Fall 2004
Volume V, Number 2

CONTENTS

ESSAYS

Poe, Fitzgerald, and the American Nightmare
J. Gerald Kennedy 4

Two Biographical Digressions: Poe's Wondering Trunk and Dr. Carter's Mysterious Sword Cane
Jeffrey A. Savoye 15

REVIEWS

Lawrence Frank. *Victorian Detective Fiction and the Nature of Evidence: The Scientific Investigations of Poe, Dickens, and Doyle*
Martha Turner 43

Burton R. Pollin, *Poe's Seductive Influence on Great Writers*
Heyward Ehrlich 48

FEATURES

Poe in Cyberspace by Heyward Ehrlich 54

Marginalia by Burton Pollin 59

Abstracts for PSA Sessions at MLA 60

PSA Matters 65

Brief Notices 68

Notes on Contributors 70

A Letter from an Editor—Found in a Bottle

I invoke Poe's famous metaphor above because this year has proved to be a turbulent one for *The Edgar Allan Poe Review*. After five years under the brilliant care of Barbara Cantalupo, circumstances have forced the journal to relocate. Faced with the possibility that the *Review* would have to revert to its newsletter length and purpose, I and my colleague Peter Norberg have reluctantly assumed editorial control to preserve, as best we could, as many of the scholarly dimensions that Barbara had nurtured since the first issue. Neither of us ever entertained editorial ambitions in our careers. Our new situation will necessitate a leaner journal, as will be evident in this and future issues. The financial and clerical support that the journal has enjoyed in the past has been substantially reduced, which will manifest itself in a more constricted editorial policy. I alone assume responsibility for these changes as I continue to reconcile economic matters. Nevertheless, Peter and I will do our best to offer our colleagues in the PSA a product well worth their membership fees.

We wish to thank the following people, all of whom contributed significantly to assuage a difficult transition process. Brice Wachterhauser, currently Interim Vice President for Academic Affairs at Saint Joseph's University, very generously approved my request for emergency funds for the journal out of his discretionary budget. I am happy to report that John McCall, Dean for the School of Arts and Sciences, has already pledged to maintain this support for the next academic year. Thomas Malone, Carol McLaughlin, and Carmen Croce, all at Saint Joseph's University Press, have been extraordinarily helpful in arranging publication matters.

The Board of Editors for the *Review* quickly and kindly responded to urgent requests for manuscript assessments, which allowed me to get this issue out in reasonable time. I wish, in particular, to honor the following board members as they complete their three-year terms of appointment: Kent Ljungquist (Worcester Polytechnic Institute), Leland Person (University of Cincinnati), John Reilly (emeritus, College of the Holy Cross), and Liliane Weissberg (University of Pennsylvania). I also wish to acknowledge the indulgence and labors of this issue's chief contributors–Jerry Kennedy, Jeff Savoye, Martha Turner, and Heyward Ehrlich–who had to cope with the rushed deadlines of their neophyte editors. Also, Daniel Hoffman, Richard Kopley, and Burton Pollin kindly passed along items for the "Brief Notices" section.

PSA's Executive Board members–Scott Peeples, Mary De Jong, Noelle Baker, Carole Shaffer-Koros, and Richard Kopley–have been very supportive all though this process. The journal's former staff at Pennsylvania State University, Loretta Yenser in particular, provided essential information that eased the pangs of transition. Of course, the lion's share of my appreciation goes to Barbara Cantalupo, whose advice about the practicalities and nuances of editorship proved invaluable. She has set a standard that I will find difficult to equal and impossible to surpass.

Finally, I thank my coeditor, Peter Norberg, for consenting to join me on this precarious three-year voyage in academic publishing. His help has already proven to be indispensable.

If Poe had people of commensurate sympathy supporting him, he might have managed to see *The Stylus* in print.

Richard Fusco
Saint Joseph's University

Poe, Fitzgerald, and the American Nightmare

J. Gerald Kennedy

After extricating himself from an awkward summer *amour* with Beatrice Dance in North Carolina, Scott Fitzgerald returned to Baltimore, where Zelda was a psychiatric patient at Sheppard-Pratt Hospital, and wrote in 1935 of the city where he had been living for three years:

> I love it more than I thought–it is so rich with memories–it is nice to look up the street and see the statue of my great uncle [Key] and to know Poe is buried here and that many ancestors of mine have walked in the old town by the bay. I belong here, where everything is civilized and gay and rotted and polite. And I wouldn't mind a bit if in a few years Zelda and I could snuggle up together under a stone in some old graveyard here.[1]

Fitzgerald did not quite get his wish–he reposes today alongside Zelda in the Rockville, Maryland, cemetery–but his identification with his namesake, Francis Scott Key, and with Edgar Allan Poe conjures up a revealing imaginative genealogy linked to the early nation and the rise of a national literary culture. While his comment suggests a psychic investment in the "civilized and gay and rotted and polite" city, it hints as well at his preoccupation with an American past receding year by year, a past crucially associated for him with Key, "The Star Spangled Banner," and the War of 1812, as well as with Poe and his poignant, ignominious struggles.

As Marius Bewley, John Callahan, and others have shown, Fitzgerald meditated obsessively on the nature of the nation: on American identity, the inescapable American dream, and (no less explicitly) on the racial and ethnic composition of a US national community. Nick Carraway's closing meditation in *The Great Gatsby* on the "fresh, green breast of the new world"–that perdurable emblem of boundless possibility–marks but the most familiar of Fitzgerald's many allusions to America and its imagined exceptional destiny. In "The Swimmers," Europe-bound Henry Marston contemplates his homeland with "a sense of overwhelming gratitude and gladness that America was there, that under the ugly debris of industry the rich land still pushed up, incorrigibly lavish and fertile, and that in the heart of the leaderless people the old generosities and devotions

fought on." Fitzgerald there identifies "a willingness of the heart" as the quintessential American idea that had impelled heroic sacrifice at Shiloh and the Argonne forest.[2] Yet (as the reference to "ugly debris" suggests) the author also agonized about national values transmuted by civil war, industrialization, immigration, capitalism, consumerism, and now the Great War. Dick Diver's melancholy reflections on "the old loyalties and devotions" of an "older America," which devolve upon the ruined hero Ulysses S. Grant, typify Fitzgerald's obsession with the erosion of national character. As Milton R. Stern has recently remarked, *Tender Is the Night* dramatizes the passing of the "good American fathers" and the survival of those "corrupting" fathers who now control the nation and promulgate its "irresponsible and venal" popular culture.[3]

Key and Poe served as crucial figures in Fitzgerald's vision of early America. Not a "great uncle" but rather (as Matthew J. Bruccoli notes) a second cousin three times removed,[4] Key had but one major claim to fame, his poem "Defence of Fort McHenry," composed after an unsuccessful British attack on Baltimore in September 1814 and set waggishly to the tune of an English drinking song. Though the first stanza has been sung as the national anthem since 1931, the less-familiar fourth stanza delivers the poem's crucial ideological freight:

> O! Thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
> Between their lov'd home and the war's desolation,
> Blest with vict'ry and peace, may the heav'n rescued land
> Praise the power that hath made and preserv'd us a nation!
> Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
> And this be our motto–"In God is our trust!"
> And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
> O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.[5]

A lawyer and amateur poet who later served as Vice-President of the American Sunday School Union, Key reasserts the Puritan belief, first articulated by John Winthrop in 1630, in an exclusive, divine blessing on America—the "heav'n rescued land." Key insists that the American victory–a fort's survival of errant long-distance shelling–has been ordained by God, who has thus "preserv'd us a nation." Earlier instances of musical patriotism notwithstanding, "The Star-Spangled Banner" may be said to mark the eruption of a pervasive nationalist sentiment in the United States. A few years later, Key helped to found the American Colonization Society, dedicated to returning blacks–free and enslaved–to Africa, and in 1833 he represented Andrew Jackson and Indian removal in a land dispute with the Creek tribe in Alabama. In two roles probably unknown

to Fitzgerald, Key thus endeavored to keep the land of the free and home of the brave a patently Euro America nation. He died in 1843, just before the nationalism he had stoked with his poem finally coalesced into the belief that legitimated the Mexican War–the jingoistic notion that Anglo-Saxon Americans had a "Manifest Destiny" to occupy and civilize the continent.

Key's involvement in the action of 1814–he was aboard a truce ship in Baltimore harbor negotiating the release of a Maryland physician–and his penning of the defiant anthem thus made him, in Fitzgerald's eyes, an attractive symbolic father, a poet and patriot who epitomized the "old loyalties," who mattered because his poem transformed an incident of modest historical significance into a mythic national turning point and a reification of American character. But Fitzgerald's attachment to the controversial figure of Poe is at once more complicated and revealing.

Jeffrey Meyers's biography of Fitzgerald offers a neat comparison of the two writers, asserting that both were hypoglycemic alcoholics, five feet eight inches tall and weighing 140 pounds, the sons of failed men. Both were college dropouts and enlistees in the U. S. Army, who later wrote for the magazines, entered into "tragic marriages," encountered money problems, and "died from the effects of drink," leaving behind personal scandals that long tarnished their literary reputations. Both writers, he notes, perversely claimed Benedict Arnold as an ancestor. Following James Tuttleton, Meyers cites Amory Blaine's fondness for Poe in *This Side of Paradise* and speculates that Francis Melarkey, the protagonist of an early version of *Tender Is the Night*, is modeled after Poe–being a dissipated young Southerner dismissed from West Point.[6] But Meyers never engages the underlying question: *why* did Fitzgerald regard Poe as a symbolic forefather?

Although we know that Edward Fitzgerald read "The Raven" to his son, Poe's influence was not, like that of Keats or Conrad, decisive in Fitzgerald's literary formation. Admittedly, one glimpses in apprentice tales such as "The Mystery of the Raymond Mortgage" and "The Room With the Green Blinds" a juvenile fascination with the Poesque detective story, and even in later works such as "A Short Trip Home" or "One Trip Abroad," Fitzgerald's supernatural effects vaguely recall the phantasms of Poe. Elizabeth Kaspar Aldrich has noted Poe's influence on the idealized, beautiful women of Fitzgerald's novels, astutely suggesting that "William Wilson," with its dramatized encounter between a sober

and a dissolute self, was of "unusual importance" to Fitzgerald.[7] But there is otherwise little in Fitzgerald's fiction that resembles Poe's vertiginous tales of madness, terror, and death. A Fitzgerald letter, however, suggests that Poe represented a cultural figure with whom the later writer identified: the scorned literary genius. "Who in hell ever respected Shelley, Whitman, Poe, O'Henry, Verlaine, Swinburne, Villon, Shakespeare, etc. when they were alive," Fitzgerald asked a friend from St. Paul in 1920, classifying Poe among those dismissed as "drunkards or wasters" by the "merchants and petty politicians and jitney messiahs of their day."[8] Perhaps already identifying with Poe's alleged insobriety, Fitzgerald's sense of kinship with his precursor was likewise rooted in their shared alienation from the "merchants" and the remorseless economic system that kept them both laboring in the "magazine prison house," to recall Poe's trenchant phrase. John Allan (Poe's foster father) and Edward Fitzgerald sold dry goods and groceries, respectively, and each personified for an impressionable future writer a merchant consumed by pecuniary preoccupations.

Notwithstanding the vast differences between Poe's antebellum America and the cosmopolitan, modernist era in which Fitzgerald worked between the world wars, these writers confronted similar socioeconomic predicaments. Most crucially, both faced the consequences of the profound "market revolution" that transformed the United States between 1815 and 1846–roughly, between "The Star Spangled Banner" and the Mexican War–from a largely agricultural, subsistence economy into a burgeoning capitalist system. In the process, a pastoral, mostly egalitarian social order marked (as Charles Sellers notes) by "family obligation, communal cooperation, and . . . modest comfort" was supplanted by a profit system that industrialized production, rewarded opportunism and exploitation, and replaced collective values with competitive self-aggrandizement.[9] American cities gained new importance as centers of economic activity, absorbing rural populations and soon exhibiting grotesque disparities between wealth and poverty. As monthly magazines proliferated, literary works became commodities in an impersonal system of production and distribution. Suddenly, making money and accumulating wealth became predominant cultural values. The new ethos of greed emerged as the last of the Founding Fathers, exemplars of national virtue like Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and finally Charles Carroll, the last surviving signer of the Declaration, departed the American scene.[10]

Poe observed in its formative stage the capitalist system that Fitzgerald witnessed as an elaborate materialist spectacle contrived by robber barons—a consumer culture preoccupied by success and revolted by failure.[11] As clever men dogged by poverty, both writers were obsessed with the transforming power of wealth. Poe's "The Gold Bug" dramatizes a manic search for gold and "The Domain of Arnheim" depicts the landscape improvements of a $450 million dollar inheritance, while "The Business Man" and "Diddling" deliver parodic critiques of capitalist exploitation. Fitzgerald's fixation, early and late, with the corrupting glamor of wealth requires no extended documentation here; Edwin Fussell's comment that *The Great Gatsby* exposes "that great mass of neurosis known as 'the American Dream'" must suffice.[12] These writers were far from alone in their alienation from American capitalist values, but as sons of social failures, endowed with an Irish ancestry that left them not quite within the pale of Anglo-Saxon superiority, both fantasized about becoming rich, ingratiated themselves to wealthy men, and indulged in racist caricature to assuage their class and ethnic insecurities.[13] Yet both resented the culture of affluence. In "The Philosophy of Furniture" Poe decried the American "aristocracy of dollars" with its ostentatious "*display of wealth,*" moralizing that "here a man of large purse has usually very little soul which he keeps in it." Fitzgerald admitted in "The Crack-Up" that he retained "an abiding distrust, an animosity toward the leisure class–not the conviction of a revolutionist but the smoldering hatred of a peasant."[14]

Nowhere is the class and ethnic resentment that was their bond more apparent than in Fitzgerald's spectacular rewriting of "The Fall of the House of Usher" in his early story "The Diamond as Big as the Ritz." To his credit, Meyers discerns the parodic relationship of the later tale to its model and has an inkling of the national commentary in Fitzgerald's story.[15] But he fails to consider both Fitzgerald's purposes in evoking Poe and the latent ideological implications of "Usher."

Poe published "Usher" in 1839 amid intense cultural pressure to create tales from American materials. Defending his investment in what he called "the foreign subject," he ridiculed the call for literary nationalism that had reached a fever pitch by the 1830s and assumed a complicated oppositional stance.[16] Occasionally, in tales such as "The Man That Was Used Up," "The Oblong Box," and "A Tale of the Ragged Mountains," he engaged American topics but slyly insinuated the dire consequences of nation-building accomplished by the

genocidal project of Indian removal.[17] His more numerous Europeanized narratives sometimes asserted democratic values–as we see in "Metzengerstein" and "The Masque of the Red Death," which both turn on the fatal arrogance of the nobility.[18] "Usher" follows a similar scenario: the last surviving members of "the ancient race of the Ushers"[19] inhabit a house filled with "armorial trophies" recalling prior feudal conquests. The aristocratic Roderick and Madeline become victims of their own familial narcissism, having sealed themselves off from productive (or reproductive) relations with the outer world. The collapse of their house–which surely inspired the cinematic climax of Fitzgerald's story–metaphorizes both the fate of a family enfeebled by incest and the crumbling of dynastic aristocracy itself in an era of national democratic revolutions, symbolically marking the end of domination based upon rank, ancestry, and title. In a recent reading that indirectly clarifies an important modification by Fitzgerald, Stephen Dougherty ties the Usher family's preoccupation with heredity and bloodlines to the emerging U.S. "fear of miscegenation," ultimately characterizing Poe's tale as a "racist and nationalist fantasy" of "blood contamination." Its enactment of self-destruction turns the story into "a nightmarish prophecy of the cultural and political defeat of American slave society."[20]

Fitzgerald's description in "Diamond" of the "marble radiance"of Braddock Washington's "exquisite chateau" turns Poe's "mansion of gloom" into a palace of stupefying material splendor. To his schoolmate, John T. Unger, Percy Washington has identified his father as "the richest man in the world" and one room in his castle is said to be "lined with an unbroken mass of diamonds, diamonds of every size and shape."[21] But as Unger discovers, his summer visit entails a death sentence, for to maintain the secret of his Montana citadel, Braddock Washington must prevent visitors from returning to the outside world. By selling diamond chips, he has amassed a fortune, and aided by a band of African Americans still held as slaves because they have been convinced that the South won the Civil War (here is Poe's slavocracy made explicit), Washington has turned his fortress into an armed camp, a prison even for his family. Only when faced with an aerial invasion does Washington make the fatal decision to blow up his chateau, apparently concluding that a life without great wealth is not worth living.

Other scholars have discerned Fitzgerald's critique of national illusions. Ronald Berman has suggested that Washington's castle "encodes the American economy itself," a brutal place where "human issues are addressed as marketplace

decisions."[22] Meyers observes that "the House of Washington represents a vulgar, greedy America where everything– freedom, human values, art and culture–is sacrificed to gross wealth."[23] Yet just as Meyers approaches the political complications of the parody, he settles for a pat moral: "Fitzgerald's tale is a caustic warning about the American dream. It reveals the illusory power of great wealth and the impossibility of being both rich and happy."[24] In fact it suggests a good deal more than that, for in identifying Braddock Washington as "a direct descendent of George Washington and Lord Baltimore," in evoking the history of slavery and racial oppression, and in associating the frontier, the American West, with dehumanizing greed, Fitzgerald insinuates a subversive reading of American history that identifies rapacity and human exploitation as national traits traceable to the slave-owning first president and indeed to high-born colonial founders. He thus challenges the exceptionalist vision of a divinely instituted nation and proposes an alternative founding principle. And despite Fitzgerald's Southern sympathies, his fascination with contemporary race theory, and his sometimes smirking depiction of Braddock Washington's so-called "darkies," he evinces only scorn for the latter-day slaveholder and the doubly spurious bondage that facilitates his monstrous design.

But two other works by Poe may also underlie Fitzgerald's text. Braddock Washington's "amazing predicament," we learn, is that he can never sell his treasure. If he tried to do so, "the bottom would fall out of the market," Fitzgerald notes, because a diamond as big as the Ritz would make that commodity too plentiful. Yet the diamond might also fetch a price so high that "there would not be enough gold in the world to buy a tenth part of it."[25] Within market constraints, the enormous diamond is paradoxically worthless and priceless–and in either event useless. Poe envisioned a similar predicament in1849 as would-be millionaires hastened to California to find the mother of all mother lodes. In his hoax "Von Kempelen and His Discovery" Poe conjured up for his fortune-hunting compatriots an economic horror, a German chemist's discovery of a simple process that could turn lead into gold. For those already in California or about to migrate, Poe draws the crushing inference that "gold now is, or at least soon will be . . . of no greater *value* than lead."[26] Of course the tale was a spoof, but Poe's motive bears examination. He here attempts to intervene in American history, to derail the gold rush or at least to give a reality check to those seeking instant wealth. Like Fitzgerald's, his tale reminds us that in a capitalist economy, there are no absolute values, only exchange values subject to implacable market pressures. More broadly, his tale challenges the ethos of greed and

exposes–as would so many of Fitzgerald's fictions–the nightmare of disillusionment lurking on the far side of the American dream.

In 1849 Poe also composed the poem "Eldorado," in which a "gallant knight" grows old in a fruitless quest for the land of gold; as his strength fails, he meets a "pilgrim shadow" who advises him that Eldorado lies "Over the Mountains of the Moon,/ Down the Valley of the Shadow."[27] T. O. Mabbott optimistically interpreted the shade's admonition, "Ride, boldly ride. . . If you seek Eldorado!" to mean that "even in defeat, the gallant and bold find Eldorado."[28] But not the *real* Eldorado, I would add. More cynical than "Von Kempelen," the poem reveals that the knight has *already* ridden gallantly and boldly, finding only despair. This helpful pilgrim shadow is the cruel personification of the great American delusion that wealth is just around the corner. Poe told Frederick Thomas in February 1849 that he would not abandon his literary hopes "for all the gold in California": "Talking of gold, and of the temptations at present held out to 'poor-devil authors,'" he wrote, "did it ever strike you that all which is really valuable to a man of letters . . . is absolutely unpurchaseable?"[29] This high-minded repudiation of instant wealth seems somewhat disingenuous in light of Poe's long struggle for solvency as a magazinist, but it also betrays his deep-seated scorn for the Philistinism of John Allan and his ilk.

Fitzgerald was moving toward a similar critique in "The Diamond As Big As the Ritz." On the magic mountain, where the boy from Hades thinks he has found paradise but discovers the hell of Braddock Washington's materialism, the author lays bare the problem of value in a specifically American context. "This is where the United States ends," Washington says about his hidden El Dorado, unconscious of the *double entendre.* [30] His Montana fortress marks the territorial limit of the United States but also the ultimate objectification of American desire. The fatal cataclysm triggered by Washington makes explicit the self-destructive nature of material obsession. Fitzgerald's rewriting of Poe suggests that the quest for wealth, the grand national preoccupation since the market revolution of the Jacksonian era, indeed *threatens* life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Ironically, Fitzgerald's lawyer during the Depression years was a former Princeton classmate named Ed Poe. "Conceive of that," he wrote to Beatrice Dance in 1937, "Edgar Allan Poe and Francis Scott Key, the two Baltimore poets a hundred years after!"[31] However incongruous the pairing of Key and

Poe as "Baltimore poets," Fitzgerald's sense of kinship with Poe was in many ways more complicated than his identification with Key, for as he likely suspected, Poe's sorry fate presaged his own. They were yoked by failure, bound by shame; drinking was their recurrent Lethe and nepenthe. Unable to find the way to wealth, both assailed the ethos of greed and betrayed the gospel of success. But in challenging the core values of a nation recurrently beset by the scandals of individual and corporate greed, they revealed the horrifying proximity of American self-making and materialistic self-ruin.

Notes

1. F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald,* ed. Andrew Turnbull (New York: Scribners, 1963) 531.

2. F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* (1925; rpt New York: Scribners, 1953), 182; Fitzgerald, *The Short Stories of F. Scott Fitzgerald,* ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli (New York: Scribners, 1989) 512.

3. F. Scott Fitzgerald, *Tender is the Night* (1933: rpt. New York: Scribners, 1961), 101; Milton P. Stern, "*Tender is the Night* and American History," in *The Cambridge Companion to F. Scott Fitzgerald,* ed. Ruth Prigozy (Cambridge UP, 2001) 113.

4. Matthew J. Bruccoli, *Some Sort of Epic Grandeur: The Life of F. Scott Fitzgerald* (Columbia, SC: U of South Carolina P, 2002) 14.

5. Francis Scott Key, "Defence of Fort McHenry." In *American Poetry: The Nineteenth Century: Volume One: Freneau to Whitman,* ed. John Hollander. (New York: Library of America, 1993) 47.

6. Jeffrey Meyers, *Scott Fitzgerald: A Biography* (New York: Harper Collins, 1994) 345-47.

7. Elizabeth Kaspar Aldrich, "'The Most Poetical Topic in the World': Women in the Novels of F. Scott Fitzgerald," in *Scott Fitzgerald: The Promises of Life,* ed. A. Robert Lee (New York: St. Martin's, 1989) 131-156.

8. Bruccoli 45.

9. Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford UP, 1994) 5.

10. In his admirable study of Irving, Jeffrey Rubin-Dorsky argues that the passing of the founding fathers created a "crisis of identity" for the post-Revolutionary generation. See *Adrift in the Old World* (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1988) 10-15, 65-99.

11. Fitzgerald's complex response to this socioeconomic milieu forms the object of Kirk Curnutt's incisive essay, "Fitzgerald's Consumer World," in *A Historical Guide to F. Scott Fitzgerald*, ed. Kirk Curnutt (New York: Oxford UP, 2004) 85-128.

12. *F. Scott Fitzgerald, A Collection of Critical Essays,* ed. Arthur Mizener. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963) 49.

13. The "social faliure" in Poe's case was of course David Poe, an itinerant actor, inebriate, and wayward husband, who disappeared mysteriously in 1811.

14. Edgar Allan Poe, *Edgar Allan Poe: Poetry and Tales,* ed. Patrick F. Quinn (New York: Library of America, 1984) 382; 385-86; Fitzgerald, *Short Stories* 77.

15. Meyers 92-95.

16. Edgar Allan Poe, *Edgar Allan Poe: Essays and Reviews,* ed. G. R. Thompson. (New York: Library of America, 1984) 1027.

17. The first story associates Indian removal with dismemberment; the second records the sinking of the *Independence* near the site of Raleigh's "lost colony" on Okracoke Island; the third links a native revolt in India to a possible uprising by Native Americans with its allusions to "Indian Summer" and the "fierce races" that once inhabited Virginia.

18. J. Gerald Kennedy, "'A Mania for Composition': Poe's Annus Mirabilis and the Violence of Nation Building," forthcoming in *American Literary History,* 17 (2005).

19. Poe, *Poetry and Tales,* ed. Quinn 323.

20. Stephen Dougherty, "Foucault in the House of Usher: Some Historical Permutations in Poe's Gothic," *Papers on Language and Literature: A Journal for Scholars and Critics of Language and Literature* 37.1 (2001): 5, 15, 17, 19.

21. Fitzgerald, *Short Stories* 188, 184, 189.

22. Ronald Berman, *Fitzgerald, Hemingway, and the Twenties*. (Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 2001) 49, 51.

23. Berman 95.

24. Berman 95.

25. Fitzgerald, *Short Stories* 193.

26. Poe, *Poetry and Tales,* ed. Quinn 915.

27. Poe, *Poetry and Tales,* ed. Quinn 101.

28. Edgar Allan Poe, *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe.* Volume I: *Poems,* ed. Thomas O. Mabbott (Cambridge: Belknap P, 1969) 461.

29. Edgar Allan Poe, *The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe,* ed. John Ward Ostrom (1948; rpt. NY: Gordian P, 1966) 427.

30. Fitzgerald, *Short Stories* 187.

31. F. Scott Fitzgerald, *Correspondence of F. Scott Fitzgerald,* eds. Matthew J. Bruccoli and Margaret M. Duggan (New York: Random House, 1980) 471. James H. Meredith provides an illuminating gloss on Fitzgerald's relationship to Edgar Allan Poe II, onetime attorney general of Maryland, and his brother, the Princeton football star and war hero John Prentiss Poe, Jr. See "Fitzgerald and War," in *A Historical Guide to F. Scott Fitzgerald*, ed. Kirk Curnutt (New York: Oxford UP, 2004) 170-71.

Two Biographical Digressions: Poe's Wandering Trunk and Dr. Carter's Mysterious Sword Cane

Jeffrey A. Savoye

Perhaps no aspect of Edgar Allan Poe's life has attracted more attention, generated more discussion, or caused more confusion than the murky circumstances surrounding his death.[1] The story has evolved over a period of more than 150 years, the details being refined in the telling as much by repetition and dramatic flair as by scholarly analysis. Although much is still the subject of debate, a hardened core of the tale has entered the lore of American literary biography, and among the elements now fused with this core are two humble objects, a trunk and a cane, which have taken on lives of their own. In addition to being relics of Poe, both are important mostly for what they contained—the trunk with its manuscripts and other documents, and the cane with its concealed sword. Given the scanty details and the unreliable nature of some of the sources, the following information is reasonably comprehensive but neither exhaustive nor absolutely conclusive.

"I have a trunk with my papers and some manuscripts"

On that fateful trip, starting from Richmond about 27 September 1849 and ending so abruptly in Baltimore on 7 October 1849, Poe brought with him a single trunk of belongings. For several months after his death, this trunk was the target of considerable interest from two opposing forces: Maria Clemm and Rufus Wilmot Griswold in New York, and Rosalie Poe and John R. Thompson in Richmond. Caught in the middle were Neilson Poe and Dr. John J. Moran in Baltimore. Poe had left an estate with no money or property, but there were his poems, tales, and other writings, and Griswold had agreed to edit a collection of Poe's works, to be published for the financial benefit of Poe's mother-in-law, Maria Clemm. Poe's sister, Rosalie, however, sought to exercise her own rights through the legal assistance of Thompson, and a kind of tug of war ensued.[2]

Having "heard this moment of the death of my dear son Edgar," and in a state of "dreadful uncertainty," a distraught Mrs. Clemm wrote to Baltimore on 9 October 1849 "to try and ascertain the fact and particulars . . . My mind is prepared to *hear all*—conceal nothing from me."[3] Among the general details and rather cautious expressions of sympathy, Neilson Poe's 11 October 1849 reply provides the first recorded mention of the trunk: "Mr. Herring [Poe's uncle] &

myself have sought, in vain, for the trunk & clothes of Edgar. There is reason to believe that he was robbed of them, whilst in such a condition as to render him insensible of his loss . . ."[4] On 25 October 1849, more interested in the trunk than consolation, Griswold wrote to Thompson in Richmond: "Poe's *trunk* has not been recovered. Mr. Neilson Poe of Baltimore writes that from something said by Poe it was believed that he gave it into the hands of a porter at Baltimore to carry to the Philadelphia depot. Can you give any clue to it? It contained some important letters, and his *lectures* and I am very anxious to obtain the last, to print."[5] Thompson wrote back to Griswold on 3 November 1849: "I have written to Mr. Neilson Poe, as Miss Poe's attorney, directing the trunk of the deceased to be forwarded to me. If it should come, I will be careful to secure for you the MS lectures and whatever other literary contents may be found in it."[6] Thompson's assertion of his legal position was well-timed. In the week between Griswold's letter to Thompson and Thompson's letter to Griswold, the trunk had been located and was in the possession of Neilson Poe.

We have already had a few hints of the treasures contained in this elusive trunk, but what can we divine of its full contents? Dr. Moran, usually acknowledged as Poe's attending physician during his final few days, quotes Poe as saying "I have a trunk with my papers and some manuscripts." Moran curiously adds: "Note this, there was no clothing in the trunk. A new suit of wedding clothes was to have been placed in it for the groom. His visit was a business one and was to be a short one."[7] Although he may indeed have been instrumental in reclaiming the trunk, Dr. Moran is so unreliable in his recollections that his comments about the clothing must be taken with a grain of salt. Contradicting his 1885 statement, we find Moran's earliest comment on the trunk, from a 15 November 1849 letter to Mrs. Clemm, in which he mentions that Poe did not know "what had become of his trunk of clothing."[8] There is no clear evidence that Moran actually opened the trunk or had any personal knowledge of its contents.

Fortunately, we have a direct contemporary comment from Neilson Poe, who wrote to Griswold on 1 November 1849: "I have opened his trunk and find it to contain very few manuscripts of value. The chief of them is a lecture upon the poetic principle and some paragraphs prepared, apparently, for some literary journal. There are, however, a number of books, his own works, which are full of corrections by his own hand. These ought, undoubtedly, to be placed in your hands."[9] Woodberry goes on to specifically list two of the books. The first was

the J. Lorimer Graham copy of *Tales* and *The Raven and Other Poems* (1845), with Poe's significant revisions penciled on many pages. This was the double-bound edition, the same as the presentation copies for Sarah H. Whitman and Miss E. B. Barrett.[10] The second was the Bishop Hurst copy of *Eureka* (1848), one of several copies with manuscript changes and additions by Poe, but this one is certainly the most important and has the most extensive notes.[11] Woodberry also suggests "possibly others" without saying what these remaining books may have been, leaving us to resort to some speculations.

We may safely eliminate *Tamerlane and Other Poems* (1827) and *Poems* (1831) from the list. Writing to J. R. Lowell in 1844, Poe stated off-handedly, "I have been so negligent as not to preserve copies of any of my volumes of poems—nor was either worthy preservation."[12] He did, however, have a copy of *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane and Minor Poems* (1829), which he borrowed back from his cousin Elizabeth in 1845 and subsequently used at his disastrous reading in Boston. In this copy, Poe carefully altered the date on the title page to read 1820, apparently in an effort to bolster his claim that these poems were written when he was very young. Afterwards, he kept it and may have used it in Virginia for a similar purpose, in which case it would have accompanied the other volumes noted by Woodberry.[13] Also in the trunk was a set of his two-volume *Tales of The Grotesque and Arabesque* (1840), referred to as "an early edition of Mr. Poe's works" in a 24 December 1975 letter from Miss Sarah H. Heywood to J. H. Ingram. With no indication that this set was specially marked, however, it was clearly not the elaborately revised copies retitled *Phantasy Pieces*.[14] In his lectures, Poe often read the poems of others and may also have had copies of their books for this purpose. A particular favorite was N. P. Willis's poem "Unseen Spirits." Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America* would have served as a convenient source for a number of poems, and Poe would surely have wanted a copy in hand when he criticized it. (Along with his own walking stick, Poe left a copy of Moore's *Irish Melodies* at the office of Dr. Carter in Richmond. Although these two items were clearly not in the trunk after Poe's death, this fact does show that he had at least one book by someone else with him on the tour.[15]) One might presume that the small Bible given by Maria Clemm to Poe in 1846 was also present in the trunk, as Poe did carry it with him according to tradition. Mrs. Clemm, however, apparently gave it to Mrs. Rebecca Cromwell in late 1849, before she could have received any of the contents from Neilson Poe.[16]

The lecture mentioned by Neilson Poe was obviously "The Poetic Principle," which was originally included in volume III and was later moved to volume II. The "paragraphs" were the humorous essay "A Reviewer Reviewed," intended for *Graham's Magazine*, and probably a few bits used in his readings of "Marginalia" or his aborted "Literary America" project.[17] Among other miscellaneous material in Poe's trunk were various letters. Based on the dates Poe would have received them, these would have included his six final letters, written by Mrs. Clemm, E. H. N. Patterson, Thomas H. Chivers, Mrs. Sarah A. Lewis and Mrs. Marguerite St. Leon Loud (RCL-812, RCL-819, RCL-820, RCL-824, RCL-825, and RCL-827b). Neilson Poe told Eugene L. Didier that he found a package of love letters from Elmira Shelton. Somewhat surprisingly, he also had twelve letters written to him from George W. Eveleth, ranging in date from 21 December 1845 (RCL-599) to 3 July 1849 (RCL-807a). In addition, he had one new letter from Thompson to Griswold, *ca.* 25 September 1849. He may also have had other letters, and drafts of his own letters written while away from home.[18] Whitty claims that a clipping of J. M. Daniel's notice from the 25 September 1849 *Richmond Examiner* was "found among Poe's clippings after his death, and is now among the 'Griswold Papers.'" It would not, of course, have been possible for an article of this late date to have been left behind in New York, although he might have mailed it to Mrs. Clemm just before leaving Richmond.[19] He may also have had the miniature portrait of his mother, painted by Sully. Mrs. Lewis mentions that he had it in his valise when it was lost in Philadelphia (in July of 1849).[20]

The principal reason for Poe's tour was to obtain potential subscribers to his proposed magazine (by this time titled *The Stylus*). He must, therefore, have had with him some means of recording the names of subscribers and contributors, and for this purpose he probably carried his "Memorandum" book, now at the Enoch Pratt Free Library.[21] Many Years later, Bishop Fitzgerald claimed that Poe had $1,500 in subscriptions with him when he left Richmond. If so, it must have been money obtained after he left Norfolk. As he wrote to Mrs. Clemm, "I lectured at Norfolk on Monday & cleared enough to settle my bill here at the Madison House with $2 over... My poor poor Muddy. I am still unable to send you even one dollar—but keep up heart—I hope that our troubles are nearly over." With no corroborating evidence that he actually managed to accumulate such a large sum of money, or what would have become of it, I consider the story apocryphal.[22]

For a trip requiring several days of travel and involving a visit with the prominent Loud family in Philadelphia, Poe would surely have had personal belongs, including a change of clothing (at least a shirt) and such usual necessities as a straight razor for shaving (and the related accessories of a strap, brush, etc.), a hair brush, and similar items. Also likely were the boot hooks now on display at the Poe Museum in Richmond.[23] The fact that he left some of his baggage behind in Richmond at the Swan Tavern suggests that he may have removed other items, with the intention of saving space in the trunk for new material as part of the "move" to Richmond.

Though somewhat better documented than its contents, the trunk's own history is even more confusing. The available evidence supports the notion that it was retrieved by Dr. Moran, who, after some searching, claimed the trunk from the Bradshaw Hotel or the train depot, which was across the street. He then gave it to Neilson Poe. The idea that the trunk was forwarded to Neilson Poe from Richmond—an error apparently created by Mrs. Weiss and perpetuated by Woodberry and Allen—may be easily dismissed.[24] Given the statements in Griswold's 25 October 1849 letter to Thompson and Neilson Poe's 1 November 1849 letter to Griswold, the trunk must have come into Neilson's hands during the last week of October. At this point, most scholars seem satisfied to state that Neilson delayed forwarding the trunk and its contents to Mrs. Clemm, leaving the impression that he was lazy or disinterested. In a 27 November 1874 letter to Ingram, N. H. Morison reinforces this view of Neilson, describing him as one who "belongs, so his friends say, to the class of dilatory men, who plan and never do."[25] The case for Neilson's lack of action is further supported by a 2 March 1850 letter from Mrs. Clemm to Dr. Moran: "What I wish you to do for me dear Sir is to enquire for me of Mr. N. Poe why he retains the trunk and why he will not let me have those papers. If I learn that he has them not, the third volume of the book will have to be published without them. At all events procure from him my darling Eddie's letters to myself and enclose them to me, for they are a thousand times more precious to me 'than rubies.' "[26]

Judging solely from this evidence, it would be reasonable to conclude that Neilson Poe had done nothing with the trunk or its contents over the preceding months. The truth, however, is somewhat more complicated. Once he obtained the trunk, Neilson Poe was in a very uncomfortable position. It was essentially the symbol of Poe's estate, and as a lawyer he would have known that Rosalie had the stronger legal claim as Poe's heir. On the other hand, Mrs. Clemm was his own

wife's stepmother, and she was destitute. Rosalie was then living with the Mackenzies, who enjoyed a wealthy lifestyle until their terrible losses during the Civil War. Mrs. Clemm also had an unusual talent for making people feel very guilty.[27] The key to correcting this impression of inactivity is to accept that about this time, the trunk and at least some of its contents began to follow separate paths. Referring to Poe's corrected copies of *Tales* and *The Raven and Other Poems*, Mabbott is wrong when he says that "[t]he book came into Griswold's hands too late for use in his edition of the Works." In preparing the two volumes issued by J. S. Redfield by 10 January 1850, Griswold was highly selective in using Poe's corrections, but his access to these changes is undeniable. Among other examples, the title of "Catholic Hymn" acknowledges Poe's cancellation of "Catholic," and the word "sorrow" in "The Haunted Palace" is corrected to "morrow." Most importantly, Poe's "Preface" and "The Raven" were newly set in type, incorporating a large number of miscellaneous changes marked by Poe's own hand.[28]

By about mid-November, therefore, Neilson Poe had indeed sent Griswold the books mentioned in his letter, but he did not include the manuscript material. Writing again to Thompson on 19 February 1850, Griswold noted: "He [Poe] had two or three discourses—one of which was on the Poetic Principle, and another I believe on American Literature—with him in manuscript at Richmond. Do you know anything of them? Mr. [Neilson] Poe, of Baltimore, wrote to me that he would send them for insertion in the volumes of 'Redfield;' but they were never received. In his trunk I suppose, were the corrected copies of his tales &c., of which you write, and of many other materials, including the MSS. of several literary biographies." The only lecture in the trunk was "The Poetic Principle," and in the same letter, Griswold prompts Thompson: "I suggest that you obtain the lecture on the Poetic Principle, and print it as a leading article in the Messenger, paying Miss R. Poe as much as you can for it, sending me the proofs for the book, to come out subsequently. . . ."[29] Thompson did not act on this suggestion, and this lecture too ended up in Griswold's hands. In a 29 July 1850 letter, Bayard Taylor, acting for Griswold, offered the manuscript to George R. Graham for $50 for the benefit of Mrs. Clemm. Graham declined, and it was instead purchased for publication by John Sartain, who printed it in the issue of *Sartain's Magazine* for October 1850, although by then it had already been printed in Willis's *Home Journal* (31 August 1850). The manuscript has long since been lost.[30]

Writing to Griswold on 29 April 1850, Mrs. Clemm complained that she had received information from Moran that "the trunk has been sent to you at your request, and for Miss Poe. I cannot understand this and wish you to let me know if there is any truth in it." Several months later, however, Neilson Poe still seems to have had the trunk, though by now presumably bereft of its most significant items. Rosalie wrote to Griswold on 20 August 1850: "I think and do say that I have been unjustly treated since his death, his trunk is taken from me which he gave to me himself. Mr. Poe of Baltimore has it & will not give it to me until I administer for it. I could not get any one to go my security and then my friend advised me not to administer."[31] A note in the Stanard edition of Poe's letters in the Valentine Museum reads: "when Poe died in Baltimore, most of his estate consisted of a small black leather trunk, bound with iron hoops and containing manuscripts and a few other belongings. The trunk and its key (which was found in the dead poet's pocket) were turned over to his cousin, Neilson Poe, who sent them to Edgar's sister Rosalie at 'Duncan Lodge,' Richmond, the home of the MacKensies, who had adopted and reared her. Rosalie gave the trunk and key to Jane MacKensie Miller, of Matthews County, Virginia, only grandchild of her foster-mother, who, in 1923, conveyed them to the 'Edgar Allan Poe Shrine,' Richmond, where they may now be seen."[32]

If we accept the statement that the trunk pictured in Stanard's book was the one Poe had in Baltimore and not merely part of the baggage left behind in Richmond, Rosalie eventually managed to claim at least that part of her inheritance. Biographers typically presume that the trunk itself was finally sent to Mrs. Clemm. On the event of her death in Baltimore in 1871 (at Church Home and Hospital), it would have passed to Neilson Poe, her only close relative then living nearby, and through him finally found its way to Rosalie. Equally plausible is the idea that Neilson, having sent the important books and MS material to Griswold, never forwarded the trunk itself to Mrs. Clemm at all. Instead, Rosalie finally made the arrangements Neilson required, or he simply gave it to her as a way of making her go away. After the Civil War, Rosalie was living in poverty, trying to support herself by selling pictures of her brother Edgar. She was not very successful at this, even after she cut the price to 50 cents. Having decided to leave Richmond and to try her luck with her Northern relatives, she would have had little use for such a bulky item as the trunk and thus left it behind with the Mackenzies. She spent her final days living with the Sisters of the Epiphany in Washington, D.C., where she taught sewing and calligraphy to help pay for her up keep. Rosalie died on 22 July 1874.[33]

Stanard also touches on the tradition that this trunk is not only the one Poe had with him when he died in Baltimore, but it was the same one he had asked John Allan to send to him in letters of 19 and 20 March 1827. With no documentation for what that trunk looked like, however, or even clear evidence that Allan complied with Poe's request, Stanard's speculation must remain a dubious one. Poe could certainly have acquired another trunk at any time between 1827 and 1849, even an old one, and the idea that these trunks were one and the same is too convenient and romantic to accept without further proof.[34] The idea that Poe had the key in his pocket is also intriguing, but as an essentially undocumented tradition, it is not necessarily reliable. Neilson could just as reasonably have had a new key made by a locksmith in Baltimore. The key is at the Poe Museum in Richmond along with what is, traditionally, Poe's wandering trunk. The trunk is now empty, containing only the hazy dreams of speculation.

"He was still grasping the cane of Dr. Carter, which he had taken in Richmond"

The great quartet of Poe biographies from the first half of the twentieth century—by George E. Woodberry, Hervey Allen, Mary E. Phillips, and Arthur H. Quinn—all tell essentially the same story of Poe's visit on his final day in Richmond to the office of Dr. John F. Carter. They also agree that Poe left his own walking stick and took Dr. Carter's cane, which he still had with him in Baltimore. Woodberry tells us, "It is a trifling but interesting detail that the Malacca cane had stuck to him through all his adventures." Allen says, "A carriage was sent for, and the dying man was carried to the conveyance, still grasping Dr. Carter's Malacca cane that he had brought by mistake from Richmond." Phillips has Poe "delirious but still holding fast to Dr. Carter's cane." Quinn echoes Allen, "He was still grasping the cane of Dr. Carter, which he had taken in Richmond." This happy consensus should come as no great surprise since all four, as I shall show, rely on Dr. Carter's own description of these events, although mostly through Mrs. Susan A. T. Weiss's second-hand account.[35]

The presumed presence of a sword cane with Poe in Baltimore has been used to debunk the possibility that he was physically attacked or robbed. In spite of his calling it a "trifling detail," Woodberry uses it to make this important point: "had he been drugged and made to vote in any violent manner, as was represented, it [the cane] could hardly have failed to be separated from him." Mabbott extends the implications of the cane: "Poe had the malacca cane; would lawless

fellows have failed to purloin so salable an object?" Even Phillips offers, "In a word, perhaps no better-equipped victim was ever offered to hoodlum thievery or political escapades that obtained dominance during election times in many cities of those days."[36] If Poe did not have the cane with him, however, its role becomes a minor curiosity, with no relevance in explaining the circumstances surrounding Poe's death. What remains of interest, however, is how this idea originated and became part of the accepted story.

The cane is first mentioned by Mrs. Weiss in her 1878 article "The Last Days of Edgar Allan Poe":

> Late in the evening he entered the office of Dr. John Carter, and spent an hour in looking over the day's papers; then taking Dr. Carter's cane he went out, remarking that he would step across to Saddler's (a fashionable restaurant) and get supper. From the circumstance of his taking the cane, leaving his own in its place, it is probable that he had intended to return; but at the restaurant he met with some acquaintances who detained him until late, and then accompanied him to the Baltimore boat. According to their account he was quite sober and cheerful to the last, remarking, as he took leave of them, that he would soon be in Richmond again.[37]

In 1902, Dr. Carter published his own account, adding details that the cane was Malacca and contained a sword:

> On this evening he sat for some time talking, while playing with a handsome Malacca sword-cane recently presented to me by a friend, and then, abruptly rising, said, 'I think I will step over to Saddler's (a popular restaurant in the neighborhood) for a few moments,' and so left without any further word, having my cane still in his hand. From this manner of departure I inferred that he expected to return shortly, but did not see him again, and was surprised to learn next day that he had left for Baltimore by the early morning boat. I then called on Saddler, who informed me that Poe had left his house at exactly twelve that night, starting for

> the Baltimore boat in company with several companions whom he had met at Saddler's, and giving as a reason therefor [*sic*] the lateness of the hour and the fact that the boat was to leave at four o'clock. According to Saddler he was in good spirits and sober, though it is certain that he had been drinking and that he seemed oblivious of his baggage, which had been left in his room at the Swan Tavern. These effects were after his death forwarded by one of Mrs. Mackenzie's sons to Mrs. Clemm in New York, and through the same source I received my cane, which Poe in his absent-mindedness had taken away with him."[38]

Dr. Carter's story is partially validated by the unbroken provenance of Poe's walking stick, a simple, dark hardwood shaft, 36.25 inches long, straight and tapered (1 inch at the top to 3/8 of an inch at the bottom), with a silver cap engraved "Poe," augmented by a few modest hints of ornamental scroll work. (The metal tip and eyelet are also silver.) During his final years, illness forced Dr. Carter to move into the home of William Henry Booker. Poe's cane was among Dr. Carter's possessions left to Booker after Carter's death. When Booker himself died, the cane passed to his daughter, Mrs. Charles Harnish of Forest Hill, Richmond. She allowed the Poe Foundation to exhibit the cane in 1923, eventually selling it for $250 to Mrs. Archer Jones, who presented it to the Poe Foundation, where it currently resides. Unfortunately, there has been less interest in Dr. Carter's cane, which has apparently never been displayed, photographed, or described in more detail than the few words in Dr. Carter's article. The idea that Poe took Dr. Carter's cane by mistake presumes that the sticks resembled each other, suggesting that Dr. Carter's cane had a straight handle. If, on the other hand, Dr. Carter's cane had a bent or curved handle, Poe's taking of the cane becomes more difficult to explain.[39]

The creation of the claim that Poe had the cane with him in Baltimore can be traced to Mrs. Weiss, in her *Home Life of Poe* (1907). Accepting the "cooping" theory of Poe's death, she recounts: "The kidnappers had probably exchanged his garments for others as a means of disguise, intending to restore them eventually. They at least did not take from him the handsome malacca cane which was in his grasp when he reached the hospital. This cane was, at Dr. Carter's request, returned to him by Mrs. Clemm, to whom Dr. Moran sent it."[40] Mrs. Weiss's conclusion is the result of connecting three faulty pieces of information. First,

her sequence of events moves Poe from Dr. Carter's office, to Saddler's restaurant across the street, then directly to the boat for Baltimore. Second, she presumes that Poe's baggage was left at the Swan Tavern unintentionally. Third, Dr. Carter's article notes that his cane was returned to him "through the same source," which Mrs. Weiss interprets as Mrs. Clemm (in New York) rather than by the Mackenzies (in Richmond). Mrs. Weiss clearly does not know the identities of the companions who went with Poe to the boat, and could not have verified that they actually accompanied him the whole way or that they did not stop by the Swan Tavern.[41] Given the information she had in making her assessment, chiefly that Poe left the restaurant at midnight and the boat was scheduled to leave at 4 a.m., does it seem reasonable that Poe would have needed to rush to the dock without sufficient time to stop by his room and see to his belongings? Poe's final letters to Mrs. Clemm indicate that he would return to Richmond. Instead of being the result of absent mindedness, it is just as reasonable to conclude that he left his baggage at the Swan Tavern because he did not need all of it for his trip and expected to be back to retrieve it in a few weeks.[42] Carter's statement about the return of his cane suggests that it was left with Poe's baggage in Richmond, and this interpretation is supported by other documentation.

We have two descriptions of Poe as he was found on the street in Baltimore, both from first-hand witnesses to the events. Regrettably, neither of these gentlemen was scrupulous in his recollection, but this testimony is all we have. Snodgrass says:

> His face was haggard, not to say bloated, and unwashed, his hair unkempt, and his whole physique repulsive. His expansive forehead, with its wonderful breadth between the points where the phrenologists locate the organ of ideality—the widest I ever measured—and that full-orbed and mellow, yet soulful eye, for which he was so noticeable when himself, now lusterless and vacant, as shortly I could see, were shaded from view by a rusty, almost brimless, tattered and ribbon-less palmleaf hat. His clothing consisted of a sack-coat of thin and sleezy [*sic*] black alpaca, ripped more or less at several of its seams, and faded and soiled, and pants of a steel-mixed pattern of cassinette, half-worn and badly-fitting, if they could be said to fit at all. He wore neither vest nor neck-cloth, while the bosom of his

> shirt was both crumpled and badly soiled. On his feet were boots of coarse material, and giving no sign of having been blacked for a long time, if at all.

Moran gives a shorter but equally detailed account: "a stained, faded, old bombazine coat, pantaloons of a similar character, a pair of worn-out shoes run down at the heels, and an old straw hat."[43] Although both of these men take care to describe the condition of Poe's shoes, neither mentions what would certainly have been the remarkable incongruity of "a handsome malacca cane." Also, amidst all the apparent discussion of the whereabouts and contents of Poe's trunk and belongings, there is not a single mention of the cane, nor any inquiry about its owner or how to return it.

For me, then, the most reasonable interpretation of the evidence is that the cane was left behind in Richmond, and the rest is merely misunderstanding and myth-making. Poe was fond of supplementing the more obscure portions of his life by inventing dramatic fictions—scholars must be ever vigilant to avoid succumbing to similar temptations.

Notes

1. Exploring the cause or circumstances of Poe's death is not the purpose of this paper. For readers interested in that topic, a brief overview of the relevant issues and a list of sources may be found on the website of the Poe Society of Baltimore: http://www.eapoe.org/geninfo/poedeath.htm. The most convenient examination in book form is J. E. Walsh's *Midnight Dreary*. Walsh's book, however, is not comprehensive, and much good analysis is marred by the apparent need to advance a particular solution, one plagued by at least as many difficulties as others he dismisses.

2. In addition to being editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, Thompson was a member of the Richmond bar, having graduated with a degree in law from the University of Virginia (see B. B. Minor 161). Mrs. Clemm was represented by Sylvanus D. Lewis, the husband of Mrs. Sarah Anna Lewis (see Quinn 657 and 754). *The Works of the Late Edgar Allan Poe* was published by J. S. Redfield. The first two volumes ("Tales" and "Poems and Miscellanies") were available for sale about 10 January 1850, with the third volume ("The Literati") delayed

until September 1850. A fourth and final volume appeared in 1856 ("Arthur Gordon Pym, &c.").

3. Maria Clemm to Neilson Poe, 9 October 1849, printed in Harrison 17: 397-398 and Quinn and Hart 28, with a facsimile. The relevant portion is also quoted in *The Poe Log* 850. The MS is at the Enoch Pratt Free Library.

4. Neilson Poe to Maria Clemm, 11 October 1849, quoted in Woodberry (1885) 346. The full text, without a facsimile, appears in Quinn and Hart 30-31. The letter is also printed by Harrison 17: 400-401. The MS is at the Enoch Pratt Free Library.

5. R. W. Griswold to J. R. Thompson, 25 October 1849, reprinted in Quinn 658. The MS is in the Lilly Library at the University of Indiana. Griswold had already asked George Lippard to look for Poe's valise in Philadelphia, unaware that Poe had eventually found it himself, though lacking the lectures it once contained (see Poe's 14 July 1849 letter to Mrs. Clemm). Lippard wrote to Griswold on 22 November 1849: "I have not been able to obtain any intelligence in regard to the missing valise." The MS in the Boston Public Library, Griswold Collection (Gris. 691). The valise itself was not mentioned afterwards. Poe may have felt that it was insufficiently safe for his manuscripts after his trouble in Philadelphia, in which he lost his lecture notes.

6. J. R. Thompson to R. W. Griswold, 3 November 1849, excerpted by Quinn 656. The MS is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz Collection.

7. J. J. Moran, *Defense of Poe* 64. In a *ca*. 28 August 1849 letter to Mrs. Clemm, Poe said, "I have got the wedding ring—and shall have no difficulty, I think, in getting a dress-coat" (see Ostrom 2: 458).

8. J. J. Moran to Mrs. Maria Clemm, November 15, 1849, quoted in Quinn and Hart 33, with a facsimile. The MS is at the Enoch Pratt Free Library.

9. Neilson Poe to R. W. Griswold, 1 November 1849, quoted in Woodberry (1909) 2: 450-451. The MS is in the New York Public Library, Berg collection.

10. Poe's corrected copies of *Tales* and *The Raven and Other Poems* are now in the collection of the Humanities Research Center, at the University of Texas at

Austin. Thompson's lien came to nothing. His dealings with Griswold, however, remained cordial. Thompson provided Griswold with several Poe items from the *Southern Literary Messenger* for inclusion in the collected edition. In exchange, Griswold may have secured the right for Rosalie to sell copies of the sets, as Maria Clemm did (see Mabbott, *Poems* 1: 521). Whether or not Griswold ever sent these books to Thompson is unknown, but it seems improbable in light of the fact that Griswold added his own name to the front page and subsequent owners of the volumes lived in New York. There is a break between Griswold's ownership and the acquisition of the books by James Lorimer Graham, although it bears the signature of George P. Philes, whom Mabbott notes as "a New York dealer" and "a keen student of Poe" (Mabbott, ed., *The Raven and Other Poems* xix). After Graham's death in 1876, his widow presented them to the Century Club in New York City. The volumes were purchased by their present owner sometime between 1942 and 1968.

11. Poe's heavily annotated copy of *Eureka* is now in the private collection of Mrs. Susan Jaffe Tane. How it was acquired by Bishop John Fletcher Hurst, president of Drew Theological Seminary, is unknown, although it must be noted that Hurst owned a number of significant Poe manuscripts, all presumably from Griswold's library. Hurst's collection was sold at auction in 1905. It was purchased by Stephen H. Wakeman, then passed through the hands of A. S. W. Rosenbach and Mrs. George Blumenthal, remaining for many years in the collection of H. Bradley Martin. When the Martin collection was sold at auction in 1990, the book was acquired by the 19th Century Shop in Baltimore, and ultimately purchased by the present owner.

12. Poe to J. R. Lowell, 2 July 1844 (Ostrom 1: 258). In this letter, Poe is referring to his *Poems* (1831) and *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane and Minor Poems* (1829), ignoring the earlier *Tamerlane* as not officially released.

13. Poe's altered copy of *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane and Minor Poems* (1829) is in the New York Public Library, Berg collection. There is a gap between Griswold and its next documented owner, George Henry Moore. Moore's library was sold at auction on February 8, 1894, with the book fetching $75 (item 1934). It was apparently purchased by William Nelson, whose own library included extraordinary Poe items and was sold on 5 May 5 1903, where the book had increased in value to $1,825. (In the auction catalog, item 961, it is incorrectly assumed that Poe used this volume in preparing the *Poems* of 1831. Instead, he originally

borrowed it to use in preparing extra material to fill out *The Raven and Other Poems* of 1845, see Mabbott, *Poems* 1: 577.) Stephen H. Wakeman acquired it on 25 November 1909 for $2,900. It was sold for the same price to an unknown buyer in 1924. By 1942, the book had entered the Berg collection.

14. Miss Sarah H. Heywood to J. H. Ingram, 24 December 1874: "It was found in the trunk which was forwarded to Mrs. Clemm from Baltimore, soon after his death" (MS at the University of Virginia, Ingram Collection, quoted by Miller, *Building Poe Biography* 156). Unfortunately, in spite of J. C. Miller's claim, this letter does not settle "once and for all the long-standing and ridiculously bitter controversy of what finally became of Poe's trunk." Although Miss Heywood says "it," which would suggest one volume, Ingram identifies the books as "the 2-vol. Edition of *Tales* of 1839" in a 18 January 1877 letter to Mrs. Whitman, printed in Miller, *Poe's Helen Remembers* 468. Although the title page bears the date of 1840, *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* was published in December 1839, as established by Poe's 6 December 1839 letter to John C. Cox (see Ostrom 1: 122-123). The *Phantasy Pieces* may be the volumes mentioned in Mrs. Clemm's 23 October 1849 letter to Griswold: "in looking over a trunk I have found two books of my dear Eddie's which I think important for you to have." The MS is in the Philadelphia Free Public Library, Gimbel Collection. In preparing volume I of his edition, Griswold appears to have used copy from at least the second of these specially marked volumes for "Metzengerstein" and "The Unparallelled Adventures of One Hans Pfaall" (see Mabbott, *Tales & Sketches* 2: 18 and Pollin, *Imaginary Voyages*, 1: 385).

15. Without noting a source, Mabbott comments about Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies* in his "Annals" (*Poems* 1: 568). According to Silverman, the copy of *Irish Melodies* is in the Humanities Research Center, the University of Texas at Austin, with a note from Carter stating that Poe left it in his office (518). A careful search of the HRC collection by the Curator of Manuscripts, however, found neither the book or note, nor any other record of either.

16. Sadly, the Bible given to the Bronx Historical Society seems to have vanished. It is shown in Phillips 2: 1545, but a recent inquiry failed to locate the book at either the cottage or among the items deposited in the New York Public Library. The gift to Mrs. Cromwell is recorded by Phillips in the caption to the photograph and on pages 2: 1543-1544. Mrs. Cromwell also owned a rocking chair said to have belonged to Poe (2: 1544).

17. In 1853, several changes were made to the set for the sake of creating a more integrated presentation: the title page of volume three was modified to conform with the earlier two volumes, Griswold's "Memoir" was moved to volume I, and "The Poetic Principle" was moved to volume II. For "A Reviewer Reviewed," see Mabbott, *Tales & Sketches* 3: 1377. The beautiful MS was given to the Berg collection of the New York Public Library on 7 October 2000 by Burton and Alice Pollin. Fragments of "Marginalia" exist in several collections, but most of these are from the Stedman roll MS (Savoye 3: 52-72). The surviving portions of "Literary America" are spread around in various collections, often misidentified as being early drafts of "The Literati of New York City," of which they are actually revisions.

18. The RCL numbers are from J. W. Ostrom's "Revised Check List." The twelve letters written to Poe by G. W. Eveleth (RCL-599, RCL-606, RCL-617, RCL-634, RCL-657, RCL-668, RCL-674, RCL-695, RCL-702, RCL-717, RCL-775, and RCL-807a) are collectively item 112 in the Bangs & Co. auction catalog, 11 April 1896, where it is noted that they were found in Poe's trunk after his death. For whatever reason, one other letter Eveleth wrote to Poe on 27 July 1847 (RCL-686) was not part of this set. In a letter of 26 June 1876, E. L. Didier wrote to Mrs. S. H. Whitman from Baltimore: "Mr. Neilson Poe, of this city, told me he found in Edgar's trunk, after his death, a package of love letters, addressed by Mrs. S. to E. A. P. They were as foolishly sentimental as those of a love sick school girl. The letters were sent to Mrs. S." The MS of Didier's letter is in the Lilly Library. No further record of Mrs. Shelton's letters is known. The letter from Thompson to Griswold is noted in another letter from Thompson, sent to Griswold on 10 October 1849: "When poor Poe left here, some three weeks since, I gave to him a letter which he promised me to deliver into your hands; but as the papers state that he had been seven days in the hospital at Baltimore before his unhappy death, I make sure that he did not reach Philadelphia and by consequence that you did not receive the letter. I therefore write you again, substantially, what I wrote before" (MS in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz Collection, excerpted in *The Poe Log* 854). Thompson's letter, and presumably the one he gave to Poe, chiefly concerns some biographical material about himself to be used in a subsequent edition of Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America*.

19. Whitty, *Poems* 199. Writing on 18 September 1849, Poe tells Mrs. Clemm, "Be sure & preserve all the printed scraps I have sent you & keep up my file of

the Lit. World" (see Ostrom 2: 461).

20. Sending her copy on ivory to Ingram on 16 May 1875, Mrs. Shew-Houghton warned: "Don't let the family (Poe family) know of your having this picture at present and try to get the one Edgar had with him when he died" (Miller, *Building Poe Biography* 136). Mrs. Shew-Houghton to Ingram, *ca.* 15 April 1875, "I was told by Mr. Chapin, (who was an old resident of Baltimore) that Poe's satchel was given up by the Railroad Company, as he left it in the train, being entirely mad, that this portrait was in the bag and a slip of paper pasted upon the back, 'My adored Mother! E. A. Poe, New York' with date of his departure from N. Y." (Miller, *Building Poe Biography* 131-132). On recovering the valise, Poe notes (in a 14 July 1849 letter to Maria Clemm) that the lectures were taken but makes no mention of the portrait. Although Michael Deas questions the authenticity of the miniature of Elizabeth Poe now in the Philadelphia Free Public Library, Gimbel Collection, he accepts that Poe owned a portrait of his mother painted by Thomas Sully (*Portraits* 185, notes 114 and 117).

21. See Rose and Savoye, *Such Friends As These*. It is clear that in addition to keeping his list of subscribers, Poe also used this book as a supply for blank paper when the need arose. It is also possible, of course, that Poe kept a separate list on this occasion.

22. Bishop Fitzgerald's information on Poe is given by Harrison 1: 322. Poe to Mrs. Clemm, 18 September 1849 (see Ostrom 2: 461).

23. The boot hooks and the trunk are shown in a photograph in Allen (facing 2: 839).

24. See Moran, *Defense of Poe* (1885) 64. In her 1904 "Reminiscences," Weiss states, "on the authority of Dr. Carter, . . . [Poe] did not send for his baggage at the Swan, and this explains a point which has been much commented upon by his biographers, who assert that his baggage was stolen from him in Baltimore. It was, after his death, forwarded to Mrs. Clemm in New York by Mr. John Mackenzie" (445). Woodberry makes a similar error, but substitutes John Thompson for John Mackenzie—"He . . . had left his trunk and baggage at the hotel" (2: 341)—and elaborates in the notes that in writing to Griswold, Neilson Poe was "referring to Poe's trunk, which had been forwarded from Richmond by Thompson" (2: 450-451). Allen says, "The key to his trunk was found in his

clothes, but he could not remember what had become of the trunk. He seems to have left it at the *Old Swan Tavern* in Richmond" (2: 845). Thompson, obviously, would not have given up control of the trunk if he had been able to obtain possession of it. Even if the trunk had been in Richmond, there was no reason to send it to Baltimore when Mrs. Clemm was in New York. Neilson was involved purely because he happened to live in the town where Poe died and where the trunk was found. A few decades after Poe's death, only Dr. Moran remained alive to tell of the search for the trunk, and he openly reveled in the telling of the tale. In 1875, Moran had already given a slightly different story: "I had meantime learned from him [Poe], and afterward from the porter at the hotel on Pratt Street, then Bradshaw's, now called Maltby House, that he arrived there on the evening of the 5th . . . . He had left his trunk at the hotel in Baltimore. . . . . A short time before his death I received his trunk from the hotel, as per order, and put it in the care of Mr. Neilson Poe, for his mother-in-law, Mrs. Maria Clemm" (Moran, "Official Memorandum," 1875). Different yet again is Dr. Moran's earliest comment, in a 15 November 1849 letter to Mrs. Clemm: "[Poe's] answers where incoherent & unsatisfactory. He told me, however, he had a wife in Richmond (which I have since learned was not the fact) that he did not know when he left that city or what had become of his trunk of clothing" (from a facsimile of the letter in Quinn and Hart, 32-34). A 21 December 1877 letter from Moran is quoted in *American Book Prices Current* (1932) 764 [bottom]: "I can give you the points of fact as given to me by the lamented poet [Edgar Allan Poe], and as I have not seen the remarks or language of Neilson Poe in print or any where, I should be glad to have the reference so that I may possess myself of it at once. I am anxious to hear from Mr. N. Poe. He took possession of the Poe's trunk containing his manuscripts and other effects."

25. N. H. Morison to J. H. Ingram, 27 November 1874, reprinted in Miller, *Building Poe Biography* 44-46.

26. Maria Clemm to John J. Moran, 2 March 1850. The MS is in the Philadelphia Free Public Library, Gimbel Collection. In printing this letter in his 1885 *Defense of Poe*, Moran makes a small but significant change, the original "a letter from Neilson Poe saying that he had in his possession my son's trunk" becomes "a letter from Neilson Poe saying that you had placed in his possession my son's trunk" (16-17). Moran's alteration specifically credits him with something which Mrs. Clemm did not do herself. About 1886, William Hand Browne, Ingram's chief contact in Baltimore, concluded that "Dr. Moran's account, of

the last moments of Poe, is largely apocryphal. His memory was indistinct and he drew upon his imagination." (Browne's comment is written in his own hand on page 428 of his copy of Ingram's one-volume edition of Poe's biography, in the collection of Jeffrey A. Savoye.) For a more extended comment on Moran's general unreliability, see Bandy. For R. W. Griswold to J. R. Thompson, 25 October 1849, see footnote 5. For N. Poe to R. W. Griswold, 1 November 1849, see footnote 9.

27. Neilson Poe married Josephine Emily Clemm (1808-1889) on 30 November 1831. She and Virginia shared the same father, William Clemm, Jr. (1779-1826), but had different mothers. William Clemm married Harriet Poe (1785-1815) on 1 May 1840. After Harriet's death, he married Maria Poe (1790-1871), Harriet's cousin, on 13 July 1817 (see *The Poe Log* xx).

28. Mabbott's comment is from *Poems* 1: 581. Whitty and Rindfleish make a similar observation in Thompson, *The Genius and Character of EAP* 54. An article detailing the role of these volumes in the evolution of Griswold's edition is in preparation.

29. R W. Griswold to J. R. Thompson, 19 February 1850, quoted in Thompson, *The Genius and Character of EAP* 55. The MS of Griswold's letter is in the New York Public Library, Berg collection. Griswold is being somewhat duplicitous here since, as I have already documented, he must have had Poe's copy of *The Raven and Other Poems*. Note that Griswold, while not admitting that he possesses the books, mentions but does not ask about them. He is no longer interested in these books—his focus is on the lectures. Griswold's caution may be partly explained by Thompson's 11 November 1849 letter to Griswold: "By the way, I have a lien on a copy of his 'Tales & Poems,' which contained full marginal notes & corrections in his own hand-writing. He was to give it to me, after a new edition had been published. If it has come into your hands, you will oblige me by sending it to me, after your labors are concluded. Pray recollect this" (excerpted in Quinn 657, from the MS in the Gratz Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania). For the lectures, see note 5.

30. "The Poetic Principle" appeared in *Sartain's Magazine*, 7 (October 1850): 231-239, as "From the unpublished manuscript." In his *Reminiscences of a Very Old Man*, Sartain says, "Poe received thirty dollars for his article on *The*

Poetic Principle" (220). The amount may be correct, but clearly Sartain in mistaken in saying that Poe received any payment directly. Printing "The Poetic Principle" in *The Home Journal*, 31 August 1850, p. 1 cols. 1-6, Willis introduces the text: "From advance sheets of the new volume by Mr. Poe, in the press of Mr. Redfield, we present the following admirable essay embodying the critic's theory of poetry. It appropriately introduces his discussions of the individual merit of many of our prominent authors. This concluding volume of Poe's works, making some six hundred pages, is entitled 'The Literati,' and will be published in about three weeks." Bayard Taylor's 29 July 1850 letter to G. R. Graham was printed by Wermuth (78). The MS is at the University of Virginia. The relevant portion reads: "Would you like to have for your October number, an unpublished article by Poe, on 'The Poetic Principle?' I can get it for you. It will make about 6 pages of the Magazine; $50 are asked for it, for the benefit of Mrs. Clemm. I have the proof-sheets of it (the book will appear about the middle of October) and will send them if you want the article and the terms suit you." In printing their *Census of First Editions and Source Materials by EAP*, Charles Heartman and Kenneth Rede list a fragment of "The Poetic Principle" as being in the collection of Johns Hopkins University (3: 11), but this item is actually from Poe's article "Notes Upon English Verse."

31. The MS for the 29 April 1850 letter from Mrs. Clemm to Griswold is in the Boston Public Library, Griswold Collection (Gris. 194), printed in full by Quinn 668. Rosalie Poe to R. W. Griswold, 20 August 1850 (quoted in Bangs & Co. auction catalog, 11 April 1896, item 106). The MS is in the Free Library of Philadelphia, Gimbel Collection. Mabbott states: "she [Rosalie] was unable to put up the money required to take out letters of administration in Virginia" ("Annals," *Poems* 1: 571). Rosalie's "friend" was obviously J. R. Thompson.

32 . A picture of the trunk appears in Stanard, facing page 182, with the longer description on page 179. Also stated on page 179, in a footnote, is the comment: "The whereabouts of the trunk was traced and its history verified by Mr. J. H. Whitty. It was procured by Mrs. Archer Jones who, together with her husband, founded the Edgar Allan Poe Shrine." A similar photograph appears in Phillips 2: 1565.

33. Silverman 439, for example, speculates that Mrs. Clemm received the trunk through Griswold. For an earlier statement, from Mrs. Weiss, see note 24. Allen says only that "Its subsequent history is interesting," referring in a footnote to

Mrs. Stanard's account (2: 839, footnote 922). While remaining somewhat dubious about the precise provenance of the trunk, Walsh summarizes: "Though the actual trunk when found had first been sent to Mrs. Clemm in Lowell in 1850, it is possible that it later come into Rosalie's possession" (158). Quinn is more cautious, stating only that "the actual transit of the trunk is still a matter of dispute" (656, footnote 29). Concerning Neilson's inheritance, Phillips notes, "By her [Mrs. Clemm's] last request her papers and records went to her cousin, Judge Neilson Poe. . . ." (2: 1591). Most of the information about Rosalie is given by Weiss in *The Home Life of Poe* 212-218.

34. The implication that these trunks are the same is first made in Stanard 179.

35. Woodberry 2: 343; Allen 2: 845; Phillips 2: 1502; Quinn 639. Gill's biography appeared too early to make use of Mrs. Weiss's article, although he had apparently made liberal use of material she sent him from the book she had hoped to prepare. In his 2-volume biography of 1880, Ingram merely quotes the story from Mrs. Weiss's article. Although Dr. Carter appears in Woodberry's 1885 biography, there is no mention of the cane. The description of Poe's visit to Dr. Carter's office is given by Woodberry 2: 341-342. Although usually careful with his documentation, Allen gives no source for this information, nor does he give a source a few pages earlier: "Walking along Broad Street on his way back from Mrs. Shelton's, he stopped in at Dr. John Carter's office where he read the newspaper and left, taking, by mistake, the doctor's Malacca cane and leaving his own" (2: 840). Just before this paragraph, Allen mentions that "during the afternoon, Miss Susan Talley was visited by Rosalie, bearing a note from Poe in which he enclosed the final lines *For Annie,*" which is clearly from Mrs. Weiss, who was Susan Talley before she married. A general footnote states "J. H. Whitty prints this information in his *Memoir* to the *Complete Poems*," but this would account only for the name of Blakely, and his recollection was that Poe was "quite sober." On page 2: 832 a footnote does give a reference to Weiss's *Scribner's* article, which must be Allen's source. Perhaps most curious is the fact that Phillips, relating the story of the cane (2: 1494), directly quotes Dr. Carter without so much as a footnote. Other footnotes credit Mrs. Weiss's article from *Scribner's*, and her 1907 book, but no mention is made of Dr. Carter's article, which must be the source of the quote since it is not given by Weiss. Quinn repeats the story on page 636, mentioning Weiss's *Scribner's* article, but two pages later states that Poe was still grasping the cane, without attributing a specific source. The various sources listed by Quinn in footnote 53

on page 639 do not refer to the articles by Mrs. Weiss or Dr. Carter. Mrs. Weiss, however, is credited in footnote 16 on page 622, but with the very unflattering comment that her information, "except where based on her own first-hand knowledge," is "untrustworthy" and that she was "incapable of judging evidence."

36. Woodberry 2: 343; Mabbott, *Poems* 1: 569, footnote 8; Phillips 2: 1495.

37. Weiss, "The Last Days of EAP" 716, column 2.

38. Carter 565-566. I am indebted for my own awareness of Dr. Carter's article to Dwight Thomas and David K. Jackson, who note it in the bibliography of their invaluable *The Poe Log* 857. Although Weiss and Carter record the name as "Saddler's," Whitty and most subsequent biographers give "Sadler's."

39. I am grateful to Chris Semtner of the Poe Foundation for information about Poe's cane. This cane was not the only one Poe had owned. In his *Life of Poe*, T. H. Chivers comments: "When I first became acquainted with him [about 1845], he used to carray [*sic*] a crooked-headed hickory walking-cane in his hand whenever we went out to walk. As he did not have this cane the very first time that we went out togather [*sic*]—but purchased it immediately afterwards—I presumed, at the time, that he had gotten it because I had one—as it was precisely like mine. This he flourished, as he walked, with considerable grace—particularly so when compared to a man who had never been in the habit of carrying a cane" (Davis 53-54). Dr. Carter's cane is not currently located, but I presume that it passed down through the same chain of owners. It may still be held by descendants. Malacca was the preferred material for the shaft of canes and, being hollow, was ideal for hiding a sword. The use of bamboo, malacca, rattan, and similar materials explains the origin of the term "cane" for such walking sticks. Dr. Carter was careful to make this distinction, although the terms have long been used interchangeably. Some canes were very plain, others elaborately carved. Ornamental devices included a wide range of contrasting woods, ivory, horn, and metal, with silver being a favorite. The sword portion, usually measuring about 27 inches in length, was typically steel, either a flat blade or more commonly triangular and foil-like. A few had blades made of wood rather than steel. The usual mechanism for locking the blade in place was a ringed collar at the base of the handle, twisted into a groove in the top of the shaft, reinforced with metal in the better models. Assuming that one was able to work the locking mechanism and to pull the blade from the shaft, a sword cane could prove a

formidable weapon in the right hands. Even canes without the added potential of hidden weapons were used for self-defense (see Barton-Wright). Most people, of course, hoped that merely having such a weapon would prevent the need to actually use it. For a number of examples of sword canes and the use of walking sticks for defense, as well as a wide variety of walking sticks of a more benign sort, (see Snyder 216-236 and Dike 347-349).

40. Weiss, *Home Life of Poe* 207.

41. Mrs. Weiss's source is Mr. Saddler, the proprietor of the restaurant. Whitty identifies the two companions as "J. M. Blakley and other friends" (lxxxiii). In *Midnight Dreary*, Walsh also concludes that Dr. Carter's statement has been misinterpreted, unfortunately relating this widely misunderstood information only in a footnote and mistakenly attributing the error to Woodberry (176). Although made independently, Walsh's statement is the earliest record of this observation to have been documented in print, and therefore must be acknowledged.

42. Poe to Mrs. Clemm, 10 September 1849: "[Elmira pro]poses for me to go, immediately after the marriage, to one of her houses—the one she is in now—and send for you to join us at once—there we will remain, only for the present, until we can make what other arrangements we please. So hold yourself in readiness as well as you can, my own darling mother—but do not sell off or anything of that kind yet, if you can avoid it—for 'there is many a slip between the cup & the lip'—& I confess that my heart sinks at the idea of this marriage. I think, however, that it will certainly take place & that immediately." The MS is in Fales Library, Robins Collection, NYU. In his final letter to Mrs. Clemm, 18 September 1849, Poe repeats his plan to marry Mrs. Shelton: "*If possible I* will get married before I start—but there is no telling" (see Ostrom 2: 461).

43. Snodgrass 284 and Moran, *Defense of Poe* 59. The series of recollections by Snodgrass and Moran may demonstrate a troubling secret rarely admitted by biographers. Even though both of these men are first-hand witnesses and are theoretically relating independent recollections, their accounts suggest an interesting example of sources being informed by other sources. In writing his account for *Beadle's Monthly*, Snodgrass recounts the story of Moran asking Poe about friends, with Poe replying "my best friend would be he who would take a pistol and blow out these d—d wretched brains!"(285). Snodgrass was not actually

present for this exchange, of course, and Griswold's "Memoir" of Poe says little more than that he was taken to the hospital and died there. Clearly, Snodgrass relies on some other source, presumably Dr. Moran, whom Snodgrass never mentions by name but flatteringly describes as the hospital's "intelligent and kindly resident physician." Although he somewhat embellishes the quotation and alters the context, it is essentially the same as the account given in Dr. Moran's letter to Mrs. Clemm. It is possible that Snodgrass had direct contact with Moran, but it seems just as likely that he had access to or a copy of Moran's letter to Mrs. Clemm, and that he elaborated in the matter of details. Use of this letter might also explain Snodgrass's error of Poe being found on November 1 rather than October 3. Moran's letter is dated 15 November 1849 and refers to Mrs. Clemm's letter of "the 9th Inst." It is unclear if Dr. Moran's account is one of "the numerous and strangely contradictory memoirs of Mr. Poe that I have preserved" mentioned by Snodgrass, of which he further notes that in writing the article "there lies one before me" (284). If this letter is a source for Snodgrass, he failed to realize the amount of time that had passed between Poe's death and Dr. Moran's delayed communication with Mrs. Clemm. The evolving nature of Moran's story is better documented, and more obvious to anyone attempting an evaluation of these sources. In his 1875 "Official Memoranda of the Death of Edgar Allan Poe," Moran gives no description of Poe's clothing, but his 1885 book suddenly offers an exceedingly detailed account, which agrees with Snodgrass to a degree which makes one suspect that Moran had obtained a copy of the *Beadle's Monthly* article. It may have been brought to his attention as a result of his lecture tour (beginning in the late 1870s) on Poe's final days.

Works Cited

[Given the bibliographical complexities involved with his issues, we asked Mr. Savoye, who was kind enough to comply, to provide the list of citations below– The Editors.]

Allen, Hervey. *Israfel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe*. 2 vols. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926; reprinted in 1927. [Beginning in 1934, one-volume editions have the same contents but follow different pagination.]

Bandy, William T. "Dr. Moran and the Poe-Reynolds Myth." *Myths and Reality*. Edited by Benjamin F. Fisher. Baltimore: The Edgar Allan Poe Society of

Baltimore, 1987.

Bangs & Co. Auction catalog. 11 April 1896.

Barton-Wright, Edward William. "Self-defence with a Walking-stick: The Different Methods of Defending Oneself with a Walking-Stick or Umbrella when Attacked under Unequal Conditions." *Pearson's Magazine* January and February 1901: 35-44 and 130-139.

Carter, Dr. John F. "Edgar Poe's Last Night in Richmond" *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* 70 (November 1902): 562-566.

Davis, Richard Beale, ed., *Chivers' Life of Poe*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1952.

Deas, Michael. *Portraits and Daguerreotypes of Edgar Allan Poe*. Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1989.

Dike, Catherine. *Canes in the United States: Illustrated Mementoes of American History, 1607-1953*. Ladue, MO: Cane Curios Press, 1994; second edition, Louisville: Minerva Books, 2003.

Harrison, James A. *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. 17 vols. New York: T. Y Crowell, 1902. [Volumes I and XVII, were reprinted, respectively as volumes I and II of *Life and Letters of Edgar Allan Poe*, 1903, with the same pagination].

Heartman, Charles and Kenneth Rede. *Census of First Editions and Source Materials by Edgar Allan Poe in American Collections*. 3 vols. Metuchen, NJ: American Book Collector, 1932. [Volume 3 was printed in a smaller run than volumes 1-2 and was chiefly distributed to libraries and collectors owning at least one item listed.]

Mabbott, Thomas Ollive, ed. *The Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*. Volumes II-III: *Tales and Sketches*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1978.

Mabbott, Thomas Ollive, ed., *The Raven and Other Poems*. New York: Facsimile Text Society, 1942.

Miller, John Carl. *Building Poe Biography*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1977.

—. *Poe's Helen Remembers*. Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 1979.

Minor, Benjamin Blake. *The Southern Literary Messenger: 1834-1864*. New York: Neale, 1905.

Moran, Dr. John J. "Official Memoranda of the Death of Edgar Allan Poe." *New York Herald*, 28 October 1875. [Reprinted in the 1876 edition of Poe's works by Widdleton.]

—. *A Defense of Edgar Allan Poe*. (Washington, DC: W. F. Boogher, 1885.

Ostrom, John Ward, ed. *The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe*. New York: Gordian, 1966.

—. "Revised Check List of the Correspondence of Edgar Allan Poe." *Studies in the American Renaissance 1981*. Ed. Joel Myerson. Boston: Twayne, 1981: 169-255.

Phillips, Mary Elizabeth. *Edgar Allan Poe—The Man*. 2 vols. Chicago: John C. Winston, 1926.

Pollin, Burton R., ed. *The Collected Writings of Edgar Allan Poe*. Volume I: *The Imaginary Voyages*. Boston: Twayne, 1981.

Quinn, Arthur Hobson. *Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography*. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1941.

Quinn, Arthur Hobson and Richard H. Hart. *Edgar Allan Poe Letters and Documents in the Enoch Pratt Free Library*. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1941.

Rose, Alexander G., III and Jeffrey A. Savoye. *Such Friends As These: Edgar Allan Poe's List of Subscribers and Contributors to His Dream Magazine*. Baltimore: Edgar Allan Poe Society, 1986.

Sartain, John. *Reminiscences of a Very Old Man*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1899.

Savoye, Jeffrey. "A 'Lost' Roll of Marginalia." *The Edgar Allan Poe Review* 3.2 (Fall 2002): 52-72.

Silverman, Kenneth. *Mournful Never-ending Remembrance*. New York: HarperCollins, 1991.

Snodgrass, Dr. Joseph Evans. "The Facts of Poe's Death and Burial." *Beadle's Monthly* 3 (May 1867): 283-287.

Snyder, Jeffrey B. *Canes and Walking Sticks: A Stroll Through Time and Place*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 2004.

Stanard, Mary Newton. *Edgar Allan Poe Letters Until Now Unpublished in the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1925.

Thomas, Dwight and David K. Jackson. *The Poe Log: A Documentary Life of Edgar Allan Poe 1809-1849*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1987.

Thompson, John R. *The Genius and Character of Edgar Allan Poe*. Edited by J. H. Whitty and J. H. Rindfleisch. Privately printed, 1929.

Walsh, John E. *Midnight Dreary: The Mysterious Death of Edgar Allan Poe*. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1998).

Weiss, Mrs. Susan Archer Talley. "The Last Days of Edgar A. Poe." *Scribner's Magazine* 15 (March 1878): 707-716.

—. "Reminiscences of Edgar Allan Poe." *The Independent*. 56 (25 August 1904)1010-1014.

—. *The Home Life of Poe*. New York: Broadway Publishing, 1907.

Wermuth, Paul C., ed. *Selected Letters of Bayard Taylor*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 1997.

Whitty, James Howard, ed. *Complete Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911.

Woodberry, George Edward. *Edgar Allan Poe*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1885 (from the American Men of Letters Series).

—-. *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe, Personal and Literary*. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909.

Lawrence Frank. *Victorian Detective Fiction and the Nature of Evidence: The Scientific Investigations of Poe, Dickens, and Doyle.* Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. 272 pp. $69.95.

Beginning in the late eighteenth century, just as "natural philosophy" was being reinvented as modern "science," there emerged in Western Europe a whole cluster of disciplines devoted to the study of origins. Jacques Cuvier inferred the anatomy of extinct species from excavated remnants of bone. Charles Lyell read in the mineral and fossil records the deep history of the earth's crust. Pierre Simon Laplace envisioned the universe itself born of a gaseous nebula and evolving over unimaginable eons. Philologists and archeologists pondered over ancient texts and ruins, seeking to unlock the mysteries of the human past. These disciplines not only shared the methodological premise of reconstructing the past by means of surviving relics and remains, they also held in common certain basic assumptions about what the world was like: they assumed (1) that the material universe was fluid rather than static, constantly if imperceptibly evolving over vast periods of time and (2) that both the present structure of things and the changes hinted at by the geologic record could be explained naturalistically—by the action of predictable natural forces through the ages instead of by special creation or other divine intervention. According to Lawrence Frank's *Victorian detective Fiction and the Nature of Evidence: The Scientific Investigations of Poe, Dickens, and Doyle*, the metaphors, methods, and assumptions characterizing these emergent disciplines are important contexts for understanding the detective fictions of Poe, Dickens, and Doyle.

In positioning Victorian detective fiction beside these evolutionary sciences, Frank offers an alternative to the Foucauldian approach to this genre, with its emphasis on law enforcement, criminality, and the management of social power. According to Frank, the challenges being negotiated in these texts are epistemological and methodological rather than sociopolitical, having to do with how to make sense of a world governed by chance as opposed to intelligent design—a world, moreover, that is constantly changing, with no guarantee that the evidence needed to unravel the mysteries of the past will be preserved and made present to the investigator.

The section on Poe begins with a consideration of "The Murders in the Rue Morgue." Citing Bakhtin, Frank reads the story as participating in a conversa-

tion among seemingly autonomous texts. Just as Dupin deduces the narrator's train of thought by tracing the sequence of his gestures and facial expressions, Frank reconstructs an intertextual conversation from selected images and allusions. Dupin's passing comment about Nichols' *View of the Architecture of the Heavens* (an 1837 English popularization of Laplace's nebular hypothesis) provides the initial clue. Dupin's reference to this radically secular and materialist theory of the cosmos sets the stage for the tragedy to follow, in which a bizarre double murder turns out to be a random act of impersonal violence. The fact that Dupin consults Cuvier's *Animal Kingdom* for information about orangutans further helps to locate the story within this "conversation." Structural parallels between the orangutan and humans were among the instances Cuvier cited to support a theory of evolutionary development of animals from "primitive" to "advanced" forms. Frank also hears echoes of Lord Monboddo in Poe's choice of the orangutan as his agent of crime. More explicitly than Cuvier, this eccentric and controversial eighteenth-century Scotsman argued for an evolutionary chain connecting the orangutan, primitive man, and the civilized European. What emerges from Frank's intertextual reading is a drama in which the orangutan represents the workings of a thoroughly secular, directionless cosmos, along with all the horrors of what it might mean to live in such a world, while Dupin becomes the model for the well-adapted man, an archaeologist sifting through fragmentary and misleading clues to establish retrospectively some sort of logic for otherwise random and frightening events.

In Frank's reading of "The Gold Bug," Legrand figures as a compulsive seeker of intelligibility in "a universe of pure contingency" (44). According to Frank, however, Legrand's successful recovery of the treasure represents not so much the triumph of intellect over the mysteries of existence as a "non-rational *will* to meaning" on the part of the naturalist/archaeologist/cryptographer (45). The writings of Champollion (a decipherer of the Rosetta Stone) and other contemporary works on Egyptian hieroglyphics provide discursive contexts for Legrand's endeavors. Ultimately, however, Frank sees the story as taking a subversive position with regard to these works. The occurrences that Legrand strings into a causal chain leading to treasure are so farfetched, and the irrational, compulsive nature of his quest so transparent, that the adventure stands as "an ironic commentary" on "the reconstructive disciplines that work with ambiguous evidence from the past to satisfy the desires of an interpreter in the present" (54).

The Dickens novels Frank considers in part two of his study, *Bleak House* and *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*, are filled with detectives, relic-hunters, and other gropers after roots and origins. From Tulkinghorn's pursuit of Lady Dedlock's secrets, to Krook laboriously puzzling among his hoarded documents, to Crisparkle diving into the weir to retrieve Drood's watch and pin, these novels abound with characters bent on deciphering, excavating, or otherwise reconstructing a plausible account of a mysterious past. Drawing on a wider range of examples than in the Poe section, Frank demonstrates the extent to which Dickens's novels embrace the images and ideas of historical or "palaetiological" sciences of the nineteenth century. Less compelling, however, is the discussion of the specific methods of inquiry the novels apply to their abundance of nebular mysteries, archaeological relics, and lost origins. Though Frank claims, especially in the *Edwin Drood* chapter, that Dickens's detective fiction does replicate the "methodology" of the sciences he has been discussing, his conclusion falls back upon arguments put forth in the Poe chapters: the novels reveal more about the uncertainty and anxiety accompanying the emerging worldview than they do about the practice of solving mysteries.

In the three chapters of the Doyle section, Frank continues his project of connecting various fictional hints and allusions with documents from contemporary science. He reads Sherlock Holmes's attention to facial expression and body language, for example, in light of Darwin's "A Study in the Expressions of Emotion." Frank also sees the Holmes stories, especially *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, as dramatizing the nineteenth-century conflict between theistic and secular historicist perspectives on natural and human events (as reflected in characters' various interpretations of the hound). While Holmes's insistent materialism seems to prevail—the hound is just a flesh-and-blood dog, not a supernatural demon—Frank points out certain lacunae in Holmes's resolution of the mystery that destabilize Holmes's solution, most notably, what happens to Stapleton after his murder plot is uncovered. Insofar as lack of evidence is a hazard to which all historical reconstruction is subject, Holmes reveals with particular clarity the dilemma of the nineteenth-century historical scientist, intently scrutinizing the fragmentary evidence, hoping that vital clues will have somehow escaped the effacing operations of weather, time, and human blundering.

In the third chapter of the Doyle section, Frank explores the final frontier of materialist science—human consciousness—and finds in the image of "the man

on the tor" the limit to Doyle's embrace of this materialism. To many of Doyle's contemporaries, even those willing to accept the thought of a universe without God, the most unsettling implication of scientific materialism was the notion that human consciousness itself may be nothing more than mechanical/chemical processes evolving by mere accident. At the far end of the chain extending from the primordial cloud of nebulous gases is the human mind and spirit imaged as fortuitous arrangements of atoms. Holmes, of course, with his unswerving commitment to empirical evidence and rational inference as his principal crime-solving tools, marks himself as a secular-minded man of his time. In *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, Frank claims, the image of Holmes looking out meditatively from his post atop a crag specifically evokes the evolutionary vision informing nineteenth-century scientific materialism, insofar as the primeval Grimpen mire and the expanse of Neolithic ruins surrounding the crag both represent the sort of historically rich landscape to which scientists turned for insight on evolutionary processes. But the man upon a mountaintop pondering the mysteries of existence is also a profoundly Romantic image. Frank finds echoes in this scene not just of Darwin and Huxley but also of Shelley and Wordsworth. Moreover, Frank draws attention to Holmes's "scientific use of the imagination." The phrase Holmes cites to explain his deductive method is borrowed from an essay by John Tyndall, a late-nineteenth-century scientist (and notable mountaineer), who combined a thoroughgoing materialism regarding the natural world with a Romantic view of human consciousness. Thus Frank brings us back to a vision championed by Romantic poets long before Lyell and Darwin troubled the dreams of nature lovers and believers in Providence. Sherlock Holmes may seek to manage the mysteries of an ever-changing, atheist universe using the mental tools of nineteenth-century science, but, according to Frank, Doyle's stories demonstrate again and again the creative, constitutive power of the human imagination in rendering order out of the random and chaotic. When the "solid crust of empirical fact" proves insufficient, we glimpse in the stories' interstices the "fluid domain of metaphor" (201).

With this characteristic upending of his detective's apparently confident empiricism, Frank concludes his study. Despite reiterated promises to spell out the narratological and epistemological assumptions informing his chosen works, Frank tends to dismiss the actual methods and results of his fictional detectives; nor does he devote sustained attention to such things as the plot significance of accident and coincidence, for example, or narrative attempts to differentiate legitimate from illegitimate use of evidence. The nebular hypothesis, debates

over the earth's age, and other Victorian controversies are treated—often brilliantly—as sources of image and metaphor, but each story's structure of events and its implications about time, history, and causation remain relatively unexamined. Often Frank's method consists in isolating a specific scene or image and reading it deconstructively. As a result, a coherent portrait of Victorian detective fiction's distinctive methodology fails to emerge from the intricate and far-flung web of connections Frank spins from his nebular allusions.

The worldview that first took shape through the imaginative investigations of Victorian scientists still resonates today. It is a dense and busy world, crowded with more happenings than a single person can encompass, in which a random occurrence could yield consequences unforeseeable at the time yet dramatic in effect. Carried along by forces we can barely see, much less control, we are anxious to *understand*—to latch onto links, to forge a chain, anchoring us to a defined sense of place and selfhood. Frank's study may not delineate the evolution of the detective genre as sharply as I would have liked, but it does compellingly situate Poe's, Dickens's, and Doyle's fictional detectives within this powerful worldview and the scientific discourses that helped to define it.

Martha Turner
Richmond, VT

Burton R. Pollin, *Poe's Seductive Influence on Great Writers* (New York: iUniverse, 2004. ISBN 0-595-31924-6. http://www.iuniverse.com).

Can Poe's enormous influence on other writers ever be fully described? We have monographs that treat his influence by national or geographical zones such as the United States, the American South, England, Europe, France, Germany, Spain, Scandinavia, and Russia. We also have chronological and thematic explorations of his impact according to literary periods, movements, and genres, such as modernism, contemporary writing, mass culture, cryptography, the detective novel, and terror fiction. Now Burton R. Pollin has collected a dozen of his own articles and several reviews, originally published between 1973 and 2001, under the title *Poe's Seductive Influence on Great Writers.*

The subjects range from the utterly familiar–Poe's influence on Melville, James, and Hemingway–to the not so familiar–Poe's influence on Stevenson, Kipling, and de la Mare–and even to the downright surprising–Poe's influence on James Thurber, Allen Ginsberg, Saul Bellow, and Terry Southern. Pollin adopts the necessary methodology for each case, varying his exploration of such elements as "key words and phrases," "titles, refrains or basic themes," and "parallels and analogues of characters and situations." In representing nearly three decades of intense and original scholarly research, Pollin's resulting collection is, in his own description, a "composite text for an evidentiary and, I hope, useful book." In the main portion of the collection, Pollin moves directly from author to author, chapter by chapter. Since the full detail and rich texture of this dense evidence cannot be fully communicated in a review, I will try to suggest the nature of this extensive undertaking by selecting a few interesting and stimulating highlights.

In the first chapter, which originally appeared in *Melville Society Extracts* in 1997, more than 70 Melville passages are adduced as "signs of the author's awareness of Poe's life and writings." Pollin draws on past and present research of more than a dozen Melville scholars: Charles Anderson, Mary K. Bercaw, John Bryant, Richard Chase, Harrison Hayford, Leon Howard, Jay Leyda, Luther Mansfield, Hershel Parker, Willard Thorpe, Howard Vincent, Nathalia Wright, and Donald Yanella. One admitted difficulty facing influence studies is that Poe and Melville drew from a "common culture," including writings by unknown third parties and those not yet located in periodicals. Furthermore, a significant

limitation for Melville is that only a certain number of Poe's texts were generally available to the literary public during his residence in New York during the 1840s. To overcome these difficulties, Pollin is scrupulous about the availability of texts of each of the 36 Poe titles said to have influenced Melville. A case might be made that a conduit in bringing Poe's writing to the attention of Melville was Evert Duyckinck, both reader and editor for Wiley & Putnam in the publication of Poe's two volumes of 1845 as well as the leading intellectual mentor of young Melville. But Pollin prefers textual to circumstantial evidence: "I have . . . exercised discretion in eliminating numerous unsupported or improbable ascriptions or analogues, many of which are the product of wish fulfillment."

In Pollin's examination of each of Melville's writings in chronological order, the most space, as might be expected, is devoted to *Mardi*, *Moby-Dick*, *Pierre*, and *The Confidence Man*, but minor works are not neglected. As most Melville critics already know, the voyage in *Pym* to uncharted seas, culminating in an apotheosis of whiteness, is an obvious likely source for both *Mardi* and *Moby-Dick*. Moreover, the name of the Glendinning family as well as the mirroring of the two characters Pierre Glendinning and Glendinning Stanley in *Pierre* may well come from "William Wilson"–although the common source for the name of Glendinning may also have been Scott. An early work by Melville's young Pierre, "Edgar: An Anagram," no doubt echoes Poe's own pun, "Edgar, a Poet . . . right to a T." Poe was identified, moreover, as the subject of one of the satiric portraits in Melville's *Confidence Man* in an early article by Harrison Hayford.

Henry James's famous condemnation of Poe, which appeared in his discussion of Baudelaire in *French Poets and Novelists,* began by degrading him as the author of "valueless verses." From this essay came James's famous negative dictum: "An enthusiasm for Poe is the mark of a decidedly primitive stage of reflection." Perhaps, as Pollin suggests, James's remark was the source of T. S. Eliot's subsequent similar depreciation of Poe for lacking "maturity of intellect." When James compared Poe to Baudelaire, he found both the greater charlatan and the greater genius. But a highly positive view of Poe emerged in James's fiction: in *The Golden Bowl* Amerigo is a reader of *Pym,* "a wonderful tale by Allan Poe" that showed "what imagination Americans could have," thus associating Poe with the dual myths of newness and discovery. Pollin's article on James first appeared in *The Yearbook of English Studies* for1973.

Robert Louis Stevenson assisted John H. Ingram in the proofreading of his 1874-75 edition of Poe. This effort produced extensive "marginal notations and "epistolary associations," the study of which, first appearing in *English Literature in Transition* in 1994, led to Pollin's own extended annotations and notes. Victorian critics saw "William Wilson" as a possible source for *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.* Yet, in summing up, Pollin concludes that while Poe's visible influence on Stevenson is generally conceded, the matter would benefit from additional manuscript studies, there being at present "no exact scale by which to measure the nature and extent of the influence of the body of one writer's *oeuvre* upon another's."

In a article that first appeared in *The Kipling Journal* in 1980, Pollin revealed that Rudyard Kipling in 1896 surprised the circulators of a petition in support of the threatened Poe Cottage by making an unsolicited contribution of $50–to which he added the personal acknowledgment that "my own personal debt to Poe is a heavy one." Evidence of this heavy debt is particularly visible not only in Kipling's tales of the 1890s that reflect a variety of "Poe themes, effects, and plot devices" but also, unexpectedly, in his science fiction.

German authors do not need to be reminded of Poe's debt to the Gothic literary tradition, but in a 1933 essay, Thomas Mann reminded us that Poe and Wagner were Baudelaire's twin artistic gods. Only Poe, Whitman, and Eugene O'Neill were cited by Mann in his last public interview of April 21, 1955 in the Paris *Herald Tribune,* on the debt owed by western culture to American writers. In *Buddenbrooks,* Mann probably followed Poe's device of making the mansion and the dynasty one and the same in "The Fall of the House of Usher." This article first appeared in Pollin's own collection of essays, *Insights and Outlooks* (1986).

Poe was a major figure in James Thurber's parodies, travesties, and extravaganzas. Thurber's impressions of "The Raven" started in 1925 and continued for more than three decades. In an article that first appeared in *The Southern Quarterly* in 1999, Pollin traces Thurber's use of the Poe biographies by Hervey Allen and Mary Philips. In Thurber's "most Poe-ridden" piece of humor, "The Harpers and their Circle " (*The Bermudian,* 1951), an article rediscovered and first reprinted by Pollin, Thurber's sending a manuscript to William Morrow the publisher becomes "to Morrow, and to Morrow, and to Morrow"—and Poe's

publisher Harper & Brothers becomes Harper Ann Brothers. Out of this verbal jungle, Poe emerges as the author of the popular soap opera "The Goldberg." Poe dubs Cooper, author of *The Deerslayer*, "as the Merchant of Venison." He berates Browning because "all your poems are at least eight hundred lines too long." Finally, he habitually misidentifies Henry Wadsworth Longfellow as "Henry Wordsworth." Later, in 1955, Thurber floated his own comic theory of the origin of the refrain "nevermore": he insisted that it came from the two words "raven" and "room" pronounced backwards with a slight foreign accent. The pinnacle of Thurber's Poe humor, and one of the highlights of the present collection, is the set of eight cartoons he did to illustrate "The Raven," first published in *Thurber & Company* (1966).

In *The Green Hills of Africa* in 1935, Hemingway pronounced: "Poe is a skillful writer. It is skillful, marvelously constructed, and it is dead." But in 1945, Hemingway reported to Malcolm Cowley his experiences and recollections when he tried to reread Poe: "I looked forward to reading Poe. Thought that it would do good to do this winter. Then found I'd read it all before I ever went to Italy and remembered it so clearly that I couldn't re-read. Had forgotten them all but they were all there–intact." In Hemingway's recollection, his youthful reading of Poe produced such an indelible effect as to forestall future rereading. To Pollin, Hemingway saw Poe "not simply as an author of eminence but as a doomed man of somewhat heroic stature–a Hemingway character." These materials first appeared in *English Studies* (1976) and the *Poe Studies Association Newsletter* (1981).

In Saul Bellow's *Henderson the Rain King*, *Humbolt's Gift*, and *More Die of Heartbreak,* Pollin detects frequent citations of Poe–along with Blake and Shakespeare. Throughout Bellow's writings, Poe's influence is described as a source of "sharp humor and keen insight." Although the character of Humbolt was probably based on Delmore Schwartz, Pollin suggests that Bellow may have also employed echoes of Poe. In addition, Pollin traces the unexpectedly wide resonance of "To Helen" and other popular writings by Poe throughout Bellow's writing. This article first appeared in *Saul Bellow Journal* in 1988.

A gem of this collection is the discovery of the homage-travesty to *Pym* by the teenage Terry Southern, who went on to write the screenplays for *Dr. Strangelove, or, How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* and *Easy Rider.* Pollin edited for *The Edgar Allan Poe Review* in 2000 a transcription of young South-

ern's hilarious and loving spoof, "Edgar Allan Poe as 'King Weirdo, not for the squeamish,' in *Pym.*" What Pollin calls Southern's "schoolboy slang" posed some editorial challenges for him. One might add to Pollin's study a bit of film trivia: Terry Southern slipped some bizarre homage to Poe into *Dr. Strangelove* when the password to disarm the mad nuclear attack and thus prevent World War III is revealed to be "POE." Teasingly, it does not stand for the author under discussion here but instead is an acronym for "purity of essence," the motto of a esoteric cult dedicated to withholding semen in intercourse, demonstrating that true weirdness does not end in adolescence.

The discovery by Pollin of Southern's "King Weirdo" came to light by serendipity in the course of his research on Allen Ginsberg, all of whose literary associates Pollin had routinely explored. Poe made an early and indelible impact on Ginsberg: "I discovered Poe," he confessed, "at the fine age of six or seven." And by eight he knew "The Raven," "The Bells," and "Annabel Lee." Ginsberg insisted that Poe had influenced him earlier than Whitman, and he described *Howl* as being "in the tradition of strong rhythmical panegyrics like Poe's 'Bells.'" In addition, Ginsberg saw Poe rather than Whitman or Blake as "a great awakener of youth throughout the world." In *Howl* and "Kaddish," Poe's name is raised several times as a source of guidance and inspiration. The last Poe references appeared in Ginsberg's poem "Is About" in *The New Yorker* of 21 October 1996: "The moon is about love & Werewolves, also Poe./ Poe is about looking at the moon from the sun or else the graveyard. . . . / Who cares what it's all about? / I do! Edgar Allan Poe cares! Shelley cares! Beethoven & Dylan care." Pollin's stimulating article, which first appeared in *The Mississippi Quarterly* in 2000, concludes with a detailed study of Ginsberg's uses of Poe in his teaching between 1974 and 1983 at the Naropa Institute for Writing in Boulder, Colorado.

Pollin's collection also includes articles on Walter de la Mare from *English Literature in Transition* in 1999 and on Stephen King from *Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts* in 1993, plus book reviews of James Clavell, Robert Lundum, Antonia Susan Byatt, Joyce Carol Oates, Russell Banks, Michael Connelly, and (from the *Poe Studies Association Newsletter* in 1987) a roundup on Wright Morris, Tom Wolfe, Angela Carter, and Frank Gannon. One memorable news item is that Sylvester Stallone, an ardent Poe fan, intended to write and star in a film biography of Poe, inspiring Frank Gannon to write "Yo, Poe"

for *The New Yorker*, where he introduced "prizefighter Poe and his manager Baudelaire."

The cover design produced for this collection was, as Pollin points out, "intended to arouse curiosity and interest in Poe fanciers and general readers." In Michael Kupperman's cover we see the names of a dozen authors radiating from Poe's image in the center, forming what Pollin calls "a kind of subtitle." According to Pollin, this arrangement "closely reflects that of the jacket of my 1986 book, *Insights and Outlooks*." In the preparation of the present text, the original spelling and punctuation were followed, and all footnotes were converted into endnotes. Where computer files were not available, articles were scanned and then proofread more than once. Of course, any author using self-publication and on-demand services of the kind provided by iUniverse is left with the burden of preparing camera-ready copy. This arrangement is helpful in making available specialized works such as this scholarly collection, but there can be distractions not expected after conventional editing. In several places the indentation for long textual quotations or insertions was apparently lost in the mechanical processing. In such a fact-rich edition, a detailed index (or a searchable electronic text version) would be a welcome addition to rapidly locate passages on a specific subject.

Poe's Seductive Influence sums up a lifetime of persistent and relentless digging in textual, manuscript, archival, and personal sources. To be sure, one might wish for studies of Poe's influence on additional authors or, more importantly, some overview of studies of the entire subject over the last three decades. Moreover, the precise nature of Poe's "seductive" influence warrants additional discussion. For one thing, the early reading of Poe in childhood or early adolescence had a characteristic imprinting effect on a surprising number of readers who later became authors themselves. What may be most remarkable about Poe's influence (also warranting further study) is how his "seductive" powers simultaneously affected the two opposite modern movements, mass culture, and the avant garde. But this collection conveniently gathers a dozen solid articles otherwise available only as they have been scattered over time in the original periodicals. For those Poe scholars working on influence issues concerning one or more of the selected authors, Pollin's scholarly discoveries in this "evidentiary" edition are unexpected, eye-opening, and frequently delightful.

Heyward Ehrlich
Rutgers University, Newark

Poe in Cyberspace

The Poe Society of Baltimore

> HELP WANTED: Experienced academic proofreaders to compare computer-scanned texts character-by-character against historical originals. Goal: Absolute accuracy and zero-error tolerance. Unpaid volunteers only.

The advertisement is imaginary, but the conditions are real for Jeffrey Savoye of the Poe Society of Baltimore, in charge of the world's largest archive of electronic texts of Edgar Allan Poe, online at <http://www.eapoe.org> . Most Poe scholars are aware that the Baltimore web site has a unique collection of Poe's complete poetry and tales, all historically modeled and freely available online, often in several variants. What is less well known is the extent to which Savoye is adding to his web site other essential Poe material–Poe's own articles and book reviews, articles and reviews on Poe by others, and letters to and from Poe. In addition, the Poe Society of Baltimore web site is now the online repository of articles from *Poe Studies/Dark Romanticism.* In aspiring to academically acceptable texts which eventually achieve perfect accuracy, the Poe Society of Baltimore has a backlog of work requiring verification, one that might lead someday to a real advertisement not unlike the one above.

The first purpose of the Poe Society's web site is to serve the Society itself in traditional ways by posting information about its activities, including its lectures and published papers, of which more anon.

Second, for general readers and high school and undergraduate students, the site discusses common questions about Poe such as his biography, his relationship with Rufus W. Griswold, theories concerning his death (including alcohol, disease, and *cooping* – being captured and forced to vote), his physical appearance, portraits, daguerreotypes, and engravings, his supposed uses of drugs and alcohol, and his interest in religion, music, and phrenology. This general information is designed to clear up misconceptions about Poe and to lead students and scholars to trustworthy sources for further research.

Third–in what will be more familiar to readers of this column–the site aims to present a complete online edition of Poe's poems and tales in an edition of

scholarly quality. When textual variants are listed or selected examples are given, the encoding follows T. O. Mabbott's lettering system. However, the lists go beyond Mabbott in adding information on reprints and translations that appeared in Poe's lifetime. Among the tales, Savoye includes several longer works that are not in Mabbott's edition, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*, *The Journal of Julius Rodman*, and *The Unparalleled Adventure of One Hans Pfaall.* Mabbott's system of classification, as his volume title suggests, presents the *Tales and Sketches* together, but in Savoye's configuration the fictionalized sketches are separated from the tales and places them in a new grouping combining "Essays, Sketches, and Lectures," juxtaposing titles such as *Eureka*, "The Philosophy of Furniture," and "The Philosophy of Composition."

One project still in its early stages of development is the selection of book reviews and notices by Poe. Estimates of Poe's reviews and notices vary from several hundred to close to a thousand, largely in his contributions to magazines on which he served in an editorial capacity–the *Southern Literary Messenger, Burton's Gentleman's Magazine, Graham's Magazine,* and the *Broadway Journal*. As a magazinist, Poe wrote many more total pages of articles, reviews, and notices than pages of poems, tales, and sketches. Unfortunately, such nonfiction prose was rarely signed. Therefore, the authenticity of many items attributed to Poe is still a major issue of debate, and the canon of Poe's nonfiction prose is still to be established. In fact, as Savoye reminds us: "At least one noted Poe scholar, Dr. Burton R. Pollin, has recently decreed that many works by Poe's friend Henry Beck Hirst may actually be by Poe." According to contemporary theories of social text, writing may reflect collaboration with others or interference with the author, and, in some of Poe's magazine work, it may be hard to determine the degree to which this takes place. Hence, doubtful items are marked here with one or more question marks. In "Miscellanea," the next section, we may find a very useful collection of items from Poe's magazine series, such as "Autography," "Doings of Gotham," "The Literati," and "Marginalia." Savoye has done Poe scholarship a great service by making such texts freely available online because a comparable collection of these items is difficult to find outside research libraries and repositories.

One of the unexpected highlights of the Baltimore Poe site is its collection of letters to and from Poe. Savoye is one of the principal editors of the complete revision of Ostrom's *Letters* now in progress under the direction of Burton Pollin, and so it is worth considering his statement:

> This collection includes all of Poe's letters (and all of the letters written to Poe) for which surviving text is known. In a few instances, items are also noted for which no text is known, but the contents have been described. (At the bottom of this list are given some well-known fakes and forgeries.) The Poe Society is very interested in information about any letters that are not on this list or the accompanying checklist, or for which the location of the manuscript is noted as unknown. Photocopies of manuscripts, transcripts and other information may be sent to the Poe Society. The anonymity of any private collector will be honored in accordance with his or her wishes.

The current listings are based on John W. Ostrom's final Revised Check List of letters from and to Poe, published in 1981 in *Studies in the American Renaissance.* Gathering the texts of letters to Poe, previously collected and edited by James A. Harrison, Mabbott, John Ward Ostrom, and Joseph V. Ridgely, Savoye publishes them here for the first time in a complete form. The material was made available to the Poe Society of Baltimore and is now shared online. Needless to say, the correspondence to Poe often provide vital contexts for the full understanding of Poe's own letters.

The items in the "Lectures and Articles" section of the web page date back to 1923, including work by Thomas Ollive Mabbott, Killis Campbell, Arthur Hobson Quinn, John W. Ostrom, Floyd Stovall, and Burton R. Pollin. This section eventually will contain all the articles from *Poe Studies/Dark Romanticism* from 1971 to 1985, and when possible, even more recent articles, subject to a delay of ten years after publication. However, a shortage of editorial staff to verify the electronic material has limited processed articles to those published up to 1979. Savoye offers an apology for this state of affairs: "We hope readers will forgive the rather rough formatting of many of these at the moment. We will clean them up a bit when time permits." This is one of the tasks for which volunteers for the Poe Society of Baltimore are urgently needed. This section concludes with a fascinating collection of several dozen historical articles on Poe printed during his lifetime or afterwards during the nineteenth century.

One of the more ambitious projects of this web site is Savoye's attempts to offer a definitive canon of Poe's poems, tales, sketches, essays, literary criticism, and miscellaneous writings, which are divided into four categories: (1) accepted works, (2) fragments, trifles and lost works, (3) apocryphal, doubtful and rejected works, and (4) collections of works. Another page under construction provides a survey of Poe's contributions to Annuals, Gift Books, Magazines, and Periodicals.

The fourth and final section of the Baltimore web site is devoted to local information about Poe in Baltimore, his chronology, the Baltimore Poe House and Museum, the Poe Grave in Westminster Burying Ground, the Site of Poe's Death in Church Hospital, and the Sir Moses Ezekiel Statue of Poe.

The web page of the Poe Society of Baltimore has become an indispensable element in Poe research. The site sometimes seems idiosyncratic–*poetry* appears under *fiction*, fictional sketches appear as articles rather than tales, and the entire layout does not correspond to any known printed edition— yet it is absolutely worth the trouble to learn how to use it properly and thoroughly. If additional resources should ever make it possible, a few additions to the site would be very welcome: a revision log to show what has been added or updated since one's last visit, a footnote model to explain to student scholars how to cite online material, a searchable internal database, some indication of how these web pages are used in schools and colleges in the study of Poe, and even a freestanding CD ROM version.

Unfortunately, these suggestions cannot be implemented in light of the Poe Society's limited staff and budget–hence the need for volunteer help. It is worth taking a moment to realize how labor-intensive the making of electronic texts is. As historical originals became available, Savoye mechanically scans them into a computer image file that is then rendered into readable text by OCR (optical character recognition) software. Although the process can be reasonably accurate for contemporary documents that are printed with standard typefaces on paper in perfect condition, historical originals are likely to suffer from wavy line alignment, broken or dirty type, irregularly selected type characters, and the accumulated damages of time upon paper and ink. For modern materials the process is normally about 90% accurate – or about 8 errors per line – rising with quality control to about 99% accurate – about one error per line. Ordinary language is sufficiently redundant to overcome these high error rates, which can

be reduced somewhat by the use of spelling checkers. But no electronic dictionary exists as yet of nineteenth century literary language that can begin to reflect the full range and variety of Poe's vocabulary. A further difficulty arises when Poe introduces non-Latin characters, such as Greek and Hebrew words, or adds extra-textual elements such as the woodcut in "Maelzel's Chess Player" or the typographic symbols in "A Few Words on Secret Writing." These must be made intelligible to web browsers as small graphics. For speed and economy, the entire Baltimore web site uses plain text, the simplest possible HTML encoding, and no elaborate visual effects.

Forced to steal time for proofreading whenever he can, Savoye one day while waiting for his airplane in the passenger lounge decided to seize a few moments to check proof of a scanned text in his lap against the photocopy alongside of the historical original. A fellow passenger was amazed: "How can you read two books at the same time?"

Here are addresses for a dozen selected pages of the Poe Society of Baltimore web site referred to in this article:

1. Home page: <www.eapoe.org>
2. General information about Poe, with bibliographies: <http://eapoe.org/geninfo/poegen.htm>
3. Works: Poems, Tales, Literary Criticism, Essays/Sketches/Lectures; Miscellanae, Letters: <http://eapoe.org/works/index.htm>
4. Poems: <http://eapoe.org/works/poems/index.htm>
5. Tales: <http://eapoe.org/works/tales/index.htm>
6. Literary Criticism: <http://eapoe.org/works/criticsm/index.htm>
7. Essays, Sketches, and Lectures: <http://eapoe.org/works/essays/index.htm>
8. Miscellanea: <http://eapoe.org/works/misc/index.htm>
9. Letters: <http://eapoe.org/works/letters/index.htm>
10. Secondary Articles and Lectures: Poe Society, *Poe Studies/Dark Romanticism*, articles on Poe, 1827-1920 <http://eapoe.org/pstudies/index.htm>
11. Subject index (under construction): <http://eapoe.org/subjidx.htm>
12. Google site searching: <http://eapoe.org/searching.htm>

Heyward Ehrlich
Rutgers University, Newark

Marginalia

How Stanley Kauffmann Incorporates "The Imp of the Perverse" into His Analysis of Marlon Brando's Character and Life: As Thomas Ollive Mabbott has noted, Poe's "imaginative mastery of phrase" is exemplified in the 1845 narrative "The Imp of the Perverse" (*Tales and Sketches* 2: 1226). The title has become in our common discourse an adage to designate a widespread, if not universal, haunting desire to be self-destructive or irrationally antisocial. In the 2 August 2004 *New Republic* (26-27), film critic, playwright, novelist, essayist, and journalist, Stanley Kauffmann assertively uses it in his 12-paragraph article, "Brando's Lives" to explain a dominant tendency in the late actor's lifetime conduct. Kauffmann had directed him as a student actor in 1943 when his behavior was "difficult," and has closely watched his upward rise throughout his career. Even early "he had in him what Poe called 'the imp of the perverse'" (paragraph 4). Later, after a long series of successful roles in films, we learn that "[t]he imp of the perverse had apparently enlarged in him and now included a total scoff at any view of acting as an art, even as a respectable occupation for a serious person" (paragraph 7). Kauffmann mentions Brando's stellar reputation "at the box office" and in "publicity" despite much outrageous behavior and a consistently negative view of performance. He asserts: "Yes, the imp of the perverse had been there from the start, but was there something else, a secret?" (paragraph 9).

Kauffmann's final analysis casts light on Poe's motivation in first coining the phrase: "I would add some other possibility. His perversity in his earliest days, spurred by Poe's imp, may just have been a form of vanity, a nonchalance because he had to worry much less about the future than his contemporaries did" (paragraph 11). In his play-acting role of the first-person narrator, Poe certainly implies the protagonist's contempt for all those who have failed to fathom the clever plan that gave him affluence, the legacy of the man that he had murdered. "For a very long period of time, I revel[ed] in this sentiment … of satisfaction …[in] my absolute security" (2: 1224). There is a trace of bravado in thus deceiving the common folk here, which parallels the narrator's attitude toward the police in "The Tell-Tale Heart."

In leaning on Poe's concept so heavily, with his exploration of Brando's atypical antagonism to praise and honors, Kauffmann also implies an interesting criticism of the dogmatism in Poe's famous phrase and its basis in Brando's unfortunate life.

Burton R. Pollin
Professor Emeritus, CUNY

Abstracts for PSA Sessions

at the 120th MLA Annual Convention
in Philadelphia, PA
27-30 December 2004

Session 580. Poe and Solitude
7:15-8:30 p.m., 408, Philadelphia Marriott
Presiding: Barbara Cantalupo, Pennsylvania State University

(1) "Impossible Aloneness," *Jeffrey Weinstock, Central Michigan University*

For the purposes of my MLA conference presentation, "Impossible Aloneness," I foreground the paradoxical nature of "aloneness" in Poe's works by emphasizing how the recognition of aloneness in his tales and poems necessarily presupposes an awareness of the absence of others. From this perspective, to be alone is impossible, and this inability to be alone is simultaneously both tragic and a source of celebration. My key texts here will be Poe's 1829 autobiographically inflected poem "Alone" and his 1840 short story "The Man of the Crowd."

I will then develop this understanding of the paradoxical nature of being alone in relation to Poe's own literary practices. The call for papers for this panel asks for essays that address "the ramifications of Poe's alienation from mainstream nineteenth-century America." However, what even a cursory examination of Poe's body of work reveals is that Poe was very much in touch with the fads and fantasies of antebellum American culture—from mesmerism and phrenology to Egyptology and arctic exploration, Poe's references incorporate and develop antebellum cultural trends and touchstones. I conclude that "Poe was unable to be alone." By this, I mean that Poe's posture of alienation in "Alone" is belied by his understanding and manipulation of American popular culture. His "sorrow" may be derived from a "different source," but it finds expression through the shared vocabulary of pre-Civil War American culture.

(2) "'A Consideration of Intense Interest': Poe's Investigations of Social Terror," *Duncan Faherty, Queens College, City University of New York*

"If in many of my productions terror has been the thesis," Edgar Allan Poe writes in his preface to *Tales of the Grotesque and the Arabesque*, "I maintain

that I have deduced this terror only from its legitimate sources, and urged it only to its legitimate results." From the outset of the *Tales of the Grotesque and the Arabesque*, Poe announces his concerns with identity construction and its inherent, often paralyzing, terrors. From the doubling of "William Wilson" to the mysterious possessions and reanimations of "Ligeia," "Berenice," and "Morella," the tales collected in this volume continually question the ability of an individual to secure a stable identity. By locating Poe's tales against the cultural contexts of the late Jacksonian period, my paper examines the relationships between the legitimate "terror of the soul" and the flux of identify ensuing from the social chaos of the market revolution. The late Jacksonian period was one of unusual uncertainty for American society, characterized by rampant economic change, social mobility, racial violence, and an underlying fear of rootlessness. Angry over never inheriting John Allan's fortune, disheartened by endless financially driven relocations, fueled by certain southern antebellum attitudes toward race and class, and disdainful of the tyranny of the majority, Poe embodies the underpinnings of Jacksonian life more than any of his contemporaries. Instead of presenting Poe as divested from dominant modes of cultural development, I argue that his tales index the dark side of Jacksonian social mobility, the terror resulting from having no secure place in the world. By surveying Poe's fascination with the complexity of identity construction, I posit that instead of reconstructing Poe as isolated from dominant cultural codes, we might more fruitfully imagine how his tales vividly reflect and encode the variegated nature of antebellum culture.

(3) D-Ciphering Dupin's Fac-simile Signature: The Infanticidal Implications of a "Dessein si Funeste," *A. Samuel Kimball, University of North Florida*

Poe's most famous "tale of ratiocination" involves what cognitive scientists call a "false belief test" linked to venomous political revenge. Dupin provides an example of the false belief test when he explains the Prefect's inability to imagine that someone else thinks fundamentally differently from the way he does. Thus, he is like the schoolboy who is outwitted at the game of "even and odd" by the superior "mode of reasoning" of another schoolboy, whose triumph the first cannot explain except in terms of the other's "luck." As Dupin's narrator friend knows, this person's "luck" is not a matter of chance but of an epistemological labor involving "an identification of the reasoner's intellect with that of his opponent" so that he knows the mind of the other more perspicuously than the other knows his own mind. Clearly, Poe constructs "The Purloined Letter"

as a series of moves in an extended game of "even and odd" in which Dupin succeeds in just such an identification" with the Minister D_____.

Why, however, is the outcome a matter of revenge? And why does Dupin twice frame his vengeance in infanticidal terms–terms that he conceals in the open but fails to inspect for what they reveal about what he hides and seeks in his pretense to ratiocinative mastery over others? What, in other words, is the principle by which "The Purloined Letter" associates vengeance, infanticide, and the epistemological asymmetries between knowledge of one's own mind and knowledge of another's?

Session 686. Poe and the Ratiocinative Intellect
12:00 noon-1:15 p.m., 413, Philadelphia Marriott
Presiding: Richard Fusco, Saint Joseph's University

(1) "Hypnotic Ratiocination," *Seo-Young Jennie Chu, Harvard University*

In "Mesmeric Revelation," Mr. Vankirk posits a transcendent form of logical thinking to which the mind has total access only when under hypnosis. To the hypnotized mind, he speculates, this exalted "train of ratiocination" is intelligible because "the reasoning and its conclusion–the cause and its effect–are present together." Yet when the mind awakes, the "reasoning" (the "cause" of understanding) disappears and only the "conclusion" (the "effect" or feeling of understanding) remains. Mr. Vankirk then asks the narrator of the story to hypnotize him in order to test his hypothesis. What follows is a philosophical dialogue between the narrator (who recounts the interview) and Mr. Vankirk (who, once mesmerized, remains unconscious until the story's end).

"Mesmeric Revelation" describes a genre of consciousness that I want to call "hypnotic ratiocination," and in my paper I use this typology to explain another work that Poe wrote toward the end of his life: *Eureka*. By "hypnotic ratiocination," I mean a form of exact thinking that operates beyond the opposition between logic and feeling. Hypnotic ratiocination is inherently dialogic: specifically, it is structured like a dialogue between one unconscious participant (who is immersed in the hypnotic experience) and one conscious participant (who remains outside the hypnotic experience and who mediates the dialogue by conducting and recording it). Thus hypnotic ratiocination occurs across bodies

that exist in different states: asleep and awake, passive and active, second-person and first-person. In *Eureka*, hypnotic ratiocination is an intricate figure of speech for Poe's voice. The prose poetry of this essay–an essay filled with what Poe calls "unthought-like thoughts"–is actually a style of intellection. Many aspects of Poe's rhetoric (e.g., his incantatory use of polyptoton) and cosmogony (e.g., his theory of symmetrical causality) are manifestations of the genre in which he was thinking–namely, hypnotic ratiocination.

(2) "Inventing the Deadly Game: Competition, Cunning, and Consequences in Poe's Ratiocinative Detective Stories," *John Gruesser, Kean University*

Edgar Allan Poe created detective fiction in an era known for its hoaxes. Despite being rigged in the house's favor, these entertainments appealed to audiences because they were essentially controlled problems, offering diversions from the daily grind and an opportunity to match wits with the hoaxer. In three stories featuring C. Auguste Dupin, Poe stages a series of contests between characters and makes reference to various games. On a more fundamental level, Poe conceives of detection as competition between himself and his readers. Supposedly supplying all the information necessary to decipher the puzzle, he challenges readers to arrive at a solution before the denouement begins, further stacking the deck in the detective's favor in "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" and "The Purloined Letter" by convincing readers they are playing one game when they are actually playing another. Finally, and even more importantly for the development of the genre, after concocting the very first detective story, Poe in effect competes with himself in the sequels, striving to rework, subvert, parody, and outdo what he has already done.

As critics have noted, although Poe takes pains to eliminate moral and sociopolitical considerations from the Dupin stories by weaving subversion and authorial competition into the fabric of detection, he has inspired a diverse range of authors to compete with him, many of whom have used the form to address issues of class, gender, and race. He would undoubtedly be shocked to learn what has happened to the genre during the last 160 years; nevertheless, the man who perpetrated "The Balloon Hoax" would likely take satisfaction in the fact that the way he invented the form has made it necessary for subsequent writers not only to emulate but also to match wits with him, whether they be traditionally conventional and highly conservative in the manner of Agatha Christie or radically experimental and politically engaged on the order of Ishmael Reed.

(3) "The *Thousand and Two* Detectives Created by the Hand of Edgar Allan Poe," *Margarita Rigal-Aragón, University of Castilla, La Mancha*

After the appearance of the 1845 edition of *Tales*, published by N. P. Willis and J.R. Lowell, translations of individual stories of Poe began to appear in France ("The Gold-Bug," being the first). In 1847, Isabelle Meunier, British by birth, provided the French with a version of "The Black Cat" in the January issue of *Démocratic Pacifique.* This and other translations of Poe's works that she completed aroused Baudelaire's interest in this author, for whom he felt an attachment during the rest of his life. In 1852, the *Revue de Paris* published the first of Baudelaire's essays on Poe: *Edgar Allan Poe, His Life and Works*. Afterwards, in 1856, he produced his first volume of translations, entitled *Histories Extraordinaires*. This work was followed by many others; and, in each case, Baudelaire added new ideas to his vision of the author's life and works.

Since this French poet offered his interpretation of Poe's tales, it has been the tradition in Spain to consider "The Murders of the Rue Morgue," "The Mystery of Marie Roget," "The Purloined Letter" and "The Gold-Bug" as the only tales by Poe in which the "Ratiocinative Intellect" was present. I believe this interpretation to be a very restrictive one because rationalization was at work in most of his tales. Dupin thus becomes just one of many "detectives" created by Poe. To demonstrate this, I will analyse how, in many tales Poe wrote before and after the Dupin series, rationalization is present at numerous different levels. In doing so, I will treat both arabesque and grotesque tales, demonstrating the role ratiocination plays in both serious and comic texts.

PSA Matters

From Scott Peeples, President: Please mark your calendars for 13-16 July 2006: those dates have been set for the next international Poe conference. The 2006 conference is an ambitious departure from the last two we have held. We are combining forces with the Nathaniel Hawthorne Society and the Ralph Waldo Emerson Society to put together a program highlighting intersections among the three authors as well as transatlanticism in nineteenth-century American literature. The conference will be held in Oxford, England, at the Rothermere Institute and nearby St. Catherine's College. We plan to issue an official call for papers in early 2005. So please save the dates, let other interested scholars know about the conference, and start thinking about possible panels and individual papers.

Looking farther down the road, the next PSA-sponsored conference will mark the 200th anniversary of Poe's birth in 2009. The executive board is discussing possible host cities and ways to commemorate the Poe bicentennial. If you have suggestions, please contact me or any of the other executive board members.

I would like to congratulate Maurice S. Lee of the University of Missouri, Columbia, recipient of the James W. Gargano Award for 2003. Professor Lee's essay, "Absolute Poe: His System of Transcendental Racism" was published in *American Literature* in December 2003. We will present the award to Professor Lee at this year's MLA convention. I also wish to acknowledge the co-winners of the Gargano for the previous year: Jerry Kennedy for his article-length booklet, *The American Turn of Edgar Allan Poe* (Baltimore: The Edgar Allan Poe Society, 2002) and Jeffrey A. Savoye for his "A 'Lost' Roll of Marginalia," *The Edgar Allan Poe Review* 3.2 (Spring 2002): 52-72.

Finally, I'd like to announce the appointment of Barbara Cantalupo as vice-president of the Poe Studies Association. When Richard Fusco agreed to take on the editorship of this journal, the executive board asked that he step down as vice-president, as the two jobs combined would require more work and more headaches than we have any right to ask one person to assume. Barbara Cantalupo graciously agreed to serve as vice-president for the rest of Richard's term. I would like to thank Richard and Barbara for making this a smooth transition.

If any of our readers and members have questions about these and other PSA matters, please contact me at peepless@cofc.edu. I hope to see many of you in Philadelphia for MLA; if not there, please join us in Boston for the American Literature Association meeting in late May.

From Barbara Cantalupo, Vice-President designate: The PSA requests paper proposals for the following two panels at the 2005 MLA to be held in Washington, D. C.:

Session I: Poe in Place. Papers would address the relationship between Poe's work and where he was living.

Session II: Eureka *Once Again.* Papers would consider *Eureka* in new ways.

Please send abstracts and/or 8-10 page papers to Barbara Cantalupo at bac7@psu.edu via word attachment or in hard copy to Penn State Lehigh Valley, 8380 Mohr Lane, Fogelsville, PA 18051-9999 by February 1, 2005. (Please note: those chosen to participate must be MLA members by February 2005.)

From Richard Fusco, outgoing Vice-President: For the reasons listed in Scott's report above and in my letter at the beginning of this volume, I have resigned as Vice-President, effective 1 January 2005. The PSA is indeed fortunate to have someone with Barbara's accomplishments and capability available to serve the remainder of my term. My last duty as PSA Vice-President will be to oversee our sessions at this year's MLA Convention in Philadelphia. The abstracts for this year's presentations appear elsewhere in this volume.

From Mary De Jong and Noelle Baker, Members-at-large: Submissions are invited for two sessions sponsored by the Poe Studies Association at the American Literature Association Conference, 26-29 May 2005, at the Westin Copley Place in Boston. For information on the conference, visit www.americanliterature.org. Papers accepted for presentation will be considered for publication in *The Edgar Allan Poe Review*.

Session I: Problems and Solutions in Teaching Poe. Papers may address but need not be limited to problems in teaching particular texts, strategies for defus-

ing students' preconceptions of Poe (as, for example, an opium addict), challenges in framing him with his contemporaries, etc.

Session II: Out-Sourcing Poe, Making Poe Connections. Papers will consider Poe in context. Papers may address but need not be limited to Poe as influence, Poe and his contemporaries, Poe and transatlantic Romanticism, Poe and travel literature, Poe and Southern literature, Poe and the gothic, Poe in translation, Poe and popular culture (film, fiction, music), Poe and race.

Please send inquiries and abstracts (250-500 words plus brief CV) via email (no attachments, please) by 1 January 2005 to:

Noelle Baker (bakern@uwosh.edu)
University of Wisconsin Oshkosh
2408 Woodland Terrace
Neenah, WI 54956

and

Mary De Jong (mld4@psu.edu)
Penn State Altoona
3000 Ivyside Park
Altoona, PA 16601-3760

Carole Shaffer-Koros, PSA Secretary-Treasurer: As of 4 November 2004, membership is 266. For 2004, the initial checking account figure was $13,987.04, adding in our Money Market $3,636.00 and CD for $5,266.19, which totals to $ 22,889.23. Overall balance as of 4 November 2004 was $15,875.98, which includes our Money Market of $3,636.00 and CDs of $5,266.19 but excludes interest to date in 2004. Checking account activity during 2004 through 4 November was: income from dues and contributions of $1,947.00; miscellaneous expenses, deposit for the 2006 meeting at Oxford and publication of *The Edgar Allan Poe Review*, $8,960.25, for a net loss (excluding interest accrued on CDs and Money Markets) of $7,013.25.

Brief Notices

• As this issue was about to go to press, the editors were saddened to learn of the death of Edward Charles Wagenknecht, author of many scholarly works, including *Edgar Allan Poe: The Man Behind the Legend* (New York: Oxford UP, 1963). A fuller tribute will appear in the spring issue.

• Daniel Hoffman writes: "There are three errors in my review of Wilbur's edition of Poe's poems (*The Edgar Allan Poe Review* 5.1 [Spring 2004]: 109-112). Not having a little man inside, as did Maelzel's chess-player, the typographer's spell-check passed any word regardless of context. So line 10, second paragraph, p. 109, reads *material* for *material poetica* and, inexplicably, line 8, paragraph three reads "what Poe was up to in her verse," the verse referred to being Poe's. A third error defaces line 1 of the final paragraph (p. 113), where I unaccountably substituted the name of Emily Dickinson's editor [Thomas] Johnson for Poe's [Thomas] Mabbott. It was my own Imp of the Perverse that made me do it and confess the crime. My apologies to all readers."

• Daniel Hoffman lectured in Springfield, PA, on Poe's work to the Delaware County chapter of the American Association of University Women on 1 November 2004.

• On 3 October 2004 at the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Kevin J. Hayes (University of Central Oklahoma) presented the 82nd Commemorative Edgar Allan Poe lecture for the Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore. An abstract for his presentation, "Poe's 'Spectacles' and the Camera Lens," can be found online at http://www.eapoe.org/society/psbevnts.htm.

• Among the sixteen Edgars awarded in 2004 by the Mystery Writers of America, Ian Rankin's *Resurrection Man* (Little, Brown) won for best novel, Rebecca Pawel's *Death of a Nationalist* (Soho Press) for best first novel, and Sylvia Maultash Warsh's *Find Me Again* (Dundurn Group) for best paperback original. Joseph Wambaugh won the Grand Master award. The complete list can be found online at <http://64.57.186/edgarsDB/edgarDB.php>.

• Mountainwhispers.com Audiobooks, an audiobook production house, released *"Spirits!": A Rare Collection of Life and Death Poetry*. The disc, read by Ross Ballard II, a teacher at John Hopkins University, features a selection of Poe's poems on life and death, including "The Raven," "Alone," and "The Bells."

• The May 2004 issue of *Cars & Travel* featured an article by Chris King entitled "Leaves of Grass and a Raven in Philly." In the essay, King explores Poe's relation to Philadelphia and describes how tourists can relive Poe's experience in the area.

• The August 2004 issue of *Poetry* featured an article by Adam Kirsch entitled "Out of the Republic, Into the Madhouse." Kirsch examines the changing principles of poetics throughout history using Poe's essay "The Philosophy of Composition" as an example of anti-romanticism.

• The Skytop Lodge in Skytop, PA, held an "Edgar Allan Poe Weekend" from 12-14 November 2004. The program included readings by actor David Keltz portraying Poe, a showing of *The Raven*, and a slide presentation on Poe's life.

Compiled by Matthew Switliski and Richard Fusco

Notes on Contributors

Heyward Ehrlich is associate professor of English at Rutgers University, Newark. His feature "Poe in Cyberspace" has appeared regularly since the first issue of *The Edgar Allan Poe Review*. His edition of Poe's reviews and notices in Philadelphia magazines is in preparation for the *Collected Writings*.

J. Gerald Kennedy is William A. Read Professor of English Literature at Louisiana State University and past president of the Poe Studies Association. Among his many contributions to the study of Poe and his works are [with LilianeWeissberg] *Romancing the Shadow: Poe and Race* (Oxford UP, 2001) and *A Historical Guide to Edgar Allan Poe* (Oxford UP, 2001).

Burton R. Pollin, professor emeritus from CUNY, has published eight books on Poe's works and five volumes of the critical edition of Poe's *Writings* (1981-1999). He is currently preparing with Jeffrey Savoye a new edition of Poe's letters.

Jeffrey A. Savoye is the secretary/treasurer of the Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore. Author of several articles on Poe, he is currently preparing with Burton Pollin a new edition of Poe's letters.

Martha A. Turner is president of the Richmond Historical Society (VT). She is the author of *Mechanism and the Novel: Science in the Narrative Process* (Cambridge UP, 1993).