized by a certain belligerency incompatible with its message, can be translated as “Germany is peaceful down to her very bones.”

<sup>90</sup>Léon Bazalgette, “Une Lettre à propos de Walt Whitman,” *Mercure de France*, Vol. 105 (1 September), pp. 221-222; *ditto*, Vol. 105 (16 October 1913), p. 877.

<sup>91</sup>Stuart Merrill, “La Question Walt Whitman,” *Mercure de France*, Vol. 106 (16 November 1913), pp. 329-336.

<sup>92</sup>“Une Lettre de M. Eduard Bertz à propos de Walt Whitman,” *Mercure de France*, Vol. 105 (1 October 1913), pp. 654-655.

<sup>93</sup>“A propos de Walt Whitman,” *Mercure de France*, Vol. 106 (1 November 1913), p. 219.

<sup>94</sup>“Lettre à la rédaction à propos de Walt Whitman,” *Mercure de France*, Vol. 107 (1 January 1914), pp. 222-223.

<sup>95</sup>The *Archives d’anthropologie criminelle de médecine légale et de psychologie normale et pathologique*, Vol. 29 (1914), pp. 364-367, contained a signed article by W. C. Rivers entitled

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“L’inversion de Walt Whitman: Evidence Nouvelle.” It is followed by a short note signed “A. R.,” recommending Rivers’ view to the readers of the *Archives*. Apparently Rivers had informed Bertz that he himself was the author of this note.

<sup>96</sup>Albert Schinz, “Lettre à la rédaction à propos de Walt Whitman,” *Mercure de France*, Vol. 107 (1 February 1914), pp. 669-671. Rivers’s letter to the *Mercure* was not published.

<sup>97</sup>Philadelphia industrialist and writer (1856-1948), personally acquainted with Whitman and author of a Whitman biography published in 1929.

<sup>98</sup>But does he really believe to save his lost position by speaking with scorn of *science* and its representatives? For all those who are unbiased, he only confirms anew that the *effusive Whitman cult* is reactionary and hostile to the progress of culture.

<sup>99</sup>This must be Harrison Reeves, probably an American living in Paris, who participated in the discussion in the *Mercure* (“A propos de Walt Whitman,” Vol. 103, 16 June 1913, pp. 893-895) on the side of Bertz and Apollinaire by declaring Whitman a homosexual little known in the United States.

<sup>100</sup>*Mercure de France*, Vol. 106 (16 December 1913), pp. 864-865. The reference is to W. S. Gilbert and Arthur S. Sullivan, “Patience or, Bunthorne’s Bride!” an opera satirizing aestheticism.

<sup>101</sup>*In re Walt Whitman*, eds. Horace Traubel, Richard M. Bucke, T. B. Harned, Philadelphia, McKay, 1893: “He (Tennyson) is the bard of ennui & of the aristocracy and their combination into love. This love is the old stock love of playwrights and romancers, Shakespere the same as the rest. It is possessed of the same unnatural & shocking passion for some girl or woman, that wrenches it from its manhood, emasculated and impotent, without strength to hold the rest of the objects and goods of life in their proper positions.”

<sup>102</sup>French symbolist, poet, critic, and philosopher (1858-1915). Regular contributor to the *Mercure de France*.

<sup>103</sup>Antoine Lacassagne was the editor of the *Archives d’anthropologie criminelle de médecine légale*. There is no contribution by Rivers in the *Archives* outside the one mentioned in note 93.

<sup>104</sup>See note 77 above.

<sup>105</sup>Max Marcuse (1877-1963), specialist for sexual disorders, one of the founders of German sexual research. Edited *Sexual-Probleme: Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft und Sexualpolitik*. In 1923, he published his influential *Handwörterbuch der Sexualwissenschaft*.

<sup>106</sup>Iwan Bloch (1872-1922), sexual researcher and physician, was the editor of the *Zeitschrift*. There is no record of a contribution by Rivers.

<sup>107</sup>Sexological topics mentioned in passing.

<sup>108</sup>The sexual life of Consumptives is a good topic.

<sup>109</sup>(Sir) William Osler (1849-1919), Canadian physician and medical researcher, practised and worked in Canada, Great Britain and the United States. *A Way of Life* was first published by Constable, London, 1913. His answers to Rivers’ questions, not confirming Whitman’s homosexuality, were edited by William White in the *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 11 (1956), pp. 348f.

<sup>110</sup>These articles have not been identified in this journal.

<sup>111</sup>There is no further article by Rivers in the *Archives*. Wilhelm was probably referring to Rivers’ “L’inversion de Walt Whitman” quoted above.

<sup>112</sup>Infantile backwardness.

<sup>113</sup>Edwin Bab (1882-1912), physician, wrote, in addition to a series of other topics, on alcoholism and venereal diseases as well as on feminism and homosexuality.

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<sup>114</sup>Adolf Brand (1874-1945), book dealer, publisher, and writer, published and edited the world’s first homosexual magazine, *Der Eigene*. He was also the leader of the homosexual *Gemeinschaft der Eigenen* and opposed Hirschfeld’s committee.

<sup>115</sup>Probably Bernhard Heinrich Martin von Bülow (1849-1929; Graf and Fürst but not “prince”), friend of Philipp Eulenburg (see notes 120 and 122 below). Bülow was the *Reichskanzler* (chancellor) of Germany at that time. This was connected to the Harden-Eulenburg affair. Brand accused Bülow publicly of having a homosexual relationship with an assistant of his; in turn, Bülow sued and Brand was sentenced to eighteen months’ imprisonment.

<sup>116</sup>Carl Friedrich Otto Westphal (1833-1890), first professor in the field of psychiatry and neurology at a Prussian university; exponent of non-restraint in the treatment of psychotics.

<sup>117</sup>Leopold Casper (b. 1859), professor of urology, University of Berlin.

<sup>118</sup>Wilhelm Christian Ludwig Leopold Karl Liman (1818-1891), professor of forensic medicine.

<sup>119</sup>Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840-1902), psychiatrist, actually the founder of psychiatry as a scientific discipline and of modern sexual “pathology.” One of his main works is *Psychopathia sexualis* (1886).

<sup>120</sup>Albert Siegfried Jakob Eulenburg (1840-1917), professor of neurology.

<sup>121</sup>Hermann Rohleder (b.1866), physician, specialist for sexual disorders in Leipzig.

<sup>122</sup>In 1906, Maximilian Harden, editor of the magazine *Die Zukunft*, started to attack the political influence of Philipp Eulenburg, a diplomat and close friend and confidant of Emperor Wilhelm II. Eulenburg’s encouragement of the absolutist tendencies of the Emperor and the use of his friendship with Wilhelm to assist his friends and political allies drew much criticism on the part of German liberals. When Eulenburg refused to step down, Harden’s attacks became more explicit, focussing on Eulenburg’s alleged homosexuality and his interest in spiritist practices. The Emperor was forced to disassociate himself from Eulenburg and others involved in the scandal and the monarchy as an institution was dangerously shaken by the outcry of public condemnation. According to most recent research, Eulenburg was a bisexual and his relationship with the Emperor possibly had an homoerotic dimension not understood by Wilhelm.

<sup>123</sup>Certainly not related to Viereck’s allegations mentioned in Bertz’s letter of 29 March 1913.

<sup>124</sup>Under the control of the Chief commissioner of the police.

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#### Notes and News

*Women Writers of the 1890’s*, the catalogue of the exhibition of books by women writers held on the premises of Henry Sotheran Ltd last spring, is a remarkable document which should reach the shelves of all scholars and collectors interested in the decade. Naturally a number of women whom Gissing knew personally and/or whose books he read were represented by some of their works on that occasion. Not everyone will agree with Margaret Drabble, who in her introduction writes that the New Woman was born in the 1890s, but this is not essential; nor are

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the misprints which are by no means all included in the Errata a serious obstacle in the reader’s progress. A comprehensive list of all the women writers included who appear in Gissing’s letters, diary and other papers, would prove tediously long, but a few examples must be given. Thus we find four novels by Clementina Black, who reviewed *The Odd Women* in the *Illustrated London News*; Rhoda Broughton, whose story *Second Thoughts* he enjoyed because of its stylistic freshness and despite its “damnable historical present”; Mrs. Hodgson Burnett, whom he met in July 1896 at a party given by William Morris Colles; Mrs. W. K. Clifford, who told him in December 1898 that the Bishop of London, Mandell Creighton, had spoken of *The Town Traveller* throughout a dinner which she attended, etc. His friend M<sup>é</sup>nie Muriel Dowie is also in the catalogue, with *A Girl in the Karpathians*, *Some Whims of Fate* and *The Crook of the Bough*, but disappointingly, not her feminist novel *Gallia*, which he found quite good; so is Katherine de Mattos, who reviewed several of his books in the *Athenæum*, a fact of which he was not aware.

Another exhibition worth mentioning was held by the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library from 17 May to 12 October. The twelve-page catalogue compiled by Francis O. Mattson describes a selection of new acquisitions made during the years 1986-1990. Two letters to Ellen were on show—an undated one, actually written on 28 April 1888, the other dated 31 December 1893.

George Sims, who was known for years as an antiquarian bookseller, is about to publish a

privately printed anthology largely collected from agnostic writings, with extracts from 65 authors including A. C. Benson, Joseph Conrad, John Galsworthy, Thomas Hardy, Henry James and Edward Thomas—all of them connected with Gissing in some way or other. The volume, which will be available in November, contains two short extracts from *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft*. It has been designed and printed by Alan Anderson at the Tragara Press. The edition consists of 200 copies on Abbey Mills laid paper, bound in black cloth, lettered in gilt. The price is £15 including postage. Orders must be sent to G. F. Sims, Peacocks, Hurst, Berkshire RG10 0DR.

Two very interesting lots of Gissing letters to his grandfather and to his cousin William Gissing Stannard (“Willie”), as well as a hitherto unknown portrait photograph of Algernon,

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probably taken in 1882, were sold at Bonhams, in London, on 28 June.

Alan Anderson, of the Tragara Press, is printing a limited edition of *By the Ionian Sea*, which will be available next year. This title is currently out of print.

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#### Recent Publications

##### Volumes

George Gissing, *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft*, Tokyo: Iwanami Publishing Company, 1991. Pp. 300 + 4. This is a new edition in larger type and larger format of the well-known translation by Masao Hirai; it is number 59 of the new large format series, which, Shigeru Koike reports, has been designed by the publishers with a view to pleasing those senior citizens whose eyesight is failing. The book is attractively produced in stiff beige and brown wrappers and sells at 1,000 yen.

George Gissing, *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft*, Tokyo: Seibido, 1988. Pp. iv + 110. This is the latest reprint of the selection, edited with an introduction and notes by T. Akiyama, which was first published in 1960. The cover—white and green wrappers—is similar to that of other recent impressions. 750 yen.

George Gissing, *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft* (Spring), Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1991. Pp. xii + 96. This is the latest reprint of the edition first published in 1961. The text is edited with notes by H. Hirohashi and the book published in white stiff wrappers with a yellow and brown dust-jacket. 980 yen.

##### Articles, reviews, etc.

Dorothy Zaborszky, “Victorian Feminism and Gissing’s *The Odd Women*: ‘Why are women redundant?’,” *Women’s Studies International Forum*, Vol. 8 (1985), no. 5, pp. 489-96. This is an assessment of *The Odd Women* in the light of statements by Victorian feminists such

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as Barbara Bodichon and Jessie Boucherett on the subject of “superfluous” women and work.

Chris Baldick, *In Frankenstein’s Shadow: Myth, Monstrosity and Nineteenth-Century Writing*,

Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987. There is a significant paragraph on *The Nether World* on p. 190.

Clara Hanson, *The Critical Writings of Katherine Mansfield*, Macmillan Press, 1987. A passage on *Eve's Ransom* occurs on p. 31, where an extract from a letter of 26 May 1918 to John Middleton Murry is reproduced.

Hans-Joachim Lang, "Eduard Bertz vs. Johannes Schlaf: The Debate on Whitman's Homosexuality in Germany," in *A Conversation in the Life of Leland R. Phelps; America and Germany: Literature, Art and Music. A Festschrift Honoring Leland R. Phelps*, edited by Frank L. Borchardt and Marion C. Salinger, Durham, North Carolina: Duke University, Center for International Studies, 1987. A valuable article on Eduard Bertz, in which various aspects of his friendship with Gissing are mentioned.

Richard Morton, "Reviews," *English Studies in Canada*, March 1988, pp. 95-100. Review of Michael Collie's *George Gissing: A Bibliographical Study*.

Linda R. Anderson, *Bennett, Wells and Conrad: Narrative in Transition*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988. Gissing is frequently mentioned.

John Halperin, *Jane Austen's Lovers and Other Studies in Fiction and History from Austen to Le Carré*, Macmillan Press, 1988. Chapter 9 is entitled "How Gissing Read Dickens." Other references to Gissing occur throughout the book.

Susan Azar Porterfield, "Reviews," *Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography*, 1988, no. 1, pp. 265-67. Review of Michael Collie's *George Gissing: A Bibliographical Study*. For this item and several others given below, the kind assistance of Dr. Robert A. Shaddy, of Louisiana Tech University, is gratefully acknowledged.

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Penelope A. LeFev, "Evidence of a Dickensian Gissing in 'Joseph Yates' Temptation,'" *English Language Notes*, Vol. 26, no. 3, March 1989, pp. 82-87.

Deborah Epstein Nord, "Neither Pairs nor Odd: Female Community in Late Nineteenth-Century London," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 15, no. 4, Summer 1990, pp. 733-54. This article deals essentially with the life and work of three women, Beatrice Webb, Margaret Harkness and Amy Levy; as its title suggests, it contains references to *The Odd Women*. Thanks are due to M. D. Allen for sending a copy of this excellent piece.

Laurel Brake *et al* (ed.), *The Year's Work in English Studies: Vol. 68* (1987), Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990. Information and comment on Gissing studies appear on pp. 409, 465-66 and 498.

Mauro Francesco Minervino, "Note gissinghiane," *Incontri Meridionali: Rivista di Storia e Cultura* (published by Rubbetino), Terza serie, Anno X, n. 3 (1990), pp. 209-13. A review article on recent Gissing scholarship in Italy.

Anon., "Publications," *Keynotes: The Newsletter of the Eighteen Nineties Society*, June 1991, p. 5. A note on the forthcoming publication of a photograph of "Nell" in Volume III of the *Collected Letters of George Gissing*.

Jonathan Keates, "Dawn of a Working Writer," *Times Literary Supplement*, 5 July 1991, p. 8. A stimulating, well-informed review of the first volume of Gissing's *Collected Letters*.

Anon., "Newsletter is trusting in the future," *Wakefield Express* (Wakefield Plus), 5 July 1991, p. 36.

Francesco Badolato, "Quelle lettere di George Gissing," *Il Corriere di Roma*, 15 July 1991, p. 4. Another long, detailed, enthusiastic review of Volume I of the *Collected Letters*.

Francesco Badolato, "Il lungo viaggio di Gissing," *Coscienza storica: Rivista di studi per una nuova tradizione* (published by Marco Editore in Lungro di Cosenza), Vol. 1, no. 1, 1991, pp. 182-83. Review of Minervino's book, *G. R. Gissing: Le strade del ritorno*.

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Gianni Carteri, "Quell'inverno a Reggio. Il dicembre 1897, arriva poco prima della mezzanotte alla stazione un letterato inglese, George Gissing," *I Giorni* (a weekly journal published in Reggio Calabria), 12 September 1991, pp. 7-8. On *Da Venezia allo stretto di Messina*.

Andrew Whitehead, "Books," *New Humanist*, Vol. 106, no. 3, September 1991, pp. 22-23. Review of Volume I of the *Collected Letters*.

Martha S. Vogeler, "Book Reviews: *Collected Letters of Gissing*," *English Literature in Transition*, Vol. 34, no. 4, 1991, pp. 458-61. Review of Volume I.

Wendy Lesser, *His Other Half: Men Looking at Women through Art*, Harvard University Press, 1991. Chapter 4 is devoted to "Gissing's even-handed oddness."

John Wells, *Rude Words: A Discursive History of the London Library*, London: Macmillan, 1991. On p. 5 Gissing is described in the words of old Mr. Cox: "Grey man: grey clothes, grey hair, grey face." Cox must have worn grey spectacles.

Alan Anderson, *The Tragara Press 1979-1991: A Bibliography*, Edinburgh: The Tragara Press, 1991. The three Gissing titles published by the Press are described on pp. 15, 17 and 18.

