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ISSN 0737-0679 (Print)

ISSN 2153-3695 (Online)

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Recommended Citation

Harris, Kirsten. "The "Labour Prophet"?: Representations of Walt Whitman in the British Nineteenth-Century Socialist Press." *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 30 (2013), 115-137.

<https://doi.org/10.13008/2153-3695.2067>

THE “LABOUR PROPHET”?: REPRESENTATIONS OF WALT WHITMAN IN THE BRITISH NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOCIALIST PRESS

KIRSTEN HARRIS

THE SIGNIFICANCE of Walt Whitman to British socialism has long been recognized: in the emerging *fin de siècle* labor movement, socialist periodicals printed articles about him and extracts from his poems; socialist orators spoke of him and quoted from *Leaves of Grass*; his poems were set to music, published in labor movement songbooks, and sung at Labor Church meetings; *Leaves of Grass* was advertised and recommended to socialist readers alongside economic and political publications; he was even featured in a calendar of socialist saints. As M. Wynn Thomas has convincingly argued in relation to Edward Carpenter’s Whitmanesque collection of poetry *Towards Democracy*, these can be seen as acts of “translation”: Whitman’s democratic vision was removed from its American context and reconstructed so that it was applicable to Britain and the socialist cause.¹ For Whitman, “America” and “democracy” were “convertible terms,” interchangeable conceptually and linguistically.² Clearly, British commentators did not interpret “democracy” in this way, and as Thomas observes, it was a “very heatedly contested term.”³ Socialists were one group who incorporated it into their vocabulary, and in the discourses of this movement, “democracy” tended to be used either synonymously with “socialism,” or to denote an overarching category which included not only socialism but other movements which worked towards creating a more equal society. In this way, Whitman, who was frequently dubbed the “poet of democracy” by contemporary critics, was seen to have a special “message” for the labor movement and could be claimed as a poet of British socialism.

This essay is part of a larger research project which examines how Whitman was represented, interpreted, and used in socialist publications in the late nineteenth century. My aim is to use examples, or “specimens” (to use a Whitmanian term), from three periodicals to give an overview of some of the ways in which he was invoked by *fin de siècle* socialist journalists. It is not always easy to determine what constitutes a socialist publication; at the end of the nineteenth century, anarchism

and socialism were not such distinct ideologies, and it can be difficult to pinpoint where radical liberalism ended and socialism began. For the purposes of this study I follow Deborah Mutch in defining the socialist periodical in the same way that Deian Hopkin defines the “left-wing press”: as “papers that espoused socialism or one of its variants and generally regarded themselves as politically on the opposite side, so to speak, of the conventional press.”⁴ The periodicals selected—*Seed-Time*, *The Labour Prophet*, and *The Labour Leader*—span a period from 1889 (when the first number of *Seed-Time* was published) to 1922 (when *The Labour Leader* became *The New Leader*). This gives a sense of progression, showing how socialism developed and how this development had an impact on the way that socialist periodicals treated Whitman and literature more generally.

These three publications were chosen according to two further criteria. First and most obviously, they had to engage with Whitman and his work. This criterion was not established in an attempt to provide a skewed notion of Whitman’s importance but, rather, to show how he was appropriated *when* he was appropriated. The second consideration was variety, as I felt it would be fruitful to examine journals that served different socialist purposes and had different intended readerships. As the journal for the Fellowship of the New Life (a group “interested in religious thought, ethical propaganda, and social reform” that gathered around philosopher Thomas Davidson in 1883), *Seed-Time* is associated with what has been described as “the *fons et origo* of the later nineteenth-century ethical socialism of England.”⁵ The Fellowship promoted a form of socialism that prioritized the development of the individual spirit over state reform, and individualism was not seen as being antithetical to socialism, a philosophy which has strong resonances with Whitman’s celebration of both the individual and the social whole. *The Labour Prophet*, the mouthpiece for the Labor Church, was fundamentally concerned with the idea that socialism was a religious movement, and its owner, editor, and chief contributor, John Trevor, explicitly defined himself as a follower or disciple of Whitman.⁶ *The Labour Leader* appealed to a broad socialist readership, and was very popular, claiming circulation figures of 50,000 under Keir Hardie’s editorship. As the organ of the Independent Labour Party (ILP), the weekly paper was associated with ethical socialism, but it had a more pragmatic political focus than *Seed-Time* or *The Labour Prophet*. It is therefore a useful counterpoint, demonstrating how Whitman was included in a periodical that could not be considered “Whitmanian” and presented to an audience that was not always interested in the more esoteric interpretations of socialism.

“Ethical socialism” is a term that requires some clarification. The 1880s saw the beginnings of what has become known as the “socialist

revival,” traditionally divided by critics into three key strands. Stanley Pierson, for example, summarizes:

Through the adaptation of Marxism to indigenous modes of thought and experience, three more or less distinct versions of the Socialist ideology emerged—Social Democracy, Fabianism, and a less coherent form I have called Ethical Socialism.⁷

Most of the people who responded to Whitman were associated with this third form of socialism, a broad category that included a range of people, groups, and opinions. It was not attached to an organizational body in the same way that Social Democracy or Fabianism were, but it had strong links with the ILP, established in 1893, which became Britain’s largest socialist organization. The ILP garnered a lot of support from the working class, especially in the industrial north, and labor concerns were central to its philosophy. Many of its leading members espoused or associated themselves with a version of socialism that included parliamentary politics but also looked towards a more visionary social ideal. Mark Bevir suggests that “what distinguished the socialism of the ILP from most forms of continental Marxism was above all else the presence of an ethical tone deriving from a vision of socialism as a new religion requiring a new personal life.”⁸ The idea of a stable tripartite division in British socialism is somewhat misleading, and, as revisionist critic Anna Vaninskaya has recently demonstrated, there is a considerable degree of overlap or “ideological hybridity” between the strands.⁹ Nevertheless, as a descriptive rather than prescriptive label, “ethical socialism” remains a useful term to refer to the type(s) of socialism that gave scope to what Pierson refers to as “ethical, aesthetic, and religious aspirations.”¹⁰

In what remains the most detailed account of the dissemination and reception of Whitman in Britain, *Walt Whitman in England*, Harold Blodgett explains Whitman’s appeal to the British in terms of his visionary democracy, suggesting that “in its social aspect *Leaves of Grass* appealed to English radicals—and others who might deny the title—not so much as a panegyric of political democracy as a powerfully suggestive plea for ‘brotherhood.’”¹¹ Yet, as Steven Yeo shows in “A New Life: The Religion of Socialism, 1883–1896,” many of the “radicals” involved in *fin de siècle* British socialism saw no such division between “brotherhood” (or “comradeship” or “fellowship”) and “political democracy.”¹² Yeo traces some of the ways that socialism assumed a religious character during this period and revises standard interpretations of the phenomenon. Rather than dismissing it as “an anachronistic, ‘substitute’ religion, filling a gap left by declining ‘orthodox’ religion,” or “the moralising dress worn by socialists because of the historical peculiarities of British popular and middle-class cul-

ture,” Yeo argues that it had a “maximum presence” and contributed significantly to a “distinctive phase in the social history of socialism,” characterized by creativity, force and vitality.¹³ The construction of socialism in religious terms allows the literature that inspired it to be regarded as sacred, their own texts divinely inspired, and their authors prophets. Yeo gives examples of Tolstoyans in Purleigh and Ruskinians in Liverpool, as well as the Bolton Whitmanites, as groups who “gathered to follow prophets.”¹⁴ Whitman was often invoked in this way; an important part of the “religion of socialism” was an emphasis on fellowship—this was evident, for example, in the popularity of the Labor Church movement and the Clarion groups—and it is easy to see how Whitman’s ideas about comradeship and democratic unity could be seen to support the vision of a socialist fellowship.

Literature in Socialist Journalism

Amongst others, M. Wynn Thomas and Michael Robertson have analyzed aspects of this socialist appropriation of Whitman, yet his treatment in the socialist press has yet to be examined in any detail.¹⁵ Deian Hopkin remarks that “socialists and radicals in Britain have always believed in the power of the press to influence politics,” and certainly these periodicals and papers helped to foster a socialist community (or rather, a number of socialist communities), while providing a forum where ideas could be exchanged and developed.¹⁶ They contributed to the spread of socialism both through the dissemination of its political philosophy and by providing information about organizations, meetings, demonstrations, and other related activities. Walt Whitman’s inclusion in these publications demonstrates clearly how he was “impressed into service” for the socialist cause.¹⁷ Here, Jerome McGann’s theory of textuality has purchase: the argument that “different texts” are present in the same literary work and are brought into being not only through variations in the reader but by the physical properties of the text can help to explain the implications of reproducing Whitman’s poetry (and sometimes prose) in a socialist journal or newspaper.¹⁸ If a poem is printed on a newspaper page between a report about a labor strike and an article about economics, it will lend itself to a different reading than if it was encountered, for example, in a literary anthology. Producing Whitman’s work in socialist periodicals caused it to acquire socialist connotations, and even if the reader passed over the excerpts reprinted from *Leaves of Grass*, Whitman was frequently invoked in articles and commentary, ensuring that his name was associated with socialist ideology. Socialist periodicals, however, were also “impressed into service” for Whitman’s cause: his “message” was brought to people who might not otherwise read his poetry, and if he was used to illustrate

or teach about socialism, conversely these publications were also used to further his reputation.

In the nineteenth century, journals played a pivotal role in shaping literary culture, circulating literature, reviews, and notices of forthcoming publications.¹⁹ Socialist journals performed this function in a specifically democratic context, and, in keeping with democratic beliefs that could incorporate both parliamentary politics and spiritual utopianism, the democratic literary culture that they helped to create was broad enough to encompass both economic theory and creative writing. As Ruth Livesey observes: “This inclusiveness, this refusal to divide aesthetics and politics (as well as idealism and materialism) as an either/or, was one of the defining characteristics of British socialism as it gained force in the early 1880s.”²⁰ Terry Eagleton colorfully describes this expansiveness:

Fin-de-siècle intellectuals blend belief systems with staggering nonchalance, blithely confident of some invisible omega point at which Baudelaire and Kropotkin consort harmoniously together and Emerson lies down with Engels.²¹

The dissemination of this aesthetic culture served a variety of purposes: literature was used to forward spiritual interpretations of socialism and to further a deeper understanding of “true” democracy, but it was also employed more didactically in order to “educate” an increasingly literate laboring class.

Poetry was used in socialist periodicals in two main ways. First, poetry that was specifically socialist was used directly as propaganda for the movement. This constitutes the vast majority of the poetry that was published and reviewed, and it was contributed not only by people who were primarily poets, but also by columnists, activists, and readers. For example, Keir Hardie, John Bruce Glasier, and Katharine Glasier wrote poetry for *The Labour Leader* (though not while they were serving in editorial roles). *Fin de siècle* socialist poetry overtly promoted its political ideology and depicted events and situations relating to the labor movement; the poems usually had conventional stanzaic structures, regular metrical patterns and rhyme schemes, and though they could be comical, more frequently they made use of an emotive register. Anne Janowitz suggests that such poems were part of a “communitarian strain” of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century poetry which claimed and created a poetic and literary culture in the name of the “people”:

Chartism fully engaged itself to the interventionist aspect of romantic poetics, and so provides a literary link between the communitarian strain evinced in the decades of romantic lyricism, and the socialist poetics of the end of the century.²²

Certainly, though socialist poetry has not caught the academic imagination in the same way that Chartist poetry has, there are clear formal connections between the two, and Chartist poets such as Ebenezer Elliott and Gerald Massey were published in socialist periodicals alongside socialist poets.²³

The second key way that poetry featured in socialist periodicals was in the inclusion of established and well-known poets, who were reprinted less frequently but commented on and referred to more often. Writing about the Fabian Society in *The New England Magazine* in 1894, William Clarke, a radical journalist who was first a founding member of the Fellowship of the New Life and then a Fabian, discussed how such literature had contributed towards the increased popularity of socialism in Britain:

I should name among individual writers who have powerfully aided the growth, I do not say of Socialism itself, but of the feeling in the soil of which Socialism is easily developed, Dickens, Victor Hugo, Carlyle, Whitman, Ruskin, Tolstoi, Zola, and Arnold.²⁴

Clarke makes a useful distinction: established poets, including so-called “democratic poets” such as Whitman and Shelley, were rarely championed in concrete terms as “socialist poets,” but were instead seen to perform some kind of elusive “fertilising function.” Clarke contends that a “new spirit in literature” was one of the reasons why socialism had become increasingly popular, and this was supported by other political and literary commentators: in *The Labour Leader* a writer using the initials “W.B.” also identified a “new spirit” in Victorian literature which “connotes a movement towards Socialism”; in *To-day* Percival Chubb suggested that socialism drew its “vital force” not from economists or Marx, but from writers who have “quickened and nourished in us a deeper sense of human dignity, a more exacting demand for freedom, a keener susceptibility to beauty and recoil from ugliness, a wider sympathy, and more uniting spirit of comradeship.”²⁵

As the key Whitmanian word “comradeship” may suggest, in articles of this type, Whitman is almost always named as one of the authors who writes out of and contributes towards this “new spirit,” and he is often heralded as being one of the most important. However, his treatment in the socialist press differed from paper to paper, from year to year, and from journalist to journalist. For some writers, Whitman was only one of the many poets, novelists, playwrights, and essayists who contributed towards a democratic aesthetic; yet others, like Alfred Orage in *The Labour Leader*, believed that Whitman was crucially important to the socialist movement, and some, such as John Trevor in *The Labour Prophet*, even elevated *Leaves of Grass* to the status of a religious text. Though Whitman was not always revered, the vehement criticism of

his work often found in the mainstream press was absent from socialist periodicals; in the publications that I consulted, the formal properties of *Leaves of Grass* were sometimes satirized, but when they were discussed they were always defended. Whitman's poetry was incorporated into articles on the "big topics" of religion, politics, and literature but was also used in less weighty, and sometimes light-hearted, contexts such as cycling, school board elections, children's work, physical health, and holidays. He was sometimes used for didactic purposes but was also often referred to neutrally in passing. The political, spiritual, and literary preferences of those involved determined how Whitman was presented to the reader, but the pattern is not always what might be expected. For example, in *The Labour Leader* Whitman was included more often under Keir Hardie's editorship than that of either John Bruce or Katharine Glasier, despite Hardie being, at best, ambivalent towards the poet, while Whitman was central to the Glasiers' social and spiritual ideology.

Seed-Time: Regenerating the Individual

Over *Seed-Time's* nine-year quarterly run, Whitman was mentioned more often, and was the subject of more in-depth commentary, than any other poet (also discussed in detail were two contemporary socialist poets, Bessie Joynes and Alfred Hayes; Edward Carpenter; and, more briefly, John Greenleaf Whittier).²⁶ There are three long articles that discuss his work and his character very favorably, and shorter references to him are always positive. In articles about other subjects, his was the most frequently-quoted poetry. Emerson and Thoreau also featured extensively, and, as Bevir comments, "many of the members of the Fellowship adopted an ethical socialism indebted to American romanticism."²⁷ As previously mentioned, *Seed-Time* and *The Fellowship of the New Life* advanced a form of socialism that was not in antagonism to individualism; for example, a member of the Fellowship, Herbert Rix, declared:

The true antagonism is not between socialism and individualism, but between socialism and capitalism. That capitalism has come to be called "individualism" I regard as a misfortune. . . . True individualism, I hold, will be the outcome and fairest flower of socialism.²⁸

Alongside Emerson and Thoreau, Whitman's philosophy lent itself to being interpreted in a way that both inspired and supported such a view.

None of Whitman's poems were reprinted in their entirety, but this is not surprising as *Seed-Time* included at most one poem per issue

(often none at all), and all of these were by committed socialists. It did, however, publish a paragraph from *Democratic Vistas* in April 1892:

The purpose of democracy—supplanting old belief in the necessary absoluteness of establish'd dynastic rulership, temporal, ecclesiastical, and scholastic, as furnishing the only security against chaos, crime, and ignorance—is, through many transmigrations and amid endless ridicules, arguments, ostensible failures, to illustrate, at all hazards, this doctrine or theory that man, properly train'd in sanest, highest freedom, may and must become a law, and series of laws, unto himself, surrounding and providing for, not only his own personal control, but all his relations to other individuals and to the State; and that . . . this . . . is the only scheme worth working from, as warranting results like those of Nature's laws, reliable, when once establish'd, to carry on themselves.²⁹

The passage appears at the bottom of the page without commentary. Partly, it acts as a space-filler, but it also reinforces and reiterates the principles of the Fellowship: the extract from Whitman corresponds with the group's interpretation of the "purpose" of socialism, and therefore functions as a rewording of the message that it promoted. The theme of the paragraph is introduced in its opening clause, in an authoritative tone: "the purpose of democracy." Neither Whitman nor *Seed-Time* is concerned here with specific methods of bringing about political change or descriptions of the form this should take, but rather with the very reason for embracing democracy at all. In order to find out this "purpose," the reader must negotiate a convoluted series of subclauses: the first sentence runs for thirteen lines in *Seed-Time* before a semi-colon indicates that it is syntactically complete, and there is only one full stop at the end of the paragraph. Once these qualifiers are traversed, the reason is revealed to be two-fold: first, man must become a law "unto himself"; second, this would affect his connections with other members of society and the political nation.

The first part of this "purpose" can be related to Emerson's proposal that man should stand in "an original relation to the universe," a concept specifically endorsed in other *Seed-Time* articles.³⁰ William Jupp, for example, reflected on the concept of discipleship and invoked both Emerson and Whitman to forward the idea that each person's ultimate goal should be to reach the stage where he "need be a disciple no more."³¹ Jupp illustrates this principle with an extract from Whitman's "Starting from Paumanok":

I conn'd old times,
I sat studying at the feet of the great masters.
In the name of these states shall I scorn the antique?
Why these are the children of the antique to justify it.
Dead poets, philosophers, priests,
Martyrs, artists, inventors, governments long since,

Language-shapers on other shores,
Nations once powerful, now reduced, withdrawn, or desolate,
I dare not proceed till I respectfully credit what you have left wafted hither;
I have perused it, own it is admirable (moving awhile among it),
Think nothing can ever be greater, nothing can ever deserve more than it
deserves;
Regarding it all intently a long while, then dismissing it,
I stand in my place with my own day here.³²

Whitman advocates a break from all ecclesiastic, monarchic, and intellectual figures of authority, but it is qualified by the fact that the past must first be “conn’d” or “studied.” The structure of the passage reinforces this concept: the reader must progress through eleven lines that acknowledge the importance of the past before reaching the turn where it is resolutely “dismissed.” When used by Jupp, the “language-shapers on other shores” include Whitman himself: here and elsewhere in *Seed-Time* he is not followed apostolically but is treated instead as a philosopher of democracy.

The second part of the democratic “purpose,” the subject of the second sentence in the paragraph from *Democratic Vistas*, was its social effect: when an individual attained the “highest freedom” it would radiate into all of his relationships and so determine the character of first the community and then the nation. This resonates with the way the Fellowship tended to see social reform as an important but secondary correlate of individual regeneration. Whitman introduces the concept of “Nature,” which aligns democratic principles with biological law: the way that the extract is edited suggests that once democracy had been “establish’d” it would perpetuate itself, which points towards the idea, often found in socialist rhetoric, that democratic progress was an evolutionary certainty. However, the sentiment expressed in *Democratic Vistas* is distorted; without the omissions, the phrase reads:

And that, while other theories, as in the past histories of nations, have proved wise enough, and indispensable perhaps for their conditions, *this*, as matters now stand in our civilized world, is the only scheme worth working from, as warranting results like those of Nature’s laws, reliable, when once establish’d, to carry on themselves. (PP966)

Though Whitman does not directly mention America, he sets up an opposition between it and other nations using a rhetoric which alludes to the concept of manifest destiny, implicitly suggesting that though democracy may not have been appropriate for Britain, it was demanded by the youthful American nation. By removing these lines, Whitman’s interpretation of democracy and the Fellowship’s seem to be in perfect accord, lending the weight of literary support to *Seed-Time*’s ethical position. Whitman’s treatise on American democracy is stripped of its

national focus and is made to speak for democracy in general, therefore including rather than excluding Britain in its “scheme.”

The Labour Prophet: Preaching a Free Religion

There are similarities between the underlying ideologies of *Seed-Time* and *The Labour Prophet*, established by John Trevor in 1892 as the organ of the Labor Church.³³ The monthly *Labour Prophet* also championed an “original” relationship between each individual and the divine, and rejected the notion that the Bible was the only sacred text; Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman were considered to be of prime importance, and their characters as well as their work were invoked for spiritual inspiration. Bevir draws parallels between Jupp and Trevor, asserting that they “did not so much convert to socialism as redescribe their immanentist theology and ethic of fellowship as socialism.”³⁴ Like Jupp, Trevor believed that Whitman embodied what the human race could become, but he explained it even more explicitly in religious terms; as Michael Robertson states, “Trevor tirelessly promoted Whitman, whom he described as ‘nearer to God than any man on earth.’”³⁵ Accordingly, he urged the socialist reader to enter into an intimate spiritual relationship with Whitman.

For most of *The Labour Prophet*’s run, John Trevor’s voice dominated the paper and therefore, though most of the print-space was dedicated to the discussion and coverage of social and political activism, Whitman was invoked again and again in a way that other poets were not.³⁶ *The Labour Prophet* conformed to the pattern of printing mainly contemporary socialist poetry: in 1892 there was no earlier work by established poets; in 1893 and 1894 there were poems by Whitman and Lowell; in 1895 there were poems by Oliver Wendell Holmes, William Dean Howells, and Lowell; in 1896 there were poems by Swinburne, Whittier, Blake, and Lowell; and there was none again in 1897, *The Labour Prophet*’s final year of publication. This list seems to reveal the importance of the American romantics, especially Lowell, rather than Whitman, and yet the other poets were not used in the same messianic or prophetic way. Whitman was discussed in detail and mentioned in passing more often than any other poet in the paper’s publication history, and he was the only poet to be the subject of long articles, some of which appeared on the front page.³⁷ He was frequently used to punctuate moral, political, or spiritual points; for example, phrases such as “let us quote an appropriate word from Whitman,” “if, as Whitman puts it,” and “as Whitman says” recur through pieces on social and political rather than literary themes. This indicates that for Trevor, Whitman had not merely written words that were beautiful or illustrative like those

of Lowell and the other poets that he included; rather, Whitman was believed to be a visionary spiritual guide for the socialist movement.

Trevor's claim that Whitman was "nearer to god than any man on earth" identifies Whitman as a Christ-like figure, and he generally discussed the poet within a Christian rhetorical framework. This use of rhetoric mirrors the way that Labor Churches appropriated the institutional structure of Christianity, holding alternative Sunday services and singing socialist hymns, rather than approaching spirituality from a radically different angle. It introduces a tension that runs through Trevor's treatment of Whitman in *The Labour Prophet* and can clearly be seen in the editorial published in April 1892, the month after Whitman's death. His subject is the need for each person to have an original relationship with the divine, which is introduced using quotations from *Leaves of Grass*. Trevor then begins, using an intimate style which reveals a sense of his own personality and creates the impression of direct and personal communication with the reader:

I cannot get along with "the editorial 'we.'" I must abandon it. I am very conscious of being myself, and only myself. I am tired, worried, overworked. [. . .] I am in a mood to understand the words of that simple-minded Galilean who threw up his carpentering and trusted God and Life.³⁸

The confession of weakness attempts to draw the writer and reader closer together, but as the reference to Jesus suggests, this is a pastoral relationship, and therefore, Trevor assumes a position of moral and spiritual authority. This is sealed in his appeal to the reader at the end of the article: "my friend, have YOU anything to thank Walt Whitman for?" Whitman is introduced as an alternative messianic figure who was able, like Christ, to aid the reader in everyday life, and the editorial closes with an address to the poet which reads like a prayer of gratitude: "Thank you, Walt Whitman, for the lift you have given me along the road of life. I feel rested, contented, resolute to trudge on my way and not turn back." By doing so, Trevor makes socialism into a religion, with Whitman as its spiritual figurehead.

Trevor contends that Jesus comes "at second-hand," his words having been "imagined" by men and filtered through Christian institutions, yet Whitman is seen as being unmediated; Trevor claims that Whitman's words came to him as straight from the poet's heart "as ink and paper permit." Christian conceptions of the sacredness of scripture are contested, and personal experience is elevated above the text; in his spiritual autobiography he instructs the reader:

Base your religion on a book, and the book may be upset, and your religion go with it, at any rate for a long time. Determine that you will base your religion on your own

experiences—which means that you will guide your life day by day by your own conclusions—and whatever art of living you acquire you will never lose.³⁹

This idea is illustrated with three extracts from *Leaves of Grass* that are given at the beginning of the editorial. The first is from “A Song for Occupations”:

We consider Bibles and religions divine—I do not say they are not divine.
I say they have all grown out of you, and may grow out of you still,
It is not they who give the life—it is you who give the life,⁴⁰

Whitman challenges the traditional Christian understanding of sacredness, but disputes the dominance of established faiths and sacred texts rather than rejecting them outright. Their position is reconsidered: they are part of a “whole” but are not the whole itself. This is reinforced by the structure of the extract: each of these three lines is balanced over a caesura; the first clause is syntactically complete but is qualified and added to by the second. The repetitions across the caesura-divide of “divine,” “grown/grow,” and “life” emphasize the sense of repositioning: the words are re-contextualized in the second clause to put the focus of divine energy onto the “you.”

This movement is reiterated in the second extract, the concluding stanza of “A Song for Occupations” which begins:

When the psalm sings instead of the singer;
When the script preaches instead of the preacher;
When the pulpit descends and goes instead of the carver that carved the
 supporting desk;
When I can touch the body of books, by night or by day, and when they touch
 my body back again;
When the holy vessels, or the bits of the Eucharist, or the lath and the plast
 procreate as effectually as the young silver-smiths, or bakers, or the masons
 in their over-all;
[. . .]
I intend to reach them my hand, and make as much of them as I do of men
 and women like you.⁴¹

Religion is represented synecdochally through the component parts of a church: the objects in it (“script,” “books,” “holy vessels”) and the structure itself (“lath and plast”). Like the passage above, this stanza is also characterized by a sense of balance: Whitman’s anaphoric catalogue juxtaposes each item with a person, highlighting how inadequate “sacred” objects are when compared to the power of the individual. Sex is procreative, suggesting that this power is specifically generative. The final quotation, from “Song of Myself,” emphasizes the idea that God is

found through the acts of daily life rather than in books: “Why should I wish to see God better than this day? / I see something of God each hour of the twenty-four, and each moment then.”⁴²

Whitman’s value therefore lay in the fact that he offered a direct and unmediated source of spiritual guidance, which would in turn enable all individuals to have their own direct and unmediated relationship with the divine. Obviously, this is paradoxical: not only does Whitman himself act as a mediating figure, but Trevor mediates Whitman for the reader through the writing of the article and the selective use of passages from *Leaves of Grass*. Trevor’s elevation of experience over literature does not prevent him from forming his own canon of sacred texts, and he reads *Leaves of Grass* as scripture: “To-day [Whitman] is part of my Bible”; “I take down my familiar volume of Whitman, well thumbed, and marked all through, and say at once that here is a volume of my Bible, my Book of Life.”⁴³ He presses a relationship with Whitman on the reader, rather than simply offering it as a possibility or model. In the fifth paragraph of the April editorial he makes a sustained challenge to the reader:

Do you understand these words of Walt Whitman’s which I have written out for you? [. . .] It will pay you to ponder them, to go over them again and again, and yet again, until you clearly understand and feel what they are saying to you. Have you scanned them over and found them meaningless? Do you pass them by, thinking Whitman a mystic fool? [. . .] Go to, my friend, go to! Read them once more, and yet once more, and go not away condemned.⁴⁴

Having established a pastoral bond with his readers, Trevor now preaches to them. His style recalls pulpit oratory: an insistent sermonizing tone is created by the combination of rhetorical questions, imperative commands, and exclamatory punctuation. The syntactical inversion of the final phrase recalls the style of the King James Bible, and the introduction of the notion of condemnation resonates more with the Christian doctrine that the article overtly refutes than with the free religion promoted by the Labor Church (its third principle is that each man is “free to develop his own relations with the Power that brought him into being”).⁴⁵

In the same article, socialist agitation is also described using a Christian lexical register: “We incontinently desire to have God’s kingdom set up ‘on earth,’ and this means rough work in an age in which Mammon is chiefly worshipped.” Though Trevor does not seem to recognize the irony in using Christian discourses to champion Whitman, he is alert to the rhetorical strategies at play here. He addresses the fact that he employs Christian terminology and explains it on the grounds that capitalists “call themselves Christian” implying that a

familiar discourse was strategically employed in order to communicate the principles of socialism more effectively. Like the extracts that Trevor uses from *Leaves of Grass*, the biblical reference to bringing about the kingdom of God on earth is concerned with the manifestation of the divine in the physical present, and socialism is thus associated with Whitman's spiritual ideas. Significantly, socialism is inserted into an article about Whitman rather than the other way around; for Trevor, it was not so much that Whitman was part of a socialist literary culture, as that socialism was considered to be a part of a Whitmanian spiritual democracy.

The Labour Leader: Educating Socialists

Although, as Sheila Rowbotham suggests, *The Labour Prophet* "worked alongside" the Social Democratic Federation and the Fabians, it was "closely bound up" with the ILP.⁴⁶ There was a strong connection between the Labor Church and the ILP: Pierson observes that the majority of Labor Churches were established in northern ILP strongholds such as Yorkshire and Lancashire, and he suggests that Labor Church expansion "coincided rather closely with the growth of the ILP."⁴⁷ Correspondingly, there was a link between *The Labour Prophet* and *The Labour Leader*, the organ of the ILP, which began life as *The Miner* but was re-launched by Keir Hardie as *The Labour Leader* in 1888 and began to be published as a weekly in 1894. Not only did the *Prophet* and the *Leader* report on the activities of the other movement, but in 1894 Trevor changed the format of *The Labour Prophet* in an attempt to reduce printing costs, and the Labor Church news section was transferred to *The Labour Leader*.⁴⁸ Though *The Labour Leader* did not always consider the religious aspect of socialism to be vital, spirituality was incorporated into the coverage of a broad socialist program that included strikes and protests, political reform, welfare work, children's education, and recreational activities. *The Labour Leader* included pieces about literature and democratic philosophy, but its focus was more on current events than either *Seed-Time* or *The Labour Prophet*.

It sought to provide an alternative source of information to the mainstream press and did so by adopting a weekly broadsheet format which incorporated a variety of columns by different correspondents. These contributors held different opinions about the nature of socialism and the best way to pursue the democratic ideal: some thought that electoral gain was the only effective medium by which social reform could be achieved, while others believed in a spiritual socialism which they felt was limited or sullied by parliamentary politics. This affected Whitman's treatment within *The Labour Leader*, which was much more varied than in either *The Labour Prophet* or *Seed-Time*. Generally speak-

ing, Whitman was less important to those who considered parliamentary politics to be paramount than he was to those who embraced a more Utopian socialism.

Though the overarching religious context in which *The Labour Prophet* considered matters of social and economic reform was mostly absent from *The Labour Leader*, a notable exception was Alfred Orage's literary column "Past, Present, and Future: A Bookish Causerie." The column ran between November 30, 1895, and July 31, 1897, and the frequency with which it invoked Whitman caused him to be mentioned more in *The Labour Leader* in 1896 than in any other year. Like Trevor, Orage used a spiritual vocabulary to discuss Whitman, but he moved away from a Christian framework. He informed Edward Carpenter in a letter that "A Bookish Causerie" was an attempt to "read modern literature in the light of the new old conception you and Whitman have done so much to spread":

To go still further and more persistently into what inwardly I feel to be the deepest need of thousands like myself, the need for a sure foundation in one's own soul for the more or less superficial and transitory beliefs, intellectual physical and ethical.⁴⁹

The pairing of Whitman and Carpenter was not uncommon; Thomas observes that Whitman's vision was often associated with "English prophets of socialism" and argues that "implicit in such strategies is a repudiation of the Americanness of Whitman the prophet."⁵⁰ This can be seen at work in Orage's rhetoric which appeals to a sense of universal (rather than local) need; the oxymoronic "new old" suggests that Whitman and Carpenter's "conception" relates to old truths which had been discovered anew, echoing Carpenter's own belief that progress was bound into the notion of cyclicity.

Pierson suggests that, like Carpenter and a number of others within the Socialist movement, Orage "was blending the mysticism of the East with the evolutionary optimism characteristic of late Victorian culture to provide a new foundation for personal and social hopes," and certainly, like Carpenter, Orage saw socialism as a stage in a greater process of human development which Whitman was seen to be a part of.⁵¹ In one example, a poem dedicated to Whitman and written in a similar style is reprinted from Horace Traubel's *The Conservator*, and Orage then responds:

See, comrade? Then about Socialism—there is a profounder cause than that lying indeed beneath all causes. Socialism is a mood of the great mind. It is a recognisable point in the evolution of the profounder cause of humanity, which itself, maybe, is only a point in a still profounder cause. Who knows? I give it up for a while, perhaps for a millennium. Who knows?⁵²

Despite the lack of Christian rhetoric, there are parallels between Trevor's editorial and this passage. Orage also adopts an oratorical style, and directly addresses the reader, with whom he establishes a pastoral relationship; he teaches the reader while acknowledging that he does not understand everything. The philosophy recalls Carpenter's belief in a far-reaching evolution of human consciousness, and the reference to Whitman guides the socialist reader towards a realization that the socialist movement is only one manifestation of a higher mystical process.⁵³

Orage believed that alongside Carpenter's *Towards Democracy*, Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* was of particular importance in this evolutionary development towards the democratic ideal. He asserted that Whitman and Carpenter were elevated "above the ordinary rank of poets into that of prophets of democracy."⁵⁴ On more than one occasion he offered to procure the texts for readers who were unable to find them: "If there are any comrades who would like a complete edition of Whitman's 'Leaves of Grass'—indeed, his own big, splendid, lordly edition—I can get it for them"; "If you have any difficulty getting 'Towards Democracy' (5s.) or 'Leaves of Grass' (9s.) send to me."⁵⁵ No other books were promoted in such a way. Orage's offer specifically applies to the "complete" 1892 *Leaves of Grass*, which implies that he believed, as Whitman did, that it was important to read the poetry in its entirety. This places a value on the "whole" which runs through his appreciation of the two poets: "Whitman and Carpenter, and indeed the whole democratic movement, are testimonies to the growth of the conception of non-Differentiation, or non-Separateness."⁵⁶ In a later article he added, "To express the universal in terms of humanity—this is the function of the poet of Democracy."⁵⁷ For Orage, the expression of the "universal" was reliant on form:

That, it seems to me, is the one essential difference between the poets of democracy and the poets of old time. They of the romantic age had the form void of spirit; we have the spirit void of form. That it is a spirit capable of a form which shall displace all previous forms produced under opposite conditions we can only surmise: but there is Whitman to lend our surmise strength, and who now shall give it certainty?⁵⁸

The distinctive formal properties of Whitman's poetry were seen to be both evidence of the growth of an all-encompassing spirit of democracy and the means by which it could be communicated.

Most *Labour Leader* contributors did not treat Whitman with the same degree of reverence shown by Orage. On a few occasions in the mid-1890s, satirists who wrote under pseudonyms parodied Whitman's poetic style for didactic purposes. In one such piece a writer calling himself "The Wastrel" presents a series of short mock-editorials

for *The Labour Leader* in the style of eleven writers including Morris, Burns, Carlyle, Tennyson, and Longfellow. He begins with Whitman:

O, reader mine, you cannot escape me! This is no paper; it is a man. i long to enter your heart (many are the empty hearts) and lodge there. Were the *Leader* a twopenny paper, all's well; were it otherwise, all's well. i assert that all past issues were what they should have been, and that they could nohow have been better than they were, and that this number is what it should be, and that the I.L.P. Directory is, and that this number and directory could nohow be better than the way they are.⁵⁹

Parody relies on familiarity, and so the inclusion of Whitman is significant in itself: it shows that readers of a popular socialist newspaper were assumed to have read, or at least heard of, Whitman's poetry. Initially it seems that the piece was intended simply as entertainment, but after the parodies there is a turn:

If i hadn't been in the dry dock for want of boots i'd never have written the above. Poverty has its own revenge. As i remarked long ago there's nothing new but style, yet style is easily imitated when you have'nt one of your own.⁶⁰

"The Wastrel" self-reflexively examines the notion of satire, using style as a metaphor for political voice. Lack of possessions is associated with lack of style (exacerbated by the use of the lower case "i"), a silencing which implies a lack of power. However, as "the Wastrel" makes a show of demonstrating, aesthetics can be appropriated and made to speak for the voiceless, and here, as elsewhere in socialist discourse, Whitman's "voice" is put to work for this cause.

In another piece, a writer using the pseudonym "Ben" uses Whitman's voice to speak *against* something rather than *for* someone. The subject matter is introduced in the first one-word line, "Advertisements!"; materialism and unnecessary reliance on consumer goods are also implicitly challenged. The second stanza reads:

Hoardings, shop fronts, sky signs, back and front pages of magazines and periodicals,
Then between boards promenading in the gutters,
Railway stations, embankments,
The old weather-beaten fences by the sides of the railways and roads,
Boards standing on private lands,
Designs and letters variegated, illuminated, gas-lighted, electric.
Omnibuses, tramcars, vans and carts used in trade;
Popular novels are not greater in fiction than you.⁶¹

"Ben" employs the Whitmanian catalogue in order to emphasize the extent to which advertising pervaded daily life, creating the impression that advertising dominated every aspect of the social whole. The

ironic application of the word “greater” mimics the celebratory style often adopted by Whitman while denouncing advertising as deceptive. Similarly, like Whitman in “Respondez!,” “Ben” uses the technique of ironically lauding the very thing that he censures:

Intolerant persons would limit you, O advertisements;
I bid you not to be limited.
Uprear yourselves militant, triumphant for ever.⁶²

Thus “Ben” co-opts Whitman’s style to warn, in a light-hearted way, against the dangers of advertising. This can be interpreted as a “friendly” use of the poet, in the sense that “Ben” has joined with the “poet of democracy” in order to more effectively denounce materialism. However, “Ben” uses parody to ridicule the ubiquity and command of advertising, and so also ridicules Whitman. On one level, this is simply a matter of humor, but it can also be seen as a challenge to one of the central tenets of Whitman’s verse, that good and bad should be equally included: “What is called good is perfect, and what is called bad is just as perfect.”⁶³ The opening line “Advertisements!” also acts as an apostrophe, and so “Ben” plays with the slippery “you” in *Leaves of Grass*, questioning whether everything in the social “whole” should be celebrated indiscriminately. For “Ben” and other socialist journalists, it was fundamentally important that capitalism and the conditions that it created should be renounced, not included, in their social vision.

Socialist historiographies tend to describe a movement from the spiritual or ethical socialism of the late nineteenth century to the municipal or state socialism of the early twentieth; Anna Vaninskaya challenges such a historical paradigm, which she explains thus:

The compulsion to express antagonistic conceptual categories like communalism and statism in terms of a historical progression was always strong, and few of those who articulated such a dichotomy could avoid viewing it in temporal terms. The temptation was to focus on the historical shift from the one to the other, on the process by which modern pragmatic statism outgrew and eventually ousted communalism in the realm of practical possibility, by which the combination of Fabianism and Labourism came to represent British socialism in the twentieth century.⁶⁴

Undoubtedly, Vaninskaya is right to question the myth-making of a *fin de siècle* “golden age of socialism” and to draw attention to the fact that strains of “communitarian” or spiritual socialism reached far back into the nineteenth century and also forward into the twentieth and twenty-first. However, there was a definite change in the prevailing socialist “mood” and this was reflected in the movement’s periodicals and newspapers: though contributors to *The Labour Leader* such as J.H. Harley campaigned well into the first decade of the twentieth century

for the “soul of socialism,” it was because the movement was felt to be lacking: “At the present time Socialism is dimly groping amid the material environment of its life, and Socialists, who cannot be fed on bread alone, are trying to get to the real soul of the people.”⁶⁵ Harley adds that his readers “have only to study the ‘Labour and Literature’ page of this paper to see what a medley of sometimes soulless books is issued from the modern press.” Indeed, Alfred Orage’s “A Bookish Causerie” began first to be written by other contributors and then phased out; its tone became more serious, and it started to discuss and review only non-fiction texts written explicitly about socialist practice and policy, an approach which was continued in the successor column that Harley refers to, “Labour and Literature.” Henry Salt also complained about the changing role of literature in the socialist movement, again in the *The Labour Leader*:

I doubt whether Socialists nowadays feel much interest in the poetry of the revolutionary movement. We have, it is true, our songbooks and socialist choirs; but on the whole we seem at the present to be so intoxicated by the charms of statistical science and the study of economics that we have but little time for the trivialities of the Muse.⁶⁶

That these debates were conducted in the pages of twentieth-century socialist newspapers lends support to the argument that it is misleading to view socialist history in cut-and-dry dichotomies. Yet it would also be misleading not to acknowledge that as the nineteenth century came to a close, the spiritual and philosophical elements of socialism became less of a force in *The Labour Leader* and other socialist publications, causing the place of literary “prophets” such as Walt Whitman to become less assured.

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NOTES

1 M. Wynn Thomas, “The English Whitman,” in *Transatlantic Connections: Whitman U.S., Whitman U.K.* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2005), 161-192. Hereafter, *Transatlantic Connections*.

2 *Walt Whitman: Poetry and Prose*, ed. Justin Kaplan (New York: Library of America, 1996), 954. Hereafter, *PP*.

3 Thomas, *Transatlantic Connections*, 197.

4 Deborah Mutch, *English Socialist Periodicals, 1800-1900: A Reference Source* (Aldshot: Ashgate, 2005), xii; Deian Hopkin, “The Left-Wing Press and the New Journalism,” in *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1880s to 1914*, ed. Joel H. Weiner (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 226.

5 Maurice Adams to William Knight, in Knight, *Memorials of Thomas Davidson, The Wandering Scholar* (Boston and London: Ginn, 1907), 16. The ideas debated by the group were central to the socialist revival and many of its members became actively involved in the socialist movement, but Davidson himself became wary of the emphasis put on social and political reform, and in 1884 there was an amicable split between the Fellowship and what was to become the Fabian Society. See Mark Bevir, *The Making of British Socialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 240-246, hereafter, *MBS*; and Kevin Manton, "The Fellowship of the New Life: English Ethical Socialism Reconsidered," *History of Political Thought* 24:2 (Summer 2003), 282-304, for detailed accounts of the group's development.

6 In the paper's first editorial, Trevor states: "The publication of a paper in connection with the Labour Church movement has been undertaken, not only to meet the demand for a propagandist organ for the furtherance of our own mission, but also more generally to represent the religious life which inspires the labour movement"; *Labour Prophet* (January 1892), 4.

7 Stanley Pierson, *British Socialists: The Journey from Fantasy to Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 2. Hereafter, *From Fantasy to Politics*.

8 Bevir, "British Socialism and American Romanticism," *English Historical Review* 110:438 (September 1995), 878. For more on ethical socialism, see part three of Bevir's *MBS*, 215-316.

9 Anna Vaninskaya, *William Morris and the Idea of Community: Romance, History and Propaganda, 1880-1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 145. Hereafter, *WMIC*.

10 Pierson, *From Fantasy to Politics*, 34.

11 Harold Blodgett, *Walt Whitman in England* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1934), 219.

12 Steven Yeo, "A New Life: The Religion of Socialism," *History Workshop Journal* 4:1 (Fall 1977).

13 *Ibid.*, 6-7.

14 *Ibid.*, 27.

15 Thomas, *Transatlantic Connections*; Michael Robertson, *Worshipping Walt: The Whitman Disciples* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008). Hereafter, *Worshipping Walt*.

16 Hopkin, "The Socialist Press in Britain, 1890-1910," in *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, ed. George Boyce, James Curran, and Pauline Wingate (London: Constable, 1978), 294. Hopkin argues that the period from 1890 to 1910 was "a climacteric in the history of socialist journalism," and relates this to technological advances in the printing industry and to the expansion of the electorate after the 1884 Reform Act, which forced political parties to address a new body of electors.

17 The phrase is adapted from *With Walt Whitman in Camden*; Traubel records Whitman's response to a visit from a young Russian political revolutionary seeking the poet's seal of approval: "We had no quarrel—I only made it plain to him that I was not to be impressed into that sort of service. Everybody comes here demanding endorsements: endorse this, endorse that: each man thinks I am radical his way: I suppose I am radical his way, but I am not radical his way alone." Horace Traubel,

With Walt Whitman in Camden, 9 vols.; 1-3 (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1906-1914; repr. 1961), 1: 65. Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (whitmanarchive.org).

18 Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 9.

19 See Jock Macleod, "Between Politics and Culture: Liberal Journalism and Literary Culture at the *Fin de Siècle*," in *English Literature in Translation, 1800-1920* 51:1 (2008), 5-22.

20 Ruth Livesey, "Socialism and Victorian Poetry," *Literature Compass* 1 (2004), 1.

21 Terry Eagleton, "The Flight to the Real," in *Cultural Politics at the Fin de Siècle*, ed. Sally Ledger and Scott McCracken (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 12.

22 Anne Janowitz, *Lyric and Labour in the English Romantic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 143; 28.

23 Mutch remarks that socialist literature has not gained the same "academic status" as Chartist poetry; her indexes of literature published in socialist periodicals in *English Socialist Periodicals, 1880-1900* and forthcoming collection *British Socialist Fiction, 1884-1914* works towards redressing this balance (viii). For a comprehensive study of Chartist poetry, see Michael Sanders, *The Poetry of Chartism: Aesthetics, Politics, History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

24 William Clarke, "The Fabian Society," *New England Magazine* 16:1 (March 1894), 95.

25 "W.B.," "The Socialist Spirit in Victorian Literature," *Labour Leader* (June 19, 1897), 206; Percival Chubb, "The Two Alternatives," *To-day* (September 1887), 76.

26 Though Emerson was also featured, he was discussed as an essayist, not a poet.

27 Bevir, *The Making of British Socialism*, 244.

28 Herbert Rix, *Sermons, Addresses, and Essays* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1907), 193.

29 *Seed-Time* (April 1892), 9; Whitman, *PP*, 966. The two point ellipses indicate omissions in the text in *Seed-Time*.

30 Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 6th edn., ed. G.T. Bettany (London: Ward, Lock, Bowden, 1889), 310.

31 William Jupp, "Freedom in Religious Thought and Life," *Seed-Time* (January 1891), 1. Hereafter, "Freedom."

32 Jupp, "Freedom," 3; Whitman, *PP*, 178. There are small differences in the punctuation of Whitman's poem in *Leaves of Grass* and in *Seed-Time*; here and elsewhere in this article I give the poems as they appear in the periodicals.

33 For accounts of the establishment of the Labor Church and analyses of its role see Stanley Pierson, "John Trevor and the Labor Church Movement in England, 1891-1900," *Church History*, 29:4 (December 1960), 463-478 (hereafter, "John Trevor and the Labor Church Movement"), and Bevir, "The Labour Church Movement," in *MBS*, 278-297.

34 Bevir, "Welfarism, Socialism, and Religion: On T.H. Green and Others," *Review of Politics* 55:4 (1993), 652.

- 35 Trevor, "Editorial," *Labour Prophet* (April 1892). Hereafter, "Editorial" April 1892. Robertson, *Worshipping Walt*, 227.
- 36 Sheila Rowbotham observes that *The Labour Prophet* "propagated an ideological melange of Ruskin, Whitman, Carpenter and Mazzini" and that its "broad take on socialism could embrace municipal elections, William Morris, Walt Whitman and Fred Charles." Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter: A Life of Liberty and Love* (London: Verso, 2008), 172. Hereafter, *LLL*.
- 37 Thoreau and Emerson were the only other literary figures to feature in similar long articles. Again, Emerson was discussed as a prose writer and not a poet.
- 38 Trevor, "Editorial" April 1892.
- 39 Trevor, *My Quest For God* (London: Labour Prophet Office, 1897), 228.
- 40 Whitman, *PP*, 359.
- 41 *Ibid.*, 362.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 85.
- 43 Trevor, "Review," *Labour Prophet* (March 1896), 40; Trevor, "Walt Whitman," *Labour Prophet* (February 1895), 1.
- 44 Trevor, "Editorial" April 1892.
- 45 *Labour Prophet* (February 1892), 16.
- 46 Rowbotham, *LLL*, 172.
- 47 Pierson, "John Trevor and the Labor Church Movement," 468.
- 48 This proved to be so unpopular with *Labour Prophet* readers that the previous format was returned to after only one issue, though the funding of the paper was restructured to relieve Trevor from financial responsibility for the paper.
- 49 Alfred Orage to Carpenter (February 3, 1896), Sheffield Archives, Carpenter Collection, MS 386/63.
- 50 Thomas, *Transatlantic Connections*, 166.
- 51 Pierson, *From Fantasy to Politics*, 193.
- 52 Orage, "A Bookish Causerie," *Labour Leader* (February 22, 1896), 64. The poem, "To Walt Whitman: In His Own Spirit," by William Jay, reads: "You say to me continually that I am as good as you: Very well, I am as good as you, / You shall not be master, nor I disciple, / I come to you on equal terms, / I love you, but I do not love you any more than I love others."
- 53 Like Whitman's Canadian disciple Richard Maurice Bucke (who wrote *Cosmic Consciousness* after lengthy discussions with Carpenter), for Carpenter there were three stages of consciousness: simple or animal consciousness, self-consciousness, and a third stage of consciousness which Carpenter does not name or rigidly define, but it involved an understanding of the essential interconnectedness of all humanity. See Carpenter, *Pagan and Christian Creeds: Their Origin and Meaning* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1920), 16.
- 54 Orage, "A Bookish Causerie," *Labour Leader* (October 24, 1896), 368.

- 55 Orage, "A Bookish Causerie," *Labour Leader* (January 18, 1896), 18; (February 15, 1896), 60.
- 56 Orage, "A Bookish Causerie," *Labour Leader* (March 21, 1896), 102.
- 57 Orage, "Towards Democracy," *Labour Leader* (June 6, 1896), 197.
- 58 Orage, "A Bookish Causerie," *Labour Leader* (January 25, 1896), 26.
- 59 "The Wastrel," "Immortals as Editors," *Labour Leader* (December 21, 1895), 6. The lower case "i" is sic.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 6.
- 61 "Ben," "Whitmanesque," *Labour Leader* (May 30, 1896), 183.
- 62 *Ibid.*, 183.
- 63 Whitman, *PP*, 557.
- 64 Vaninskaya, *WMIC*, 156-157.
- 65 J.H. Harley, "The Soul of Socialism," *Labour Leader* (June 19, 1905), 42.
- 66 Henry Salt, "Some Revolutionary Poets of the Century," *Labour Leader* (June 19, 1897), 207.