CRBIB#401781

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY
EDGAR ALLAN POE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK, PHILADELPHIA

EDGAR A. POE
THE YEARS IN PHILADELPHIA
1838-1844

Prepared by:

J. Thibaut
Research Historian

for:
Independence National Historical Park
Hobart G. Cawood, Superintendent
October, 1981

Editor's Note:

There have been a number of errors discovered in quotes contained in this manuscript. Please refer to the sources cited in this manuscript for accurate quotes.

Edgar A. Poe.

ILLUS. 1

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS i

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE iii

LIST OF MAPS iv

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS v

LIST OF FIGURES vi

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS vii

PART I--PHILADELPHIA AND EDGAR A. POE

Chapter 1--Poe's Philadelphia 1
Chapter 2--The Spring Garden District 34
Chapter 3--Seventh and Wistar Streets 66
Chapter 4--"Mere Literature" (Spring 1938-April 1840) 85
Chapter 5--"The Trammels of Expediency"--Poe and Burton 117

Chapter 6--Interlude, "The Penn". 168
Chapter 7--"To Coin One's Brain into Silver"--Poe and Graham 194
Chapter 8--"It is Folly to Hope"--(April, 1842-March, 1843) 249
Chapter 9--"He Carries a Tomahawk--does Poe". . . . 304

PAET II--THE POE HOUSE, 1844-1981

Chapter 1--"Unhappy Privacy"--The Poe House to 1928 353
Chapter 2--Richard Gimbel and the Poe Foundation. . 360
Chapter 3--The Poe House, 1971-1981 368

APPENDICES

A 1. Chain of Title for 530 North Seventh Street . . . 373
2. Chain of Title for 532 North Seventh Street . . . 379
B Inventories 385
C 1. Glossary of Architectural Terms 388
2. Insurance Surveys 391

D List of Works Published While in Philadelphia . . . 412
E Recommendations for Further Research 415

BIBLIOGRAPHY 420

NOTES ON MAPS. 447

MAPS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author is deeply indebted to archivists and curators in Philadelphia and at other Poe museums and sites, without whose ready and kind assistance the task of compiling this report would have been infinitely more difficult.

It will be immediately apparent to the reader that the author has depended heavily upon the work of Dwight Rembert Thomas, author of "Poe in Philadelphia." Dr. Thomas's copious and accurate research has illumined Poe's Philadelphia career to a greater extent than any other single work, and it may safely be said that this segment of Poe's life will never receive a more intensive investigative effort. Mindful of pains saved, the author is especially grateful to Dr. Thomas.

Patient and gracious cooperation was received as well from Peter Parker, Director of Manuscripts, and his staff at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Ward Childs at the Archives of the City and County of Philadelphia; Richard Tyler, Philadelphia City Historian; Howell Heaney, Director of the Rare Book Department at the Free Library, and his staff; and Carol A. Wojtowicz at the Philadelphia Contributionship.

At the beginning the project curators of Poe museums extended their assistance and hospitality. These include Dr. Bruce English and Agnes Bondurant Marcuson at the Poe

Museum in Richmond; Jeff Jerome, Curator of the Poe House in Baltimore; Kathleen McAuley, Curator of the Poe Cottage at Fordham, the Bronx, N.Y., and Sarah Shields at the Valentine Museum, Richmond. Over forty archivists were kind enough to respond to letters of inquiry directed to their institutions on the matter of Poe manuscripts, and the author is grateful to them as well.

For their help in providing information on the years during which the Poe House was purchased and administered by Richard Gimbel, the author thanks Mrs. Richard Gimbel and Mrs. Rakph Taussig for their gracious assistance. Mrs. Anthony Frayne, curator of the Poe House following the death of Anthony Frayne and long his partner in caring for the establishment, offered her kind assistance as well.

Lastly and most particularly the author ackowledges debts to Martin Yoelson, Chief Historian at Independence National Historical Park, and his successor David Dutcher, and to Bernard Goodman, Assistant Superintendent, for their guidance and kind assistance.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

In January of 1963 the National Park Service designated the house inhabited by Edgar Allan Poe in 1843-1844, located at 530 North Seventh Street, Philadelphia, as a National Landmark. The building and its adjacent structures and lots were established as the Edgar Allan Poe National Historic Site by Secretary of the Interior Cecil D. Andrus on August 22, 1980.

The house is one of the three extant structures where Poe is known to have lived prior to his untimely death at the age of forty in 1849. It was the last house he inhabited in Philadelphia, where he spent six of the most productive years of his career. While living at the location, there is strong evidence that he wrote "The Gold Bug," "The Black Cat," "The Balloon Hoax," possibly "The Raven," and other sketches and critical reviews.*

Built about 1841 in the burgeoning urban residential 4th Ward of the Spring Garden District, the house was located in a neighborhood favored by merchants and artisans. The modest six-room house was built by William Alburger, a plumber who lived nearby and who used the building as a rental property. Poe brought his ailing wife Virginia and his mother-in-law (and aunt) Mrs. Maria Clemm with him to the Seventh Street location, probably in early 1843.

* [Editor's Note: Though Poe did publish "The Gold Bug" and "The Black Cat" while living at this location, there is no evidence to prove when he wrote any of his works.]

LIST OF MAPS
(All appear at rear of volume)

1. Henry S. Tanner, "Philadelphia, 1840" (HSP) (photo-reproduction).

2. Spring Garden District, 1844.

3. 4th Ward, Spring Garden District, 1844.

4. Seventh and Spring Garden Street Neighborhood, 1844.

5. Poe's Neighborhood, 1844.

6. Detail, Hexamer & Locher Atlas, 1859, Volume 5, plate 58 (HSP), block between Lorraine (Logan), Franklin, Green, & Spring Garden streets (photoreproduction).

7. Detail, Hexamer & Locher Atlas, 1859, Volume 5, plate 58 (HSP), block between Franklin, Seventh, Green, & Spring Garden streets (photoreproduction).

8. Detail, Hexamer & Locher Atlas, 1859, Volume 5, plate 58 (HSP), block between Seventh, Marshall, Green, & Spring Garden streets (photoreproduction).

9. Detail, Hexamer & Locher Atlas, 1859, Volume 5, plate 58 (HSP), block between Franklin, Seventh, Green & Wallace streets (photoreproduction).

10. Detail from Hopkins Atlas, 1876, Plate J (HSP), (photo-reproduction).

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Edgar A. Poe (as he appeared in Graham's "Our Contributors" series) Frontispiece

2. "Omnibus," lithograph by Augustus Kollner, c. 1850, Courtesy HSP p. 23

3. Mr. W. E. Burton (in costume), engraving by John Sartain, Courtesy HSP p.117

4. Dr. Thomas Dunn English at 24 (as he appeared in about 1843), Courtesy HSP p. 79

5. Burton's National Theatre, wash drawing by Benjamin Ridgeway Evans, c. 1889, Courtesy HSP p.162

6. Franklin & Spring Garden Street (showing the market), wash drawing by Benjamin Ridgeway Evans, 1889, Courtesy HSP p. 25

7. Philadelphia Department of Transit photograph of the Poe House, 1928, Courtesy HSP p.358

8. Poe House, c. 1930, Courtesy PFL (Provenience of photographs 8-13 unknown) p.358

9. Poe House, rear elevated view, c. 1930 (PFL) p.358

10. Poe House, rear yard, c. 1930 (PFL) p.358

11. Poe House, first floor, east room, c. 1930 (PFL) p.358

12. Poe House, first floor, west room, c. 1930 (PFL) p.358

13. Poe House, second floor, c. 1930 (PFL) p.358

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.	Total Male inhabitants of the 4th Ward, Spring Garden, 1844, by livelihood.	p. 54
Figure 2.	Assessment of the 4th Ward, Spring Garden District, 1844, by trade (alphabetically)	p. 55
Figure 3.	Assessment of the 4th Ward, Spring Garden District, 1844, by trade (according to numbers).	p. 58

ABREVIATIONS

ACP	Archives of the City and County of Philadelphia
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania
PFL	Philadelphia Free Library

Part I, Chapter 1

POE'S PHILADELPHIA

27 December 1838--"We found the [Delaware] river completely frozen over, and the sides uncumbered with large masses of ice, which the rising tides had pitched up against the shore. This was the first day on which navigation had been completely interrupted, and no arrangements had yet been made for transporting passengers to the city. We wandered, in the moonlight, backwards and forwards along the margin of the river, admiring the city reposing in solemn majesty on the opposite shore, and sending forth gleams of light from its innumerable gas-lamps, till eight o'clock, when we were summoned to follow a guide one mile higher up the stream."[1]

George Combe
Notes on the United States of North America. . . .
1841

"Devil-Bug looked to the west, and beyond the channel of the [Delaware] river, he beheld the dim and dusky outlines of the magnificent city extending north and south in one dark mass of roofs and walls, with here and there a heavy dome or towering steeple rising into the sky, while from the lurid cloud overhead a strange light was flung upon the darkness of the scene. And from that cloud, hovering in mid-heaven, that cloud so lurid, so black and dismal, from that mass of ominous darkness, flashed the red-words of flame, 'Wo unto Sodom'."[2]

George Lippard
The Quaker City
1845

---

[1]George Combe, Notes on the United States of North America during a Phrenological Visit in 1838-9-40 (1841); reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1974, p. 175.

[2]George Lippard, The Quaker City; or, the Monks of Monk Hall (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers, 1876), p. 321.

Both of these nearly contemporary but very divergent visions are descriptions of the city of Philadelphia, where Edgar Allan Poe took residence from 1838 into 1844. The first is an observant and laudatory impression recorded by an English traveller, the second proceeds from the imagination of one of America's most lurid nineteenth century novelists, George Lippard, a contemporary of Poe's. They are both about the same city, but one is a figurative and the other a literal landscape.

Literary biography is illuminating because even a writer so seemingly detached from place and time as Poe interacts with his environment and culture. The ways in which a writer incorporates the facts of his existence into his work are generally of interest. There are those who would deny any importance to knowledge of a writer's biographical circumstances in the consideration of his work, but they are far outnumbered by those who adopt a less stringent view, and by the insatiably curious public. Poe lived in Philadelphia, alternately described by the two memorialists above as magnificent and sin-ridden, for six of his most productive years. He and his family were sheltered in a variety of circumstances. He was hired by some of Philadelphia's most prominent publishers. He walked its streets daily, and frequented its parks and public rooms. Although he seldom used the city as a literary subject, as did the socially committed George Lippard, Poe nevertheless was immersed in

the regional literary scene.

When George Lippard wrote The Quaker City in 1844, he included a section wherein he imagined Philadelphia as it might appear in 1950. Lippard was no futurist; technology was hardly his forte, and in any case, accuracy was not particularly important to his moralizing purpose. We have before us only a slightly easier task in imagining the city as it appeared in 1844. What we know is gleaned from disparate sources; from prints, paintings, maps, newspapers, municipal records, court dockets, diaries, travel accounts, insurance surveys, memoirs and letters, from the entire range of the written and visual record. Philadelphia was a city of fresh, well-ordered thoroughfares lined with the prototypes of American architecture, of teeming working-class districts, of gas-lit theatres, of dank oyster cellars. Poe's Philadelphia was, on the whole, neither so vice-ridden as Lippard would have us believe, nor such a paragon of perfection as it appeared to foreign travellers who seldom ventured beyond its fashionable quarters.

* * *

Once the political and economic capital of the United States, Philadelphia had long since lost the former distinction to the District of Columbia, and was in the gradual process of losing the latter to New York. In 1840, however, Philadelphia and New York were still vying for economic pre-eminence, the outcome of the contest being retarded by,

among other things, economic woes that followed upon the depression of 1837.[3]

Adherents of the Whig party blamed the Panic of 1837 and the uncertain times that followed upon President Andrew Jackson's veto in 1832 of the bill for the recharter of the Bank of the United States, while the Democrats countered that the Whigs had encouraged unwise financial speculation in the 1830's, leading to the collapse.[4] The Panic of 1837 had begun almost at the onset of the presidency of Martin Van Buren, whose single term in office was irreparably marred by its consequences. Although Van Buren's presidency had attracted scant admiration from political historians, there can be no doubt that the economic problems he faced were in part inherited.[5]

The mid-1830s had witnessed an explosion of loans, land speculation, and speculative stock trading. The Panic of 1837 began when faith in the paper money issued by the state banks faltered. With Van Buren, who had been inaugurated March 4, 1837, but one month into his presidency, the panic was in full swing, with banks suspending payment of specie (gold and silver), unemployment rising, and

---

[3]James Rogers Sharp, The Jacksonians versus the Banks: Politics in the States after the Panic of 1837 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 185.

[4]Ibid., pp. 6, 9.

[5]Glyndon G. Van Deusen, The Jacksonian Era 1828-1848 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), pp. 114-115.

manufactories closing throughout the east.[6]

The Whigs, with some justification, saw considerable political advantage in this, and they hurled scorn upon the financial principles espoused by the Jackson and Van Buren administrations as fundamental causes of the widespread and deepening distress. Van Buren was inclined to pursue a policy of laissez-faire to allow the national economy to right itself, as he was convinced that overspeculation lay a the root of the problem.[7]

The depression would run an erratic course over the years Poe resided in Philadelphia. In May of 1838 the banks resumed specie payment, reflecting a return toward normality which lasted almost a year and a half. Late in 1839, the banks again suspended specie payment and money became scarce. The Whig party, determined to demonstrate Democratic culpability for these afflictions, convened at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on December 4, 1839, to select their nominees for the presidential election of 1840. They chose William Henry Harrison of Ohio and Virginian John Tyler as his vice

---

[6]Ibid., pp. 116-117. The causes of the panic and the subsequent depression have been subject to considerable debate, and full considerations of them are out of place here. The reader is referred to Van Deusen, who provides a cogent summary sympathetic to the Democrats, and to Sharp, who investigates local political consequences. Edward Pessen gives a broader view of Jacksonian society in Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1969).

[7]Van Deusen, Jacksonian Era, pp. 118-199.

presidential running mate. Tyler was a popular southern states-rightist who was selected to balance the northerner Harrison on the ticket.[8]

The Democrats staged their convention in Baltimore in May of 1840 and renominated Martin Van Buren, and soon both parties were engaged in an uncommonly abusive and rowdy campaign. To counter the popular appeal of Van Buren, who was at least in theory inheritor of Jackson's popular mantle, the Whigs devised the Log Cabin strategem to promote Harrison as a hard working soldier, farmer, and man of the people. Van Buren was caricatured as a plump, luxury-loving aristocrat unconcerned with the economic hardships endured by the voter. Symbolic log cabins sprang up everywhere. The Whig party managed as well to appeal to monied interests and to retain their image as the patrician party, and this confluence of seemingly disparate supporters assured the election of Harrison and Tyler.[9]

Harrison, however, was no longer the robust countryman that his campaign rhetoric had evoked. A veteran of the War of 1812, he was sixty-seven years of age in 1841. Weakened by the campaign and besieged by rapacious office-seekers, Harrison died of pneumonia on April 4, 1841, one month to the

---

[8]Ibid., p. 142.

[9]Ibid., pp. 145, 148. For a complete history of this colorful campaign see Robert Gray Gunderson, The Log Cabin Campaign (n.p.: University of Kentucky Press, 1957).

day following his inauguration. The administration of his successor, John Tyler, was frought with internal party dissention, which resulted in extreme uncertainty for political office seekers looking for preferments under the spoils system. Poe, encouraged by his friends to apply for an office in the Philadelphia Customs House, would be numbered among the disappointed.[10]

Philadelphia had occupied a unique economic position in the nation. Many believed at the time that the Second Bank of the United States had been inextricably interwoven into the local economy, and that the failure of the recharter bill in 1832 had dealt the city a grievous economic blow. Following the initial phase of the panic, the regional economy had revived somewhat in 1838, only to go soft again in 1840. A sluggish recovery was in progress by 1843. The negative effects on many city merchants were long-lasting, particularly for those involved in luxury trades.[11]

The Panic of 1837 and its aftermath resulted in pronounced increases in unemployment. It was in part because

---

[10]Van Deusen, Jacksonian America, p. 153.

[11]Sharp, The Jacksonians, pp. 286-7, 296. Sharp asserts (p. 296) that by 1842 "a return to good times" had occurred. This is a sweeping judgment belied by some local evidence. Philadelphia merchant Joseph Sill, whose fancy dry goods store on Chestnut Street suffered in the depression, complains repeatedly in his diary of laggard business into 1843. See Joseph Sill Diaries, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP). Sam Bass Warner, The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of its Growth (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), p. 138.

of this that the massive infusions of immigrants from Ireland in the 1840s provoked widespread urban unrest in eastern cities. A concurrent depression afflicting the British Isles was responsible for the vessels bearing thousands of Irish, who began to compete in the already straitened labor market immediately upon debarkation. The newcomers adhered chiefly to a foreign, and to many, a heinous religion, Roman Catholicism. Philadelphia, hitherto noted for religious tolerance, would experience violent outbreaks of "nativism." Playing upon the economic and religiously inspired fears of the host population, "nativist" organizations seeking to curb immigration and to deny the newcomers political influence achieved widespread appeal in the late 1830s and 1840s. In Philadelphia, unrest culminated in the nativists riots of May, 1844, which occurred the month following Poe's removal to New York City.[12]

Priming the violence of May, 1844, was the host of nativist associations which had begun to spring up throughout the city and its environs in late 1843. These were generally

---

[12]Pessen, Jacksonian America, pp. 297-307. On the May, 1844 riots and their causes and background see Michael Feldberg, The Philadelphia Riots of 1844: A Study of Ethnic Conflict (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975).

"Nativism" was a popular political movement which exerted broad influence in the 1830s and 1840s. Organizing against immigration generally, nativists focused particular antipathy on Roman Catholics. See James Truslow Adams, ed., Dictionary of American History (2nd ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), 4: 64-66. On nativism in Philadelphia, see Russell F. Weigley, ed., Philadelphia: A 300-Year History (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1982), pp. 356-358.

patterned after a few pioneer efforts, like the organization that had formed in Germantown in 1837 and had framed a constitution demanding that immigrants be barred from voting and from serving in any legislative capacity. In December of 1843 a similar rally was held in the Spring Garden District, by which time Poe was certainly in residence there. This resulted in the formation of the American Republican Association of the Second Ward, Spring Garden. In January a like association was formed in the Locust Ward of the City, and over the course of the next few months dozens more followed. Nativist agitation was a prominent issue in urban Philadelphia during Poe's last months in the city, but he appears to have taken little or no interest in the trend.[13]

Employment and wages in Philadelphia were adversely effected by economic upheaval and by immigration, as population in and about the city continued to expand. Between 1830 and 1840 the population of Philadelphia, including its districts, rose from 188,961 to 231,702, with the numbers in the old city bounded by Vine Street on the north and South Street on the south increasing from 80,458 to 93,665. Seven outlying districts to the north and south had been established by an Act of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1813, and proportionately they had begun to outstrip the old city in

---

[13] J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, History of Philadelphia 1609-1884, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1884), 1: 663-664.

population growth. The Spring Garden District, where Poe lived at two successive addresses, was in a period of particularly rapid development. Spring Garden had 11,141 inhabitants in 1830, 27,849 in 1840, and 58,894 in 1850. It was one of the most rapidly expanding regions of Philadelphia County, outdistancing all save Moyamensing in proportionate growth. (The latter rose from 6,822 inhabitants in 1830 to 26,979 in 1850.)[14]

Before the Panic of 1837 and the pressures exerted by immigration, times had been relatively good for Philadelphians at the lower end of the economic scale. It was estimated that in 1833 a laborer in Philadelphia supporting a wife and two children required, at bare minimum, wages amounting to $166 per year to survive. This would serve to provide for clothing, washing, rent, soap, candles, fuel, and food, the latter item requiring $87.60 per year. The diet of the laborer and his family, as provided by $87.60 per year, included only the essentials: bread, meat, potatoes, butter, tea, sugar, milk, salt, pepper, vinegar, in addition to fuel, soap, and candles.[15] In 1830, a laborer in Philadelphia made one dollar per day, or $313 per year if he were fortunate enough to be engaged in steady employment. Ship's carpenters

---

[14]Warner, Private City, p. 51.

[15]Donald R. Adams, "Wage Rates in Philadelphia 1790-1830" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1967), p. 134.

and joiners, both skilled laborers, made $488.50 per annum, or $2.50 per day, again supposing steady employment.[16] Because there was a reasonably healthy demand for labor through the 1830s until the Panic, trade unionism made some progress during this period.

By 1838, the lower end of the unskilled and skilled labor was facing increased unemployment, because of the combined effects of panic and immigration. There was, for instance, a surfeit of clerks on the market. This was sufficiently odd to be remarked upon by the English traveller, George Combe, who discovered that "Young men educated as clerks, capable of writing letters and keeping books, superabound in Philadelphia, and receive only $4, while a porter is allowed $6 a week."[17] Many, he observed, were the sons of laborers who were seeking to better themselves, but "the market is overstocked, employment is not to be obtained, and they solicit engagements for the means of bare subsistence."[18] By 1842, fledgling unions had lost their influence in the face of unemployment. Skilled laborers who were employed with piece work found prices falling, and, as Sam Bass Warner asserts, "men took what they could get."[19]

---

[16] Ibid., p. 203.

[17] Combe, Notes on the United States, p. 262.

[18] Ibid., p. 263.

[19] Warner, Private City, p. 137.

Edgar Allan Poe's life in Philadelphia was cast against a background of general economic uncertainty, yet there were as always men whose individual successes belied the times. One of these was George Rex Graham, publisher, Poe's employer from 1841 to 1842. Graham's rise from a very humble beginning was proverbially meteoric and it occurred at a time, between 1839 and 1846, when numerous Philadelphians were being knocked from their economic pins.[20] The publishing world, itself one of considerable risk, was nevertheless one in which an enterprising individual could reverse the pattern of business slowdown. Poe's ultimate failure in this area was perhaps less attributable to the generally poor economy than it was to his uncompromising philosophy of magazine publishing.

Literary book publishing in Philadelphia and the nation was dominated by the company that had been founded by Mathew Carey in 1785. By the 1830s it had undergone several alterations with the addition and deletion of partners. Under the name of Lea & Blanchard, it would publish a small edition of Poe's Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque late in 1839.[21]

Book production, however, was a stable enterprise even in times of financial duress, when compared to newspaper

---

[20] For more on George R. Graham, see Part I, Chapter 7.

[21] [Lea Brothers & Co.], One Hundred Years of Publishing 1785-1885 (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers & Co., 1885), pp. 1-20. From 1829 onward, the retail portion of the business was known as Carey & Hart.

and magazine publishing. Newspapers and "embellished" magazines, printed in blindingly minute type, were the principal sources of news, popular literature, and entertainment for an increasingly literate population. The competition was deadly, and publications arrived and failed overnight. In 1839, Philadelphia had about eight newspapers,[22] with their offices clustered in the publishing district of Dock and 2nd Streets, near the United States Post Office on the ground floor of the Merchant's Exchange. The fraternity of newspaper and magazine publishers, editors and writers, if so benign a term can be used to embrace so contentious a group of men, included Poe's principal associates during his Philadelphia years. When he arrived in Philadelphia, the most important magazine published locally was Godey's Ladies' Book. Poe would be to a significant degree responsible for the growth and success of Godey's most threatening competitors.

---

[22]These were, the United States Gazette (66 Dock Street); The Pennsylvanian (99 S. 2nd); The Philadelphia Gazette (97 S. 2nd); The Pennsylvania Inquirer & Courier (72 S. 2nd); the Saturday Courier (72 Dock Street); the Public Ledger (NW corner of 2nd and Dock Sts.); the Spirit of the Times (NW corner of 3rd and Chestnut); the Saturday Evening Post (Carter's Alley). See Daniel Bowen, A History of Philadelphia, with a Notice of Villages, in the Vicinity, Embellished with Engravings, Designed as a Guide to Citizens and Strangers, Containing a Correct Account of the City Improvements, Up to the Year 1839; . . . (Philadelphia: Daniel Bowen, 1839), p. 127. For the history of Philadelphia's publishing community see Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, 1790-1850 (1930; reprint ed., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), and William Charvat, Literary Publishing in America, 1790-1850 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959).

With the population growth sustained through the 1830s and 1840s Philadelphia's urban landscape was altering rapidly. The "old city," densely built up west from the Delaware to Broad Street, was but lightly populated west from Broad Street, although rows of houses were beginning to replace vacant lots in this quarter. South of South Street, the two districts of Southwark and Moyamensing were receiving the city's expanding population. Passayunk on the west was still but sparsely populated. The most populous district north of the city was Northern Liberties, seconded by Kensington, with its active shipyards on the Delaware. The southeastern corner of Spring Garden was becoming quite urban in character, while the western portion of the district was developing more slowly. (See Map 1.)

Merchants and tradesmen ranged along Chestnut Street and High Street, the latter being referred to increasingly as Market Street. Chestnut Street, lined with fancy goods emporia, was the city's most fashionable commercial thoroughfare. George Combe provides a vivid description of its appearance in January of 1839, before the resurgence of economic depression set in:

> These are what are called "prosperous times" in Philadelphia. . . . Bank paper is now abundant, speculation is afloat, and prices are high. A house in Chestnut Street, in the best situation, with a front under thirty feet, and a ground extending probably 150 feet backwards, has just been sold for $35,000 . . . to be converted into a china store. The stores, or shops, in this city, are very handsome, and their wares

> are of a sumptuous description. The display of female beauty and good taste presented by Chestnut Street on a fine day, would do credit to any European city.[23]

In his last sentence Combe remarks upon a phenomenon that had become nothing less than a matter of civic pride, that being the custom of Philadelphia's fashionable ladies to "turn out" on Chestnut Street in appropriate weather. Joseph Sill, a Philadelphia importer who had been hard hit by poor business, took heart in the same scene in March, 1841:

> A beautiful Day . . . the ladies turn'd out in Chestnut St. to-day in numbers, and it presented the gayest Scene I have witnessed there in some months . . . and many, very many, no doubt throng'd the thoroughfares to display their new Spring Apparel. . . .[24]

The city's geographical boundaries formed important social ones, and Market Street, as Combe notes, was a formidable one:

> Market Street is the northern boundary of fashionable residences. The fashionable inhabitants of Chestnut, Walnut, and Spruce Streets, which lie to the south of that line, will scarcely recognise as compeers families living to the north of it. If a stranger were to come to the city and occupy a house of the first class, beyond the northern boundary, and give the most splendid entertainments, he would nevertheless find it difficult to make his way into fashionable society.[25]

Visitors to the city, especially those who confined their tours to the main thoroughfares and fashionable

---

[23] Combe, Notes on the United States, p. 202.

[24] Joseph Sill Diary, 20 March 1841, HSP.

[25] Combe, Notes on the United States, p. 245. (This observation is dated February, 1839).

districts, seldom failed to comment on the civic fastidiousness that kept the footways clean. "The swine, . . ." Combe noted with approval, "are free citizens; but they are more restrained to the inferior streets."[26] He thought Philadelphians to be a little too punctilious in such matters, as they refused to put ashes on icy sidewalks so as to maintain the cleanliness of their sumptuous carpets. "They may break their limbs by falling, but the carpets must be preserved unsullied."[27]

Not only fashionable residents, but tradesmen and merchants as well, clustered together in small colonies at locations which were either convenient to the docks, or long established by custom. The Delaware wharves were the principal termini of transportation and trade for the Port of Philadelphia. From the wharves the traveller could board one of several ferries to Camden for the overland journey by train to Perth Amboy, the quickest route to New York City. There too were slips for the Baltimore and New York steamboats. By 1839, the Arch Street, Chestnut Street, Walnut Street, Spruce Street and Cedar Street wharves had been converted to steamboat landings.[28] Theodore Bliss described the wharves as they appeared in 1844:

---

[26]Ibid., p. 183.

[27]Ibid., p. 205.

[28]Bowen, History of Philadelphia, p. 137.

> From Vine Street to South Street the wharves were crowded with ships of every rig. Delays in unloading were frequent, owing to the number of vessels, and ships had to lie at anchor in the stream, waiting for places at the wharves. The great bowsprits stretched out over the parapet on Delaware Avenue in a long perspective of picturesque angles, and a great variety of figure-heads looked down on the busy shore from the high prows.[29]

Attorneys clustered in the commercial center, many of them on Walnut Street, bootmakers favored south 4th, 6th and 7th streets, while boot wholesalers preferred High Street between numbers 100 and 200. Stock and exchange brokers favored south Third Street, cloth sellers south 2nd, commission merchants liked the wharves, dry goods merchants clustered on Front Street, and wholesale produce merchants naturally clove to the wharves and to Water Street. Hardware dealers preferred High Street. Most of the principal hotels of the city lined Chestnut. Importers seem to have favored Front Street, although they were pretty generally scattered throughout the city. Luxury tradesmen such as jewellers, silversmiths, mercers (cloth merchants), and tailors had shops on Chestnut. Leather and hide dealers were on north 3rd, while manufacturers who required industrial space spread out in the western part of the city and on the Schuylkill. Oil dealers and refiners were near the south wharves, publishers on Dock and lower Chestnut streets, shipping and

---

[29]Arthur Ames Bliss, ed., Theodore Bliss Publisher and Bookseller, A Study of the Character and Life of the Middle Period of the XIX Century (n.p.: privately printed, 1911), p. 53.

commission merchants on Walnut Street and the wharves. Silk and fancy goods warehouses lined High Street (Market St.) and 2nd within a block or two of High, while stove and furnace manufacturers were further west on High in the vicinity of 12th Street. Umbrella and parasol makers were on High Street in the region of 3rd and 4th, and wholesale druggists clustered on Front Street. Between the northern boundary of the old city at Vine Street and the residential quarters of Spring Garden were the workshops and small factories of manufacturers, together with lumber dealers.[30]

The observant visitor in Philadelphia in the 1840s seldom failed to remark upon its imposing public buildings and picturesque recreational meccas. Three of America's principal architects, William Strickland, Thomas U. Walter, and John Haviland were impressing their marks upon the urban scene. Strickland had contributed, among other buildings, the Merchants' Exchange (1832-1834) on Third and Walnut, and the United States Naval Asylum (1826-1833), a retirement home and hospital for Naval veterans in Passyunk at Gray's Ferry Avenue and 24th Street. John Haviland's Eastern State Penitentiary (1823-1833), the model prison for the Pennsylvania solitary system of penal reform, was in northwestern Spring Garden. Walter's somber Egyptian revival Debtor's

---

[30] A[rchibald] McElroy, comp., McElroy's Philadelphia Directory (Philadelphia: n.p., 1844), "Business Directory" section.

Prison lay adjacent to Moyamensing Prison, in the district of the same name, and his monumental design for Founder's Hall of Girard College was rising laboriously just outside the northern boundary of Spring Garden, in Penn Township. Frederick Graff's classically inspired Fairmount Water Works, the parklike expanses of Laurel Hill Cemetery and the meandering Wissahockon Creek were the objectives of carriage excursions in fair weather.[31]

Philadelphia's residential architecture had long since conformed to patterns established by the narrow and exceedingly deep lots common in the old city. Townhouses were as a result narrow and deep, with backbuildings ranging out the rear. One or more backbuildings were attached to the main block fronting on the street by a "piazza," or hallway, in which frequently was located the stairwell rising to the upper stories. The principal building material, as in the eighteenth century, was brick, although in grander edifaces it was often elaborately faced with marble. George Combe noted:

> The houses are regular and handsome. In the principal streets, they are "fixed," as it is here called, that is, finished off with marble. In some streets, the houses are built with marble as high as the drawing-room floors; in others, only the steps and the setting of the doors and windows are of marble.[32]

---

[31]For illustrations of these and other period structures see Edwin Wolf, Philadelphia: Portrait of an American City (Harrisburg, Pa., Stackpole Books, 1975).

[32]Combe, Notes on the United States, p. 183.

By 1840, Philadelphia's staid Federal classicism was being punctuated by a more exotic style. Although most evident in public edifaces, the Egyptian revival style was not confined to them alone, as taste for the new forms began to evidence itself in interior decoration. Walter's Debtor's Prison would soon find a fantastical counterpart in the northern portion of the city, in the stack of the Spring Garden Water Works (1845). The style was cropping up with some frequency, as in the facade of the Pennsylvania Fire Insurance Company on Locust Street, by John Haviland (1838), and even in the lower range of pillars on Strickland's Merchants' Exchange.[33]

The civic services and amenities in Philadelphia were things in which her citizens had long taken justifiable pride. Few of these were sponsored by the municipal governments, but were instead the result of Philadelphians' irrepressible instinct to associate. When a civic need was described or a service required, an association such as a fire company, an insurance group, a charity or a private corporation would emerge. This gave the city a unique social character rendering its institutions distinct from those of other North

---

[33]For a comprehensive treatment of this style in Europe and the United States, see Richard G. Carrott, The Egyptian Revival, Its Sources, Monuments, and Meaning 1808-1858 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

American cities.[34]

Severe health problems in the late eighteenth century had been responsible for several of Philadelphia's more important services. The great yellow fever epidemic of 1793 and the lesser ones of yellow fever and cholera which followed were responsible for the attention lavished on the city's water supply. By 1819 Philadelphia's second and enlarged public water supply was established with the construction of the Fairmount Water Works (1810-1819) on the Schuylkill. With this system, which pumped water directly from the river into adjacent reservoirs, any Philadelphian living between South and Vine Streets could have water introduced into his premises at the cost of five dollars per annum for as much water as he could use. With water both cheap and plentiful, residents became justly proud of the city's hygiene. Samuel Breck, upon consulting the Watering Committee report for 1838, noted in his diary that there were then 1,673 private baths in the old city, and 217 in Spring Garden. He was careful to add, "Now, let it be understood that these baths are not limited in the use of water to one or two full tubs a day, but are supplied with whatever quantity is wanted by the taxpayer."[35]

---

[34]On Philadelphia's tradition of voluntary association and civic concern, see Weigley, ed., Philadelphia: A 300-Year History, pp. 78-85, 223-226, 292-294.

[35]Samuel Breck, "The Diary of Samuel Breck, 1839-1840," ed. by Nicholas B. Wainwright, Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (hereafter PMHB) 103 (October 1979): 503.

George Combe's first sight of Philadelphia, viewed from the New Jersey shore on a December evening in 1838, was of a "city reposing in solemn majesty . . . and sending forth gleams of light from its innumerable gas-lamps. . . ."[36] When he at length made his way on foot across the frozen Delaware, he was even more delighted by the individual effects achieved by the lighting system:

> We passed the front of the United States Bank, an imitation of the Parthenon, in white marble, and beautifully lighted up by gas-lamps so dispersed behind the tops of the pillars that only the light and the building were visible.[37]

In a domestic setting, gaslight could be no less dazzling. Samuel Breck moved into his splendid new town-house on Arch Street west of Broad in August of 1839, and he boasted in his diary that his parlors, hall, and vestibule contained about thirty-five gas burners, all of which could be lit "upon a gala occasion . . ."[38] to emit a total of 920 candle-power.

The application of gas lighting throughout the old city had been particularly rapid. Ground had been broken for the Philadelphia Gas Works on the Schuylkill at 22nd and Market Streets in April, 1835. By the beginning of 1844, 45¼ miles of gas mains extended through the old city, from

---

[36]Combe, Notes on the United States, pp. 175-176.

[37]Ibid., p. 176.

[38]Breck, "Diary," 508.

Lith^y of A. Kollner Phil^a

Published by the American Sunday School Union No 146 Chestnut St Phil^a

ILLUS. 2

Vine to South Streets and from the Delaware to the Schuylkill. There were 3,375 private consumers within these bounds, and 837 public lamps, including 715 post lamps and 27 in the public markets. The Night Watch of the city trimmed and tended the public lamps between dusk and dawn.[39]

The efficiency which marked the introduction of public light and water services into the city, however, was not paralleled by attention to the matter of public transportation, this despite the fact that by the mid-thirties the city had sprawled sufficiently to make walking throughout it a matter of some inconvenience. By 1834, omnibuses operated by individuals and small companies had begun to ply regular routes through the city, using the Merchants' Exchange as a central depot. Until horsedrawn trolleys were introduced in the 1850s, these coaches were the only cheap form of public transit. It was not, evidently, a wholly convenient mode of navigating the city streets. Theodore Bliss recalled that when he arrived in 1844, "Transit for local passengers through our streets was carried on by means of heavy omnibuses and coaches, that rattled over the cobblestones in a slow and painful progress."[40] These elaborately decorated horsedrawn

---

[39]Philadelphia Gas Works, Report of the Trustees of the Philadelphia Gas Works to the Select and Common Councils of the City of Philadelphia (Philadelphia: J. H. Jones & Co., 1857), pp. 184, 222. Wolf, Philadelphia, p. 187.

[40]Bliss, Theodore Bliss, p. 56.

vehicles had, by 1844, extended their service into the underlying districts.

A more exclusive form of transportation, horsedrawn cabs, was still an innovation that approached novelty. Their arrival in Philadelphia can be precisely dated to 1839, when Samuel Breck noted in his diary that the first cab had appeared in the streets, as "has been introduced in late years into London as a hack or public vehicle."[41] The first of these were apparently used as a publicity device by the owner of the Merchants' Hotel at 4th and Market streets.[42] Soon they were so numerous in the streets that the city began to license them and require that they be confined, when not under hire, to designated cab stands.

The affluent of the city commonly kept their own horses, carriages, and sleighs for winter use in public stables or stables to the rear of their dwellings. The sleighs were a feature of the winter scene that seems to have entranced a succession of foreign visitors. George Combe observed the "Innumerable sleighs, with their many bells, passing everywhere in the streets."[43] Another traveller, who arrived in mid-winter of 1841, noted:

---

[41]Breck, "Diary," 504.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Combe, Notes on the United States, p. 182.

FRANKLIN & SPRING GARDEN ST 1889

ILLUS. f

> . . . the sleighs were gliding rapidly through the streets, the needful notice of their approach being given by bells on the horses. But in the course of the 4th month (April) the traces of winter had disappeared, the verdure became beautiful, and the avenues and wooded squares burst into beauty.[44]

Throughout the period Poe inhabited Philadelphia, food brought in from the countryside was plentiful and reasonably cheap, provided the purchaser did not go in for exotics. The public markets of Philadelphia, ranging up Market (High) Street, Spring Garden Street, and scattered at a few other locations, were carefully regulated and were housed in permanent wood and brick structures running through the middle of their respective avenues.[45] The stalls of the markets displayed an astonishingly wide variety of game and produce. In 1839 they were thus described:

> The Philadelphia Markets present an ample supply of all kinds of meats, poultry, birds, wild-fowl, fish, lobsters, crabs, oysters, and in the winter season, an abundance of venison, etc. The supply of vegetables, peaches, apples, cherries, and every other kind of fruit, is equally abundant. The Markets are supplied every day of the week, except the Sabbath; but Wednesdays and Saturdays are established, as especial Market-Days, on which occasions the supplies, particularly after midsummer, afford a most gratifying spectacle to those who delight in the bounties of nature. On these days, the Market Houses are filled, and the Streets leading to and from the Markets, seem almost to groan, with the loaded baskets, piled in every direction. . . .

---

[44]John Joseph Gurney, A Journey in North America Described in Familiar Letters to Amelia Opie (1841; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), p. 92.

[45]For details concerning the Spring Garden Street Market, located near Poe's 7th Street house, see Part I, Chapter 2.

> Inspectors of weights, superintend the Market, whose duty it is to see that wholesome provisions are exposed for sale. . . .[46]

The author of this paean, whose self-appointed task it was to praise the qualities of the city of Philadelphia, might be questioned as to veracity, were it not for ample corroboration. The English traveller John Joseph Gurney, visiting Philadelphia in 1841, asserted, "It would be difficult to find, in any city, markets more abundantly supplied with a vast variety of provision than those of Phila."[47] He was particularly enthralled by the markets lining Market Street, and he described their seasonal offerings in some detail. During the spring he found rockfish from the river in abundance, but the favorite was shad caught in the April run. Also in April there appeared wagons filled with passenger pigeons, waxen chatterers, robins, and meadow larks, the abundance of which doubtless contributed to the extinction and near-extermination of some of these popular game birds. Venison arrived from the "wild districts" of Pennsylvania, and from the farms came beef, mutton, fruits and vegetables. New Jersey supplied "a vast supply of delicious peaches, . . ."[48] then as now, later in the summer.

---

[46]Bowen, History of Philadelphia, p. 190.

[47]Gurney, Journey in North America, p. 92.

[48]Ibid., p. 93.

A city the size of Philadelphia might normally have been expected to support an elaborate law-enforcement system, but in 1840 this was far from the case. Reputed to be, under the benigh Quaker influence, an unusually peaceable town, Philadelphia succumbed in the 1840s to social stresses resulting in political rowdyism, warring fire companies, anti-abolitionist disturbances, street gang violence, and finally the nativist riots of 1844. Law enforcement was principally in the hands of a few scattered constables and the Watch, who were expected to find assistance in halting a disturbance or apprehending a criminal by calling upon the dutiful citizenry. Only the County Sheriff could arrest a criminal who enacted his crime in the old city, but who fled beyond the political boundaries of Vine and South Streets. It was the responsibility of the law-abiding public to "assist the Mayor" in keeping the peace.

If such a system reflected an unusual respect for law within the city, there nevertheless remained vestigal traces of less humane times. On May 19, 1837, thousands turned out for Philadelphia's last public execution, that of a convicted murderer. The gallows were erected in Spring Garden at the intersection of Schuylkill-6th and Green Streets. However, the inhabitants of the city had evinced themselves to be more interested in penal reform, as represented in their internationally reputed prison system, than

in the preservation of antiquated punishments.[49]

By 1840 there were signs that the peaceable fabric of the society was beginning to rend. The famed fire companies, their ranks swelled with toughs, vied with each other in the streets, often to the detriment of the burning building that had occasioned their turning out. The late 1830s were years of militant abolitionism in most northern cities, and Philadelphia, with its substantial population of free blacks, experienced its share of related disturbances. Dr. William Henry Furness of the Unitarian Church preached abolition fearlessly. In 1837, abolitionist groups in the city combined to purchase a lot on the southwestern corner of 6th and Haines Streets, where they erected a large structure they named Pennsylvania Hall. It accommodated an audience of 3,000, and was to be a meeting hall for those interested in popular reform questions, including abolition of slavery. In May of 1837, shortly after the building opened, it was fired and destroyed by an anti-abolitionist mob. The same month, the shelter for Colored Orphans on 13th Street above Callowhill, operated by the Society of Friends, was also fired, but the Good-Will Fire Company managed to save the structure. Both of these violent actions were protested strongly in the pages of the Philadelphia Public Ledger,

---

[49]Feldberg, The Philadelphia Riots, p. 10. On the execution see Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 1: 649.

whereupon their editorial offices on the northwest corner of 2nd and Dock Streets were besieged by angry crowds, but no damage was sustained.[50]

The economic stresses occasioned by the Panic of 1837 and by the nature of working conditions in America were reflected in the restless mobility of the working population within the city of Philadelphia. Poe lived in at least three different rental properties during his six years in Philadelphia, and his case was far from unusual. One student of this phenomenon, Stuart Blumin, has commented, "it appears that an extraordinary impermanence of place was a general fact of American life. Any attempt to understand the nineteenth-century American city must incorporate this physical tendency."[51] Blumin's figures support his contention that people on the economic fringes tended to be highly mobile. He sampled 1,835 persons in the Philadelphia population between 1840 and 1850. Six hundred and fifty-three, or 35.6 percent, moved at least once during the decade to a contiguous district of the city, to a diagonal district, or to a non-contiguous district. Philadelphians were people on the move, and Blumin speculates that this mobility "reflects to a large degree the shifting pattern of economic opportunity

---

[50] Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 1: 651-652.

[51] Stuart M. Blumin, "Residential Mobility Within the Nineteenth-Century City," in Allan F. Davis and Mark H. Haller, eds., The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic Groups and Lower Class Life, 1790-1940 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973), pp. 37-38.

in the city."[52] In other words, people were following jobs.

Contrasting with the rather bleak prospects of the laborers, skilled workers, and clerks living on marginal earnings, were the amusements and entertainments available to the affluent. A successful merchant like Joseph Sill, who had virtually retired from business while still in his thirties and who had had brought with him from England an uninhibited taste for music, dance, theatre, and the visual arts, enjoyed a host of opportunities to satiate his refined palate. The season of entertainments was usually well under way in October, and throughout the winter plays, operas, ballets, concerts, exhibitions, and lectures were nightly at the disposal of those who could afford them. Typically, Sill was out almost every evening. A sampling of his activities over the winter of 1840-1841 included performances of Bellini's La Sonnambula at the Chestnut Street Theatre, Sheridan Knowle's play John di Procida at William E. Burton's National Theatre, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Wood in Fra Diavolo, concerts of the Philharmonic Society and at Musical Fund Hall, Fanny Elsler dancing in La Tarantale and Natalie, Burton's extravagant production of The Naiad Queen at the National, and Edwin Forrest in Hamlet at the Arch Street Theatre. Quieter evenings, especially as the season wore down, found Sill at the Athenaeum reading Blackwood's Magazine, which,

---

[52]Ibid., p. 47.

he averred, was so popular that "several persons may be seen waiting about until the person engaged in reading it gets through, that they may instantly pick it up and 'devour' it--."[53]

There were occasional entertainments available to the less affluent, and these included the public parades that had become a feature of the urban scene. Probably the most lavish of these was the New Year's Day parade, with Philadelphia's fire companies as its principal participants. George Combe described the one commemorating New Year's Day, 1839:

> This is a beautiful bright new-year's-day, and the militia and fire-engine companies are marching in procession through the city with banners flying and martial music sounding. . . . It was to me a new spectacle to see a train of engines fully a mile in length, with all the apparatus necessary for extinguishing fires, maintained in the highest order. . . ."[54]

The celebration of New Years, and of other holidays, was not so decorous as might be inferred from the above rather staid description. Joseph Sill's account of the ringing-in of the new year of 1841 belies any implication of sobriety:

> . . . we lingered up last night until the last moment of the Old Year waned away, and the Sonorous Bell struck the decisive hour, which seperated [sic] the <u>past</u> from the <u>present</u> Time--While the Bell was yet sounding, the still

---

[53]Joseph Sill Diary, 23 June 1841, HSP. Sill's attendance at cultural functions is described almost daily throughout the preceding winter.

[54]Combe, <u>Notes on the United States</u>, p. 187.

> midnight Air was in a moment fill'd with the din of Artillery--Cannon after Cannon boom'd over the waste of night--The Bells in the Churches rang a stirring peal--the report of the Rifle was heard from almost every point--distant hurrah's came stealing on the ear. . . ."[55]

As the seasons progressed, punctuated with the celebrations, entertainments, eruptions of popular discontent, and depression followed by recuperation from hard times, Philadelphians followed patterns of activity which were to a degree dictated by the seasons. This was evident in things so trivial as oyster eating and so momentous as surviving a cold winter. A hard winter could mean death to the less fortunate. Joseph Sill was Secretary of the Saint George's Society, an organization composed of Englishmen like himself, who aided each other and their fellow immigrants in finding work. He was a man of pronounced conscience, and the welfare of the poor of Philadelphia is a recurring strain in his diary. In October of 1840 he wrote:

> We have at present many indications that the approaching Winter will be a trying one for the lower classes--Trade has been dull beyond precedent during the whole of the present year, and the labourers who generally remain in and about our Cities have been obliged to sojourn into the Country during the whole of the Summer--They now are returning, as the resources of the Country are no longer sufficient to maintain them--To these may be added a very large influx of Immigrants from Europe. . . ."[56]

During the same autumn, Edgar Allan Poe's plans to found his own magazine, "The Penn," foundered and then

---

[55]Joseph Sill Diary, 1 January 1841, HSP.

[56]Ibid., 7 October 1840.

failed, and he faced a winter destitute of employment. Somehow he managed to get by from the time he parted company with his employer, William F. Burton, in late May, until the following February, when he accepted employment from George R. Graham. He then earned about $60 per month.[57] With his wife and mother-in-law to support, this would not permit him to enjoy Philadelphia's cultural entertainments. He was not so poor as the artisan employed with piece work, but his livelihood was no less precarious.

---

[57]Dwight Rembert Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia 1837-1844, A Documentary Record" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1978), pp. 202-203. Poe is supposed to have made about $800 per year when employed by George R. Graham, or about twice as much as a fully employed laborer.

Part I, Chapter 2

THE SPRING GARDEN DISTRICT

At some time between May 25, 1841, and September 12 of that year, Edgar A. Poe moved his family from a house in the old city, probably at a location near 16th and Locust, to a dwelling in the westernmost extremity of Spring Garden.[1] It was in Coates Street, near Fairmount Street, very near the Fairmount Water Works. Any enthusiasm they may have had for the healthfulness of the atmosphere probably gave way rapidly to disappointment with the general inconvenience of the location. Another move was at length settled upon, this time to North 7th Street at the corner of Wistar Street, also in Spring Garden, where they had arrived by June 20, 1843.[2] The new address, in a growing residential neighborhood, had many conveniences which the Coates Street location had conspicuously lacked. Poe, proceeding on foot, could be at the publishing center on Dock Street, or at the Post Office in the Merchant's Exchange in a matter of twenty

---

[1] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 381-382, 435.

[2] Ibid., pp. 571-572. For a complete discussion of this see Part I, Chapter 3. Wistar Street was renamed Minerva Street in 1854, and Brandywine Street in 1895.

or twenty-five minutes. There was an omnibus stand but two blocks away, and he may have used these public vehicles in bad weather. Mrs. Clemm and Virginia Poe would have been tempted by the game and produce at the Spring Garden Street Market by merely stepping from their door. For all of this, however, they no longer enjoyed the quietude of Coates Street. Their new neighborhood was busy, built up, and probably congested during market hours.

The continuing expansion of Philadelphia's population from the beginning of the nineteenth century had resulted in the creation of nine incorporated districts contiguous to the old city and constituted from the townships of Philadelphia County. These were not created at once, but gradually over the early years of the century. The districts were designed to provide some form of local municipal government for the areas outside the old city which were attracting the spill-over of urban population.

The Spring Garden District was created out of Penn Township by an act of the Pennsylvania Assembly of March 22, 1813. It was bounded by 6th Street on the east, Vine on the South, Broad on the west, and Coates Street (now Fairmount Avenue) on the north. The district was enlarged, again out of Penn Township, on March 2, 1827, being extended all the way to the Schuylkill River on the west, with the northern boundary taken north to a line 200 feet north of Poplar

Street.[3] (See Map 2.)

By April 4, 1831, the district had become sufficiently populous to be divided into wards. There were at first three: the 1st between 6th and 10th Streets, the 2nd between 10th and Broad, the 3rd between Broad Street and the Schuylkill. Crowding in the southeastern quadrant of the district precipitated yet another rearrangement as of April 9, 1833, when the 1st Ward was divided into wards 1 and 4, the dividing line being Green Street.[4] By 1841, the ward divisions had assumed the configuration they would have when Poe moved to 7th Street two years later; the dividing line between the 1st and 4th wards had been moved southward to Buttonwood Street.[5] (See Map 2.) While at his 7th Street address, Poe lived in the 4th Ward, Spring Garden District, County of Philadelphia.

The municipal affairs of the district were governed by an elected Board of Commissioners, which was divided into various sub-committees on watering, paving, the watch, etc. Ten years after Poe lived in Spring Garden, the Pennsylvania Assembly passed the Consolidation Act, uniting the old city,

---

[3]John Daly and Allen Weinberg, Genealogy of Philadelphia County Subdivisions (Philadelphia: City of Philadelphia Department of Records, 1966), pp. 16, 18.

[4]Ibid., p. 21.

[5]Spring Garden District Board of Commissioners, A Digest of the Acts of Assembly and the Ordinances of the Inhabitants and Commissioners of the District of Spring Garden for the Government of that District (Philadelphia: Thomas B. Town, 1841), pp. 194-195.

the nine incorporated districts, and the six boroughs into the new City of Philadelphia. The new city was divided into twenty-four wards, whereupon Poe's old house on 7th Street was in the 13th Ward of the city.[6]

The expansion and urbanization of the Spring Garden District from the date of its founding can be easily traced through the prosaic expedient of observing the order in which its streets were paved. In general, the district expanded from its southwestern* corner northwards, westwards, and in a direction diagonally northwest. There was as well substantial building in progress from the 1830s in the western portion of the district adjacent to the Schuylkill. Generally, the residents of a street paved it at their own expense, and the act of paving indicated a strong desire among the residents to have their thoroughfare regularized and rendered convenient. Paving usually indicated that a street or section of street was becoming fairly populous.

The procedure was: (1) residents of a street would petition the Paving Committee of the Board of Commissioners to have their street paved; (2) the Paving Committee would refer the petition to subcommittee, who would interview the residents; (3) the subcommittee would report and if a majority of the residents on a section of street wanted it paved, a resolution to do it would pass; (4) the leveling and paving jobs would be let to contractors and the paving

---

[6]Wolf, Philadelphia, p. 199.

* [Editor's Note: This should read "southeastern" instead of "southwestern".[

done; and (5) residents would be billed on a price per square yard basis by the Paving Committee for the sections of street fronting their properties.[7]

The neighborhood in which Poe would live was paved, for the most part, between 1829 and 1833, indicating that the area could no longer be characterized as rural. In June of 1828 the Paving Committee was petitioned to pave 7th Street between Callowhill and Buttonwood, and it was dug out, leveled, and covered with paving stone by January, 1829. The following April the Committee resolved to pave 7th Street between Buttonwood and Coates, and this was accomplished by November. This section ran by Poe's future residence. Residents of 7th Street (none of whom were named in the Paving Committee minutes) were billed $1.19 per square yard, the total cost for the four blocks in question being $4,522,85.[8]

Coates Street, an important east-west artery, was paved between 6th and 10th Streets by January, 1829, as was Callowhill Street its entire length to the bridge on the Schuylkill. Buttonwood was paved between 6th and Ridge Road by September, 1829. By the end of 1833, the immediate

---

[7]Extracted from the Minutes of the Paving Committee, Spring Garden District, Archives of the City and County of Philadelphia, City of Philadelphia Department of Records (hereafter ACCP).

[8]Minutes of the Paving Committee, Spring Garden District, 1829-1830, ACCP.

neighborhood of 7th Street sported paved streets; Green between 6th and 7th was finished by June, 1830, 8th from Buttonwood to Green completed by September, 1831, and Spring Garden Street between 6th and 8th Streets paved by December 24, 1833. Throughout 1832 the grid of paved streets advanced along the east-west streets between 8th and 11th, and by the latter half of the decade the principal focus of the Paving Committee had moved west toward 11th and north toward Parrish Street. Wistar Street between 7th and Franklin, where Poe would live, was not paved until 1841.[9]

---

[9]Minutes of the Paving Committee, Spring Garden District, 1829-1831, ACCP. The following extracts bear particularly on Poe's neighborhood:

6 April 1829--Paving Committee resolves to pave 7th Street between Buttonwood and Coates.
2 November 1829--above completed by this date
2 November 1829--Paving Committee resolves to pave Green Street between 6th and 7th.
7 June 1830--above completed by this date
1 July 1833--Petition to pave Spring Garden Street between 6th and 8th refered to subcommittees
24 December 1833--above completed by this date
3 September 1841--Paving Committee signs bills including one to "J. Blaine's Certificates of Stone for Wistar St 36.00" The Committee further reported: "The Petition of owners for the Paving of Wistar Street from 7th to Franklin St was submitted by the Chairman and it having been ascertained that a majority of owners had signed said Petition it was Resolved to report to the Board in favor of Paving said Street--"
29 October 1841--Paving Committee signs bill submitted by Simon Kneedler "for hauling & gravel Wistar St . . ." with repairs, for $28.70
3 December 1841--Paving Committee signs bills of:
"Edward Moran for Paving Wistar St $17.35
William Wilt $17.50
P.M. Price for regulating &c Wistar St 6.00"

From the mid-1820s the Spring Garden District began to enjoy services that characterized the parent city. The district began the installation of pipes and fireplugs for water from the Fairmount Water Works in 1826, and by 1842 there were sixteen miles of iron mains furnishing water to the inhabitants of Spring Garden.[10] Unlike their neighbors south of Vine Street, however, they were required to pay a rate of 50 percent greater than residents of the old city, or $7.50 per year to have water on their premises. For this annual sum the dwelling or shop owner received a hydrant, but he was responsible for the plumbing connecting the hydrant

---

31 December 1841--Paving Committee signs bill:
"Abram Wilt for Hauling & Gravel Wistar Street 14.70"

The District Treasurer billed the following inhabitants for the paving of Wistar Street on October 26, 1841:

North side

"Wm M Alburger	78 ft 11 in	= 35.1 yards
Benjamin Davis	18'	= 8 yards
James H. Deas	18'	= 8 yards

South Side

"C.M. & A.M. Sharpless 83 ft 4/8 = 37 yards"

(Billing of residents extracted from Spring Garden District Treasurer, Street Paving Accounts, 1814-1854, ACCP.)

[10]Philadelphia Watering Committee, Report of the Watering Committee to the Commissioners of Spring Garden, January 22, 1827 (Philadelphia: Jacob Frick & Co., 1827). Also, Sketch of the Water Works at Fairmount, and at Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. Prepared from the Reports of the Watering Committee (Philadelphia: Manly, Orr, and Lippincott, 1842), p. 30.

to his building.[11] The rate for a bath was an additional $4.50, and for a bath and dwelling combined, $12.[12] The higher rate, judged by many to be exorbitant, resulted in 1845 in Spring Garden introducing its own water supply, also drawn from the Schuylkill. In the 1830s and 1840s there were still standing wells in Spring Garden, but the water was of more than questionable purity.[13] Watering Committee permit stubs disclose that both 7th Street and most of the built-up area of Spring Garden was supplied with water by 1844. Many of the houses had baths and water supplied to kitchen sinks, and insurance surveys indicated the occasional instance of an upstairs bath.[14]

With the burgeoning population came the needed convenience of a market on Spring Garden Street. This thoroughfare, being 120 feet in width, had room at its center for permanent market stalls such as were found in Market Street and elsewhere in the city. An Act of Assembly in 1833 permitted markets at the Spring Garden Street location, with the specification that they were not to exceed thirty feet in width. A Spring Garden District ordinance of May 24,

---

[11] Ibid., p. 31.

[12] Watering Committee Stubs, Requests for Water Supply (Spring Garden), 1834-1842, ACCP.

[13] Spring Garden District Board of Commissioners, Ordinances (1841), pp. 82-83.

[14] Watering Committee Stubs, Requests for Water Supply (Spring Garden), 1834-1842, ACCP. See also Franklin Insurance Company surveys, Appendix C, 2.

1833, for the erection and regulation of markets permitted them to be built along Callowhill and Spring Garden Streets, the latter to extend from 6th to Broad streets. They were not to cross or block any of the intersections. The District Treasurer was responsible for letting the stalls, receiving the rents, and keeping the books.[15]

The markets were strictly regulated by the Board of Commissioners. They would be open every day excepting Sunday, from one hour before dawn until sundown, with the exception of Wednesdays and Saturdays, when they were required to be closed by 3:00 p.m. on pain of a $3 fine. No animals could be slaughtered on the premises. No produce or tubs could extend beyond two and a half feet outside the stalls into the aisles. Fines would be imposed for keeping livestock on the premises, and for the sale of unwholesome meat. During market hours stall renters could sell pickled oysters, soup, boiled Indian corn, and other items that constituted the nineteenth century equivalent of fast food. Grouse, partridges, and pheasants could only be sold from October 1 to February 1; woodcock and snipe only between July 1 and February 1. No informal marketing could be conducted at any other locations within the district. All provisions were required to be sold by weights and measure, and it was the task of the Clerk of the Market with his deputies to assure honest scales.

---

[15]Spring Garden District Board of Commissioners, Ordinances (1841), pp. 82-83.

Ordinances passed subsequently required that adjacent stalls share sets of scales, that stalls not let to victuallers could be rented by farmers selling their produce, and that no hucksters would be permitted in the markets.[16] Rents for the stalls, paid annually, were $16 for a butcher's stall, $2 for a "portico" stall, and $10 for a farmer's stall. Between Marshall Street and 9th Street on Spring Garden there were 42 stalls in the market buildings, and they were eventually extended further west, housing butchers, bakers, victuallers, and farmers.[17]

A further indication of the urban character of the southeastern section of Spring Garden lies in the ordinances applied to the regulation of public vehicles. They had apparently become sufficiently numerous to be licensed by July 3, 1841, when an ordinance passed for "the regulation of hacks, cabs, omnibuses, wagons, carts, drays and other vehicles within the District of Spring Garden."[18] These vehicles were now required to be numbered and registered with the Clerk of the Board of Commissioners. Numbers were to be affixed by means of tin plates, or painted on the glass of cab lamps, and a registration fee of fifty cents per vehicle

---

[16] Ibid., pp. 84-88.

[17] Spring Garden District Treasurer, Market Stalls Rental Ledger, 1842-1851, ACCP.

[18] Robert Bethel, A Digest of the Acts of Assembly and the Ordinances of the Inhabitants and Commissioners of the District of Spring Garden for the Government of that District (Philadelphia: J. H. Jones, 1852), p. 35.

was required. When they were not in use, the vehicles had to be kept at specified stands, which were located, for hacks and cabs, on the west side of Franklin Street from Vine to Wood, on the north side of Green from 8th to 9th, on the west side of the Ridge Road from Vine to Wood, and on the south side of Callowhill from west of Hamilton. Sleighs and omnibuses were restricted to the north side of Spring Garden from 8th to 9th and the north side of Callowhill west from Hamilton. Wagons, carts, and drays were assigned stands on the south side of Callowhill from Nixon Street to Williams, and on the east side of 7th Street from Callowhill to Willow.[19] The passage of these regulations suggests a congestion of vehicular traffic in southeastern Spring Garden, doubtless due in part to the extensive markets.

The ordinance on public vehicles also established rate ceilings, which were as follows: a vehicle could transport a passenger anywhere within the district limits east of Broad Street and charge no more than twenty-five cents. The same applied for the district west of Broad, but if Broad Street were crossed the fee would be thirty-five cents with fifteen cents for each additional passenger in a cab and twenty-five cents for each additional person in a hack. Transportation out of the district could not cost more than a dollar, beyond which the hourly hire of a hack

---

[19] Ibid., p. 36.

was a dollar, for a cab fifty cents.[20] Cabs and hacks were not modes of transportation designed for those of limited income.

Spring Garden's law enforcement apparatus was in principal an extension of that of the old city. The same philosophy prevailed; it was the responsibility of the populace to insure the peace of their own community. As in the old city, law enforcement was fundamentally in the hands of the constabulary and the night watch, "whose duty it is, to trim, light, and extinguish, the public lamps, and gas-lights, to walk the rounds, and cry the hours, while on duty, and to secure the peace and quiet of the city."[21] It is probably not happenstance that Daniel Bowen, writing in 1839, placed law enforcement last among the duties of the Night Watch as he described them, as Philadelphia's prevailing image was that of a peaceful city. The rounds of the Watch through the night, however, enhanced safety and security, with their attention to the lamps and with their reassuring cry of the hours.

In Spring Garden the watch worked with the local constables. An ordinance of November 12, 1827, had called for a "police Magistrate" to be selected from the Justices of the Peace of the district, authorizing him to open police dockets. As of September, 1831, Spring Garden had a

---

[20] Ibid., p. 36.

[21] Bowen, A History of Philadelphia, p. 117.

Superintendent of Police, to be assisted by the constables in keeping the peace. By the time Poe arrived in Spring Garden, there were two constables east of Broad Street, and one west, together with a further "police officer" authorized as the Superintendent's assistant on May 24, 1839. Crime and vagrancy had evidently become sufficiently common for the Board of Commissioners to designate the Watch House, in March of 1842, as a lock-up.[22]

From about 1830, the Spring Garden District had its own Night Watch independent from that of the City of Philadelphia. A Captain of the Watch was appointed by the District Commissioners to purchase oil for the lamps,and to supervise the men and their equipment. The Night Watch went on duty at twilight, when their first task was to clean and light the lamps. They then proceeded to the Watch House for roll call, and to "receive their staves, badges, rattles . . ."[23] and other equipment, before proceeding on their regular rounds. The items they carried left little doubt as to their law enforcement function. The Spring Garden watch were on duty from 10:30 p.m. from March 20 to September 20, and from 9:30 from September 20 to March 20. They were required to make their rounds regularly, calling

---

[22]Spring Garden District Board of Commissioners, Ordinances, pp. 106, 109, 89.

[23]Ibid., p. 73. Staves were night sticks, or clubs, and rattles were wooden noisemakers used to call for assistance.

the hours at appropriate intervals. The Captain of the Watch set the hour at which the lamps were to be blown out, and received in the morning at roll call the badges, rattles, and staves.[24]

The watch and lamp district in 1841 included the whole of the 1st and 4th wards, the 2nd Ward to a point one hundred feet north of Coates Street, and that portion of the 3rd Ward which lay south of Hamilton Street. The 3rd Ward watch area was extended in 1841 to include Landing Avenue to Landing Street, and from there along the Columbian Railroad right-of-way to Coates Street. In March, 1844, the boundary of the watch rounds was extended to encompass the entire district.[25]

By 1844 the Watch seem to have had a new technology to cope with, for gas illumination appears to have been creeping into the southern portion of Spring Garden. The Spring Garden Gas Company was incorporated on April 27, 1843, to provide gas for public and private illuminations. That the company's intent fast became a reality is suggested by a permit issued by the Spring Garden Paving Committee on December 15, 1843, for taking up paving on the southwest corner of 6th and Spring Garden Streets, "for the purpose of

---

[24]Ibid., pp. 73-74.

[25]Ibid., pp. 76, 89.

introducing the Gas."[26]

The same epidemics of disease that had focused attention on the city's water supply had also produced in Philadelphia a preoccupation with public hygiene. The Spring Garden Board of Commissioners passed some ordinances to render the streets and vacant lots clean, as, for instance, the April 1840 measure preventing "swine, hogs, shoats, and pigs from running at large within the District of Spring Garden."[27] An ordinance of 1832 had prohibited privies from being built within two feet of an adjoining lot.[28]

---

[26]Spring Garden District, Paving Committee Permit Stubs, ACCP.

The reader's attention is called to architect Alvin Holm's conclusion that gas was introduced into the Poe house at the time of construction. (See Alvin Holm, "The Edgar Allan Poe House: A Historical Structure Report," manuscript report prepared for the National Park Service, May 1982, p. 70.) It is argued here in this report (see Part I, Chapter 3) that the Poe house was built by August, 1842. There are several possible explanations for this dating discrepancy. It is possible that the house was fitted with gas piping at the time of construction in anticipation of gas service, then moving into the area. Less likely is the possibility that gas was introduced into the premises prior to 1843.

[27]Bethell, Ordinances, p. 83.

[28]Spring Garden District Board of Commissioners, Ordinances, p. 112.

An ordinance of June 18, 1832 reads: "That if any person or persons shall hereafter dig, or cause to be dug, any vault or sink for a privy or necessary, nearer than two feet from his adjoining neighbour's line, every such person or persons, so offending, and of being thereof convicted, shall forfeit and pay the sum of one hundred dollars, to be appropriated towards defraying the contingent expenses of the corporation, and the said vault or sink shall be filled up at the expense of the owner or owners thereof."

Principally, however, the Health Committee of the City and County of Philadelphia assumed responsibility for the cleanliness of the streets, vacant lots, and privies adjacent to dwellings. Particularly important to the Health Committee was the elimination of standing water on vacant lots and in cellar holes, as stagnant water was associated medically with yellow fever and other communicable diseases. The Health Committee relied upon the citizenry to bring public nuisances to their attention, whereupon they would dispatch a runner to investigate the seriousness of the complaint. If the runner reported a genuine problem, such as an overflowing privy, stagnant water, or a dead hog in the street, the Committee would issue an order to the offending property owner, giving them a specified number of days in which to correct the condition, on pain of fine. The Rough Minutes of the Health Committee meetings suggest that it was often difficult to induce recalcitrant property owners to comply promptly with the orders.[29] Scattered through the minutes are numerous references to Spring Garden, which give a rough idea of conditions in the district.

In the northwestern section of Spring Garden, off of Coates Street and perilously close to the walls of the Eastern State Penitentiary, was an eight-acre tract known as the Northern Poudrette Lot. Ordinances for the City of

---

[29]Rough Minutes of the Health Office (Board of Health, City and County of Philadelphia), 1841-1844, ACCP.

Philadelphia required that privies within the city be emptied regularly, and that the contents be hauled off to one of two such lots (the other being in Moyamensing), where it was dried and sold to farmers as fertilizer. This primitive mode of sewage treatment had been imported from Europe and was becoming quite common in North American cities, New York apparently having the most advanced system then in use. In Philadelphia, this unsavory task of emptying the privies and carting the contents was performed by black laborers, who could be found, the Health Committee lamented, "trailing their noisome wares through the streets frequented by ladies, at an early hour of the night."[30] The Northern Poudrette Lot, along with the penitentiary, doubtless retarded the spread of population into the northwestern portion of the district.

The complaints received by the Health Committee, particularly those indicating stagnant water in cellars, give some indications as to the appearance of the district in the 1830s and 1840s. There are enough references to this variety of nuisance between 1842 and 1844 to suggest that building in Spring Garden may have been temporarily slowed as a result of the depression following the Panic of 1837. The area from 10th Street to Broad was frequently cited as having offending cellars, and this appears to have been the margin of the populous portion of southeastern Spring Garden.

---

[30] Ibid., report for August 8, 1842.

This is corroborated by the Health Office order of July 25, 1843, which specified that "the limits within which Hog pens shall be considered a nuisance from and after the first of May next for the District of Spring Garden West of Tenth street shall be Broad Street on the west, Coates street on the north, and the southern boundary of the District on the south."[31] This indicates that until this time, the region west of 10th Street had been considered sufficiently sparse in population for hog pens not to be considered a threat to health. Between March 1842 and March 1844, complaints about standing water and overflowing privies were mostly lodged against properties on the extremities of the populated portions of the district. There were a few complaints about improperly stored vegetables and coffee (mostly in the Northern Liberties), with the occasional dead hog (southwest corner of Buttonwood and 12th), with one against a butcher or tanner who had allowed putrifying horn piths to accumulate on his property (Coates below 11th Street).[32] There is an absence, during this same period, of complaints against properties on North 7th Street and Wistar Street, indicating that Poe's neighborhood, and indeed the entire area surrounding the Spring Garden street markets, was a relatively wholesome locale.

---

[31] Ibid., report for July 25, 1843.

[32] Ibid., reports for March 2, 1842; August 23, 1843; and July 29, 1843.

A further indication of urban density in southeastern Spring Garden was the presence, by 1841, of no fewer than five fire companies. These were the Fair Mount Fire Engine Company, the Pennsylvania Hose Company, the Good Will Hose Company, the Mechanic's Fire Engine Company, and the Western Fire Engine Company.[33] Fire insurance companies had also made considerable profit from insuring the dwellings, shops, and taverns of Spring Garden. Active in the area were the Philadelphia Contributionship, the Mutual Assurance Company, the Franklin Fire Insurance Company, the Fire Association of Philadelphia, and others.

When Poe moved to 7th Street in 1843, he located his family in the southeastern corner of the 4th Ward of the district (see Map 2), about a block and a half from the boundary dividing wards 1 and 4. He was therefore living in what had become a densely populated area, although the northern portion of his ward was more sparsely inhabited. Who lived in the 4th Ward, and how had they come to live there?

In early 1844, there were about 1,459 single males, and males with families living within the boundaries of Spring Garden's 4th Ward.[34] Of these, 914 (or 62.64 percent) were

---

[33]Spring Garden District Board of Commissioners, Ordinances, p. 206.

[34]The information for the following paragraphs is extracted from the Tax Assessment for the 4th Ward, Spring Garden District, 1844, ACCP. This assessment was ordered in November, 1843, and was apparently accomplished at the end of 1843, or early in 1844. The tax list is quite detailed and lists owners, renters, lodgers, and it occasionally provides property dimensions, particularly for vacant lots. Poe is listed at 234 N. 7th Street.

skilled artisans or workers, 389 (or 26.66 percent) were in commercial occupations, and 55 (or 3.76 percent) were professional men. (See Figure 1.) The inhabitants of the 4th Ward were predominently artisans, small merchants, and tradesmen. Of the artisanal group, an interestingly high number of 303 (33.15 percent of the group and 20.76 of the total taxed population) were involved in the building trades. They included:

178 carpenters
42 bricklayers
26 painters
23 plasterers
14 stone cutters
10 stone masons
8 brickmakers

If one recalls Stuart Blumin's contention that people moved about in Philadelphia in pursuit of jobs, there would seem to be a reasonable correlation between the presence of building artisans and the ongoing and rapid development of Spring Garden. So too with the next artisan group that was composed of cordwainers and bootmakers (118, or 12.91 percent of the entire artisanal population). These men were evidently employed in local shoe and bootmaking shops. The tailors, composing the next largest artisanal group (61, or 6.67 percent of the artisan population), appear mostly to have been employed at shops in the old city.

After the artisans, the next most numerous group was that composed of individuals working in a commercial trade. These included clerks, merchants, shopkeepers, agents, brokers,

FIGURE 1

Total Male 4th Ward Inhabitants, Spring Garden District, 1844

No.	Occupation	%
914	Skilled workers and artisans	62.64
389	Commercial (Merchants, tradesmen, clerks, etc.)	26.66
55	Professional	3.76
36	Teamsters, drivers, etc.	2.46
33	Unskilled laborers	2.26
20	"Gentlemen" (independent means)	1.37
9	Municipal and government employees	.61
3	Agricultural (farmers)	.20
1459	Total	

FIGURE 2

Assessment of the Fourth Ward, Spring Garden District, for for 1844 (ordered November 1843), ACCP. Professions and trades for residents of the 4th Ward (Buttonwood to Poplar, between 5th and 10th streets), arranged alphabetically by trade.

Accountant	1	Clerks	110
Actor	1	Clerk Maker (Clock?)	1
Agents	9	Coach Lace Maker	1
Artists	4	Coach Makers	5
Attorneys	5	Coach Painter	1
Auctioneers	2	Coach Smiths	2
Author	1	Coach Trimmers	2
		Coal Dealers	4
Bakers	19	Coiner	1
Bar tender	1	Coiner at Mint	1
Barber	1	Collectors	10
Basket Makers	2	Comb Makers	5
Biscuit Bakers	3	Confectioner	1
Blacksmiths	18	Constables	2
Bleeders	2	Contractors	2
Blind Makers	3	Conveyancers	2
Boatmen	1	Coopers	13
Bonnet Makers	1	Copperplate Printer	1
Bonnet Mfr	1	Coppersmith	2
Bonnet Presser	1	Cord Mfr	1
Bookbinders	19	Corders	2
Bookkeepers	1	Cordwainers	105
Booksellers	2	Curriers	11
Boot crimper	1		
Bottler	1	Dealers	20
Boot Makers	13	Dentists	5
Bricklayers	42	Distiller	1
Brickmakers	8	Doctors of Med.	14
Brokers	8	Draymen	5
Brush Makers	1	Druggists	11
Cabinet Makers	20	Editors	3
Carpenters	178	Engineers	7
Carpet Weavers	1	Engravers	4
Carters	31	Farmers	3
Case Maker	1	Florist	1
Cawn (carrier?)	1	Flour Dealers	4
Chair finisher	1	Flour Importer	1
Chair Makers	8	Frame Maker	2
Chemists	5	Gardener	1
Cigar Maker	1	Gentlemen	20
Clergymen	8	Gilder	1

FIGURE 2 Continued

Glove Maker	1	Plane Maker	1
Glue Mafrs	2	Plasterers	25
Grate Maker	1	Plumbers	3
Grocers	42	Porters	2
Guager	1	Portrait Painters	2
Gunsmiths	2	Potters	3
		Preachers	3
Hardware Merchant	1	Printers	12
Hatters	21	Publishers	1
Hay Dealer	1	Railroad officer (VP)	1
Hostler	1	Real Estate Agent	1
		Reporters	2
Innkeepers	11	Saddlers	18
Instrument Maker	1	Sawyer	1
		Scale Makers	4
Janitor	1	Seed Store Keepers	1
Jewellers	1	Ship Master	1
Jun Dealer	1	Shop Keeper	2
		Shoe Dealers	4
Labourers	30	Silk Dyer	1
Lamp Makers	9	Silver Platers	7
Last Maker	1	Silversmiths	3
Lawyer	1	Skin Dressers	3
Leather Dealers	1	Slater	1
Letter carriers	1	Stationer	1
Lime Dealers	2	Stone Cutters	14
Livery Stable Keeper	1	Stone Masons	10
Lumber Merchants	7	Storekeepers	8
		Stove Finishers	2
Machinists	20	Stove Makers	1
Malster	1	Student (prob. legal)	1
Mast Maker	1	Sugar Refiners	2
Merchants	88	Superintendent	1
Millwrights	2	Surgical Instrument Maker	1
Morocco Dressers	6		
Morocco Mfr	1	Tailors	61
Moulder	1	Tallow Chandlers	2
		Tanners	4
Oysterman	1	Tax Collector	1
Painters	26	Teachers	15
Paper carriers	2	Tinmen	10
Paper hangers	5	Tobacco Inspectors	1
Paper Makers	2	Tobacconists	15
Paper Stainer	1	Traders	10
Pattern Maker	1	Trunk Makers	4
Pavior (Paver?)	2	Turners	11
Perfumers	1		
Piano Maker	1	Upholsterers	7

FIGURE 2 Continued

Varnishers	3
Victuallers	17
Watch Makers	2
Watchmen	4
Watermen	7
Weavers	3
Weighers	3
Wheelwrights	7
Whip Makers	7

FIGURE 3

Professions and Trades of Residents of the 4th Ward, Spring Garden District, Arranged by numbers involved in trades

178	Carpenters	8	Clergymen
110	Clerks	8	Storekeepers
105	Cordwainers	7	Engineers
		7	Lumber Merchants
88	Merchants	7	Silver Platers
61	Tailors	7	Upholsterers
42	Bricklayers	7	Watermen
42	Grocers	7	Wheelwrights
31	Carters	7	Whip Makers
30	Labourers	6	Morocco Dressers
		5	Attorneys
26	Painters	5	Chemists
25	Plasterers	5	Coach Makers
21	Hatters	5	Comb Makers
20	Cabinet Makers	5	Dentists
20	Dealers	5	Draymen
20	Gentlemen	5	Paper Hangers
20	Machinists	4	Artists
		4	Coal Dealers
19	Bakers	4	Engravers
19	Bookbinders	4	Flour Dealers
18	Blacksmiths	4	Plumbers
18	Saddlers	4	Scale Makers
17	Victuallers	4	Shoe Dealers
15	Teachers	4	Tanners
15	Tobacconists	4	Trunk Makers
14	Doctors of Med.	4	Watchmen
14	Stone Cutters	3	Biscuit Bakers
13	Boot Makers	3	Blind Makers
13	Coopers	3	Editors
12	Printers	3	Farmers
11	Curriers	3	Jewellers
11	Druggists	3	Potters
11	Innkeepers	3	Preachers
11	Turners	3	Silversmiths
10	Collectors	3	Skin Dressers
10	Stone Masons	3	Varnishers
10	Tinmen	3	Weavers
10	Traders	3	Weighers
		2	Auctioneers
9	Agents	2	Basket Makers
9	Lamp Makers	2	Bleeders
8	Brickmakers	2	Booksellers
8	Brokers	2	Coach Smiths
8	Chairmakers	2	Coach Trimmers

FIGURE 3 Continued

2	Constables
2	Contractors
2	Conveyancers
2	Coppersmiths
2	Corders
2	Frame Makers
2	Glue Mfrs
2	Gunsmiths
2	Lime Dealers
2	Millwrights
2	Paper Carriers
2	Paper Makers
2	Paviors (Pavers?)
2	Porters
2	Portrait Painters
2	Reporters
2	Shop Keepers
2	Stove Finishers
2	Sugar Refiners
2	Tallow Chandlers
2	Watch Makers
1	Accountant
1	Actor
1	Author
1	Bar Tender
1	Barber
1	Boatman
1	Bonnet Maker
1	Bonnet Mfr
1	Bonnet Presser
1	Bookkeeper
1	Boot Crimper
1	Bottler
1	Brush Maker
1	Carpet Weaver
1	Case Maker
1	Cawn (carrier?)
1	Chair finisher
1	Cigar Maker
1	Clerk Maker? (clock ?)
1	Clock Maker
1	Coach Lace Maker
1	Coach Painter
1	Coiner
1	Coiner at the Mint
1	Confectioner
1	Copperplate printer
1	Cord Mfr
1	Distiller
1	Florist
1	Flour Inspector
1	Gardener
1	Gilder
1	Glove Maker
1	Grate Maker
1	Guager
1	Hardware Merchant
1	Hay Dealer
1	Hostler
1	Instrument Maker
1	Janitor
1	Jun Dealer
1	Last Maker
1	Lawyer
1	Leather Dealer
1	Letter carrier
1	Livery Stable Keeper
1	Malster
1	Mast Maker
1	Morocco Mfr
1	Moulder
1	Oysterman
1	Paper Stainer
1	Pattern maker
1	Perfumer
1	Piano Maker
1	Plane Maker
1	Publisher
1	Railroad officer (Vice Pres.)
1	Real Estate Agent
1	Sawyer
1	Seed Store Keeper
1	Ship Master
1	Silk Dyer
1	Slater
1	Stationer
1	Stove Maker
1	Student (prob. legal)
1	Superintendent
1	Surgical Instrument Maker
1	Tax Collector
1	Tobacco Inspector

dealers, accountants, manufacturers, and the like. They numbered 389 (or 26.66% of the total male inhabitants). The other occupational percentage groups ranged sharply below the artisanal and the commercial, the former being sufficiently numerous as to characterize the neighborhood of the 4th Ward as predominently working-class. The low representation of unskilled labor (30 laborers, 2 porters, and 1 janitor) remains low even if one includes drivers, pavers, and other occupations involving lesser skill, and suggests that the 4th Ward was not a neighborhood inhabited to any significant degree by the marginally subsistent. The 110 clerks in the ward, however, could well have represented, with the laborers, the lowest economic stratum. They are often found in the 1844 tax assessment to be boarding with other dwelling owners or renters, who were doubtless in many instances their employers.

Focusing down still more closely, to the nine block area illustrated in Map 4 provides a more detailed picture of Poe's immediate neighborhood.[35] The area was far from homogeneous, in that certain streets had assumed distinct characteristics, as indicated by assessments and the occupations of their inhabitants. The larger north-south streets, like 7th and those further east, appear to have attracted the relatively affluent: merchants, single or widowed gentlewomen,

---

[35]For a full consideration of Poe's immediate neighborhood, see Part I, Chapter 3, following.

and the like. Artisans lived on the lesser streets and courts, and the streets further west, such as 8th. In the nine block area represented in Map 4, blocks four, five, and six were still but partially developed, and the properties were owned or rented by a variety of artisans and merchants. The houses fronting on Marshall Street between Spring Garden and Green sported high assessments for the area, ranging in 1844 between $3,000 and $7,500. Residents in this block were almost exclusively merchants. On 7th Street between Green and Spring Garden, on the east side, were eight dwellings, roughly across the street from Poe's residence. The residents here, some of them boarders, were a more mixed lot, including three clerks, a chairmaker, a machinist, a single woman or widow, two merchants, and two jewellers. There was also a set of offices on the corner of 7th and Spring Garden. The assessments in this block ranged between $2,200 and $6,000 on the east side.

The block between Green and Spring Garden, along Franklin and 8th, was almost solidly working class. The assessments were higher along Franklin, Green, and Spring Garden Streets, and were much lower on Logan and 8th. Frequently several men, often of varying trades, shared the same house. One of innumerable examples of this was No. 30 Logan Street, a modest house assessed for $900. It was shared by a carpenter, two bricklayers, and a "preacher," all of whom rented the establishment from John Barnford.

Almost all of these properties on Logan and 8th Streets were rentals. Including the corner dwellings, there were twenty dwellings on Logan between Spring Garden and Green, ten on each side. On this same street there were 57 male and single women inhabitants, only ten of whom (or 17.54 percent) owned the houses in which they lived. (It should be remembered that some of these doubtless had families, and that as a result the block was probably not only somewhat crowded, but lively as well.) Some of the landlords here lived nearby, others were absentee. James Casses lived on the northwest corner of 7th and Spring Garden Streets. Next door to him on Spring Garden were two houses he owned and rented: one to a grocer and the other to a hatter and a clerk.

On the east side of 8th Street between Spring Garden and Green was a group of dwellings known as Wells' Row. It included fourteen brick and two frame houses, all owned by the architect John Haviland. These houses appear to have been quite small, as the entire street frontage was 248.7 feet, thus allowing but 15½ feet of frontage per house, provided there was no space between the structures.[36] Haviland

---

[36] Manuscript map of Spring Garden, 1845, with block dimensions, HSP. See also Spring Garden Tax Assessment, 1844, ACCP.

M.E. Baigel, in "John Haviland," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1965, shows from Haviland's records that Well's Row was built or renovated by Haviland in 1831. (See p. 307.) Baigel does not comment on Haviland's ownership of the row, as revealed by the tax assessment.

rented the house individually to a laborer, an engraver, a cabinet maker, a hatter, two victuallers, three cordwainers, two tailors, two coopers, a weaver, a carpenter, a tobacconist, a bootmaker, and a bricklayer. This appears to have been the most congested block in Poe's immediate vicinity.

While some of these merchants, workers and tradesman may have worked nearby, or even from their own dwellings, many commuted on foot, by omnibus or by cab to their places of work. Of the seven inhabitants on the west side of Franklin between Spring Garden and Green, one of whom was a widow, four had places of business on High Street (Jacob Painter, Stilwell Eldridge and John B. Barras, tailors, and Robert Lindsay, bookbinder), and one, Stephen Blatchford, real estate agent, worked at 122 N. 4th Street. Painter's house, which appears to have been typical of those on the west side of the block, had a lot and side yard, and was valued at $3,000. It was built about 1840 and was a twin to Eldridge's house next door, both having eighteen-foot fronts, piazzas, and backbuildings used as kitchens and additional sleeping space.[37]

The houses fronting on Logan Street, east and west sides, were much more modest, averaging $900 apiece in

---

[37]See Franklin Fire Insurance Company surveys 2965 and 1966, in Appendix C. Business addresses were located in McElroy's Philadelphia Register, 1844.

assessments, while the sixteen dwellings comprising Wells' Row on 8th averaged even less, the assessment for the entire row being $9,000. Apparently the cheapest housing to be found in Poe's immediate neighborhood was in Marble Place, a court running north from Green Street from between 7th and Franklin Streets. There were located some very small houses with thirteen-foot fronts, three stories, and one room to each story. They probably represented the cheapest housing locally available to anyone renting an entire structure.[38]

Although the nine-block area displayed on Map 4 was heavily residential, there were stores (principally on Spring Garden Street), offices, vacant lots, and lots under development scattered throughout the neighborhood. Some blocks, such as the ones examined above, were quite densely populated. Others, such as block 2, with its large vacant lot on the north side, were but lightly built up. (This entire block had but nine houses, all of them fairly large, with assessments ranging between $3,300 and $4,800.) Of these nine properties, five were rented out in 1844, the inhabitants being two merchants, a bookbinder, a saddler, a grocer, a tailor, a broker, a sugar refiner, and a physician. Of these nine, six had places of business in the old city.

---

[38]See Franklin Fire Insurance Company survey 3970, Appendix C.2.

Poe's 7th Street neighborhood can best be described as a mix between low and moderate income inhabitants, working class and mercantile. It was predominently residential, and few of the inhabitants worked at home. Most were renters, there were doubtless quite a few boarders and transients, and a few were landlords. Poe's corner of Spring Garden was not a rural, nor even a semi-rural location by the time he arrived in 1843. His neighborhood was served with city water, public transportation, the night watch, and an ample market to feed its burgeoning population. By 1843-1844, the 1st and 4th Wards of Spring Garden were an extention of the urban residential quarters of the old city.

Part I, Chapter 3

SEVENTH AND WISTAR STREETS

A pedestrian walking from the borders of the old city to Poe's neighborhood in 1843 might have encountered these landmarks. Passing around Franklin Square, a preserved vestige of William Penn's plan for the city, he likely would have proceeded north on 7th Street. Two blocks further on he would have crossed Callowhill Street, its markets beginning a block east on his right. Another block, and he would cross the tracks of the Columbia Railroad, following the meandering Willow Street, the pavement of which covered what had once been a rural stream called Peg's Run.[1] Two more blocks (the gaslit street lamps of the old city south of Vine Street had now given way to the older oil fixtures) and he would arrive in Poe's neighborhood.

Stepping north from Buttonwood Street, a pedestrian would have found that even in this residential neighborhood 7th Street retained its generous width of fifty feet. On his left would be four comfortable residences where there lived a bookbinder, a sadler, a merchant, and a grocer.[2]

---

[1]"Our Hidden Streams: Forgotten Watercourses Beneath the City of Philadelphia," Philadelphia Times, 11 August 1889. (A copy may be found in "Ashmead's Paper Cuttings," 12: 33-36, HSP.)

[2]Tax assessment for the 4th Ward, Spring Garden District, 1844, ACCP.

About halfway north on the west side of the street, there remained a large vacant lot extending all the way to the corner of Spring Garden. On the right, the east side of the street was entirely vacant; he might perceive dimly the back buildings of the comfortable merchant dwellings fronting on Marshall Street.

He would now arrive at Spring Garden Street, and might pause under a street lamp to glance about at this expansive thoroughfare. The street was 120 feet wide, but his view across would have been obstructed by the wood and brick stalls of the Spring Garden Street Market which occupied the center of the street. But long before its prompt opening at six in the morning, carts and drays would rumble down the paved streets to bring produce from outlying farms and from the wharves. Now the walker, with Dr. Mifflin Wistar's vacant lot to his back, would have to march to the north side of the stalls to see, on the northwest corner, the shop of Augustus Tweston, tobacconist, over which, occupying the second floor of the brick building, was a school room. A little further west on Spring Garden he might spy a gentleman entering or exiting from a tavern owned by Dr. Charles Lukens and presided over by innkeeper Isaac I. Bean. On his right, if he continued north on 7th, were the offices of Benjamin Davis.[3]

---

[3]Ibid. On the markets, see the preceding chapter.

Our pedestrian was now in a position to observe Poe's immediate neighborhood. He would find himself standing on the sidewalk of a neatly paved street, lined with brick residences three stories in height. They would be generally coupled together, as twins, with but a narrow alley between each pair. He might have noted that the street was as densely built up as any residential district in the old city.

Crossing Wistar Street, a narrow east-west street bisecting the block, the pedestrian would arrive at No. 236, which was the residence of Edward Lafourcade, merchant. To reach Poe's door he would retrace his steps to Wistar Street, turn right, and then proceed to the first door on the north side of the street. In so doing, he would find himself in a narrow paved street twenty feet in width.[4] Pausing on the threshhold of the small, three story brick building, which looked to be a back building without the requisite main block fronting on 7th, a certain pungency in the air might have disclosed to the pedestrian the presence, fifty feet down Wistar Street on the south side, of the twenty-horse stable behind Dr. Lukens' inn.

This portion of 7th Street had been built up rapidly during the late 1830s and early 1840s. Until at least 1836, the west side of 7th Street between Wistar and Green appears to have been a vacant lot, in which condition it changed

---

[4]Ibid. For street widths and paving details, see the previous chapter.

hands in November of that year, when Caspar W. Sharpless sold an interest in the lot to Abraham W. Sharpless for $22,230.[5] Between 1836 and 1840 the lot was broken down into five properties, all of which would soon sprout brick residences on them.[6]

The house two doors north from Poe on 7th Street, No. 238 (534), appears to have been typical of the sort which lined both sides of the street by 1844. It was owned by John Evans, Jr., who had built and sold No. 236 (532). (See Title Search, Appendix A,2.) At the time Poe was living in the neighborhood, Evans had rented 238 to Mrs. Lydia Hart.[7] The house was of brick, three stories in the main block and two in the back building, and on its street front it measured nineteen feet. There were two parlors along the hallway on the ground floor, the dining room and the kitchen being on the ground floor of the back building. The joists were of spruce and hemlock, the flooring of Carolina pine. The house was centrally heated by a furnace in the cellar. Each principal room nevertheless retained a fireplace, the mantels of which were of black and gold marble, on the ground floor. There was a "niche" for a stove in the kitchen. In every respect, including its

---

[5]Deed SHF 8 273, 1 November 1836, ACCP.

[6]Tax assessment for the 4th Ward, Spring Garden District, 1844, ACCP.

[7]Ibid. For the complete insurance survey of March, 1844, with plan, see Appendix C, 2.

decorative "grecian ovolo" mouldings, the house was typical of what was being built in Spring Garden in the 1840s.[8] It was probably complete, or in the process of building, when Evans took out a water permit in 1839 to supply tap water from the Fairmount Water Works to a dwelling on the west side of 7th Street between Spring Garden and Green. In February of 1840 he took out an additional permit, possibly for this house, to supply water to a bath either inside or contiguous to a dwelling.[9] Houses along 7th Street in this block were generally equipped with running water.[10]

On September 9, 1840, it was recorded that Caspar and Abraham Sharpless had sold a lot on the northwest corner of 7th and Wistar Streets to William M. Alburger, a plumber then living at 68 Marshall Street.[11] Alburger was substantially involved in real estate, and it is likely that he purchased the property as an investment. The lot he bought from the Sharpless's was 17 feet on 7th Street, with a depth along Wistar of 78' 11" on the south line and 80' 7¼" on the north.[12] By the time Alburger transferred the property for a short time to Jesse White on August 4, 1842, it had

---

[8]Franklin Insurance Company Survey No. 5089, 8 March 1844, HSP.

[9]Watering Committee Stubs, Requests for Water Supply 1834-1842, permits nos. 2335 and 2372, ACCP.

[10]See above stub books.

[11]McElroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1839.

[12]Deed GS 20 4i5, ACCP.

acquired a "3 story brick messuage."[13] It is thus reasonable to assume that between September 1840 and August 1842 the house in which Poe was subsequently to live was built. Alburger took out a water permit for a dwelling on the west side of 7th between Spring Garden and Green Streets on November 23, 1840; it is possible that the building was then under construction or complete.[14]

It is also significant that Wistar Street was paved in 1841,[15] the job being accomplished by October 25, when Alburger was assessed for a portion of the bill he owed for the paving of his 78' 11" front on Wistar.[16] With a dwelling complete or in the process of completion, he would have had good reason to petition with his neighbors for the paving of the street, thus rendering it a rental property of greater attractiveness.

Although William M. Alburger is traditionally said to have been Poe's landlord,[17] there is a discrepancy which

---

[13]Deed GS 44 194, ACCP. "Messuage," a complex including a dwelling house, outbuildings, and land.

[14]Watering Committee Stubs, Requests for Water Supply, 1834-1843, permit no. 2566. Alburger also took out permits for John Evans, Jr., and for James Peterman, both of whom had properties on the block. He took out No. 2566, however, in his own name.

[15]See previous chapter.

[16]Spring Garden District Treasurer, Street Paving Accounts, 1814-1854, for Wistar Street, 7th to Franklin, North Side, ACCP.

[17]Mary E. Phillips, Edgar Allan Poe, the Man (Chicago: John C. Winston, 1926), pp. 825-827.

deserves examination. The following tax assessment, taken in late 1843 or early 1844,[18] is of considerable interest:

N.W. corner of 7th and Wistar Street
Jas & Henry Jones ---------- Est.
House & Lot
Edgar A. Poe ---------- Editor
$1,600 County
30 Personals
30 Trades &c

This assessment, ordered in November of 1843, proves that Poe was living at this address. The transfer of the property from Alburger to the Jones's (both of whom were brass founders), however, was not recorded until November, 1845.[19] Nevertheless the assessment suggests that they owned the property, or were at least paying the taxes on it, when Poe lived at this location.

Evidence strongly points to the conclusion that the portion of No. 234 fronting on 7th Street was not built until after Poe's removal to New York. The three-story back building, with its shed roof, seems to have stood alone, attached at its rear to No. 236 (532), until after November, 1845. On May 22, 1849, Henry Jones divided by deed his interest in the property with James Jones, for a consideration of $2,899.25, a significant increase over the price of $1,000 recorded in the deed of their purchase of the entire

---

[18]The names of James and Henry Jones on the 1844 tax roles do not appear to be a substitution or later amendment. Tax assessment for the 4th Ward, Spring Garden District, 1844, ACCP.

[19]Deed RLL 33 199, ACCP.

property from Alburger in 1845. The cost increase suggests that in the interim the property had been considerably enhanced in value by the completion of the main block of 234 (530) fronting on 7th Street.[20] Certainly the structure was complete by 1859, when the Hexsamer and Locher maps of the consolidated city show it in situ.[21]

John Evans, Jr., already owner of 238 (534), purchased the lot on which 236 (532) was to stand in 1840.[22] It is possible, but by no means certain, that 236 and Alburger's back building had risen at approximately the same time.

As was commonly the practice in the neighborhood, most of the houses on 7th Street between Wistar and Green Streets were rented. All of the other properties on the west side were assessed in 1843 or 1844 at between $3,400 and $4,700. Poe's rented dwelling came in at $1,600, in keeping with the presumption that at the time only the back building was in existence. The only person living in her own dwelling on the block was Ann Randolph, in No. 2 on the east side. (There was at this time scant correlation between numbers on opposite sides of the streets.) Moving north to Green Street, Poe's neighbors were: in No. 236, Edward Lafourcade, the aforementioned merchant (with offices

---

[20]See Appendix A, 1.

[21]See Map 7.

[22]See Survey, Appendix C, 2.

at 77 High (Market) Street; in No. 238, Lydia Hart; in No. 240, William Neal, merchant, who kept a horse and carriage; and on the corner of Green Street, in No. 242, Lemuel F. Peterson, a flour and feed dealer whose house had an attached stable and who kept offices at the southeast corner of Water and Mulberry (Arch) Streets.[23]

On the east side, directly across from Poe in No. 225, was James Wray, a merchant with offices at 136 High Street. Moving north on the block to the corner were: in No. 227 William and Thomas Bailey, jewellers; in No. 229 Jacob W. Goff, merchant, with offices at 12 N. 4th Street; Ann Randolph in 231; in No. 233 Alexander Shaw, clerk; in No. 235 Charles W. Bacon, clerk; and sharing No. 237 on the corner, John Sterrett, chairmaker; James Sterrett, machinist; and John Gilman, clerk.[24]

On the corner of Spring Garden on the east side were the four offices and lots owned by Benjamin Davis.* On the west was a 38' x 30' two-story brick structure on the corner, with offices and shops, or a shop, below and a schoolroom above. (See Map 4, and Appendix C for survey.) A portion of the building on the ground floor was let to Augustus Tweston (or Tweestor) tobacconist, and access to the schoolroom above was had through a wood stairwell and cloakroom

---

[23] Tax assessment for the 4th Ward, Spring Garden District, 1844, ACCP.

[24] Ibid.

* [Editor's Note: Davis's offices and lots were on the northeast corner of Seventh & Spring Garden (where the German Society Garden is today). The 38' X 30' brick structure was on the northwest corner of Seventh & Spring Garden, on our land.]

on the north side, which would have been clearly visible from Poe's front door. Also visible from this vantage point was the rear of the complex of buildings comprising Charles Lukens' inn, which fronted on Spring Garden. (By 1859, as identified on the Hexsamer and Locher maps of Ward 13, this was known as the Spring Garden Hotel.) The complex was about fifty feet west of Poe's residence, in front of which there appears to have been a vacant lot through which Poe would have been able to see through to Spring Garden. (See Map 4 and Appendix C, 2 for survey.) The inn was operated by Isaac Bean, and at the time Poe lived at 234 it had four boarders. These were Emanuel Helfenstein, an attorney and conveyancer with offices at 114 Mulberry; William Hall, portrait painter, with another address, possibly a studio, at 10 S. Garden Street; William J. Wagner, bricklayer; and Samuel Y. Addis, bartender.[25]

Poe was thus ensconced, while in the 7th Street Spring Garden neighborhood, in a solidly middle-class residential section. Certainly his house was nearly the poorest on his block. Only one, No. 237 on the southeast corner of 7th and Green, had a lower assessment ($1,300.) His was assessed at $1,600, whereas the average for the block, including both sides, was about $3,400.[26]

There are several sources which purport to describe

---

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid., for the houses between Wistar and Green.

Poe in residence at Seventh and Wistar streets. Most of them were composed long after the fact and are questionable in part or in their entirety. Poe, however, left the scantest of references to his living circumstances throughout his Philadelphia period, and because of this these extraneous recollections have been invested with disproportionate importance. They appear here in order of publication:

MAYNE REID (1818-1883). "A Dead Man Defended. Being Some Reminiscences of the Poet Poe." in Onward: A Magazine for the Young Manhood of America (April, 1869), vol. 1, pp. 305-308. (Printed in its entirety in Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 876-881.)

An Irish imigrant, Reid was the author of popular adventure novels characterized by substantial and torrid (for the period) romantic interest. A representative example would be The Wood Rangers, or the Trappers of Sonora (New York, 1859). He turned out a quantity of like productions.

Reid's reminiscence states that he met Poe first when the latter was living in Spring Garden in what he termed "a quiet residential neighborhood."[27] He claimed that Poe's next door neighbor lived in a "splendid four-story house," and that "the poet lived in a lean-to of three rooms (there may have been a garret with a closet), of painted plank

---

[27]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 877.

construction, supported against the gable of the more pretentious dwelling."[28] Reid claimed to have spent considerable time here, and his description of Mrs. Clemm, fierce guardian of the domestic hearth, is not a little sinister. Reid was a romancer, and he seems to have been unable to resist the temptation to exaggerate the contrast between Poe's modest house and the more imposing one of his neighbor, supposedly a rich Quaker who dealt in cereals. Thus the brick half-house with its shed roof becomes a "lean-to" and a "shanty," and John Evans's three-story brick dwelling next door, "a splendid four-story built of the beautiful coral-colored bricks for which Philadelphia is celebrated."[29] The obvious object of the article, as reinforced in its last paragraph, was to present Poe in a more sympathetic light than that shed by Rufus Griswold, his posthumous libeller.

AMANDA BARTLETT HARRIS (1824-1917). "Edgar A. Poe." in Hearth and Home (January 9, 1875), vol. 8, p. 24. (Printed in its entirety in Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 789-790.)

Harris, a popular author of articles and children's stories, disclosed that her source for the piece had been a Philadelphia woman who had befriended the family in a time of need, and who had related the particulars of their

---

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., p. 877.

circumstances to Harris in 1852.[30] She did not identify her informant. Twenty-three years later, she published the information in Hearth and Home. From the article derive certain elements which turn up repeatedly in Poe biography. We learn of Virginia Poe being an "exquisite singer," and "when they were living in a pretty little rose-covered cottage on the outskirts of Philadelphia, she had her harp and piano. But these articles disappeared, with all the luxuries of house and of wardrobe, being desposed of one after another for the necessities of life, until when they left that place they had scarcely anything."[31] Harris goes on to relate that it was while they were living at this house that Virginia Poe "ruptured a blood-vessel."[32]

This account has been assumed by some to apply to the 7th Street house, but there are certainly problems with this. The 7th Street house could in no way be described "on the outskirts of Philadelphia. . . ," as the neighborhood was, in 1843-1844, substantially residential and was but a twenty-minute walk from the Merchant's Exchange. The Fairmount (Coates Street) address more accurately fits the description. Then, too, it requires an imaginative leap of some magnitude to envision the austere back-building on a side-street as a "rose-covered cottage." Finally,

---

[30] Ibid., p. 788.

[31] Ibid., p. 789.

[32] Ibid.

DR. THOMAS DUNN ENGLISH AT TWENTY-FOUR

ILLUS. 4

Virginia Poe became ill in January 1842, probably before the family had moved from the old city to Fairmount. Amanda Harris's account probably telescoped the events she had been told of, which is easily understood in the light of her having learned of them second hand in addition to having written the piece twenty-three years later.

THOMAS DUNN ENGLISH (1819-1902). "Reminiscences of Poe." The Independent (1896), vol. 58, pp. 1415-1416. Printed in its entirety by Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 757-758.

Poe's relations with this Philadelphia poet, lawyer, and temperance advocate were decidedly equivocal. (See Chapter IX, pp. 312, 346.) English's reminiscence predictably focuses on Poe's fondness for drink, but it also includes a description of the 7th Street house which is to all appearances accurate. His narrative is also refreshingly bereft of sentiment. English claimed to have steered Poe home after discovering him prostrate in the street:

> I volunteered to see him home, but had some difficulty to prevent his apparent desire to survey the sidewalk in a series of triangles. I managed to get him through the front gate of his yard to the front door. The house stood back, and was only a part of a house. They had a habit at that time in Philadelphia of building houses so that there was a stairway between dining room and kitchen back, and the parlor in front. The owner of this house had only built the rear portion, and the ground where the front was to stand in future had been turned into a grass-plot, with a flower border against the adjoining brick wall. I knocked on the door, and Mrs. Clemm opened it. Raising her voice, she cried:

> "You make Eddie drunk, and then you bring him home." As I was turning away Poe grasped me by the shoulder and said: "Never mind the old ____; come in."
>
> I shook myself free from his clutch and, merely telling Mrs. Clemm that if I found Eddie in the gutter again I'd leave him there, went on my way.[33]

Quite evidently English had temperence on his mind when he penned this bit of vitriol, but he seems nevertheless to have brought a keen eye to observing Poe's circumstances. He described exactly the type of house that Poe's back-building became a part of. The kitchen and dining room to the rear of the main block and separated from it by the "piazza" containing a stairwell was typical of the neighborhood. (It matches the Evans survey and plan for No. 238, reproduced in Appendix C, 2.) The mention of the gate and the garden should not be discounted.

Discrepancies exist, however, in this account as well. English was writing more than fifty years after the event he described had supposedly occurred, and he too seems to have telescoped time and place. He remembered the incident occurring at the same time Poe wrote to Joseph Evans Snodgrass claiming abstinence from alcohol, which would put it in April of 1841, while Poe was still living near 16th and Locust.[34] It is possible that Poe had lived in two

---

[33] Ibid., p. 758.

[34] See John Ward Ostrom, The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe, 2 vols. (New York: Gordian Press, Inc., 1966), 1: 155-158.

houses which were remarkably similar in description, but it is more likely that English, who had been acquainted with Poe from 1839, had compressed his recollections of his acquaintance, which lasted at least until Poe left Philadelphia.

SUSAN ARCHER TALLEY WEISS (1822-1917). The Home Life of Poe (1907: reprint, Folcroft, Pa.: Folcroft Library Editions, 1974).

Mrs. Weiss, a poet from Virginia who achieved some popularity, did not meet Poe until 1849. Her Home Life is a compilation from a variety of sources. She quoted an unnamed Spring Garden resident as stating that she walked past Poe's house every day on her way to school as a child. (This is plausible, as there was a schoolroom at 7th and Spring Garden.)

> I had to pass by their house, and in summer time often saw them. In the mornings Mrs. Clemm and her daughter would be generally watering the flowers, which they had in a bed under the windows. They always seemed cheerful and happy, and I could hear Mrs. Poe's laugh before I turned the corner. Mrs. Clemm was always busy. I have seen her of mornings clearing the front yard, washing the windows and the stoop, and even white-washing the palings. You would notice how clean and orderly everything looked. She rented out her front room to lodgers, and used the middle room, next to the kitchen, for their own living room or parlor. They must have slept under the roof. We never heard that they were poor, and they kept pretty much to themselves in the two years we lived near them. I don't think that in that time I saw Poe half a dozen times. We heard he was dissipated, but he always appeared like a gentleman, though thin and sickly looking. His wife was the picture of health. It was after we moved away that she became an invalid.[35]

---

[35]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 933.

Certain things ring true in this account; Poe's personal fastidiousness and the housekeeping prodigies of Mrs. Clemm, which, as Frederick William Thomas corroborates (See Part I, Chapter 8), triumphed over impoverishment. We hear, as we do from English, of the fence, the garden, and the flowers. Some discrepancies can be explained away, as for instance, the hectic complexion sometimes associated with tuberculosis being confused with the bloom of health. The mention of the lodgers is of interest, and if the description of the living arrangements is accurate, it suggests that there may have been a shed addition to the rear of the house enclosing a kitchen. The renting of a room might explain where some of Poe's income was coming from when he was unemployed, which he was during most or all of his residency in 7th Street. A shed addition is a possibility which could be investigated archaeologically.

ELLIS PAXTON OBERHOLTZER (1858-1936). "Poe's Philadelphia Homes," unpublished manuscript, now missing, used by Mary E. Phillips in Edgar Allan Poe, The Man (Chicago: John C. Winston, 1926). Also used by Harvey Allen in Israfel, 1927.

This Philadelphia historian talked with people from Poe's 7th Street neighborhood, and recorded several recollections. Among them were those of May Walker, William Alburger's daughter, who showed him some chairs she claimed Poe had given her father in lieu of rent payment. Oberholtzer

also noted that there was a lumber yard west of Poe's house, which is probable in that in 1844 there was a carpenter's shop and lot running the distance between Green and Wistar Streets, about the middle of the block. (See Map 3.) Oberholtzer makes another claim, however, that was falacious. He evidently wrote that there was a farmhouse surrounded by a post and rail fence on the east side of 7th Street when Poe lived at the address, and this does not square at all with the tax assessment for 1844.[36]

Of Poe's domestic setting, as related in these reminiscences (none of which are free from problems), we can glean only the certainty that the furnishings of Poe's household must have been sparse. When Poe benefitted from regular employment, there may have been such luxuries as a piano and harp. Yet when Frederick William Thomas visited the household in September of 1842, probably while the family was in Fairmount, he noted, "the place wore an aspect of pecuniary want."[37]

At the time, Poe had been unemployed for several months, and if there had been a piano, it is likely that it had disappeared. The 7th Street house likely had a fence with palings and a gate, together with patches of flowers in

---

[36]Phillips, Poe, the Man pp. 825-827. For tax records pertaining to the carpenter's shop and the absence of a farm see the Tax Assessment for the 4th Ward, Spring Garden District, 1844, ACCP.

[37]See Part I, Chapter 8, for Frederick W. Thomas's complete description of the Poe household in September, 1842.

front of it, to the east, or both.

We know from the "Philosophy of Furniture" (see Part I, Chapter 5) where Poe's own taste lay.* He liked rosewood, gilt and deep red fabrics, and he heartily deplored crystal and mirrors, none of which, it seems hardly necessary to add, could he afford. He also praised the muted light of the Argand lamp, preferring it to gaslight, and he may have owned one or more of these devices. There may as well have been a sofa and set of chairs, as described by Mary Phillips.

Any lack of material comforts was certainly not due to a preference on Poe's part for asceticism, but rather to impoverishment. He never in his life held a salaried position for very long and financial insecurity did not permit the accumulation of household objects. The precariousness of his professional life dictated impermanence of place and temporary material expedients. Furniture was doubtless bought and sold as circumstances required and finances permitted. It is possible that Poe's inability to maintain in his adult life the luxuries and comforts he had known as a child, constituted a reason for his invidious relations with men who managed with seeming ease and indifference to surround themselves with the tangible evidences of success.

* [Editor's Note: "Philosophy of Furniture" may be a satire. Be very careful in trying to interpret Poe's taste from this article.]

Part I, Chapter 4

"MERE LITERATURE" (SPRING 1838-APRIL 1840)

Edgar Allan Poe arrived in Philadelphia from New York in the spring of 1838. For an unemployed literary man it was, to paraphrase Charles Dickens, the best and the worst of times. Despite the avalanche of mediocre literature that surged through America's myriad newspapers and magazines, some good things were emerging from the mass. Times were bad because authors without auxiliary incomes were foredoomed to the humiliating necessity of doing hack work for pittances, and, as was often the case with Poe, borrowing shamelessly from friends. Unless a writer labored also at an editorial desk, it was nearly impossible to make a living or a reputation in letters.

In the spring of 1837 Nathaniel Hawthorne, thirty-two years of age and still living in his mother's house in Salem, Massachusetts, published Twice-Told Tales, his first collection. This was only possible because a friend, unbeknownst to Hawthorne, had put up $250 to the American Stationers Company as a guarantee against loss, for a small edition of 1,000 copies. In early 1838 one hundred volumes still remained--this despite a glowing review by the Cambridge professor Henry Wadsworth Longfellow--when the

publisher failed as a consequence of the Panic of 1837.[1] Walt Whitman was teaching school in Smithtown, Long Island, with the first edition of Leaves of Grass sixteen years in the future.[2] Herman Melville was in the Pacific and had yet to discover that he was a writer.

The twin monarchs of American literature were Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper, yet even the former of these supremely popular authors found it necessary, or convenient, to sustain an adjunctive profession. Irving, having returned from one diplomatic mission, would accept a post in Madrid as United States Minister to Spain in 1842. Cooper, in the midst of writing his five Leatherstocking novels, was remarkable in that he supported himself with his work.[3] Popular novelist and historian James Kirke Paulding, who had collaborated with Washington and William Irving on the Salmagundi Papers, was Secretary of the Navy. Nathaniel Parker Willis, a now largely forgotten author whose works of fiction found a large audience, was editor of the

---

[1]James R. Mellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Times (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1980), pp. 75, 80-81.

[2]Justin Kaplan, Walt Whitman, A Life (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980), p. 87.

[3]William Rose Benet, The Reader's Encyclopedia (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965), pp. 223, 504. William Charvat, "Cooper As Professional Author," in James Fennimore Cooper, A Re-Appraisal, ed. Mary E. Cunningham (Cooperstown, N.Y.: New York State Historical Association, 1954), p. 128.

New York Mirror. Baltimore author John Pendleton Kennedy served in the United States House of Representatives from 1841 to 1845.[4]

In the literary marketplace, novels were generally more remunerative than volumes of collected tales, which were devalued by their very abundance. Margaret Fuller, in an 1845 review praising Poe's work, complained, "No form of literary activity has so terribly degenerated among us as the tale . . . we are inundated with the very flimsiest fabrics ever spun by mortal brain."[5] As for poetry, even Longfellow would have been hard pressed to live upon its monetary rewards. To be a literary man or a poet simply meant that either one was an amateur, a professional editor, or a gentleman or gentlewoman of leisure.

After a year and one half, Poe had left his editor's chair at Richmond's Southern Literary Messenger in late 1836, departing under something of a cloud. By that time some unfortunate patterns in his personal behavior, ones which he would periodically strive against but never wholly subdue, had become firmly established. The Messenger's forebearing editor-owner, Thomas Willis White, had found himself unable to condone Poe's difficulty with drink, despite his evident respect for his talents. In the autumn

---

[4]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 828-829, 942.

[5]Margaret Fuller, "Poe's Tales," in The Recognition of Edgar Allan Poe, ed. Eric W. Carlson (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press, 1970), p. 17.

of 1835, White discovered that Poe had taken to using spirits in the morning, and he sacked Poe, only to rehire him on the condition that he would immediately and permanently desist. When Poe broke his pledge White, apparently with some regret, put him out at the end of 1836. To be sure, their differences were professional as well as personal. White had come to feel that Poe was usurping his editorial prerogative.[6]

Poe had no prospects, no money of any consequence, and two dependents. He lived with his wife Virginia, who was also his first cousin, whom he had married in 1836, and with her mother, his own aunt, Mrs. Maria Clemm. Virginia was a young woman of fourteen, the robust Mrs. Clemm a widow of forty-six. Sometime in the late winter of 1837 Poe took them both to New York City. Mrs. Clemm helped support the family by taking in boarders. From his year-long residence in New York came Poe's lengthiest work, the Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket. Harper's published it in the summer of 1838, with disappointing sales.[7]

There is no recorded explanation for Poe's decision to forsake New York City for the rival publishing center of Philadelphia. It is unlikely that he had received any offer

---

[6]Arthur Hobson Quinn, Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1969), pp. 228-229, 259, 303.

[7]On Pym see this chapter, below.

of employment, but as he had previously published pieces in Philadelphia journals, he may have hoped that their editors would be more hospitable to his work. It is not known how he managed to finance the move.

The first evidence of Poe's presence in Philadelphia derives from a letter he wrote on July 19, 1838, to James Kirke Paulding, who was then Secretary of the Navy in the Van Buren administration. Poe stated bluntly that he had forsworn drink, and asked to be considered for a clerkship in Paulding's office. The plaintive tone of the letter, together with its request, was self-deprecating.

> Could I but obtain the most unimportant clerkship in your gift--<u>any thing, by sea or land</u>--to relieve me from this miserable life of literary drudgery to which I now, with a breaking heart, submit, and for which neither my temper nor my abilities have fitted me . . . I feel I could then (having something beyond mere literature as a profession) quickly elevate myself to the station in society which is my due.[8]

No reply from Paulding is known to exist. Poe's letter, however, is revealing even though it would be a mistake to assume that Poe was ready, should he obtain an appointment, to give up literature.

---

[8]John Ward Ostrom, <u>The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe</u>, 2 vols. (New York: Gordian Press, Inc., 1966), 2: 681. There are two versions of this letter published by Ostrom. The first omits the paragraph concerning drinking. The more complete published version, from the manuscript letter in the Gimbel Collection, Philadelphia Free Library, appears in John Ostrom, "Fourth Supplement to the Letters of Poe," <u>American Literature</u> 45 (1974), 517-518. It also appears in Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 14-15.

In the politics of the Jacksonian era, cabinet members distributed thousands of appointments to party regulars, friends, and other individuals who could barter their support for a slot in the bureaucracy. This was apparently the first time Poe applied for a political post in the interest of obtaining a steady income. In doing so, he presumed upon a fairly recent acquaintance, initiated when he had written a favorable review of Paulding's anti-abolitionist polemic Slavery in the United States for the April, 1836, number of the Southern Literary Messenger.[9] Paulding had just ascended to the cabinet post in July, and Poe wasted very little time in approaching him. He apparently calculated that Paulding, being an anti-slavery New Yorker, would be sympathetic to the plea of a southern gentleman in reduced circumstances and forced to work below his station. It is indicative of the depth of Poe's desperation that he would dissemble so far as to state that literature was a profession to which "neither my temper nor may abilities have fitted me. . . ," (In the instances in which Poe subsequently sought political posts, he did so to have the spare time and money to write and to support a literary magazine of his own design.) It is doubtful that he really thought of his profession as "mere literature," but it should be remembered that the self-image he carried with him throughout his life was that of a displaced southern

---

[9]Quinn, Poe, p. 249.

gentleman.[10] Bound to his craft by compulsion as well as necessity, there were doubtless instances in which he felt genuinely degraded by the "literary drudgery" which earned him a desultory living.

When Poe's travels found him in a new city, he usually lodged his family in a boarding establishment until he had accumulated the funds necessary to rent a house, or until he had familiarized himself with his new surroundings. Upon arrival in Philadelphia, he seems to have moved into Mrs. C. Jones's boarding house at 202 Mulberry, later renamed Arch, Street.[11] He then slips into obscurity, and little is known of what he did for the remainder of the

---

[10]This stems principally from Poe's boyhood in Richmond, not discussed here. See Quinn, Poe, pp. 1-97.

[11]This plausible theory was advanced by Dwight R. Thomas, who bases it on two Poe letters. On September 4, 1838 Poe wrote to Nathan C. Brooks saying "I am just leaving Arch street for a small house. . . ." (Ostrom, Letters, 1: 111). Subsequently on December 6, 1839, he wrote John C. Cox, mentioning that "with the most painful sacrifices . . . I managed to pay Mrs Jones--which I did about last Christmas." (Ostrom, Letters, 1: 123). Thomas found that McElroy's Philadelphia Directory for 1839 lists Mrs. C. Jones as a boarding house proprietress on Arch Street.

Poe's rather fanciful biographer Hervey Allen placed Poe at a boarding establishment operated by the Pedder sisters at 12th Street above Arch, and subsequently at Mrs. Parker's 4th and Arch Street boarding house, but neither of the locations are supported by sufficient evidence. (See Hervey Allen, Israfel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934), pp. 342-343. Thomas's speculations seem to be the most reliable. See Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 13, 825-828.

spring.[12]

In late July, 1838, Harper Brothers in New York at last brought out the Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym, which Poe had submitted to them almost a year previously. Its reception by the critics was mixed although generally favorable, but the buying public was markedly apathetic. To no little degree Pym mystified its slender audience, critics and readers alike. Many were under the impression that the wildly improbable narrative was a true one. The book was widely noticed in Philadelphia and New York, and the United States Gazette's critic opined that "The work is full of the most wonderful details, which the author assumes are wholly true."[13] The Pennsylvanian of August 2, 1838, helpfully hinted that the book could be had at Perkins' book shop on Chestnut Street. The Pennsylvania Inquirer noted on August 3 that the New York critics had pronounced

---

[12]Poe did not, as is suggested by John Tebbel, go to England in 1838. (See John Tebbel, A History of Book Publishing in the United States, 2 vols. (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1972) 2: 305-306.) Tebbel apparently assumed this from a statement in George Haven Putnam's George Palmer Putnam, A Memoir (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), pp. 133-134. The younger Putnam states that Poe visited Putnam's Waterloo Place office in London in 1847 (also a fable), which Tebbel alters to 1838. The purpose of this visit was supposedly to induce Putnam's to publish Pym. All of this confusion seems to be a series of elaborations on G.P. Putnam's original statement that Pym had been received in the London office about 1840. See George Palmer Putnam, "Rough Notes on Thirty Years in the Trade," American Publishers' Circular (July 1863), p. 396.

[13]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 16.

favorably on the book, and had found that it was "well calculated to enchain the interest and sympathies of every class of reader."[14] Reviews like this were of course favorable, but they were at the same time perfunctory and lacking in any analytical content.

Although Poe had published Pym anonymously, as was often the conceit of an author wishing to appear as a gentleman amateur, his authorship appears not to have been in the least secret, as he rather coyly hinted his connection with the book in its preface. In the September issue of Philadelphia's Gentleman's Magazine, its owner William Evans Burton lambasted the book and its author in a lengthy and intemperate review. Burton, a popular stage comedian and impressario who was, as of July of 1837, founder and editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, was one of Philadelphia's most flamboyant entrepreneurs. Having emigrated from England in 1834, he was now thirty-six years of age and well on his way to being one of the most popular stage personalities of his day. Burton was aided in this by superabundant energy, limitless ambition, and rather fleshy good looks. In his hectic life it was not unusual for him to embark on two or three major projects simultaneously. The Gentleman's Magazine was but one of a succession of chaotically administered enterprises.[15]

---

[14] Ibid., p. 17.

[15] Ibid., pp. 724-747.

In his review of Pym, Burton, whose writing shared with his stage appearances a pronounced lack of subtlety, struck the pose of a courageous reviewer protecting his gullible readers from being tricked. "A more impudent attempt at humbugging the public has never been exercised. . . ," he pronounced. "We regret to find Mr. Poe's name in connexion with such a mass of ignorance and effrontery."[16]

Burton was writing in an era in which the merchandizing concept which holds that any publicity is good publicity was but dimly appreciated. To complicate matters, Poe was incapable of regarding any attack upon his work, no matter how inconsequential the source or intrinsically mindless the review, with good humor or unconcern. He would never forget Burton's stinging critique.

Attacked as he may have been on one front, Poe's arrival in Philadelphia was heralded on another, in nothing less than an ode by the transplanted Baltimorean poet, Lambert A. Wilmer. His lyric, entitled, one assumes, with inadvertant appropriateness "Ode XXX--To Edgar A. Poe," appeared in the August 11 issue of the Saturday Evening Post. It contained the following appalling, if prophetic, stanza:

> And Yet, true genius, (like the sun
> With bats and owls,) is little noted;
> But when his glorious course is run,
> His griefs forgot, his labors done,
> Then is he prais'd, admired, and quoted.[17]

---

[16] Ibid., p. 21.

[17] Ibid., p. 18.

In 1838 Poe was best known for his literary criticism, for which he had garnered something of a national reputation. His was acknowledged to be the sharpest critical voice in an already vicious literary arena. No one was too reputable for him to attack, no one too insignificant to be spared public humiliation. There was a rationale for all of this, and Poe was immeasurably proud of his fearlessness, ferocity, and independence in a literary world enfettered by self-propagating cliques. His lofty and oft-proclaimed ambition was the definition of independent criteria for literary criticism, and his aim was nothing less than the improvement of the quality of American literature.

Those who had not been irremediably scarred by Edgar Allan Poe, the critic, probably greeted his arrival in Philadelphia with a certain gleeful anticipation. It was generally appreciated that if Poe were provided with an editorial niche on some magazine or other, the blood would begin to flow. As Wilmer's concluding couplet exorted:

> Thou once did whip some rascals from the fane,
> O let they vengeful arm be felt again.[18]

Despite such encouragement Poe's critical pen would for a while remain sheathed, until May of 1839, when he would accept the position of editor of Burton's Gentleman's Magazine.

It was probably sometime in the summer of 1838 that

---

[18]Ibid., p. 19.

Poe wrote "Ligeia," which was published in the September issue of the American Museum, a short-lived Baltimore magazine edited by his friends Nathan C. Brooks and Joseph Evans Snodgrass. They paid him ten dollars for the tale.

In "Ligeia" Poe grappled once again with themes he had developed in 1835, with "Morella." One of Poe's finest "arabesques,"[19] "Ligeia" contains elements which had long been familiar to readers of his tales. There are gothic trappings in abundance, bizarre interiors, the usual sprinkling of obscure classical allusions, and a certain pointed confusion between the usually distinguishable conditions of life and death. Central to the tale is the obsessive relationship between the narrator and his wife Ligeia, a woman of astounding, if spectral beauty, and immense learning. In the overheated yet carefully controlled narrative, the narrator, as is so often the case in Poe's work, speaks across an abyss of madness and alienation. The woman was his muse, his teacher, a Diana-like creature, who, as critic Daniel Hoffman observes, is the incarnation of Robert Graves' White Goddess, the "belle dame sans merci." As Ligeia sickens and dies from an indeterminate but inexorable disorder, she quotes the seventeenth century English metaphysicist Joseph Glanville, to the effect that "Man doth not yield him to the angels, nor unto death utterly, save only through the

---

[19] See Definition below, Part I, Chapter 5.

weakness of his feeble will."[20] The stage is set for the riveting second half of the tale wherein the narrator marries Rowena, who is physically and spiritually Ligeia's diametic opposite. The narrator ensconses himself in a ruinous abbey, which he redecorates in a style perfectly compatible with his deranged, opium-glutted state of mind, but which is not in the least conducive to the good health of Rowena. She too succumbs to a wasting disease, plagued by a spectral presence, and the narrator keeps vigil over her corpse, only to observe it appear to revive. The signs quickly disappear, but this "hideous drama of revivification"[21] recurs again and again until, the narrator having virtually willed her to life, the corpse arises, transformed into Ligeia.

In its spare outline, "Ligeia" is a fairly repellant tale, although it is far from being as gorey as the pieces Poe wrote in the latter years of his Philadelphia sojourn. Its final paragraphs are, however, completely and viscerally terrifying, because like much of Poe's work it transcends its external homage to popular gothicism through unflinching psychological perspicuity. Most Poe critics have arrived at an appreciation, variously stated, of the proto-psychological depth of his work. Camille Mauclair said in his 1925 study,

---

[20]Thomas Ollive Mabbott, ed., Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe, vol. 2, Tales and Sketches 1831-1842 (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 310, 319.

[21]Ibid., p. 328.

Le Genie d'Edgar Poe, "The imagination was Poe's means of exploring the deeper levels [of the mind]. Thus it is no paradox to say that he neither was nor wished to be merely a writer of fantastic fiction. Everything in his work is psychological allegory."[22] Patrick F. Quinn might object to the unqualified "everything,"[23] but the essential truth of the statement is generally accepted. Harry Levin, in The Power of Blackness, states the matter somewhat differently, underscoring the autobiographical element, "Poe is one of those authors whose works, diversified as they may seem, can be read as brief fragments from one long confession."[24] Daniel Hoffman brings an appropriately physiological metaphor to his consideration, "Few writers have lived with their unconscious pulsations so close to the surface of their skins. Few have been as able to summon these images, or have been as unable to escape them, as was Edgar Poe."[25]

Like most of the major pieces of Poe's fiction, "Ligeia" has become a battleground for critics, literary

---

[22]Quoted in Patrick F. Quinn, The French Face of Edgar Poe (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971), p. 59.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Harry Levin, The Power of Blackness (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), p. 137.

[25]Daniel Hoffman, Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1973), p. 316.

historians, and psychoanalysts. Certainly Poe revealed much of himself, unsuspectingly laying himself open to the probings of protégés of Freud who would disect his subconscious mercilessly by means of his own creative work.[26] Although there is something not a little opportunistic in this, it is perhaps inevitable that a psychoanalytical current should underlie much of the vast field of Poe's criticism. When Poe set pen to paper, however, he was almost always able to bring the warring elements within his personality, and which fed his creative production, under control. The results were intensely powerful pieces of fiction and poetry which dismayed, disgusted, but often dazzled his audience. Does the narrator in "Ligeia" will her to death as a result of his own sexual impotence, and if the answer be affirmative, is there an autobiographical element in the tale?[27] This is a frequently encountered line of inquiry, but one which will not admit of a definitive answer short of the extremely unlikely discovery of pertinent documentation. The lack of documentation, far from discouraging such critical delvings, doubtless advances them, as in the realm of any intellectual inquiry few things are so irresistably attractive as an unanswerable question.

---

[26]The first thorough practitioner of this approach was Marie Bonaparte, a strict Freudian adherent. See Marie Bonapart, The Life and Works of Edgar Allan Poe: A Psycho-Analytic Interpretation (London: Imago Publishing Company Ltd., 1949). One of the principal difficulties with this study is its dependence upon unreliable biography.

[27]Hoffman, Poe Poe Poe, pp. 241-258. See specifically p. 247.

Critics who are more interested in culture than in personality will be found grappling with such questions as to what degree Poe was influenced by German gothicism. Poe was certainly no more immune from contemporary influences than were other authors who, as he did, read widely. He seems, in his own works, to have been more interested in the structure than in the decorative elements of his own work, and he strove for "unity"[28] and powerful effect. Through the foil of his critical writing, Poe defined his own strenuous standards of literary performance, and he demonstrated no little degree of application in remaining faithful to them.

The publication of "Ligeia" initiated Poe's connection with the American Museum, which carried the tale in its first number.[29] Brooks and Snodgrass, both of whom had lofty literary ambitions, were essentially amateurs. Brooks was a clergyman and Snodgrass a physician and social reformer who had migrated to Baltimore from Virginia.[30] Snodgrass had evidently known Poe for some time (it is not clear when or where they met), and he would have an important, if

---

[28]For Poe's concept of unity, see Poe's review of Hawthorne's Twice-Told Tales, Graham's Gentleman's Magazine, 20 (May 1842): 298-300. See also Hoffman, Poe Poe Poe, pp. 103-105.

[29]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 111-112.

[30]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 720-721, 896-899.

shadowy, role in the days immediately prior to Poe's death in Baltimore. Like so many of the ephemeral literary enterprises of the period, the American Museum failed within a year, but for a brief period it was an important vehicle for Poe's work.

Some glimpses of Poe's circumstances over the summer of 1838 can be gleaned from a letter he wrote to Brooks, who was pressing him to undertake a major review of the work of Washington Irving. Poe rejected the idea, claiming to be busy with two unnamed projects and to be harried by a change of lodgings. "I am just leaving Arch street for a small house, and [am] of course, somewhat in confusion."[31] Claiming to be unfamiliar with much of Irving's opus, he declined principally on the grounds of being unable to complete a review within the brief period that Brooks had apparently stipulated.

Two things, beyond the fact that he was on the move once again, can be discerned from this missive to Brooks. Certainly, he was not so financially desperate as to leap at any opportunity that presented itself. Financially he was evidently coping better than early in the summer. ("I have gotten nearly out of my late embarassments.")[32] His cousin, Nielson Poe of Baltimore, had apparently declined

---

[31]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 111.

[32]Ibid., p. 112.

to lend him money, but somehow he had managed to earn or borrow some.

It can be observed as well that Poe's disclaimer to be sufficiently familiar with Irving's work to write the review was somewhat insincere. In encouraging Brooks himself to write the piece, Poe betrayed no little knowledge of Irving's work and its influences (as well he should, for he had reviewed Astoria and The Crayton Miscellany for the Southern Literary Messenger). Poe may have demured at this time because he did not want to write unfavorably of a man whose support he might soon require. In corresponding with Brooks, Poe left little doubt as to his opinion of the popular author:

> Irving is much overrated, and a nice distinction might be drawn between his just and his surreptitious and adventitious reputation--between what is due to the pioneer solely, and what to the writer.[33]

Poe's disinclination to commit this opinion to print, however, was possibly in anticipation of his request for a publishable appreciation from Irving, which he made about a year hence.[34]

Poe's letter to Brooks is one of his more effusive expositions, in correspondence, on literary matters. As a rule, his correspondence is as arid a wasteland of self-

---

[33] Ibid., p. 113. See also the Southern Literary Messenger, December 1835 and January 1837.

[34] Poe wrote to Irving in the autumn of 1839 seeking an encomium for his Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque, soon to be published by Lea & Blanchard. See Irving's reply in Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 81.

interest as can be encountered in the literary sphere. Letter-writing was for Poe not an art but a necessity, one that for the most part seems to have been more burdensome than pleasurable. Through the scattered pages of his correspondence (some may have been destroyed by Mrs. Clemm after his death), there is much that is pitiable and a good deal that is carping, relieved only by occasional flashes of warmth and the even less frequent spark of humor. Plenty of reasons can be suggested for this, the principal one being that Poe was not a man of leisure, and that he was frequently the victim of ill-health and impending destitution. None of these, in themselves, would necessarily have precluded a healthy correspondence, as inveterate letter-writers frequently have surmounted equally daunting impediments.

Perhaps the reason from Poe's uninspired correspondence lay in the lack of a suitable recipient. His exchanges with such figures as Dickens and Irving did not develope into lengthy correspondences, and the more promising communications with James Russell Lowell seem never to have progressed far beyond perfunctory letters on Poe's submittals to Lowell's magazine, The Pioneer, and brief commiserations on the latter's eye disease. Poe's correspondence with women, particularly toward the end of his life, was frenetically in keeping with the deteriorating state of his mind and body. His letters are revealing but rarely are they deliberately so, as they often convey

impressions directly opposite to those which he evidently intended to create. Either because of unappreciative recipients or a generalized inability to sustain, in the epistolatory form, the unbroken narrative and analytical sequences of thought that support great letters, Poe's correspondence is disappointing. One is reminded of the displeasure expressed by Gustave Flaubert, himself a remarkable correspondent, upon encountering the published letters of Honoré de Balzac:

> I read them when they appeared, but with very little enthusiasm. The man gains from them, but not the artist. He was too much taken up with business. You never meet a general idea, a sign of his caring for anything beyond his material interests. . . . What a lamentable life![35]

It appears that after about six months in one or more boarding establishments, Poe found a house to rent somewhere in the city. John Sartain, the Philadelphia engraver and publisher who became acquainted with Poe during this period, remembered the house as being on 16th Street near Locust. Poe seems to have stayed at his first address for about three and a half years, until he moved his family to the region of the Fairmount Water Works in 1842.[36]

Sometime during the late summer or autumn of 1838 Poe borrowed fifty dollars from John Cox, a Philadelphia merchant with whom he apparently had little subsequent contact. By Christmas of that year he was able to pay a

---

[35]As quoted by Henry James, Essays in London and Elsewhere (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1893), p. 121.

[36]John Sartain, Reminiscences of a Very Old Man 1808-1897 (Reprint ed., New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969), p. 217.

residual debt to his former Arch Street landlady, Mrs. Jones, possibly using the proceeds from the sale of two pieces published simultaneously in the November number of the American Museum.[37] They were entitled "The Psyche Zenobia" and "The Scythe of Time," later retitled respectively, "How to Write a Blackwood Article" and "A Predicament."

With these two light pieces, Poe was evidently attempting to score a "hit," as he might have phrased it, by undertaking a highly topical subject. They constitute a parody of Blackwood's Magazine, the literary journal then unrivaled in popularity on both sides of the Atlantic. The enduring formula adhered to by its editors included authoritative reviews and a scholarly tone which, as Michael Allen has written, was offset by a "relaxed, personal, and intimate ethos which permitted the inclusion of more blatant sensationalism, literary gossip, and fiction for the less erudite reader."[38] The fiction was, by the 1830s, frequently cast in the most popular genres of the day, the gothic tale and "characteristic morbid pseudo-scientific fiction."[39]

---

[37]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 122-123. Poe's letter to Cox mentions his inability to repay the loan at present, and it indicates that he had been in straitened circumstances for some time: "it was only with the most painful sacrifices that I managed to pay Mrs Jones--which I did about last Christmas."

[38]Michael Allen, Poe and the British Magazine Tradition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 23.

[39]Ibid., p. 23.

Poe's design for his companion pieces was first to caricature an editor's instructions to a prospective woman author, and then, in the second piece, to describe the author's ludicrous attempts to comply with the editor's commandments. The Signora Psyche Zenobia has sought advice from none other than Mr. Blackwood himself, who tells her, "Sensations are the great things after all. Should you ever be drowned or hung, be sure to make note of your sensations—"[40] As to procedure he advises, "The first thing requisite is to get yourself into such a scrape as no one ever got into before."[41] Upon concluding the interview, Mr. Blackwood obliges the Signora to the fullest by way of sensations by loosing two savage bulldogs upon her as she retreats from his office.

In "The Scythe of Time" the Signora, following her edifying visit with Mr. Blackwood, sets out around Edinburgh in search of sensations, accompanied by her poodle and her black dwarf-servant, Pompey. She spies the cathedral, and impulsively ascends the tower. ("What madness now possessed me? Why did I rush upon my fate?")[42] The belfry is windowless, and she stands upon Pompey's shoulders to peer out of a hole, which presently she identifies to be an aperture in the face of the tower clock. Inevitably she

---

[40]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 340.

[41]Ibid., p. 349.

[42]Ibid., p. 349.

discovers the minute hand to be pressing on the back of her neck, and as it begins to cut she describes, true to Mr. Blackwood's adjurations, her sensations. First her eyes start out and fall into the gutter, then she observes her head roll down the steeple and land in the street. Meanwhile she of course observes, and quotes Ariosto. (Mr. Blackwood had explicitly recommended that her article display "an air of erudition.")[43] Pompey flees, and an enormous rat devours the poodle.

Poe fills both of these pieces with allusions to the contemporary literary scene. He derides what he deems to be pretentious literary societies, female authors, and pointedly, the Transcendentalists. ("Put in," advised Mr. Blackwood, "something about Supernal Oneness." "A little reading of the 'Dial' will carry you a great way.")[44]

To anyone even casually familiar with Poe's tales, it should be obvious that the pieces are as much about how to write a Poe article as they are about the Blackwood's phenomenon. He follows his own, albeit burlesqued advice unabashedly in "A Descent into the Maelstrom" (1841) and

---

[43] Ibid., p. 343.

[44] Ibid., p. 342. The Dial was the organ of the Concord Transcendentalists, founded in 1840 by Theodore Parker, Bronson Alcott, Orestes Brownson, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Margaret Fuller. The allusion to the journal in this piece dates from Poe's rewrite of it for publication in Phantasy-Pieces (a c. 1842 revision of his Tales which was never published).

"The Pit and the Pendulum" (1842), as he had earlier with Pym.

Any consideration of Poe's burlesques inevitably provokes the suggestion that they were anything but funny. In "A Predicament" the humor is so labored as to be painful. It is difficult to imagine even the more robust readers of the American Museum confronting the tale without some symptoms of squeamishness. Its nightmarish quality is perceptively examined by Daniel Hoffman, who experienced some reverberative psychological discomfort as the result of coming upon the thing when he was fifteen.[45]

With Poe, the mood of the tale, be it serious or humorous, has little influence over the constant of his subject matter. "The Pit and the Pendulum," for example, is a serious exposition of subject matter presented in a humorous vein in "A Predicament." Both are fantasies of horror and physical pain and disfigurement, both share the outlandishness and detail of dreams transcribed, and both deal symbolically and explicitly, with the inexorability of time.

The same autumn Poe produced this pair of burlesques, he evidently had a more prosaic project in hand as well. He seems to have hinted at this in his September letter to Nathan Brooks, and by then he had undertaken the

---

[45]Hoffman, Poe Poe Poe, p. 7.

only known ghost-writing project he would engage in during his Philadelphia period. Poe had undertaken to assist the English-born biologist Thomas Wyatt with a manual entitled The Conchologist's First Book; or, A System of Testaceous Malacology, Arranged expressly for the use of Schools. . . . The agreement with Wyatt was apparently, from Poe's viewpoint, purely one of financial expediency. The standard explanation of his digression into the natural sciences is that Wyatt, who had published a high-priced manual on conchology with Harper's, wanted to place a cheaper edition on the market and at the same time avoid litigation with his New York publisher. For a fee of fifty dollars Poe translated some passages by Georges Cuvier for the book and allowed his name to appear in the place of the author on the title page. He also composed an introduction. In 1846, an article in the Saturday Evening Post charged Poe with plagiarizing Thomas Brown's The Text-Book of Conchology (Glasgow, 1833), and Arthur Hobson Quinn notes that the introduction Poe provided is similar to Brown's, and that the section entitled "Explanation of Parts of Shells" is "verbatim from Brown."[46] The rest of the text was apparently adapted from Wyatt's first book. Poe bridled at the charges of plagiarism, but he never attempted to prosecute for libel, a course of action which he at least considered.[47]

[46]Quinn, Poe, p. 277.

[47]Ibid., p. 277, also Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 40-41, 947-956.

The enterprise appears to have been a purely pragmatic one to keep him in funds.

In January and February of 1839, the American Museum published a Poe article entitled "Literary Small Talk." It is a collection of observations on a variety of authors, serving as a canvas on which to display his own erudition. The nature of Poe's voluminous and unsystematic reading is immediately apparent, and he demands of his reader a reasonable command of Latin and Greek. The subjects he glues together in this collage range from a rationale for his own critical severity, and a comparison of popular political poets with their counterparts in the later Roman Empire; to a critique of the British novelist Edward Bulwer-Lytton, flaying him for lacking "the true vigour of intellect which would prompt him to seek, and enable him to seize truth upon the surface of things."[48]

The American Museum was a short-lived forum for Poe's critical voice. Before the magazine failed with its July, 1839 issue, it published but one more item by Poe, his poem "The Haunted Palace," later to be inserted in "The Fall of the House of Usher." He had first sent the poem to John L. O'Sullivan, editor of the Washington (later New York) United States Magazine and Democratic Review. O'Sullivan thought little of the poem, and rejected it. The American Museum

---

[48]James A. Harrison, ed. The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe, 17 vols. (New York: George D. Sproul, 1902), 14: 91.

accepted it for publication in its April number.[49]

February, 1839, brought disappointing news from Harper's concerning the sales of Pym. Poe had written the publishers on the 19th, inquiring after the sale of the book. Their reply, while phrased in a kindly manner, could not be other than disheartening:

> We are inclined to think that "Pym" has not succeeded or been received as well in this country as it has in England. When we published the work, we sent 100 copies of it to London--And we presume they have been sold. In addition we understand an English edition has been printed.[50]

The letter concluded with a request that Poe review some of Harper's books in hospitable Philadelphia newspapers.

As gratifying to Poe's pride as news about sales in England may have been, it carried with it no financial promise. There existed no international copyright law which would protect British or American authors against the piracy of their works. For Poe, who during his lifetime would accede to some popularity in England, this was more than an unfortunate circumstance. The promulgation of an international copyright agreement would become for him an important preoccupation, and when he met Charles Dickens in 1842, this matter of mutual interest probably constituted a principal point of discussion.[51]

---

[49]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 36-37. For a consideration of the poem see Mabbott, Collected Works, 3: 312-318.

[50]Ibid., p. 35.

[51]This is conjecture based on Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 342-343.

It was probably during the early Spring of 1839 that Poe wrote one of his most widely admired tales, "William Wilson."[52] It would not appear in print until September, for he sold it to Carey and Hart of Philadelphia for publication in their annual, The Gift for 1840. The tale is a tour de force recounting the struggle of the dissipated William Wilson with a double (William Wilson 2) who dogs him through school and university, undesisting even when Wilson pursues his ill-spent life on the Continent. The tale has autobiographical references. Poe assigns both Wilsons his own birthdate, and their first school is very like the one Poe attended in England as a child.[53]

It commences with a standard Poe exordium, the narrator describing himself as being "imaginative and easily excitable," "self-willed, addicted to the wildest caprices,

---

[52]The tale was published in September, in Carey & Hart's gift-book The Gift for 1840. The publishers had taken out copyright on the contents in April. See Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 42. Gift books were an exceedingly popular publishing medium in the mid-nineteenth century. Usually published in the autumn, in anticipation of Christmas sales, they generally included a selection of tales, poetry, topical pieces, and engravings. On the gift book genre, see Ralph Thompson, American Literary Annuals & Gift Books (1936; reprint ed., n.p., Archon Books, 1967).

[53]While Poe's foster father John Allan resided in England between 1815 and 1820, Poe attended school at the Manor House in Stoke-Newington (1818-1820), which appears to be the inspiration for the earliest school attended by William Wilson. See Quinn, Poe, pp. 65-80.

and prey to the most ungovernable passions."[54] His unsavory career begins with bullying, but he is unable to control Wilson 2, who disconcertingly mixes disdain with affection. Through Wilson's career at Eton and Oxford, Wilson 2 is not only the voice of conscience, but also the agent of his exposure and destruction. Wilson escapes to the Continent, but, he asserts, "I fled in vain." Wilson 2 hounds him through the years, in Paris, Rome, Vienna, Berlin and Moscow, "yet with how spectral an officiousness, stepped he between me and my ambition!"[55] At last, during the Roman carnival, they face off. Wilson finally manages to destroy his double, but not without the worst possible of consequences. Wilson 2 pronounces his doom:

> You have conquered and I yield. Yet henceforth thou art also dead--dead to the World, to Heaven, and to Hope! In me didst thou exist--and, in my death, see by this image, which is thine own, how utterly thou hast murdered thyself.[56]

---

[54]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 427. Compare this with "The Tell-Tale Heart." ("True!--nervous--very, very dreadfully nervous I had been and am. . . .") Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 792, and the equally hypersensitive mental states of the narrators in "The Man of the Crowd," "Ligeia," and others. Poe's narrators are almost as a matter of course victims of mental dislocation. His reliance upon this formula invited his critics to assume that he had first hand experience with mental illness and the use of opiates.

Hoffman has commented upon the "will" in William Wilson (see Hoffman, Poe Poe Poe, p. 209). It is also of interest that Poe's master at Stoke-Newington, the Reverend John Bransby (whom Poe had actually named in the tale), had apparently stated, with the benefit of hindsight, that the boy Poe had been "intelligent, wayward and willful." See Quinn, Poe, p. 72.

[55]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 445.

[56]Ibid., p. 451.

The success of the tale lies in the deft and subtle manner in which Poe handles a theme that in less dextrous hands could easily have degenerated into the most maudlin of nineteenth century morality tales. Wilson 2 is not only the unheeded voice of conscience, but also the perverse instigator of self-destruction. Poe speaks directly to the matter of how uncontrolled and subconscious impulses can subvert conscious intent. Six years later, Poe would encounter this theme head on, in "The Imp of the Perverse" (1845).

To many critics, including Patrick Quinn, "William Wilson" is a transcendent example of the "doppelgänger" genre.[57] Both Edmund Wilson and more recently Daniel Hoffman found it superior to Stevenson's Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. To Wilson, it epitomized "the horror of the moral transformation more convincingly than the melodramatic fable of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. . . ."[58]

By the time Carey and Hart copyrighted "William Wilson" in April, 1839, Poe had been living in Philadelphia for about a year. He had completed two major tales, "Ligeia" and "William Wilson," the pair of grotesques for the American Museum, "Literary Small Talk," and "The Haunted Palace," and he had ghosted Wyatt's Conchology. Other

---

[57]Patrick Quinn, French Face of Edgar Poe, pp. 220-221.

[58]Edmund Wilson, "Poe at Home and Abroad," in The Recognition of Edgar Allan Poe, Eric W. Carlson, ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Michigan University Press, 1966), p. 147. See also Hoffman, Poe Poe Poe, p. 209.

literary projects may have been underway, but we can only speculate on their nature. His known income, during this depression year, was scant. Poe received fifty dollars from Wyatt, he had borrowed fifty more from John Cox, and he had been paid ten dollars for "Ligeia." If he had received a like sum for the five remaining published pieces, it would have brought his income during the first year in Philadelphia to $160, considerably below a laborer's wage. Clearly, Poe needed some regular form of income. His pursuit of a government post, perhaps but fleetingly considered, had met with denial. There was apparently but one course open to him, a return to editing.

It was probably with marked desperation that Poe offered his services to William E. Burton, editor and owner of the Gentleman's Magazine, the man who had treated Pym with such open contempt. Yet Poe had apparently done so by May 11, when Burton wrote him indicating his interest in obtaining his editorial services, and appending a lengthy list of reasons why he could not pay Poe the salary he had suggested:

> I am certain that my expenditure exceeds that of any publication now extant, including the monthlies that are double the price. Competition is high,--new claimants are daily rising. I am therefore compelled to give expensive plates, thicker paper, and better printing than my antagonists, or allow them to win the goal.[59]

---

[59]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 44.

Burton offered Poe a salary of $10 a week until 1840, at which time, should he still be employed, it would be raised to the level Poe suggested. Burton estimated that Poe's editorial duties would not require more than two hours per day. He was strictly forbidden to offer his pieces to any competitor of the Gentleman's Magazine. By month's end, Poe was at work in Burton's office, on the southeast corner of Walnut and 2nd streets.

ILLUS. 3

Part I, Chapter V

"THE TRAMMELS OF EXPEDIENCY"--POE AND BURTON

The month of May, 1839 ended auspiciously for Poe. He now was provided with a steady, if modest income, and a rostrum from which to voice his critical opinions. A new piece, "The Devil in the Belfrey" (apparently sold prior to his arrangement with Burton), appeared in the May 18 issue of the Philadelphia Saturday Chronicle.[1] Poe's career had been graced with the benefit of a fresh beginning, at a time when, at least for a few months, the pall of economic depression had lifted from the city.

Ominous portents, however, loomed almost immediately, as it must have been apparent to both Poe and Burton that they were temperamentally incompatible. The actor was brash, confident, disputacious, and invincibly optimistic. This combination of characteristics occasionally led him to transgress the proprieties of entrepreneurship and brought him perilously close to fraud, but he was deft at eluding serious ill-consequences. His ebullient disposition

---

[1]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 46.

permitted little time for brooding, and less sympathy for those who did. Poe was thin-skinned to the point that it constituted a positive disability, and he was prone to periods of depression. Burton apparently was neglectful of literary niceties, and probably cared little for the philosophy of literature and criticism. Poe was a perfectionist, consumed with the definition of critical and literary theory, and its application. Burton was chiefly concerned with his magazine as a lucrative enterprise, Poe was principally interested in literary quality, defined in his own terms.

Burton pursued his dual careers as editor and actor simultaneously. There was little doubt, however, that his heart lay foremost with the stage, and through a good deal of the period of Poe's employment with the magazine, Burton was out of town with stage engagements. Poe had been working for Burton for about two weeks when he wrote a despairing letter to the absent actor, the contents of which can only be surmised from Burton's reply. Burton's missive is a ready index to the fundamental absence of understanding between the two. Poe likely was galled by the paternal didacticism of Burton's advice (which was similar to some that had been offered to him years before by his foster father John Allen):

> The troubles of the world have given a morbid tone to your feelings which it is your duty to discourage. I cannot agree to entertain your proposition, either in

> justice to yourself or to my own interests. . . . I have been as severely handled in the world as you can possibly have been, but my sufferings have not tinged my mind with a melancholy hue, nor do I allow my views of my fellow creatures to be jaundiced by the fogs of my own creation. You must rouse your energies, and conquer the insidious attacks of the foul fiend, care. . . . We shall agree very well, but you must get rid of your avowed ill-feeling towards your brother-authors--you see that I speak plainly--indeed, I cannot speak otherwise. Several of my friends, hearing of our connection, have warned me of your uncalled for severity in criticism--and I confess that your article on Dawes is not written with that spirit of fairness which, in a more healthy state of mind, you would undoubtedly have used. The independence of my book reviews has been noticed throughout the Union--my remarks upon my friend Bird's last novel evince my freedom from the trammels of expediency, but there is no necessity for undue severity.[2]

To the resilient Burton, the "foul fiend" was a tractable and easily banished beast. But if Poe was distressed by Burton's manner, his grievances did not stop there. Burton, who had been harsh with Poe's Pym, apparently attempted to muzzle Poe's criticism. Poe had written a ferocious review of the work of the genial poet, Rufus Dawes, whose lyric pretensions he held in very low esteem. Dawes's epic poem "Geraldine," singled out for particular scorn in the critique finally published in 1842, was altogether too easy prey to be even sporting. If the Dawes review of 1842 is any measure of what Poe had planned for the pages of Burton's, it was merciless. ("His poems have not been condemned, only because they have never been

---

[2]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 46-47. This letter is one of those which was doctored by Rufus W. Griswold to make Poe appear in a poor light. Quinn prints both the correct version and that published by Griswold side by side to demonstrate the extent of Griswold's alterations. See Quinn, Poe, pp. 279-280.

read.")[3] Burton was evidently somewhat apprehensive about the spitefulness which intruded even into Poe's more measured criticism. Although Burton seems never to have shied from controversy, he perhaps was pragmatic enough to want to attract the popular Dawes as a contributor. In any case, he took Poe to task for his critical mien. Whatever success Burton achieved as an actor and entrepreneur, he was probably less acute as a judge of literature. He recommended that Poe deal "leniently" with Dawes on the grounds that he "possesses a portion of the true fire"[4] of genius. Poe knew better, yet the review did not appear in the pages of Burton's.[5]

Burton hired Poe in time to announce his employment as an editor on the wrappers of the June number,[6] although his presence cannot really be adduced from the pages of the magazine until July (this doubtless because of the printing schedule). Poe worked for Burton for about a year, and it is probable that the arrangement lasted as long as it did in part because Burton was so often absent. This in itself posed recurring problems for the Assistant Editor, who during

---

[3]Edgar A. Poe, "The Poetry of Rufus Dawes. A Retrospective Criticism," Graham's Gentleman's Magazine 21 (October 1842): 209.

[4]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 47.

[5]The Dawes critique was not published until 1842, in the October issue of Graham's Gentleman's Magazine.

[6]Quinn, Poe, p. 278.

his employer's absences carried the burden of getting out the magazine almost singlehandedly. From June 25 until September 12, Burton was in New York City, acting in farces and summer theatrical entertainments at Niblo's Gardens. The length of the run resulted in him operating the magazine in absentia, and he fired off instructions and lively reports of the New York scene to his assistant editor. It is likely that Poe was the recipient of a letter he sent to Philadelphia on July 4, 1838, which carried instructions for the execution of a number of small errands, but while attempting to follow through with the minutiae of editorship, Burton was clearly caught up in other things:

> I shall endeavor to send you an article (a short one) for this number, if you have three pages to spare. You will receive it by Monday, or not at all. I have so long been absent from the pages of the Maga. that if I do not make my appearance soon my readers will imagine a total absquatulation.[7]

As Philadelphia residents abandoned the city to escape the summer heat, Poe labored on at 2nd and Walnut Streets. The impending presidential campaigns, and the opportunities they presented by way of appointments, appear to have attracted his attention.[8] The Philadelphia Saturday Chronicle had already published a "grotesque" which concealed a political satire. "The Devil in the Belfry,"

---

[7]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 52. On the authorship of this letter, see p. 54.

[8]See this report, Part I, Chapter 1.

together with a similar piece entitled "The Man Who Was Used Up," published in the August Gentleman's Magazine, represent rare excursions into this genre, ones which clearly indicated his Whig sympathies.[9]

Poe had evidently renounced any hopes he may have entertained of acceding to an appointment under the Van Buren administration. The letter to Paulding had apparently been little more than a forlorn hope. Poe, who certainly did not perceive himself as a man of the crowd, was in any case more temperamentally attuned to the Whig persuasion. The experiment with Paulding may also have brought him to the conclusion that in order to receive an appointment, he must demonstrate himself to be a good party man.[10]

Without the keys to their satire, "The Devil in the Belfry," and "The Man Who Was Used Up" are mystifying little pieces. In the first, the time-obsessed Dutch village of "Vondervotteimitiss" is thrown into confusion by the arrival of a diminutive and dapper little man with an "audacious and sinister kind of face,"[11] who "pidgeon-winged himself right up to the belfry"[12] (read White House), promptly causing the clock to strike thirteen. This snuff-sniffing "finnicky

---

[9]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 377, and below, footnote 15.

[10]See below, footnote 15.

[11]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 371.

[12]Ibid., pp. 371-372.

little personage"[13] is a caricature of Martin Van Buren, who throws the orderly little town into disarray. The political message is clear enough in the last line of the tale, wherein the narrator advises: "Let us proceed in a body to the borough, and restore the ancient order of things in Vondervotteimitiss by ejecting that little fellow from the steeple."[14]

The companion piece to this rather mild attack upon the President is a little more nasty in tone. "The Man Who Was Used Up: A Tale of the Bugaboo and Kickapoo Campaign," is a parody of the War of 1812 hero, Vice President Richard M. Johnson. Johnson was severely wounded at the Battle of the Thames in 1813, and had subsequently made political capital of his military exploits. Poe satirized him as General A.B.C. Smith,whose body is discovered to be a compilation of replacement parts. Johnson (Smith) is depicted as a man whose name is a household word, but whose actual deeds are virtually unknown. He is, in Poe's view, the nineteenth century equivalent of a media creation. Poe dwells pointedly on his subject's physical infirmities, the point of it all being that Johnson is a man of as little

---

[13]Ibid., p. 370.

[14]Ibid., p. 374.

intellectual as of physical consequence.[15]

These tales taken together appear to constitute the basis for Poe's subsequent claim that he was an active Harrison supporter, when he applied once more for a government post in 1841. The hopes he may have pinned on these exercises in political pragmatism were not to be realized.

Poe's contributions to the Gentleman's Magazine over the summer of 1839 included several reviews (one, in the July number, a puff of his friend Wyatt's Synopsis of Natural History), and a reprint of his poem, "To Ianthe in Heaven." The August issue carried a lengthy review of Nathaniel P. Willis's play "Tortesa, the Usurer," which, despite calling attention to its flaws he pronounced to be the best American play written to date. Poe evidently judged it from the text rather than from performance.[16] The review of "Tortesa" had appeared earlier in the Pittsburgh Literary Examiner, for in June the editor of this new publication, Burke Fisher, had offered Poe four dollars a

---

[15]On Poe as a political satirist, see William Whipple, "Poe's Political Satire," The University of Texas Studies in English 35 (1956): 81-95. This treats earlier and later pieces as well, and points out some of the points whereby the reader of 1839 would easily recognize Van Buren and Johnson in the two pieces. Others have speculated that the regularity of the village of "Vondervotteimitiss" is a comment on Philadelphia's faultlessly regular streets. See William Bittner, Poe, A Biography (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1961), p. 140.

[16]Quinn, Poe, p. 284.

page for any material he cared to sumit. ("The choice of subjects," wrote Fisher, "Could not be left in better hands.")[17] Poe agreed, as apparently the Pittsburgh publication was sufficiently remote so as not to be competitive with Burton's magazine. The association, however, was shortlived.[18]

Poe's name, in part because of his editorial association with the Gentleman's Magazine, was attaining national recognition. As Dwight R. Thomas has amply demonstrated, the publication of a Poe poem or tale elicited widespread comment in the national press. In the case of major pieces, the attention he received was usually quite lavish. Poe also found strong local support in Philadelphia papers, which seldom failed to comment on his recent publications. It was rare that such notices displayed any marked literary perception. A comment in the July 3rd Pennsylvania Inquirer pronounced "To Ianthe in Heaven" to be "excellent poetry,"[19] but failed to elaborate. They often made up in enthusiasm, however, what they lacked in critical acuity. It was the custom, moreover, for daily and weekly newspapers to notice the principal magazines of the period, and some of the attention devoted to Poe resulted from his prominent connection

---

[17]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia, " p. 48.

[18]Ibid., p. 55; and Ostrom, Letters, 1: 175-176.

[19]Ibid., p. 51.

with the Gentleman's Magazine. Each new number was reviewed at length, particularly when two or more magazines rivaled each other in the same city. Poe's compositions often stood out sharply from the flaccid mass of literary mediocrity that surrounded them, and they provoked pointed praise or disparagement, depending on the taste of the reviewer, or the opinion of the clique to which he or she belonged. A commonly encountered practice of the day was "puffing," or singling out for praise the work of a friend or associate, regardless of its intrinsic merit. Poe abhored the practice, repeatedly criticizing it in print, yet he was not entirely immune from it himself when the occasion beckoned. This is less a proof of hypocrisy than it is a testament to the extraordinary pressures placed upon an editor to render himself successful in a contentious and crowded market place. It was a practice that few editors, if they wished to survive, could choose to ignore, although there were some who embraced the opportunities more wholeheartedly than others. Poe, who seems to have been guided by a rather capricious integrity, could be unpredictably choosy about when and with whom he would elect to play the game.[20]

The entanglements of loyalty and betrayal possible within the literary fraternity is suggested by something

---

[20]For instance, Poe "puffed" the work of his friends Frederick W. Thomas and Jesse Dow. Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 127-130.

that happened to Poe during the summer of 1839. In August he received a letter from J. Beauchamp Jones, editor of the Baltimore Saturday Visiter [sic]. Although the letter is missing, its contents are discernible from Poe's August 8 reply.[21] Jones, who was either a slight acquaintance or someone Poe knew not at all, reported some unfavorable comment which had ostensibly been directed at Poe in the Baltimore press. As Jones's pieces appeared subsequently in the Gentleman's Magazine, it is possible that he was not above using this information as a strategem to incur Poe's favor. If Jones was so cunning, he had sized up his subject rather well. Poe consistently demonstrated an unhealthy preoccupation with slights or abuses in print or in conversation.[22] Jones's allegation sent Poe immediately to the reading rooms, where he scoured the Baltimore papers to find the slight. He replied to Jones, "I presume it is the 'Athenaeum' which has honored me with its ill-nature. I notice nothing in the Republican, Chronicle, American, or Patriot."[23] Jones had only provided a tantalizing hint about the ill-favoring notice, and Poe avidly sought more

---

[21]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 113-114.

[22]Literary controversies fuelled by slander and libel were not uncommon during this period. See, for example, the war that developed between Poe and Hiram Fuller, and Thomas Dunn English in 1846. Quinn, Poe, pp. 501-506.

[23]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 114.

information. "It is always desirable to know who are our enemies, and what are the nature of their attacks."[24] He asked Jones to name names, claiming that "All the literary people of Baltimore, as far as I know them, have at least professed a friendship."[25]

Unfortunately for Poe, this was not the first, and certainly not the last time he would receive such disquieting reports from an individual claiming friendship. Because of the virulence of the invective commonly hurled about in the literary press, it was an advantage for an editor or a writer to be thick-skinned. Poe, however, was hypersensitive. The bitterness that erupted from time to time in his critical writing in part resulted from his difficulty with shaking off grievances, for which an unsuspecting author might suffer.[26] In an age when the duelling code still reigned in certain southern circles, Poe took his personal and literary honor with high seriousness.[27] Generalized criticism, however, he could pass off with an air of lofty superiority. As he wrote to Jones, "We are run down with puffs especially from the North. . . . Here

---

[24]Ibid., p. 114.

[25]Ibid.

[26]For example, see Poe's "A Chapter on Autobiography" (1841-1842) and "The Literati of New York City" (1846).

[27]For example, see the controversy which developed upon the publication of "The Gold Bug," Part 1, Chapter 9.

lies the true secret of the spleen of the little fish."[28]

The slight which Jones had heard tell of was probably nothing more than a review of the August number of the Gentleman's Magazine, which had appeared in the Baltimore Sun the day he wrote to Poe. The review contained a slap at Burton, with an implicit one directed at Poe:

> It is evident that the senior editor has been busied elsewhere, and consequently, although this number contains many excellent articles, there is a palpable lack of tact in the manner in which it has been gotten up.[29]

By the end of August and early September, this relatively mild barb was presumably forgotten amid the highly favorable notices praising the September Gentleman's. The September number was a resounding salvo from Poe, containing brilliant fiction and his rigorous criticism.[30] When Philadelphians began to return to the city from their summer sojourns, they were not wanting of something serious to read. The crowning piece of the September number was "The Fall of the House of Usher."[31] The tale remains one of Poe's most popular and admired, and it has teased generations of critics, who have

---

[28]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 114.

[29]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 56.

[30]On Poe's criticism in this issue, see Robert D. Jacobs, Poe, Journalist and Critic (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), pp. 222-226.

[31]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 392-422.

exercised their most sophisticated equipment upon it.[32]

"Usher" engendered instant and generally favorable attention, along with the critical notices in the issue, yet a perusal of the contemporary commentary leaves the impression that most readers of the tale did not know quite what to make of it. They exhausted the then current vocabulary of praise and then gave up. Joseph C. Neal, in The Pennsylvanian of September 3, called it "a sketch of much power and peculiar interest. . . ,"[33] and went on to praise the "fearless and independent criticism. . . ."[34] Another Philadelphia editor, John Frost of Alexander's Weekly Messenger, described "Usher" as "a stern and somber, but at the same time, a noble and imposing picture, such as can only be drawn by a master hand."[35] Joseph R. Chandler, in a review published in the prestigious United States Gazette, praised the tale and Poe's rugged criticism. While admitting that Poe "looked as if he had not sat down to coax

---

[32]The tale will not be summarized here because it is generally well known. A consideration of it is to be found in almost every major critical essay on Poe. For a summary which includes the work of other critics, see Hoffman, Poe Poe Poe, pp. 295-316. See also Harry Levin, The Power of Blackness, for a cultural interpretation, and Richard Wilbur, "The House of Poe," in The Recognition of Edgar Allan Poe, Eric W. Carlson, ed. (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press, 1970), pp. 255-277.

[33]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 60.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid., p. 61.

young writers into correct imaginings of grammatical utterance. . . ,"[36] Chandler declared his pronouncements to be fundamentally just. The Public Ledger found that "Mr. Poe's contributions are unusually excellent."[37] Mordecai Manuel Noah, editor of the New York Evening Star, produced the ultimate compliment: "Mr. Poe's Tale of 'The Fall of the House of Usher,' would have been considered a chef d'oeuvre if it had appeared in the pages of Blackwood."[38]

On the negative side, the Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post, whose editor was no friend to Burton, commented tersely on the "savage reviews."[39]

To Poe, who had expended a long summer in drudgery, with the petty annoyances stemming from Burton's awkward absence, the praise was gratifying. He knew, however, that all of this commendation, buried as it was amid endless columns of infinitesmal print, was of little consequence unless it could be capitalized upon. With this in mind he wrote to Joseph Evans Snodgrass, mentioning a favorable notice that had appeared in the St. Louis Commercial Bulletin requesting that he urge Nielson Poe to reprint it in the Baltimore Chronicle, encased in some favorable Snodgrass commentary. The reason for the indirect approach seems to

---

[36] Ibid., p. 62.

[37] Ibid., p. 63.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., p. 64.

have been that Poe was usually on uneasy terms with his second cousin, who was publisher of the paper.[40] Snodgrass complied in so far as to lodge a laudatory critique in the November 11 Baltimore Post, as Nielson Poe had declined to print it in the paper of which he was then publisher, the Chronicle.[41]

The request to Snodgrass was the beginning of Poe's campaign to focus critical attention on his most recent successes. He told Snodgrass that he was about to publish a collection of tales, and perhaps his search for the spotlight was designed to create a basis for future sales.[42] To do this, Poe began to solicit a collection of favorable comments from prominent authors, intended as an appendix to the volume. One of the individuals to which he wrote was James E. Heath, the Richmond author and friend of Thomas Willis White (Poe's old chief at the Southern Literary Messenger). Apparently hoping to elicit a favorable home town opinion, Poe sent Heath a copy of the September Gentleman's Magazine, with a request for his considered opinion. Heath sent a lengthy but disappointing reply, one which may have been consonant with the mainstream of contemporary conservative opinion. Heath wrote that "Usher"

---

[40] Quinn, Poe, p. 291.

[41] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 115-116.

[42] Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque was published in Philadelphia by Lea & Blanchard in December, 1839, although the title page bears the date 1840.

evinced

> great scope of imagination, vigorous thought, and a happy command of language; but I am sure you will appreciate my candor when I say that I never could feel much interest in that class of compositions, I mean I could never experience pleasure in reading tales of horror and mystery however much the narrative should be dignified by genius. They leave a painful and melancholy impression on my mind, and I do not perceive their tendency to improve the heart.[43]

The key, of course, to Heath's disapproval lies in the last phrase. To a man who expected his literature to be laced with explicit and improving moral instruction, Poe had, on the surface, very little to say. Far from soothing, it often left readers like Heath, who candidly admits as much, in a state of profound psychological discomfort. Thomas Willis White, whose response was so closely allied with Heath's as to suggest conferral, was if anything more censorious. Declining to reprint "Usher" in the Messenger on the grounds of insufficient space, he wrote, "I doubt very much whether tales of the wild, improbable and terrible class, can ever be permanently popular in this country."[44]

Against this disheartening response from the city of his youth, Poe could balance one notable success. He sent a similar overture to Washington Irving, who responded with lofty graciousness:

---

[43]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 66.

[44]Ibid., p. 67.

> I am much pleased with a tale called "The House of Usher," and should think that a collection of tales equally well written, could not fail of being favorably received . . . Its graphic effect is powerful.[45]

If Irving had not quite gotten the title right, it was of relatively little import.

Poe received his due in positive critical response, even if much of it seems superficial. He was grateful if a reader took the time to give his work close scrutiny, which seems to have been a rare occurrence. The Virginia author Philip Pendleton Cooke took care to look beyond the surface of Poe's pieces. That Poe may have been starved for this sort of critical exchange is suggested by his remark to Cooke, "You read my most intimate spirit 'like a book'--and, with the exception of D'Israeli, I have had communications with no other person who does."[46] In mid-September of 1839 Cooke sent Poe an appreciation of "Ligeia," and judging from Poe's response the now missing litter demonstrated a long-term acquaintance with his fiction. Cooke seems to have gently suggested some improvements in the tale.

Poe's response is noteworthy, for it is one of the

---

[45]This letter is missing in manuscript form, but it was published by Poe in the Tales supplement. There is no reason to doubt its authenticity, as Irving subsequently granted similar praise to "William Wilson." See Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 70.

[46]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 118. There is no known correspondence between Poe and either Isaac or Benjamin D'Israeli.

scarce incidences of Poe committing observations concerning his own technique to paper.

> Touching "Ligeia" you are right--all right--throughout. The gradual perception of the fact that Ligeia lives again in the person of Rowena is a far loftier and more thrilling idea than the one I have embodied. It offers in my opinion, the widest possible scope of the imagination--it might be rendered even sublime. And this idea was mine--had I never written before I would have adopted it--but then there is "Morella." Do you remember there the gradual conviction on the part of the parent that the spirit of the first Morella tenants the person of the second? It was necessary, since "Morella" was written, to modify "Ligeia." I was forced to be content with a sudden half-consciousness, on the part of the narrator, that Ligeia stood before him. One point I have not fully carried out--I should have intmated that the will did not perfect its intention--there should have been a relapse--a final one--and Ligeia (who had only succeeded in so much as to convey an idea of the truth to the narrator) should be at length entombed as Rowena --the bodily alterations having gradually faded away.
>
> But since "Morella" is upon record I will suffer "Ligeia" to remain as it is. Your word that it is "intelligible" suffices--and your commentary sustains your word. As for the mob--let them talk on. I should be grieved if I thought they comprehended me here. The "saith Verulam" shall be put right--your "impertinence" is quite pertinent.[47]

In his letter to Cooke, Poe also confided his intention to found and edit his own magazine, perhaps spurred on by the success of the September Gentleman's Magazine. He remarked that all of the critical pieces in the July, August, and September numbers, save three, had been his own, but that he was chafing under the restrictions imposed by Burton. "As soon as Fate allows I will have a Magazine of my own--and I will endeavor to kick up a dust."[48]

---

[47] Ibid., p. 118.

[48] Ibid.

It is possible that Burton, for his part, may have been dismayed by the growing reputation of his assistant editor and was beginning to feel overshadowed by his employee. He may have seen the review written either by Horace Greeley or by Park Benjamin that appeared in the September 21 issue of the New Yorker, which stated, "He [Burton] has of late added largely to his claims upon public favor and support by engaging the services of Mr. Edgar A. Poe--whose writings are full of wit, fire and originality."[49]

The good fortune of September was crowned by Lea & Blanchard's offer to publish a collection of Poe's tales, which he had gathered together under the title of Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque.[50] Lea & Blanchard was Philadelphia's most prestigious publishing concern, yet due probably to the financial uncertainties of the times, they offered Poe a less than lucrative arrangement. An edition of 1,750 copies was proposed by the publishers, who claimed all retail profits. Poe would retain the copyright, and would receive "a few copies for distribution among your friends. . . ."[51] Lea & Blanchard seem only to have printed about 750 copies, which required at least three years to exhaust.[52]

---

[49]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 72.

[50]The volume contained all of the tales Poe had written as of September of 1839. See Quinn, Poe, pp. 285-189.

[51]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 73.

[52]Quinn, Poe, pp. 187-189, 336; Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 90, 254.

In advance of publication, Poe prepared a short preface for the Tales, wherein he countered some critical comments which had been lodged against his unique style and startling subject matter, by those who complained that he plumbed too often the "dark mysterious and unutterable creations of licentious fancy."[53] Poe began by drawing attention to but carefully eluding explanation of the title he had chosen. The words "grotesque" and "arabesque" would have given his readers pause, but they were entirely consistent with the popular use of pictorial analogy as a literary device. (A. H. Quinn saw a clear distinction between the serious tales, styled arabesques, and the humorous or burlesque pieces, termed grotesques.[54] In the latter case, at least, a more apt appellation would be difficult to devise.)

The bulk of Poe's preface is concerned with the accusation that his pieces were derived from the popular genre of the German romantic tale. He denied the relationship in every case but one, and although he did not identify the tale in question, he doubtless assumed that it would be recognized readily enough as "Metzengerstein."[55] To the

---

[53]This is extracted from a critique discovered by Mabbott in the Richmond Compiler of February 1836. See Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 472. From the same critique comes a charge that Poe was too imitative of Germanic style.

[54]Quinn, Poe, p. 289.

[55]The tale "Metzengerstein--The Horse Shade" appeared in the Philadelphia Saturday Courier, January 14, 1832. See Quinn, Poe, p. 192.

charge that he had been too submissive to the blandishments of German romanticism he answered:

> If in many of my productions terror has been the thesis, I maintain that terror is not of Germany, but of the soul,--that I have deduced the terror only from its legitimate sources, and urged it only to its legitimate results.[56]

The preface was one of the most direct and concentrated defenses of his own work that Poe would ever make in print, and it is a convincing one. While he would upon occasion use a German setting as a dramatic device, his tales were segregated both by intent and by their psychological perception from the productions of such popular German authors as E. T. A. Hoffmann.

The October Gentleman's Magazine carried a reprint of "William Wilson," and in the review columns a derisive notice of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's romance Hyperion. Longfellow was then thirty-two years of age, and a professor of modern languages at Harvard, and he had not as yet claimed a national audience. This was Poe's first encounter in print with Longfellow's work (although it is possible that he was familiar with the volume of travel sketches the Cambridge author had published in 1835, as Outre-Mer). Hyperion was a semi-autobiographical romance, the literary means by which Longfellow dealt with the trauma of the death of his first wife, incorporating his subsequent European peregrinations

---

[56]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 473.

and his desultory romance with Frances Appleton.[57] It includes as well a pastiche of Germanic legends, and because of the undigested nature of all of these disparate elements, Hyperion was bound to offend the implacable critic in Philadelphia.

Poe's review of Hyperion marked the beginning of his "Longfellow War," conducted sporadically over the next several years in his increasingly shrill and abusive pronouncements on Longfellow's work.[58] The intensity of Poe's criticism seemed to have increased proportionately with Longfellow's widening fame. When Poe later assaulted New York's powerful literary establishment, Longfellow, the darling of the Knickerbocker set, loomed once more as an irresistable target.[59]

In 1839, however, Poe graciously conceded that, while Hyperion was a fiasco, it was the product of a gifted, if wayward, artist. The review damned the production as a collage of elements excised from sources ranging from Tristram Shandy to Rabelais. Poe was careful to note that "This may appear to be a commendation, but we do not intend

---

[57]Edward Wagenknecht, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: Portrait of an American Humanist (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 168-169.

[58]Sidney P. Moss, Poe's Literary Battles: The Critic in the Context of His Literary Milieu (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1963), pp. 132-189.

[59]Quinn, Poe, pp. 453-456.

it as such."[60] He scolded Longfellow for dissipating his genius through lack of application and seriousness of purpose. He had been unwilling to engage in "the unremitting toil and patient elaboration which, when soul-guided, result in the beauty of Unity, Totality, Truth--"[61] Denying that Longfellow's effort was worthy of lengthy consideration, and with olympian disdain, he pronounced, "We, therefore, dismiss his 'Hyperion' in brief. We grant him high qualities, deny him the Future."[62]

Despite the strident quality of Poe's dismissal of Hyperion, his remarks came very close to the mark. Hyperion received mixed reviews. Treated admiringly by Longfellow's allies, the brothers Willis Gaylord Clark of the Philadelphia Gazette and Lewis Gaylord Clark of the Knickerbocker, it was greeted with uncloaked derision by Orestes Brownson, then editor of the Boston Quarterly Review.[63] Longfellow, however, regarded the work as a moderate success, and its reception encouraged him to bring out his first volume of poems, Voices of the Night, which was published in Cambridge late in 1839. Poe sharpened his teeth upon it in the December Gentleman's Magazine, but this did not impede it from becoming an

---

[60]Harrison, Works, 10: 40.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Moss, Poe's Literary Battles, pp. 134-135.

instantaneous success and creating Longfellow's national reputation almost overnight.[64]

Poe's review of Hyperion, terse as it is, gives voice to his developing critical theory. Poe had earlier addressed the matter of what he termed "unity" in the January, 1836, number of the Southern Literary Messenger, wherein it is evident that he had adopted the concept from the German critical theorist, August Wilhelm von Schlegel, and from Samuel Taylor Coleridge.[65] Quinn points to it as "a cardinal doctrine of his critical theory."[66] By unity, Poe meant a ruthless censoral discipline exerted by the writer to make his language conform to his purpose. A tale began with a central governing idea, and with a specific

---

[64]Ibid., pp. 136-137.

[65]Jacobs, Poe, Journalist and Critic, pp. 113-116.

[66]Quinn, Poe, p. 244. Schlegel's considerable influence was conveyed to America with the publication of such volumes as On Literature and Art and On Dramatic Art and Literature (Philadelphia, 1843), collected lectures originally delibered at the University of Berlin.

Poe is indisputably a key figure in the history of the development of American literary criticism. While he exhibited arbitrary and at times fickle judgment, he nonetheless attempted to formulate independent criteria for the consideration of the merits of prose and poetry, and a vocabulary through which his judgments could be conveyed. Important studies of Poe as critic include, William Charvat, The Origins of American Critical Thought, 1810-1835 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936); John Esten Cooke, Poe as Literary Critic (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1946); Edd Winfield Parks, Edgar Allan Poe as Literary Critic (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1964); and the thorough study by Robert D. Jacobs, Poe, Journalist and Critic (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969).

effect to be achieved. In an important 1842 review of Hawthorne's tales, Poe defines the method himself:

> A skilful literary artist has constructed a tale. If wise, he has not fashioned his thoughts to accommodate his incidents; but having conceived, with deliberate care, a certain unique or single effect to be wrought out, he then invents such incidents--he then combines such events as may best aid him in establishing his preconceived effect. If his very initial sentence tend not to the outbringing of this effect, then he has failed in his first step. In the whole composition there should be no word written, of which the tendency, direct or indirect, is not to the one pre-established design.[67]

Through October, 1839, Poe continued in his efforts to compound the acclaim he was achieving as editor of the Gentleman's Magazine. Snodgrass had obliged Poe with a favorable notice, but his inability to elicit Nielson Poe's support in print vexed the author and produced this bitter outburst to Snodgrass:[68]

> I felt that N. Poe, would not insert the article editorially. In your private ear, I believe him to be the bitterest enemy I have in the world. He is the more despicable in this, since he makes loud professions of friendship. Was it Relationship &c. which prevented him saying any thing at all of the 2 or 3 last Nos. of the Gents' Mag? I cannot account for his hostility except in being vain enough to imagine him jealous of the little literary reputation I have, of late years, obtained. But enough of the little dog.[69]

Perhaps Nielson Poe found Edgar Allan's recurrent financial problems and behavioral lapses to be embarassing and tedious, and wished nothing more than to be disassociated from him.

---

[67] Quinn, Poe, p. 335.

[68] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 871.

[69] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 120.

When Poe was in the throes of his last illness in Baltimore in 1849, however, his second cousin was appropriately solicitous.[70]

Having achieved a favorable response from his earlier missive to Washington Irving, Poe trod this avenue again in writing to Irving on October 12 to solicit a comment upon "William Wilson" which could be published with the Tales. Poe's approach did not lack directness:

> Now, if, to the very high encomiums which have been lavished upon some of my tales, . . . I could be permitted to add even a word or two from yourself, in relation to the tale of "William Wilson" (which I consider my best effort) my fortune would be made.[71]

Less it be thought that Poe's strenuous efforts in his own behalf were excessive, it should be remembered that an author of slender means had little hope of success unless he or she could secure a wide reputation, which in turn created demand. Walt Whitman, another unabashed self-promoter, published a laudatory letter from Ralph Waldo Emerson without the latter's consent, taking what many perceived to be an unconscionable license.[72] Poe, at least, had the forthrightness to declare his purpose from the onset. Irving, probably gratified or amused by Poe's blatant

---

[70]Quinn, Poe, p. 640. Nielson Poe brought fresh linen to Edgar A. Poe at Washington College Hospital in Baltimore, and tried to see him, but the severity of Poe's illness prevented it.

[71]Ostrom, Letters, 2: 689.

[72]Kaplan, Whitman, pp. 207-208.

flattery, obliged him with a suitable reply, although he expressed the private reservation that in "The Fall of the House of Usher" he thought Poe had "laid on too much coloring."[73]

As is evident in Irving's comment, the critical idiom of the age was suffused with pictorial vocabulary. Irving used it as if it were second nature, and in discussing Poe's work he could easily, had his comment been lifted from context, be inferred to have been discussing a painting. It has long been recognized that during this period there was an unusually close relationship between the art of the painter and that of the writer. Irving and Cooper in particular cultivated this painterly literary style, and in reference to the latter Balzac pronounced, "Never did the art of writing tread closer upon the art of the pencil."[74] It was inevitable that the use of pictorial analogy would carry over into critical writing as well, but whereas it was wholly appropriate when referring to authors whose principal intent was to create painterly effects, it could sometimes be, when applied to Poe's work, inapt and misleading. John Frost of Alexander's Weekly Messenger, writing of "William

---

[73]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 81.

[74]James F. Beard, Jr., "Cooper and His Artistic Contemporaries," in James Fenimore Cooper, A Re-Appraisal, ed. by Mary E. Cunningham (Cooperstown, N.Y.: New York State Historical Association, 1954), p. 122.

Wilson," called approving attention to Poe's use of "sombre Rembrandt-like tints. . . ."[75] This emphasis on the pictorially descriptive, which was part of what Poe called "effect," often was remarked upon to the exclusion of any consideration of the idea that controlled the action of the tale.[76]

Although Poe used pictorial terminology both in his fiction and in his critical writing, it appears to this reader that the creation of a pictorial effect was not the object, but the means by which he conveyed his idea. In following this method, in subordinating the visual and picturesque to a controlling abstraction, he was flying in the face of what had become a mighty convention, as practiced by Irving and Cooper. Critics regularly shied away from considering the often odd or unsavory, not to mention obsessive relationships which appear regularly in his tales, to settle comfortably on a mention of his pictorial effect. This is why so many of the casual notices he received in the press seem now to us to be so wide of the mark. *

---

[75]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 78.

[76]The importance of landscape in the literature of the period is examined by Donald A. Ringe, The Pictorial Mode: Space and Time in the Art of Bryant, Irving and Cooper (Lexington, Kentucky: The University of Kentucky Press, 1971), and Jeffrey Hess, "Sources and Aesthetics of Poe's Landscape Fiction," American Quarterly 22 (1970): 177-189. Both deal more with pictorial imagery in fiction than with the use of it in criticism, which is an interesting offshoot of the phenomenon. This period of American literary history is characterized by a pronounced alliance between the literary and pictorial arts. Barbara Novak comments upon this alliance from the point of view of painting in Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting 1825-1875 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).

* [Editor's Note: This sentence is the author's opinion, not necessarily a statement of fact.]

On December 4, 1839, Lea & Blanchard released Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque. With the distribution of review copies came wide critical notice, both favorable and negative. While Philadelphia editors were generally receptive and hospitable, other cities such as Boston and Richmond were less accommodating. Poe's recruitment of Irving was in anticipation of negative reaction. In October the Southern Literary Messenger had accused Poe of aping German mysticism, and had cited "Usher" as an example of a tale "without any redeeming admonition to the heart."[77] A similar criticism was advanced on November 2 by the Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post.[78] Using Irving's two letters, Poe was confident that he could derail his assailant. As he wrote to Snodgrass on November 11:

> Irving's name will afford me a complete triumph over the little critics who would endeavor to put me down by raising the hue and cry of exaggeration in style, of Germanism & such twaddle. You know that Irving heads the school of the quietists.[79]

Poe habitually applied the term of "quietist" to the conservative majority of American writers, those who foreswore sensational or exotic subject matter for the picturesque. Thus with Irving's praise Poe hoped to silence those who would otherwise have fashioned unfavorable comparisons.

---

[77] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 75.

[78] Ibid., pp. 79-80.

[79] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 121.

While lavishing great pains and care upon his literary reputation, Poe seems to have been unable to live comfortably upon Burton's salary of ten dollars a week.[80] About two weeks before the appearance of the Tales, Poe wrote to Lea & Blanchard asking them if they would care to purchase the copyright to the book. The publishers, who evidently suspected that the book would be of little commercial value, responded bluntly:

> The copyright of the Tales would be of no value to us. . . . If the offer to publish was now before us we would certainly decline it, and would feel obliged if you knew and would urge some one to relieve us from the publication at cost, or even at a small abatement.[81]

The chill attitude of the publishers was probably induced less by misgivings about Poe's work than by the resurgence of hard times, which were again, in late 1839, threatening the stability of businesses throughout the region.[82] The financial pinch had induced Burton to cease altogether, for a time, to pay his contributors.[83]

Opinion on the Tales was sharply divided, although most of the Philadelphia papers immediately lent their support. Favorable comment appeared in the Pennsylvania Inquirer, the United States Gazette, and The Pennsylvanian

---

[80] Quinn, Poe, p. 278.

[81] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 84-85.

[82] See above, Part I, Chapter 1.

[83] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 84.

on December 5. Ezra Holden, writing in the December 14 Saturday Courier, compared Poe to Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and praised "Usher" and "William Wilson" particularly. John Frost, editor at Alexander's Weekly Messenger, was generous: "To say we have read this production attentively is not enough. . . . We counsel the writer not to repose upon his laurels. He has placed himself in the foremost rank of American writers. . . ."[84] Even Morton McMichael of Godey's, one of Burton's principal competitors, referred to the Tales as containing "some of the most vivid scenes of the wild and wonderful which can be found in English literature."[85]

New York City was enthusiastic as well. The Mirror of December 28 declared that the Tales displayed "the development of a great intellectual capacity, with a power for vivid description, an opulence of imagination, a fecundity of invention, and a command over the elegances of diction which have seldom been displayed, . . ."[86]

What, then, went wrong? The book gathered dust on booksellers' shelves despite widespread notices in most of the major eastern cities. Even the reviews which had been intended to damage might have been expected to attract an audience. A review such as appeared in the December 14

---

[84]Ibid., pp. 97-98.

[85]Ibid., p. 106.

[86]Ibid., p. 102.

Boston Notion, which claimed that the Tales "fall below the average newpaper trash . . ." and declaring them to be the "offspring of a distempered, unregulated imagination . . ."[87] might have captured the same sort of sensation-seeking audience which four years later made George Lippard's The Quaker City a best seller.[88] The Philadelphia North American took a similar moralizing stance, exhorting Poe to "give up his imitation of German mysticism, throw away his extravagance, think and write some good sober English, and leave all touches of profanity to the bar room. . . ."[89] It was probably not these negative comments which threw ice water upon the reception of the Tales. As Dwight Thomas pointed out, the most damaging of the reviews may have been that which appeared in the widely circulated Saturday Evening Post. The phrases which may have dampened the enthusiasm of a host of readers included "republished magazine articles," "a metaphysical style," and "strongly infused with the German spirit." Harper Brothers, who had an uncannily accurate estimation of American literary taste, had three years before declined to publish Poe's

---

[87] Ibid., p. 97.

[88] Emilio De Grazia, "The Life and Works of George Lippard" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1969), p. 166. 60,000 copies of the book were apparently sold in less than a year.

[89] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 94-95.

tales on the grounds that they found published magazine articles to be "the most unsaleable of all literary performances. . . . The number of readers in this country capable of appreciating and enjoying such writings as those you submitted is very small indeed. . . ."[90] None of the praise in print, none of the tributes Poe elicited from his friends and admirers, and not even the intrinsic merits of the pieces themselves, could offset so decided a public prejudice. It was three years before the "small edition" of 750 copies was sold out.

Toward the end of 1839, Poe was finding life at the Gentleman's Magazine to be increasingly disagreeable. Burton, the ever-creative entrepreneur, had announced in late November a promotional scheme for attracting readers to his magazine. With considerable fanfare he offered "premiums," or cash prizes, for the best poetry and prose of several categories submitted to his magazine, the entire sum being $1,000. In the light of the uncertain economy it was an extravagant and reckless scheme. The contest, which dragged on into the spring, was a continuing source of irritation between Burton and his assistant editor.[91] In mid-December Poe was basking in the notice occasioned by the publication of the Tales. He wrote to Snodgrass

---

[90]Ibid., pp. 90-91.

[91]Ibid., pp. 86-87.

expressing his disgust with the premium scheme, which was to him a flagrant concession to commercialism.[92] Poe's preoccupation with the publication of his tales, meanwhile, had left little time for serious literary effort after the first of the year. Disappointment over sales was still in the future, however, and 1839 had ended on an optimistic note.

Perhaps some of the dissatisfaction and combativeness with the world which Poe was feeling late in 1839 found voice in "The Conversation of Eiros and Charmion," published in the December Gentleman's Magazine.[93] The dialogue relates the fiery destruction of the world by a great gaseous comet. The afterworld into which his two characters have emerged is pointedly classical and Elysian, with recurrent references to philosophers and astronomers. Poe provides his apocolypse with scattered biblical overtones, but the "God" which Eiros evokes is not particularly Christian.[94] The piece was not unusual for its time, for in 1839 there seems to have been a vogue for the apocolyptic. (During this year Hawthorne wrote his biting allegory of the end of a depraved world, "Earth's Holocaust.") For Poe the cataclysm that engulfs the wayward society echoes the local catastrophe that destroyed Usher's crumbling ediface. The

---

[92]Ibid., p. 99.

[93]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 451-462.

[94]For text see Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 451-462.

narrator in "Usher" describes the house dissolving into the tarn, "--there was a long, tumultuous shouting sound like the voice of a thousand waters--"[95] Eiros, as he emerges into the afterworld, tells Charmion, "I no longer hear that made, rushing, horrible sound, like the 'voice of many waters.'"[96] Daniel Hoffman, before embarking on his disclosure of Poe's metaphysical deception, refers to the "Conversation" as Poe's "dream of murdering the world."[97] Poe, sensitive to criticism, avid for fame, and critically censored, according to this interpretation was wreaking vengeance on an unaccommodating universe.

Poe employed these metaphysical dialogues a total of three times, the other examples being "The Colloquy of Monos and Una" (1841), and "The Power of Words" (1845). His characters, freed of their corporeal bodies, were in a perhaps enviable state of detachment from the tyranny of the material.[98]

At the same time that John Frost praised Poe's Tales

---

[95]Ibid., p. 417.

[96]Ibid., p. 456.

[97]Hoffman, Poe Poe Poe, p. 170.

[98]For an examination of these three pieces and Poe's motivation for composing them, see Hoffman, Poe Poe Poe, pp. 169-177. See also Stuart and Susan Levine, The Short Fiction of Edgar Allan Poe (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill Educational Publishing, 1976), pp. 107-124.

in the pages of Alexander's Weekly Messenger, an announcement by Poe appeared in the same number. Poe promised to solve any cryptogram submitted to Alexander's, without fail, in whatever language the inventor of the problem cared to submit it.[99] The offer was certain to attract readers to the weekly paper, and it also provided an outlet for Poe's continuing fascination with problems of logic. It was apparently a source of gratification to him to astonish through the application of his "ratiocinative" powers.[100]

At about this time Poe also began to employ other outlets for his pieces, apparently disregarding Burton's monopoly upon his work.[101] In doing this Poe very likely sought to supplement his income and cement relationships

---

[99]The article was entitled "Enigmatical and Conundrumical," and it appeared in Alexander's Weekly Messenger on December 18, 1839.

[100]See Clarence S. Brigham, "Edgar Allan Poe's Contributions to Alexander's Weekly Messenger," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society 52 (April 1942): 45-125. On Poe's capabilities as a cryptographer, see William F. Friedman, "Edgar Allan Poe, Cryptographer," American Literature 7 (January 1937): 266-280. Friedman claims that the cryptograms solved by Poe were not, by twentieth century standards, of a high order of complexity. It should be noted, however, that Poe was a self-trained enthusiast who stood very high in the estimation of those who attempted to stump him with unsolvable problems.

[101]In his letter of May 11, 1839, engaging Poe, Burton implied that he was not to offer his services to competitors. Commenting on the supposed lightness of Poe's duties, Burton wrote, "At all events you could easily find time for any other light avocation--supposing that you did not exercise your talents in behalf of any publication interfering with the prospects of the GM." Quinn, Poe, p. 278.

with other Philadelphia editors. The January 29 issue of Alexander's Weekly Messenger contained "Instinct Vs. Reason--A Black Cat," a minor piece which would have been unsuitable for the pages of the Gentleman's Magazine. He had apparently spent some time in observing the antics of the family cat, which had discovered an ingenious method to unlatch a door, and he speculated upon the ability of some animals to perform tasks which require the use of reason, pondering the indistinct boundary between the faculties of instinct and of rationality.[102]

"Silence--A Sonnet" appeared in the January 4 issue of the Philadelphia Saturday Courier, and again in the April, 1830 number of the Gentleman's Magazine. Arthur H. Quinn paraphrases it best of all: "In the sonnet he draws a striking contrast between the merely passive silence that hovers over the resting places of human souls we have loved, and that shadow cast by silence upon the soul, which is an active breeder of terror."[103] Poe, who was seldom satisfied with the rigidity of a familiar metrical form, here altered the structure of the Italian sonnet by one line (there are fifteen in the poem), altering as well the rhyme

---

[102] Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 477-480.

[103] Quinn, Poe, pp. 294-295. Mabbott notes that Poe wrote only five known sonnets, and that he seems not to have been consumingly interested in the form. Mabbott, Collected Works, 1: 323.

scheme, which becomes abab, abba in the octave, or first eight lines.

Poe was nonetheless attentive to his obligations to Burton, and although the Spring of 1840 did not produce examples of his best work, he continued to produce pieces for the Gentleman's Magazine.[104] In the January number he commenced a serial which would run through June, "The Journal of Julius Rodman." After Pym, this was Poe's only excursion into lengthier fiction. Written to capitalize on burgeoning interest in the American West, "Rodman" was abandoned when Poe left Burton in June. Although the serial was unsigned, most scholars attribute it to Poe, while finding it a rambling epic which fails to cohere about any powerful central theme.[105]

The appearance of Longfellow's volume of poetry entitled Voices of the Night meanwhile occasioned Poe's second, and far more critical attack upon the Cambridge poet. Reviewers were generally loud in their praise of Longfellow's first volume of poetry, which included pieces he had written as a student at Bowdoin as well as later efforts. Poe praised "Hymn to the Night," but not without reservations, and went on to detect faults in the unity of other poems in the work, capping the review with a charge of plagiarism.

---

[104] Quinn, Poe, pp. 296-297.

[105] Ibid., pp. 293-294.

Poe found similarities between "Midnight Mass for a Dying Year" and Alfred Tennyson's "The Death of the Old Year," and he claimed that Longfellow had committed an act "which belongs to the most barbarous class of literary robbery. . . ."[106] This accusation of plagiarism, appended as it was to a moderate and thoughtful piece of criticism, is faintly suspect. While Poe may well have been correct in his identification of the inspiration of Longfellow's poem, it has been suggested by Sidney Moss that he may have consciously used it as an inflammatory issue to encourage sales of the magazine. He apparently drew attention to the review in a brief comment in the pages of Alexander's Weekly Messenger, the paper with which he seems to have had the closest association at this time.[107]

The review was sufficiently incendiary to lure out Longfellow's self-appointed literary champion, Willis Gaylord Clark, who published a rather imaginative rebuttal in his own Philadelphia Gazette on February 4. Clark claimed that Tennyson had probably seen Longfellow's poem first, not the reverse.[108] Poe was delighted that someone had taken up the gauntlet and published in reply a gleefully hyperbolic

---

[106]Harrison, Works, 10: 80.

[107]Moss, Poe's Literary Battles, p. 139. Although Poe speaks of himself in the third person in the AWM articles, the pieces have been attributed to him. See Brigham, op. cit.

[108]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 112.

affirmation of his position in the third person, "Mr. Poe does not say that Professor Longfellow's poem is 'imitated' from Tennyson. He calls it a bare-faced and barbarous plagiarism. . . ."[109]

Rather than heating up, however, the battle abated, as its principal combattants found themselves occupied elsewhere. Later, when editor of Graham's Magazine, Poe had reasons to correspond with Longfellow, and an uneasy but gentlemanly truce existed until Poe unmasked his batteries once more in 1842. Some of Poe's pronouncements on Longfellow, however, were insightful, for Poe possessed a transcendent critical acuity despite his personal prejudices.

Longfellow, it seems, was far from devastated. It was July before he inquired of Clark, with what may have been studied indifference, "Pray who is it that is attacking me so furiously in Philadelphia. I have never seen the attacks, but occasionally I receive a newspaper with a defense. . . ."[110] Clark, who evidently assumed that Burton and not Poe had penned the critique of Voices of the Night, responded with the following vilifying and largely misinformed explanation:

> You ask me who attacks you here? The only ones I have seen against you have been in Burtons Magazine--a vagrant from England who has left a wife and offspring

---

[109] Ibid., p. 113.

[110] Andrew Hilen, ed., The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), 2: 236.

> behind him there, and plays the bigamist in "this," with another wife, and his whore besides; one who cannot write a paragraph in English to save his life.[111]

The omission of the Gentleman's from the magazine title could only have been intentional.

Poe also published in the February number of the magazine a jeu d'esprit entitled "Peter Pendulum, the Business Man," the portrait of a charlatan who had devised numerous ludicrous ways to defraud the public, after having rejected expedients which were legally permissible. This is one of those themes which held a certain fascination for Poe (he returned to it again in "Diddling"). With Burton engaged in the hucksterism of the premium scheme, an activity which Poe professed to disapprove of,[112] the piece may have been conceived as a dig at his employer. As this did not become a matter of contention between them, at least in surviving letters, this is but an intriguing speculation. It might have amused Poe to introduce a subtle jibe at Burton in the pages of his own magazine.

Meanwhile, Poe continued to expand his outside affiliations, writing reviews and commentary for Alexander's Weekly Messenger and the Daily Chronicle. If Burton complained that this was contrary to his agreement with Poe, there is no record of it. Burton was now sufficiently

---

[111]Leslie W. Dunlap, ed., The Letters of Willis Gaylord Clark and Lewis Gaylord Clark (New York: New York Public Library, 1940), pp. 57-59.

[112]See Poe to Joseph Evans Snodgrass, 19 December 1839. Ostrom, Letters, 1: 125.

embroiled in theatrical ventures to be losing interest in his magazine.[113]

The premium scheme was in any case demonstrating itself to be a failure. Either Burton could not raise the $1,000 in promised prizes, or he had other plans for the money which was to be awarded to the authors of poems and articles in eight different categories. In the March number of the magazine he announced the extension of the deadline of the contest until the end of the month, with the explanation that there had been insufficient time for the submission of enough manuscripts.[114] He claimed that only two articles had been submitted, but it appears that Poe had received several, perhaps even a quantity of submissions. On the wrappers of the April number Burton tersely announced the cancellation of the project. This placed the assistant editor in an embarrassing position, one which grew more acute when Burton sold the magazine to George R. Graham, for it appears that Burton never returned the submissions to their authors and Graham assumed them to be his property. Poe later speculated that Burton had never had any intention of paying the premiums.[115]

The early months of 1840, despite these irritations,

---

[113] Quinn, Poe, p. 301.

[114] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 114-115.

[115] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 137-139.

were not without their more diverting moments. The only letter of Poe's which survives from this period and has any bearing on his domestic life is his acceptance of an invitation to dine with Dr. John Kearsley Mitchell, a Philadelphia physician and minor poet. As with many of Poe's relationships with local literateurs, substantial edifaces of speculation have been erected around this one missive to Mitchell and two other references to him, one in Thomas Holley Chivers' biography of Poe and another in a biography of his son, Weir Mitchell. Chivers claimed that Virginia Poe was in the doctor's care from the time she became ill in 1842 until the family's removal to New York, and Weir Mitchel claimed to have seen Poe in his father's office. Because Mitchell and Poe shared interests in common, particularly ballooning and other aspects of popular science, it has been assumed that they were reasonably close friends. Unfortunately, there is but scant documentation for what may have been for Poe an inspiring personal friendship.[116]

Another glimpse of his domestic scene may be gleaned from a letter from Poe to Hiram Haines, editor of the Petersburg Virginia Star. Haines had offered Poe the generous but impractical gift of a pet fawn, which elicited a gentle refusal on the grounds that, although he could envision it cropping the grass before his house, the environs

---

[116]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 113, 852.

of urban Philadelphia were not entirely appropriate for a fawn. From this it has been inferred that, while living in the Locust and 16th Streets vicinity, Poe had a patch of grass before his house. This would be entirely in keeping with the but partially developed character of this location in 1840.[117]

From the 20th of April until May 6, Burton was in Baltimore playing at the American Theatre, where he received enthusiastic critical notices.[118] His theatrical preoccupations left Poe in virtual command of the magazine. For the May number Poe had written a piece on interior decoration entitled "The Philosophy of Furniture," and a major review of the poetry of William Cullen Bryant. The former is an interesting exposition of his taste in furnishings, and he sets forth an ideal interior, one which he might possibly have acquired for himself had his financial state permitted.* As might be suspected, it is remarkably subdued in comparison to the lurid extravagances common in his tales.**Although he decries "the rage for glitter," as evidenced in the unbridled use of glass, chandeliers, and mirrors, his ideal room is replete with crimson fabric, gilt, gold, and rosewood. It is ornamented with a hanging

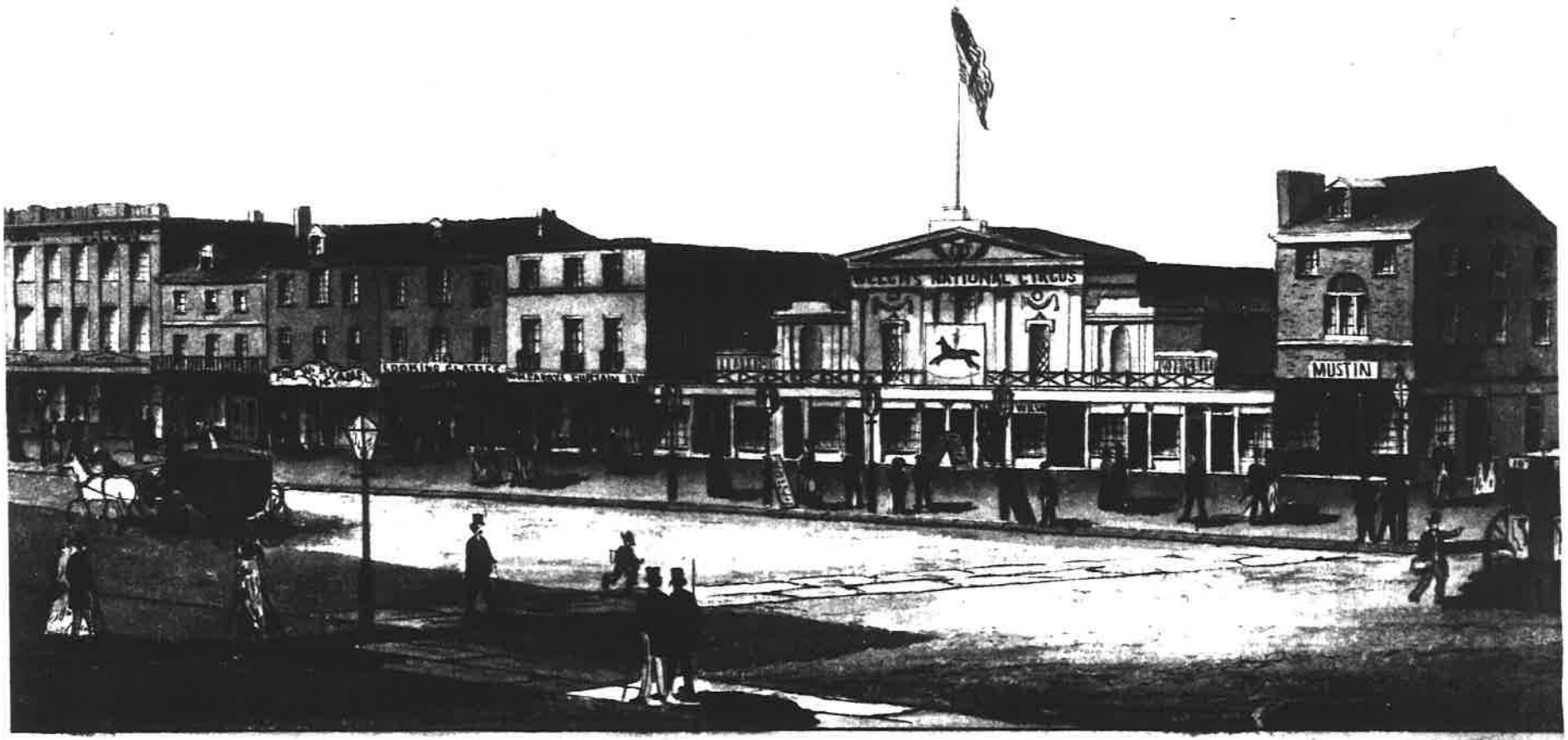
---

[117] Ibid., p. 116. In refusing the gift Poe wrote, "In the meantime accept our best acknowledgements, precisely as if the little fellow were already nibbling the grass before our window in Philadelphia." Ostrom, Letters, 1: 129. See also Part I, Chapter 1.

[118] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 119.

* [Editor's Note: "The Philosophy of Furniture" may have been a satirical article. Be very careful of drawing any interpretation from it.]

**[Editor's Note: This sentence is the author's opinion.]



NATIONAL THEATRE.

South Side of Chestnut St. near Ninth _ It was originally Cooke's Circus and opened August 28th 1837 _ Afterwards altered into a Theatre by Wm E. Burton and opened August 31st 1840 __ Destroyed by Fire July 5th 1854

The present site of the Continental Hotel

ILLUS. 5

bookcase, and is lit not with gas, but with the less harsh Argand lamps. Poe was adamantly opposed to the use of gas-light indoors. "Its harsh and unsteady light offends. No one having both brains and eyes will use it."[119] Instead he prefers the Argand lamp, "with its original plain ground-glass shade, and its tempered and uniform moonlight rays. The cut-glass shade is the weak invention of the enemy."[120] It is impossible to discern, however, whether this aversion resulted in the eschewal of gas from the Poe household, or whether it resulted from over-exposure to and constant use of the new lighting convenience, which was now widely in use throughout the old city of Philadelphia.

In early May, the tenuous bonds of mutual convenience which had held Poe and Burton together through an uneasy year began to come undone. Burton had embarked on a major undertaking, nothing less than the construction of his own National Theatre, on Chestnut Street near 9th. He was now not only an actor, but an impressario, and he would be competing with Philadelphia's established theatres by mounting productions which were innovations in lavishness.[121]

---

[119]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 499.

[120]Ibid., the Argand lamp was invented by Aimé Argand (Switzerland, 1755-1803). It had a round wick, burned gas or oil, and an even flame was insured by an airflow inside and outside the flame.

[121]Burton's theatre was in readiness for the season of 1840-1841. Joseph Sill, an inveterate and widely experienced theatre-goer, was impressed by a production of "The Naiad Queen" mounted by Burton in December of 1840. He noted in his diary, "I was specially pleased with the Scenery

The first evidence of a rift between Poe and Burton came in early May. Burton claimed that Poe owed him $100, and had his clerk, Charles R. Morell, withhold three dollars a week from Poe's ten dollar salary.[122] By May 21, lack of interest or financial pressure had induced Burton to offer the Gentleman's Magazine for sale, and advertisements appeared in the Daily Chronicle, the United States Gazette, and elsewhere. He estimated the income from the magazine to be between three and four thousand dollars annually.[123] About this time, Poe accelerated his program to start his own magazine, and this venture became his principal concern. By May 30, his relationship with Burton had deteriorated to the point that Burton dismissed him by letter, citing his "selfish attempt" to found his own journal. The June number of the Gentleman's Magazine announced Poe's departure on the wrapper, and thenceforth Burton was listed as sole editor.[124]

---

which is exceedingly well painted--with the Dresses & Decorations which are magnificent--with the Coloured Fires which are gorgeous--and with the whole Drama, considered as a Spectacle--It far outshines any thing before produced in the U: S:--" Joseph Sill Diary, 19 December 1840, HSP. The National Theatre was destroyed by a conflagration on Chestnut Street, July 5, 1854. Wolf, Philadelphia, p. 197.

[122] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 122.

[123] Ibid., pp. 132-133.

[124] Ibid., pp. 134, 136.

Our knowledge of the disintegration of the Poe/ Burton association derives principally from Poe's lengthy letter to his former employer, written on June 1, while he was still furiously angry. The final break had apparently occurred over the weekend of May 30-31. Burton had written Poe on Saturday (the letter is now missing), criticizing him for alleged debts owed and for the attempt to start his own publishing venture.[125] Burton also accused Poe of having contributed but two or three pages a month to the magazine.

In his June 1 reply Poe claimed to have contributed eleven pages a month, including submissions which Burton had rejected. He listed a lengthy compendium of counter-grievances, and reminded Burton that for his meager salary of fifty dollars a month he had served not only as assistant editor, but also as proofreader, and that he had directed printing and manuscript preparation as well. It was hardly his fault that Burton had rejected some of his contributions. Poe explained that he had moved ahead with plans for his own magazine only when Burton had withheld part of his salary and had turned his attention to his new theatre. He admitted owing Burton sixty dollars, from a total of eighty dollars given him in three loans over the course of their working acquaintance, but he had already paid back twenty

---

[125]This letter has not been found, but Poe's June 1 reply sheds considerable light upon its contents.

dollars before the salary docking began. Further, Poe believed that Burton had been discrediting him publicly, and as a final grievance he claimed that Burton had advertised the magazine for sale without so much as informing his assistant editor.[126]

From Poe's heated self-defense it can be inferred that Burton's May 30 letter had either dismissed him, or at the very least required that he take a much diminished role in the enterprise.[127] Perhaps Burton had attempted to force Poe to resign, in any case there can have been little doubt on either side as to the inevitable outcome. Poe admitted to Burton that his interest in the magazine had flagged, attributing it to Burton's repeated rejection of his articles.

There was no hope of a reconciliation. Poe's letter discloses that before the final break there had been a preamble of ill-will and suspicion between the two. Poe had never forgotten Burton's ill-favoring review of Pym, as neither, apparently, had Burton, who annoyed Poe by assuming that his hostility was based fundamentally upon this, and no other grievance. In his rambling letter to Burton Poe

---

[126] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 131-132.

[127] Poe may have subsequently written a formal letter of resignation. He makes reference to such a letter in a June 17 missive to Joseph Evans Snodgrass. See Ostrom, Letters, 1: 137-139.

seems to be torn between anger and an impulse to be conciliatory. He moves rapidly between contempt and self-justification. Toward the end of the letter, when his anger is evidently waning, he softens, but it is too late by far. Burton could hardly have been expected to forget this taunt:

> When you address me again preserve if you can the dignity of a gentleman. If by accident you have taken it into your head that I am to be insulted with impunity I can only assume that you are an ass.[128]

If Burton managed to read through to the end of the letter, he encountered a sentence in which Poe appeals to him as "a man of honor and a man of sense. . . ,"[129] but it can have done little to mend the previous insults. The degree to which Poe's life and art intertwined can be understood by comparing the sentence above to three instances in his tales, two comic and one deadly serious. First, "The Duc de L'Omlette" (1832); "'Sir!' replied the Duc, 'I am not to be insulted with impunity!'"[130] Then, "The Literary Life of Thingum Bob, Esq." (1844), "WE are not to be insulted with impunity."[131] Finally, and most memorably, "The Cask of Amontillado" (1846). Fortunato is being led by Montressor through the latter's subterranean catacombs,

---

[128]Ibid., p. 130.

[129]Ibid., p. 132.

[130]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 34.

[131]Mabbott, Collected Works, 3: 1131.

blithely and drunkenly ignorant of the fate his insulted friend has prepared for him:

> "These vaults," he said, "are extensive."
> "The Montressors," I replied, "were a great and numerous family."
> I forget your arms."
> "A huge human foot d'or, in a field of azure; the foot crushes a serpent rampant whose fangs are embedded in the heel."
> "And the motto?"
> "Nemo me impune lascessit."[132]

Montressor's solution, that of walling his miscreant friend up alive, was not at Poe's disposal. Montressor's words, however, were, even if they proved to be empty ones.

---

[132] Ibid., pp. 1259-1260.

Part I, Chapter VI

INTERLUDE: "THE PENN"

Soured as it had been by disappointment with Burton, the spring of 1840 was redeemed for Poe by happier circumstances. With new optimism he laid plans for the first number of "the Penn" magazine, and he was at the same time making some entertaining new friends.

The most important of these was Frederick William Thomas, who probably came to know Poe better than most of the male friends he made during his lifetime. Many of Poe's acquaintances were men who wished to exploit the association, and who had little active regard for his welfare. Frederick William Thomas was an exception, and although his advice was not always the best, he seems to have given it with the best of intentions.

Thomas was one of that peculiar Jacksonian breed, the novelist and politician combined. Born in Rhode Island, he had been raised in the south, and shared with Poe an identity with southern culture. Thomas made a start as a newspaper editor in Cincinnati, where he encountered William Henry Harrison and tied himself to the general's political fortunes. By 1840 he had written three novels: Clinton Bradshaw (1835), East and West (1836), and Howard Pinckney

(1840), which he carried with him to Philadelphia in manuscript when he visited in May of 1840. Thomas attended the Baltimore Whig convention early in the month, and then proceeded on to Philadelphia to deliver the manuscript to Lea & Blanchard. During this visit he met Poe, doubtless known to him as the not altogether favorable reviewer of Clinton Bradshaw (Southern Literary Messenger, December, 1835). At roughly the same time Poe came to know Jesse Erskine Dow, a naval officer who had served on the U.S.S. Constitution and was now employed by the Post Office Department in Washington. Dow had contributed an article, "Sketches from the Log of Old Ironsides," to Burton, and it had appeared in ten installments beginning in July, 1839. Dow was also in Philadelphia in May, testifying in the highly publicized court martial of his former commander on the Constitution, Jesse Duncan Elliott. During the month, Poe, Thomas, and Dow were evidently much in each other's company, apparently frequenting spots like the Congress Hall Hotel and the Cornucopia Restaurant.[1]

Poe graciously did a bit of puffing for his new friends; the Daily Chronicle for May 19 contained both an announcement of the forthcoming publication of Howard Pinckney, and a review of "The Log of Old Ironsides," which while containing reservations about Dow's style, pronounced

---

[1]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 125, 745-747, 913-919, 935-938.

that his was a "a true and peculiar talent. . . ."[2] Dow was evidently so pleased with the praise that he did not object to the qualification. He later remarked that when Poe was so disposed, he could "criticize you into shape without giving offense."[3]

Poe evidently shared with his friends his hopes about the new magazine. His prospectus was in circulation by June 4, indicating that he wasted little time following Burton's advertisement of his magazine for sale, in having it printed. Possibly he had composed it well before that date, as he had been pondering the subject of a magazine since late the previous year.[4]

Poe began his publicity campaign by sending a barrage of prospecti to friendly editors and sympathetic friends around the country. He proclaimed in the prospectus his objectives, pointing out that he would be the sole owner and editor. Claiming that the magazine would display "that individuality which I believe essential to the full success of such publications,"[5] he drew the reader's

---

[2]Ibid., pp. 127-129. These notices are unsigned, but Dwight Thomas reasonably attributes them to Poe.

[3]Ibid., p. 130.

[4]Ibid., p. 134.

[5]"Prospectus of the Penn Magazine, A Monthly Literary Journal, to be edited and published in the City of Philadelphia, by Edgar A. Poe." 2nd Edition, largely unaltered from the first, August 1840, HSP.

attention to the critical department:

> To those who remember the early days of the Southern periodical in question [SLM] it will be scarcely necessary to say that its main feature was a somewhat overdone causticity in the department of Critical Notices of new books. The Penn Magazine will retain this trait of severity in so much only as the calmest yet sternest sense of justice will permit. Some years since elapsed may have mellowed down the petulance without interfering with the rigor of the critic.[6]

Poe declared war on "the assumption of antique prejudice, . . ." "the anonymous cant of the Quarterlies, . . ." and "the arrogance of those organized cliques which, hanging like nightmares upon American literature, manufacture, at the nod of our principal booksellers, a pseudo-public-opinion by whole sale."[7] His magazine, to employ the slang of the period, would be handsomely "got up," more or less on the lines of New York City's prestigious Knickerbocker, and it would be printed on fine paper with high quality illustrations related to the text. There would be no fashion plates, and a subscription would cost five dollars a year.[8]

Poe put a bold face upon what was, from the onset, an almost hopeless enterprise. His objectives were far from realistic. To begin with, he had no capital, and he was not steadily employed. His only hope was to attract enough subscribers to pay for a number or two. This meant, by his own

---

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid.

estimate, that he needed five hundred subscribers, or $2,500.00 simply to go to press with Volume 1, Number 1.[9] Poe intended to do this by December. To a mind less committed to the idea, the chances of succeeding in a publishing venture with $2,500.00 in capital would have appeared slim indeed.

It would have been one thing if he had in mind a magazine with wide-ranging appeal. The most successful magazines of the day catered to a broad spectrum of taste, modeled on the Blackwood's strategy of providing a little of something for everyone. Beside these publications, Poe's production would have appeared rigorously austere. He was convinced, however, that there was a waiting readership, and that his independent criticism would widen the magazine's appeal.[10] Questions have been raised, however,about Poe's judgment in this. Michael Allen has argued that Poe was imbued with a fundamental misapprehension of American literary taste, and that he himself was never sufficiently popular during his lifetime to secure a wide readership, even for his critical pieces.[11] Add to this problem the

---

[9]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 142, 143.

[10]"Prospectus of the Penn Magazine," HSP.

[11]Michael Allen, Poe and the British Magazine Tradition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 129-181. This is a well developed and supported thesis, and deserves perusal.

underlying economic uncertainties of the times, and it is at once apparent that Poe's path was lined with perils.

On or about June 1, 1840, Poe sent out prospecti for the "Penn" to the Philadelphia press. Editors, even some who had previously given Poe difficulty, were strongly supportive. Between June 1 and June 15, most local papers carried some sort of positive statement on the project.[12] Most of these brief notices were swamped in lengthy columns of print, but editors seemed to think that this endeavor of Poe's constituted literary news of some importance. Some may have seized upon Poe's announcement as a pretext to strike at Burton. Willis Gaylord Clark, who still apparently labored under the misapprehension that Burton had penned the unfavorable critique of his friend Longfellow, printed this tribute to Poe in his Philadelphia Gazette on June 4:

> ". . . we shall be pleased to find him reigning in his own sphere, where his classic power and genuine good taste, untrammeled by base and palsying associations, shall have full scope and play.[13]

The Saturday Evening Post, which in the past had resisted Poe's productions, unbent sufficiently to note that Poe had "won for himself an enviable distinction, as an able, vigorous, impartial, and somewhat over caustic critic."[14]

---

[12]Credit for this research belongs to Dwight R. Thomas.

[13]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 141.

[14]Ibid., p. 142.

The North American, Public Ledger, United States Gazette and Saturday Courier all registered similar responses.[15] If Poe had hoped, however, that these notices would produce a flood, or even a modest influx of subscriptions, he was disappointed.

Poe forwarded copies of his prospectus to various friends and acquaintances, each of whom he hoped would do him the service of eliciting some subscriptions from a few of their friends. The response from these, while generally flattering, was disheartening as well. To John Neal, a New England author who had been friendly to Poe since 1829, he sent a prospectus and request for subscribers. Neal, who was then living in Portland, Maine, confessed in reply that his career had been somewhat erratic of late, and that he doubted that he would be able to induce anyone to subscribe to anything.[16]

Throughout this period Poe was plagued with unpleasantness involving his former employer, as he explained at length to Joseph Evans Snodgrass. His Baltimore friend had submitted an article to the premium contest, and when he requested its return after the cancellation of the scheme, Burton denied having it. Snodgrass then wrote to Poe on the same matter, and occasioned a bitter explosion of animus.

---

[15] Ibid., pp. 145-147.

[16] Ibid., pp. 144-145.

Poe went to some length to expose Burton's character, and on the matter of the article he charged, "Burton not only lies, but he deliberately and wilfully lies. . . ,"[17] apparently not realizing in his heat that he was committing to paper an obvious tautology. He told Snodgrass that he remembered seeing the piece on his desk. Poe thought he discerned, in Burton's behavior, a deliberate provocation directed at himself:

> In saying it was not in his possession his sole design was to vex you, and through you myself. Were I in your place I would take some summary method of dealing with the scoundrel, whose infamous line of conduct in regard to this whole premium affair merits, and shall receive exposure. . . .[18]

A copy of the prospectus accompanied this sad document. He admitted to Snodgrass that since the day his Tales had been published, he had never inquired of Lea & Blanchard as to the success of the book. Poe was perhaps apprehensive of the answer he might receive, but at least to Snodgrass he put a brave countenance on the matter. "I have cause to think . . . that the edition was exhausted almost immediately."[19]

Poe sought local support for the "Penn" from the Philadelphia poet Charles West Thomson, and doubtless from others with whom he had become friendly through his editorship

---

[17] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 137.

[18] Ibid., pp. 137-138.

[19] Ibid., p. 138.

of the Gentleman's Magazine. Response was insufficient nevertheless, and by June 28 he had postponed the first number of the magazine to January. Poe hoped that Thomson might be induced to supply the entire $500 he felt necessary to prepare to publish the first issue, and suggested that they meet and discuss the matter. If they did, nothing resulted from the conference.[20]

During the summer of 1840, Poe's energies seem to have flagged, and it is difficult to discern what was occupying his time. He appears to have stayed in Philadelphia with Virginia while Mrs. Clemm visited a friend in New Jersey for the month of July and at least half of August. It is not known how Poe managed to support himself through this period, whether by savings, loans, or some other expedient. (His name did not appear in print as author of anything until December.)[21] Upon the publication of the July number of Burton's Gentleman's Magazine, a rather wistful note appeared in John S. DuSolle's paper, the Spirit of the Times:

> The Review Department is rather of a more good natured, and less spicy character than usual. We have but one serious fault to find with the magazine; it is generally full of typographical errors.[22]

---

[20] Ibid., pp. 139-140.

[21] On Mrs. Clemm's absence, see Ostrom, Letters, 1: 140-143. Poe published "The Man of the Crowd" in the December, 1840 number of the Gentleman's Magazine.

[22] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 152 (10 July 1840).

* * *

By mid-August, Poe had made little or no progress in accumulating the necessary capital for his venture. He fell back upon what may have been an uncomfortable necessity, and wrote to his Poe cousins, with whom he appears to have had but little contact through his life. In writing to William Poe,[23] his father's first cousin, of Augusta, Georgia, Poe claimed to have been "overwhelmed with worldly cares,"[24] and pleaded for family support for his magazine. His hopes depended, he thought, on a hearty southern response:

> If I fully succeed in my purposes I will not fail to produce some lasting effect upon the growing literature of the country, while I establish for myself individually a name which that country "will not willingly let die."[25]

Poe had now raised his estimate of the number of subscriptions required to five hundred, and he asked William to act as his subscription agent in Augusta. A similar appeal went to Washington Poe, of Macon, William's brother.[26]

These surviving letters appear to reflect a plan to enlist all of Poe's friends and relatives in various cities

---

[23] In this letter Poe claims to have been out of town, as a reason why he had not answered a letter of William's dated July 28. Poe was often a dilatory correspondent, however, and he regularly claimed absence to exonerate himself. The statement should not be taken as reliable evidence that he was travelling, unless there is some corroborative information.

[24] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 141.

[25] Ibid., p. 141.

[26] Ibid., pp. 143-144.

in his drive for subscribers. They probably represent but a fraction of the appeals he sent, although there is some reason to suspect that his field of sympathetic friends and acquaintances may have been limited by the stringent critical policy he had employed at the Southern Literary Messenger and the Gentleman's Magazine. While Poe seldom lacked a handful of intimate friends and correspondents, he was not expansively gregarious in the manner of so many successful editors such as Charles J. Peterson.[27] When not in the comfortable company of his close friends, his manner appears to have been reserved to the point of stiffness.[28] Alcohol permitted him to unbend, but when he did so it was usually disastrously to his detriment.[29] Neither his critical mien

---

[27]On Peterson's lengthy and successful career, see Barrie Hayne, "Standing on Neutral Ground: Charles Jacobs Peterson of Peterson's," PMHB 93 (1959), 510-526.

[28]Arthur Hobson Quinn speculated that Poe's "natural reserve" was the consequence of his Richmond upbringing. Quinn, Poe, pp. 94-95.

[29]Poe wrote to George W. Eveleth on February 29, 1848, "The desire for society comes upon me only when I have become excited by drink. Then only I go--that is, at these times only I have been in the practice of going among my friends: . . ." Ostrom, Letters, 2: 360. Thomas Dunn English, Thomas Holley Chivers, and Frederick W. Thomas, among others, left eye-witness accounts of Poe's difficulties with alcohol. Thomas's is particularly valuable, as he was a sympathetic friend. See Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 757-761.

nor his personality encouraged the accumulation of a wide circle of friends, and these are what he needed in order to succeed. *

Poe appears to have let few opportunities to encourage subscriptions slip by him. He wrote to Lucian Minor, an old contributor to the Southern Literary Messenger,[30] and he wrote to Joseph P. Boyd, a Cincinnati watchmaker who had but recently requested an autograph copy of one of Poe's poems.[31] A prospectus went to Thomas Holley Chivers, the poet from Georgia who was now living in New York. Chivers was one of Poe's solidly loyal admirers, but his was not the sort of practical support and advice that Poe now needed. Disconcertingly vague and given to almost unbelievable flights of hyperbole, Chivers replied with uninhibited flattery but no promise of subscribers. The inflated epistolary style of the Georgia poet resembles more than anything the polished delivery of a patent medicine doctor, "In the Paradise of Literature, I do not know one better calculated than yourself, to prune young scions of their exhuberant thoughts."[32] The letter must be hazarded to

---

[30] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 144-145.

[31] Ibid., pp. 145-146.

[32] Emma Lester Chase and Lois Ferry Parks, eds., The Complete Works of Thomas Holley Chivers, vol. 1, The Correspondence (Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1957), pp. 7-11.

* [Editor's Note: This sentence is the author's opinion, not necessarily a statement of fact.]

have been completely sincere, for few in a calculating frame of mind could have committed such utter nonsense to paper. ("He who has never wandered amid the labyrinthine vistas of the flower-gemed solitudes of thought, knows nothing of the capabilities of the soul. . . .")[33] If Poe managed to suffer through to the end of the letter he may have wished that he could prune Chivers as well.

In mid-September, Poe released a slightly revised prospectus, which was printed in the September 11 issue of the Daily Chronicle and in thirty-six subsequent issues through to the 30th of November. On September 14 Poe announced in the Chronicle that the"Penn's" subscription list included "a succession of names. A great number are from the Southern States. . . ."[34] Precisely how many subscribers constituted a "succession" is not indicated, but certainly his efforts had not gone without response. By September 16 he had received a list of nine names from John Tomlin, a poet from Jackson, Tennessee. Tomlin appears to have been one of the minor literati who saw in Poe's venture an opportunity for advancement. Along with his list Tomlin submitted a tale for Poe to consider for publication. Poe thanked him for the list, and promised that the tale would be included in the first number. Similarly the amateur poet Pliny Earle, a physician from Frankford, Pennsylvania, declined to offer

---

[33] Ibid.

[34] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 158-161.

Poe financial support, but submitted a poem for publication. Poe assured him that he would print it as well.[35]

The Gentleman's Magazine was now in its last days under the management of the increasingly neglectful William E. Burton. His National Theatre would soon open, and it is possible that the magazine had become an encumbrance. Through some oversight, a subscriber had not been receiving issues, and Burton chose an unfortunate method of apology. He chose publicly to announce in the magazine, "we were ignorant of the non-transmission of his [the subscriber's] numbers. His name was erased from our list of subscribers by a person whose 'infirmaties' have caused us much annoyance."[36]

Perhaps Burton was referring to Poe, and the "infirmaties" in question were weaknesses relating to the consumption of alcohol.[37] It was a sly and calculatedly destructive barb, one which no matter how provoked or sustained by truth, does Burton little credit. It is the first contemporary allusion to Poe's possible return to his former habits, and it is important to underline the "possible," for although he later had indisputable difficulties in this vein, he may in this instance have been victim of slander.

---

[35]Ibid., pp. 161-162, 163. Ostrom, Letters, 1: 146-147.

[36]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 158-161.

[37]Ibid., p. 138.

Poe and Burton were now bitter enemies, and Burton's carefully unspecific insinuation may have been libellous. Poe later denied that he had been disloyal while in Burton's employ.[38]

On October 20, Burton sold his magazine to an ambitious young publisher, George Rex Graham, for $3,500. Graham asserted that at the time the magazine had 3,500 subscribers, a reasonable, if modest list. Notice of the transaction appeared on the wrapper of the November number, along with Graham's sententious announcement of his editorial policy. He combined The Casket, which he already owned, and Burton's magazine to create Graham's Magazine, and the Ladies' and Gentleman's World of Literature and Fashion, which commenced with the December, 1840 number.[39] It would include "EMBELLISHMENTS UNSURPASSED," and his readership was advised:

> The character of the articles which shall appear in its pages, will be equally removed from the sickly sentimentality, and from an effectation of morality, but while a true delineation of human nature in every variety of passion is aimed at, nothing shall be found in its pages to cause a blush upon the cheek of the most pure.[40]

Despite the fact that these various assertions tended to cancel each other out, there can be little doubt of Graham's principal intent, and that was to use every means at his command to render his new creation one of the most widely-read

---

[38] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 156-157.

[39] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 169-171.

[40] Ibid., p. 170.

magazines in the country.

George R. Graham was twenty-seven years of age in 1840. His purchase of Burton's magazine culminated an astonishing two years of unbridled success, wrought in the face of a locally poor economy. Graham's father had been a Philadelphia shipping merchant, who had died when George and his siblings were young and without financial support. He worked in the city as a cabinet-maker's apprentice, but he found the law to be more congenial to his abilities. Graham and Charles J. Peterson, destined to become another major Philadelphia publisher, cemented a life-long friendship when they read law together under Judge Thomas Armstrong. Graham discovered a bent for publishing, and for a while at least, he seemed incapable of making a business error. In 1839 he became editor of the Evening Post and Philadelphia Saturday News. For Graham it was a year of what can only be described as instantaneous and dizzying success. He was married, he was admitted to the bar, he purchased Atkinson's Casket, and finally, toward the end of the year, he bought half interest in the Evening Post. In 1840 he purchased the remaining half, as well as the Gentleman's Magazine. Graham had acquired the Midas touch, making a success of everything he turned his hand to.[41]

Graham's intention was to produce a lavish, middle-

---

[41] J. Albert Robbins, "George R. Graham Philadelphia Publisher," PMHB, 75 (July 1951), 280-282.

brow, moderately priced (at least three dollars per year), magazine. From the onset it was evident that he had arrived at precisely the right formula. In the first two years of his ownership the circulation expanded from a figure which is variously estimated at between 3,500 and 5,000, to 50,000 copies a month. For a time it was one of the most popular publications in ante-bellum America.[42]

Poe had not the wherewithall to purchase a magazine with an already extant list of subscribers. At the time Graham bought out Burton, Poe was struggling to put together a list of 500 names, and apparently he was not even coming close. It is not known precisely how close he came, for there is no compendium of subscribers to consult. John Tomlin, the Tennesseean poet, was for a time a loyal supporter and promised to send Poe more names. On November 22 he wrote encouragingly to Poe, saying that "the warm-hearted Southerners, by whom you are known, will not let the work die for the want of patronage."[43] He recommended that Poe recruit William Gilmore Simms of Charleston to his cause.[44]

Poe was not so preoccupied with his magazine, however, that he failed to attend to his friendships. His correspondence with Frederick W. Thomas illustrates the

---

[42]Ibid., p. 282.

[43]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 173.

[44]Ibid.

intimate side of his critical faculty, which contrasted markedly with his imperious, Bulwer-esque reviews. As both Thomas and Jesse Dow maintained, Poe could provide constructive analysis for his literary friends. The kindly tone of these private communications is far removed from the harsh criticisms with which Poe supported his highly marketable reputation for viciousness and incorruptibility. Poe demonstrated this in his comments on Thomas's novel, Howard Pinckney. Thomas had directed a friend to leave a copy of the now published Howard Pinckney for Poe at the Congress Hall Hotel, which Poe often used as a meeting place. The book had not turned up, but Poe had procured another copy and had read it with some attention. He told Thomas that he had liked his earlier novel, Clinton Bradshaw, better, and that the style of the later work seemed self-conscious.

> . . . in Howard Pinkney [sic] you abandon the broad rough rode for the dainty by-paths of authorism . . . having gained a name you write to maintain it, and effort becomes apparent. This consciousness of reputation leads you freq[uently] into those literary and other disquisitions about which we quarelld [sic] at Studevant's. If you would send the public opinion to the devil, forgetting that the public existed, and writing from the natural promptings of your own spirit you would do wonders. In a word, abandon is wanting in "Howard Pinkney". . . .[45]

Poe informed Thomas of Graham's purchase of Burton's magazine, and referred to the latter derisively as "that

---

[45]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 148. Sturdivant's was the Congress Hall Hotel, 34d and Chestnut Streets.

illustrious graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge. . . ."[46] Thomas, who evidently had made the acquaintance of Mrs. Clemm and Virginia during his visit to Philadelphia the previous spring and who had likely become a popular figure in the Poe household, was sent their regards.[47]

Poe had apparently published nothing through the summer and autumn, but now with the old Gentleman's Magazine under a new proprietorship, an excellent opportunity presented itself. Graham's first number, that of December 1840, carried Poe's "The Man of the Crowd." Thomas O. Mabbott has noted similarities between this tale and "The Drunkard's Death" in Dickens' Sketches by Boz, which Poe had reviewed in the June, 1836 number of the Southern Literary Messenger.[48] The tale opens with a rumination on the horror of crimes too terrible to confess: "Now and then, alas, the conscience of man takes up a burden so heavy in horror that it can be thrown down only into the grave."[49] (The theme is pointedly Hawthornian, although there is no direct evidence that Poe had as yet encountered any pieces by the New England author.) The tale is set in London, and the narrator is in one of those nervously excitable and compulsively

---

[46]Ibid., p. 149.

[47]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 175.

[48]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 505.

[49]Ibid., p. 507.

talkative characters commonly encountered at the onset of many of Poe's pieces. Scrutinizing with unnatural intensity the evening crowds rushing past a coffee-house window, the narrator sees a man whose face excites his curiosity. Rushing into the street, he pursues the man through the murk all night and into the following day, until finally exhaustion compells him to desist. The man he follows never rests in his search for crowds in which to mingle. The narrator concludes:

> This old man . . . is the type and genius of deep crime. He refuses to be alone. He is the man of the crowd. It will be in vain for me to follow; for I will learn no more of him, nor of his deeds.[50]

The London street-scene with its dim gaslight, while unabashedly Dickensian, may have been drawn as well from Poe's childhood memories of the city.

For most of December, 1840, Poe suffered from what he characterized as a serious illness, the nature of which is unknown.[51] His health was seldom robust, but it is tempting to speculate as well that the realization that he was not going to be able to produce the first number of "The Penn" in January may have precipitated some sort of physical collapse. In any case it provided him with a face-saving excuse to postpone once more. Poe described himself

---

[50] Ibid., p. 515.

[51] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 177; Ostrom, Letters, 1: 150.

as having been confined in bed for most of the month, and as "slowly recovering" on December 30.[52] In the Daily Chronicle of December 29 he announced the delay of the first number until the first of March, 1841.[53]

During the weeks Poe had been ill he evidently rethought the problem of how to obtain capital, and in the light of this it is clear that "The Penn" had been waylaid as much by public apathy to the prospectus as it had been by his indisposition. On December 31 Poe wrote, soliciting an article, to John P. Kennedy. ("Any unused scrap lying by you will fully answer my purpose.")[54] Poe had arrived at the conclusion that he would succeed if he could muster the support of what he termed "caste," or individuals of social standing and influence. With such benefactors as backers he could then indulge in "absolutely independent criticism."[55]

This was not idle speculation, for about this time Poe put the theory to the acid test. He called on Nicholas Biddle, formerly President of the United States Bank, a man who was in the eyes of many, Philadelphia's premier citizen.

---

[52]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 150.

[53]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 177. See also Ostrom, Letters, 1: 150.

[54]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 151.

[55]Ibid., p. 150.

In a letter to Biddle dated January 6, Poe displayed the flagrant flattery with which he was prone to address august personages. The letter also reveals that Poe had called upon Biddle, and had been received with politeness. Poe wrote informing Biddle of his intention to postpone "The Penn," citing as a reason the inability of his cousins in Augusta to secure enough subscribers. Other subscriptions had trickled in however, from unexpected sources. The purpose of Poe's letter, however, lay in a request. "The kind manner in which you received me when I called upon you at Andalusia--upon so very equivocal an errand--has emboldened me to ask you a still greater favor than the one you then granted. . . ."[56] (Biddle had evidently taken three subscriptions in advance.) Poe requested a brief article for the first number, and brought up again the necessity of "caste," noting that a contribution from Biddle would lend considerable prestige to the magazine. There is no evidence that Poe ever received such an article.[57]

In reality Poe was almost entirely socially isolated from the sort of wealthy and influential men whom he now hoped to attract to his venture. The extent of this isolation can be suggested by consulting an extraordinary little volume published in Philadelphia in 1846. Its

---

[56]Ostrom, Letters, 2: 694.

[57]Ibid.

anonymous author entitled it, Memoirs and Auto-biography of some of the Wealthy Citizens of Philadelphia, A Fair Estimate of their Estates--founded upon a knowledge of the facts. The author did not divulge his sources for "the facts," beyond claiming that some of the persons listed had volunteered their own information. The lowest net worth required for admission into this pantheon of lucre was $50,000. The estate of Stephen Girard topped the list at seven million. The degree, however, to which those listed were complicit with the author is questionable, as many found themselves served up for public scrutiny in a rather compromising fashion, as for example:

> Fitler, Daniel 50,000
> By trade a victualler. Once high sherriff of the city and county of Philadelphia; by the fees of which office it is generally supposed he made his fortune.[58]

It is of interest to note that Poe knew, or appears to have known, very few of this group of monied Philadelphians. Roughly eight hundred names fill the volume, and of Poe's known acquaintances none appear save Nicholas Biddle, Dr. Mitchell, and his publishers Lea & Blanchard. If he knew others, evidence does not survive in his correspondence. Poe's gift to Nicholas Biddle, a copy of his Tales inscribed "For N. Biddle, with the author's respects."[59] failed to

[58] Memoirs and auto-biography of some of the Wealthy Citizens of Philadelphia, A Fair Estimate of their estates--founded upon a knowledge of the facts (Philadelphia: n.p., 1846), p. 23.

[59] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 188.

engender anything which could be called a friendship. Poe also approached the Philadelphia playright Robert T. Conrad, and Joseph Hopkinson, the lawyer who had written the popular song, "Hail, Columbia," for support and for articles. Hopkinson offered some counsel on the difficulties of extracting payment from far-flung subscribers, but apparently little else.[60]

Poe's strategy of attracting prestigious support might, under more favorable circumstances, have been a productive one, but as was often the case, his luck was ill-favoring. Frederick William Thomas had written a cheering missive to Poe earlier in December, thanking him for his thoughtful critique of Pinckney and informing him that he had found an agent to act for "The Penn" in St. Louis, Thomas expressed the hope that the administration of the new President-elect, William Henry Harrison, presaged "better times."[61] The hope was illusory. On February 4, 1841, Biddle's United States Bank suspended specie payments. A bank panic and suspension of paper money as well followed by nightfall, and in the days that followed many southern banks followed suit.[62] Two weeks before, Poe had written his friend Snodgrass voicing optimism and declaring that,

---

[60]Ibid., p. 192.

[61]Ibid., p. 179.

[62]Ibid., p. 193.

far from having been a disadvantage, his illness had allowed him the necessary time to plan and set his preparations in order. At the time he wrote to Snodgrass, he claimed to be "about to put the first sheet to press immediately. . . ."[63] The first number would employ "clear type, fine paper &c--double columns." "No steel engraving but now & then a superior wood-cut in illustration of the text."[64] Poe related with relish that "Burton . . . is going to the devil with the worst grace in the world, but with a velocity truly astounding."[65] Graham, whom he has met, impressed him as a "very gentlemanly personage. . . ."[66]

How far Poe had actually progressed in engaging a printer and an illustrator is not known. With the bank suspensions, however, money became impossibly scarce,[67] and it is hardly likely that a man in Poe's financial position could have obtained credit. By February 20, Poe had accepted Graham's offer to install him as book review editor at Graham's Magazine, with no editorial control over the other departments. In the Saturday Evening Post, Graham's other periodical, Poe announced on February 20 the indefinite postponement of "The Penn," and an appended editorial comment

[63] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 151.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 193.

noted consolingly:

> In the present disorder of all monetary affairs, however, it was but common prudence to give up the enterprise--in fact it would have been madness to attempt it.[68]

It might also have been, given Poe's circumstances, completely outside the realm of possibility.

---

[68]Ibid., p. 196.

Part I, Chapter 7

"TO COIN ONE'S BRAIN INTO SILVER"--POE AND GRAHAM

Poe worked for George Rex Graham for a little more than a year (from February, 1841 to April or May, 1842),[1] during which time Graham's Magazine achieved extraordinary success. The magazine appealed unabashedly to a variety of interests. Graham announced at the end of November that each number beginning with the January, 1841, issue would be "embellished" with a mezzotint by John Sartain, Philadelphia's popular engraver. In addition, to please owners of pianofortes, Graham would publish music.[2] (Subsequent numbers of the magazine contained colored lace patterns as well and, of course, fashion plates.) Finally there was Poe, certain to draw readers to the review pages, if anyone would. He would contribute some of his most important tales to the magazine, both during and following his term of employment.

Graham officially announced his acquisition of Poe's editorial talents on the wrappers of the April number:

---

[1] Quinn, Poe, pp. 310, 340. Poe's work for Graham ceased with the May number of the Gentleman's Magazine.

[2] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 175, 180-181.

> Mr. POE, is too well known in the literary world to require a word of commendation. As a critic he is surpassed by no man in the country; and as in this Magazine his critical abilities will have free scope, the rod will be very generously and at the same time, justly administered.[3]

While pointedly drawing the reader's attention again to the lavish embellishments, Graham claimed that "It is the wish of the editors, however, to make the literary department the great attraction of the Magazine. . . ."[4] Of this there can be little doubt, for Graham was relentless in his pursuit of illustrious literary quarry, one of the earliest of whom he bagged almost by accident.

Graham had appointed his old friend Charles J. Peterson as an editor of the magazine. Peterson had a good eye for literary quality, and when he was rummaging through the papers and unpublished articles left by Burton, he found a poem that attracted his attention. It was called "Callirhöe," and it was by one "H. Percival, Esq." of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Peterson included it forthwith in the March, 1841, number, and he then wrote to the author declaring that he admired the poem and would purchase further contributions at whatever price the author would name. The author, it transpired, had submitted the poem anonymously as an entrant in Burton's premium contest. He was James Russell Lowell, as yet but little known outside New England,

---

[3]Ibid., p. 205.

[4]Ibid.

and he was soon to be one of Graham's most important contributors. He was now, however, in a high dudgeon over the misappropriation of his poem, and it required considerable coaxing by Peterson to induce him to become a regular contributor.[5]

Graham evidently promised Poe a salary of about $800. a year, which was better by far than the ten dollars a week he had received from Burton, but which was still far from a princely sum.[6] During his tenure as editor at Graham's

---

[5]The letters of the Lowell/Peterson correspondence are in the Houghton Library, Harvard University. Dwight R. Thomas excerpts them on pp. 194, 203, and 204 of "Poe in Philadelphia."

[6]Two fragmentary accounts of payments by Graham to Poe exist, one in the Philadelphia Free Library and the other in the Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin. They show the following sporadic payments, which total $524.40. Poe also earned money from his contributions to Graham's Gentleman's Magazine and to other publications.

Gimbel Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia:

"25	March '41	$60.	on acct
3	April '41	$54.	"
24	April '41	$40.	"
2	July '41	$55.	"
24	July '41	$105.	to Nov 17th"

University of Texas at Austin:

"25	Sept 41	$33.50
13	Oct 41	60.90
28	Feb '42	58.00
31	March '42	58.00"

This record of payments is almost certainly incomplete. John Sartain, in his Reminiscences, p. 200, claims that Poe's salary with Graham was $800.00 a year.

Poe never relinquished his hope to establish his own magazine, and his correspondence is full of allusions to it. It can hardly have been otherwise, as he was still receiving letters and queries about the project. Frederick Thomas continued to express confidence in the idea. Although he deplored the delay, he prophesied "you'll do it yet."[7] William Davis Gallagher, editor of the Cincinnati Gazette, wrote requesting either a subscription or an exchange agreement with his own paper. John Tomlin, Poe's supporter in Tennessee, wrote promising future assistance.[8] This continuing encouragement prompted Poe to look forward to the day when he might achieve some independence.

Poe quite literally burst upon the literary scene once more in the April number of Graham's with an important review of Bulwer-Lytton's Night and Morning, an offer to solve cryptograms sent in French, Italian, Spanish, German, Latin, or Greek, and most importantly, with "The Murders in the Rue Morgue."

The cryptography challenge and the "Rue Morgue" leave little doubt that Poe was once again immersed in his fascination for "ratiocination." The tale, which has been widely if inaccurately touted as the first example of the

---

[7]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 198.

[8]Ibid., pp. 199-200.

detective story genre,[9] may have been suggested to Poe by the sensational exhibition of an "ourang outang" (actually it was a chimpanzee), at the Masonic Hall on Chestnut Street during August of 1839. One of the individuals who examined the animal and pronounced it to be a chimpanzee was Poe's friend, Dr. John K. Mitchell.[10]

The ability of the chimpanzee to mimic human behavior became the mainspring of Poe's detective story, which pitted an amateur detective against a murderer who had to all appearances escaped from a locked room. Poe's analytical detective, Monsieur Dupin, shared with other Poe characters a highly nervous disposition combined with unnaturally acute sensory perceptions. A. Conan Doyle, when he created Sherlock Holmes, evidently looked carefully at the Dupin prototype.

Although the line of inquiry can be perilously misleading, some consideration might be given to the degree to which these neurasthenic individuals were versions of Poe's self. In Dupin, Poe created a rational positivist who had acquired what appeared to be omniscience simply by his ability to reason, and thus to know. Knowledge, and the ability to confound by the solution of a complex

---

[9]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 521; Quinn, Poe, p. 310.

[10]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 50, 58.

problem, were in Poe's view the keys to dominance. It vexed him bitterly when people suspected that he solved cryptograms by some hoax rather than by his reasoning powers,[11] for beset as he was throughout his life by successful men whom he considered to be knaves or fools, he could claim some superiority on the basis of his exceptional reasoning powers. Dupin was Poe as he wished others to perceive him, with his ratiocinative abilities released upon a subject of more consequence than solving cryptograms in the press.

The Paris evoked by Poe as a setting for his first Dupin tale was entirely imaginary, but the name Dupin may have been suggested by that of Dr. Socrates Maupin, who had written to Poe in September of 1840 concerning a minor favor involving a Monsieur C. Auguste Dubouchet.[12] Poe neatly encapsulates his epistemological attitude in an epigram selected from Sir Thomas Browne's Urn Buriel, one which he used on at least three other occasions:

> What song the Syrens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, although puzzling questions, are not beyond all conjecture.[13]

---

[11] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 173.

[12] W. T. Bandy, "Who Was Monsieur Dupin?" Papers of the Modern Language Association (1964) 79: 509-510. See also Quinn, Poe, p. 310.

[13] Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 569.

The reception of "Rue Morgue," as meticulously traced by Dwight Thomas, refutes those who theorize that Poe was not widely read during his lifetime. When his tales appeared in high circulation vehicles like Graham's Magazine, they attracted considerable attention in the press, which presumably drew some readers.[14]

Locally, "Rue Morgue" was noted in at least three papers: the Daily Chronicle (March 26), The Pennsylvanian (March 27), and the Germantown Telegraph (March 31). The Rhode Island Patriot and the New York Evening Star noticed it as well, while the New-Yorker drew attention to the "deep but repulsive interest"[15] of the tale and praised the book

[14]The research of Dwight R. Thomas should spark renewed interest in the controversial matter of Poe's popularity with his contemporary audience. Many scholars hold that Poe was never widely popular during his lifetime, and in this they follow a statement made by Graham shortly after Poe's death, wherein he said that "Poe's mind was of such an order, as not to be very widely in demand." See James A. Harrison, The Life and Letters of Edgar Allan Poe (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1903), p. 405. This conclusion is followed by Killis Campbell, The Mind of Poe and Other Studies (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1933), p. 405, and most importantly by Michael Allen, Poe and the British Magazine Tradition, pp. 157-173.

While it cannot be denied that there was never a great demand for printed collections of Poe's work during his lifetime, the assertion made by Harper Brothers that reprinted tales seldom made salable volumes should be kept in mind. Articles by Poe that appeared in Graham's were widely read, and his fellow writers and critics certainly paid attention to his productions.

[15]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 206.

review columns of the magazine.

Meanwhile, Poe was still suffering from the residual legacy of his clash with Burton. His irascible former employer had, as earlier noted, printed a compromising insinuation about Poe on the wrappers of his magazine. He was apparently compounding the insult by slandering Poe, to the degree that Poe felt compelled to pen a lengthy explanation to his friend Joseph Evans Snodgrass, who was an active temperance man. The general gist of Burton's assertions was apparently that Poe had become unreliable because of his drinking habits. This seems to have been a convenient excuse for Burton, when questioned about some article or other which he had not returned. Snodgrass was still having difficulty retrieving his article submitted to the premium contest, and Burton apparently blamed the matter on Poe. Poe, who was mortified, disclosed his confusion about how to deal with Burton to Snodgrass. He was entertaining the idea of suing Burton, and thought he could secure witnesses, who

> seeing me at all hours of every day, would have the best right to speak--I mean Burton's own clerk, Morrell, and the compositors of the printing office. In fact, I could prove the scandal almost by acclamation. I should obtain damages.[16]

A little further along, however, he is given to second

---

[16]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 155.

thoughts on the matter, perhaps sensing that his defense was not watertight. As for Burton, "I have always told him, to his face, and everybody else, that I looked upon him as a blackguard and a villain. This is notorious. He would meet me with a cross-action. . . . What then can I do?"[17]

Poe knew that Burton was aggressively litigious. Only two months previously he had lodged a suit against Charles W. Alexander, of Alexander's Weekly Messenger, for libel. Alexander had allegedly referred to Burton in print as "a low commedian."[18]

Poe told Snodgrass that while in Burton's employ he had not imbibed at all, explaining the matter in a way that sheds light on his earlier difficulties:

> At no period of my life was I ever what men call intemperate. . . . [While in Richmond] . . . I certainly did give way, at long intervals, to the temptation held out on all sides by the spirit of Southern conviviality. My sensitive temperament could not stand an excitement which was an every day matter to my companions. In short, it sometimes happened that I was completely intoxicated. For some days after each excess I was invariably confined to bed.[19]

Poe claimed, however, to have been wholly abstinent for four years, save for one lapse following his departure from Burton's, "when I was induced to resort to the

---

[17] Ibid., pp. 155-156.

[18] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 195.

[19] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 156.

occasional use of cider, with the hope of relieving a nervous attack."[20] Now he drank only water.

Poe evidently thought it particularly important that Snodgrass believe him, and that he quiet any rumors of Poe's intemperance that might surface in Baltimore. How seriously, however, can we take Poe's "solemn assurance, that my habits are as far removed from intemperance as the day from the night. . . ?"[21] Had Poe conducted himself badly, or had Burton revived old rumors as a way of discrediting his old employee and explaining himself out of difficult situations? Other references to Poe's drinking during the period before his employment by Graham are sufficiently vague so as not to constitute reliable evidence.[22] All that can be said indefinitely is that Poe certainly used alcohol to excess at various times in his life, and that this might have been one of them. Burton, however, was

---

[20]Ibid., pp. 156-157.

[21]Ibid., p. 157.

[22]One is a highly embellished reminiscence by Thompson Westcott, "Philadelphia and the Philadelphians in 1850 . . ." which includes a description of Poe's supposed antics while dining at the Cornucopia Restaurant (at 23 N. 6th Street) in the company of Jesse Dow. It may have been based on fact, but it is sufficiently sensational to raise doubts. It purports to have Poe sitting down at table with total strangers and polishing off their champagne, uninvited. See J. Albert Robbins, "Edgar Poe and the Philadelphians: A Reminiscence by a Contemporary," Poe Studies (1972) 5: 45-48.

slandering a man who, whatever his faults may have been, had rendered him inestimable service.

Poe's first months with Graham resulted in a burst of productivity. He immediately followed his "Rue Morgue" with "A Descent into the Maelström," printed in the May number. Thomas O. Mabbott has pointed out that this is one of a series of tales, including "Ms Found in a Bottle" and "The Pit and the Pendulum," in which the narrator in an apparently hopeless predicament is led to act by engaging his power of observation and ability to reason.[23] This emphasis on reason is a key to Poe's point of view, placing him in opposition to other Romantic writers. Hawthorne, for instance, underscores intuitiveness and the inevitability of fate,[24] while Poe allows his characters to baffle, at least for a time, an apparently inexorable doom.

"Maelström" evinces Poe's distinctive manner of weaving scientific knowledge into his fictional narrative. To add credibility and detail to his descriptive tour-de-force, he researched the natural phenomena of whirlpools.[25]

---

[23] Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 596. In "Maelström," the narrator effects his own rescue, in "Ms Found in a Bottle," the narrator manages to escape from a sinking ship onto a sound, although decidedly odd one.

[24] For instance, compare Hawthorne's tale "The Ambitious Quest," wherein a young man of rising ambitions is swept away in a landslide, to "Maelström."

[25] Sources identified as having been used include, Edmund Wilson Landor's "The Maelstrom: A Fragment," in Fraser's Magazine (September 1834), and the Encyclopaedia Britannica articles "Maelstrom," "Norway," and "Whirlpool." Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 575.

That some of the detail is inaccurate disclosed the degree to which Poe was willing to manipulate his evidence to produce a desired effect. The evokation of the sea-green interior of the maelström remains a triumph of pure description.

Curiously, the tale left some readers dissatisfied. The Philadelphia Daily Chronicle of April 28 called it "unworthy of the pen of one whose talents allow him a wider and more ample range."[26] The precise meaning of this criticism is difficult to discern. Perhaps the writer meant that Poe was relying too much upon a natural phenomenon as a vehicle. In any case, the New York Evening Star thought the tale to be on a par with "Rue Morgue." In his review pages, Poe also included in the May number a critique of Dickens' Master Humphrey's Clock and The Old Curiosity Shop.

In May, 1841, Poe made the acquaintance of a man who was to have a disastrous effect upon his posthumous reputation, the Reverend Rufus Wilmot Griswold. This complex individual is difficult to characterize in that he inspired fierce loyalty in some, and utter contempt in others. He was apparently unstable, and illness and grievous misfortune would make him increasingly so. This, combined with relentless ambition and sensitivity of ego, made him a dangerous

---

[26]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 216.

man.[27]

Griswold was twenty-six years of age in 1841, which was a signal year for him. He published The Poets and Poetry of America, a copious anthology which was to make his literary reputation. He contracted tuberculosis, which plagued him recurringly until his death in 1857.[28] He met Poe, whose transcendent literary powers contrasted markedly with his own reputation as a mere compiler and minor poet, and whom he grew to hate bitterly. Poe was his ticket to literary immortality.

Griswold was a self-made literary man who had begun his ascent to prominence at a very early age. Born in Vermont in 1815, he began newspaper work in Albany, New York, as an apprentice of fifteen. He was married in 1837, was subsequently licensed as a Baptist minister, and became a protégé of Horace Greeley, who elevated him to an editorship on the New-Yorker in 1840. After brief stints at the Philadelphia Daily Standard and the Boston Notion, he

---

[27]Poe partisans are loud in their denunciation of Griswold, who even when viewed in the most favorable light, seems entirely deserving of it. For a more sympathetic, if myopic, view of the arch-fiend, see Joy Bayless, Rufus Wilmot Griswold: Poe's Literary Executor (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 1943). Bayless seeks to excuse Griswold's behavior towards Poe in terms of the envy of a self-made man for a pampered prodigal son (see pp. 187-188). Griswold's calculated attempt to assassinate Poe's character has been so thoroughly revealed, however, as to preclude any real exoneration. Arthur Hobson Quinn prints side by side Griswold's versions of Poe's correspondence with the original manuscripts, disclosing the former to be substantially altered. Quinn, Poe, pp. 279-282.

[28]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 779-793.

settled in Philadelphia in the autumn of 1841. During his briefer stay in May of that year, he met Poe. The relationship was at first amicable, marked by pleasantries and casual exchanges.[29]

Poe was once again safely lodged in an editorial niche with a regular salary, but the region was in economic turmoil. William Henry Harrison died on April 4th, and John Tyler was sworn in as President two days later. Because Tyler was a southern Democrat, there were widespread expectations that Harrison's political appointees would be turned out of office, and this in many instances proved to be the case.[30] Poe's friend Thomas was but one in legions of office-seekers who had flocked to Washington in Harrison's wake. Jesse Dow (see above, pp. 169-170) had managed to secure an appointment, but Thomas was still looking. By May 11th Dow had been turned out of office and was feeling sufficiently chastened to give up hard liquor, while Thomas had almost despaired and was entertaining the idea of moving to New Orleans. He had asked Poe to suggest to Graham that he publish one of Thomas's novels serially, but the idea had

---

[29]Two brief notes from Poe to Griswold, dated on the basis of internal evidence, derive from this period. See Ostrom, Letters, 1: 159-161. See also Quinn, Poe, pp. 350-351.

[30]Oliver Perry Chitwood, John Tyler, Champion of the Old South (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939), pp. 367-385.

been rejected. He was eking out a living by lecturing on oratory.[31] Thomas sent Poe a contribution for the magazine, requesting immediate payment on the grounds that, as he put it, "A gentleman of address, if not of character . . . did me the honor to borrow feloniously my coat with a hundred dollars in it. . . ."[32]

Thomas was a convivial, generous-hearted individual who had plenty of energy and resourcefulness. He had placed himself in Poe's confidence to the point that he was able to make irreverent comments, which coming from anyone else might have had a bad effect on his friend. He managed this by mixing his more strident remarks with flattery. Of the "Rue Morgue" he wrote:

> I think it is the most ingenious thing of the kind of record--It is managed with tack, ability and subtlety that is wonderful--I do not know what the devil to make of your intellectuals.[33]

Thomas took Poe to task for not having reviewed Howard Pinckney in Graham's, "Better be damned, &c--Don't you know that to be before the public is the thing--Poe I dont like that--and thats flat. . . ."[34]

Through the month of May and into June Thomas pursued likely appointments. He did not relish attempting to

---

[31] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 220-222.

[32] Ibid., pp. 220-221.

[33] Ibid., p. 221.

[34] Ibid., p. 221.

support himself by his writing, and he evoked the time-honored expedient of blaming conditions on politics. "Dam Locofocoism--there was some little money to be made in books before that--but nowadays!"[35] Jesse Dow managed to pick up an appointment in the postal service, but Thomas was still looking when on May 20 he dazzled Poe with this enchanting vision of what life would be like if he held a Washington clerkship:

> How would you like it? You stroll to your office a little after nine in the morning leisurely, and you stroll from it a little after two in the afternoon homeward to dinner, and return no more that day. If during office hours you have anything to do it is an agreeable relaxation from the monstrous laziness of the day. You have in your desk everything in the writing line, in apple-pie order, and if you choose to lucubrate in a literary way, why you can lucubrate.[36]

This genteelly languid form of employment could not fail to entice Poe. In the months of uncertainty to come, he looked with increasing longing toward a day when he might find a comfortable sinecure in the bureaucracy. Poe was rarely a regular correspondent, but a punctual exchange of letters began to take place between Philadelphia and Washington. Poe pressed repeatedly for Thomas to advance his name for a government post, and Thomas kept his literary ties intact.

The June number of Graham's Magazine was released by the third week in May. As circulation redoubled, the

---

[35] Ibid., p. 223.

[36] Ibid., p. 224.

magazine went to press earlier and earlier, until it was being printed almost an entire month in advance. Rufus Griswold, now acting as an editor of the Boston Notion, had his review copy before May 22, when his critique of it appeared in print. He rebuked Poe for a favorable notice he had given to Pliny Earle's unexceptional volume, Marathon and Other Poems: "we never saw anything more ineffably senseless and bombastic, than these verses lauded by the editor of Graham's Magazine--"[37] Earle had been an enthusiastic supporter of "The Penn" project, and Poe was not above returning a favor.

Poe was probably unaware of Griswold's criticism for some time, and the end of May he forwarded copies of his poems to Griswold for inclusion in The Poets and Poetry of America. His accompanying letter discloses that he was still snapping at Longfellow's heels, and he informed Griswold that Longfellow's "The Beleaguered City" was a plagiarism of his own piece "The Haunted Palace":

> The identity of the title is striking; for by the Haunted Palace I mean to imply a mind haunted by phantoms--a disordered brain--and by the Beleaguered City Prof. L. means just the same. But the whole tournure of the poem is based on mine. . . .[38]

Along with the poems, three of which[39] appeared in

---

[37]Ibid., pp. 224-225.

[38]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 161.

[39]"The Haunted Palace," "The Coliseum," and "The Sleeper."

Poets and Poetry, Poe forwarded an outrageously fanciful autobiographical sketch.[40] It is likely that Poe had put Griswold in touch with Thomas, who offered to provide for Poets and Poetry biographical sketches of the southern authors Edward Coote Pinkney and Amelia Welby.[41]

In the June Graham's there appeared one of Poe's most serene pieces. "The Island of the Fay" is cast as a sort of rhapsodic essay, and it points toward one of Poe's last and most important works, "Eureka." The tale, which may have been composed at need to illustrate a Sartain mezzotint, immediately struck its audience as markedly divergent from Poe's usual offerings. Thomas saw this immediately and commented, "You have struck a new vein. . . ."[42] The tales of late 1840 and early 1841 are celebrations of intellect, and they are characterized a less mannered style and feverish prose than those which came immediately before and after. "The Island of the Fay" in particular is conspicuous for its feeling of repose, and Poe seems to be at his most relaxed.

The sketch is in two distinct segments held together by an apparently tenuous connection. It begins with a discourse on solitude in the romantic idiom that his readers

---

[40]Harrison, Works, 1: 344-346.

[41]Thomas wrote to Griswold on June 8, 1841. Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 230.

[42]The letter is dated May 28, 1841. Ibid., p. 226.

would have found comfortably familiar. An Irvingesque description of scenery as one of the best "companions" of solitude, however, leads him to a disclosure of his holistic conception of the universe and the interrelation of all material things, animate and inanimate:

> I love, indeed, to regard the dark valleys, and the grey rocks, and the waters that silently smile, and the forests that sigh in uneasy slumbers, and the proud watchful mountains that look down upon all--I love to regard these as themselves but the colossal members of one vast animate and sentient whole--a whole whose form (that of the sphere) is the most perfect and inclusive of all. . . .[43]

The key word here is "sentient"; all of his natural forms, in an idea redolent of Eastern cosmologies, are endowed with senses and soul. He proceeds to a position which is striking in its ecological modernity:

> In short, we are madly erring, through self-esteem, in believing man, in either his temporal or future destinies, to be of more moment in the universe than the vast "clod of the valley" which he tills and contemns, and to which he denies a soul for no more profound reason than that he does not behold it in operation.[44]

Some of Poe's readers, proceeding thus far, probably found his ontology faintly disturbing, even with his mention of God.

Once the philosophy is laid out, Poe proceeds in the best pictorial manner to provide a verbal illustration of his idea. He takes his reader on a woodland ramble,

---

[43]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 600.

[44]Ibid., p. 601.

describing the fancies that occur to him in succession. He threatens to lull his reader asleep with picturesque images, until the gloomier fancy of an island half in shadow and half in light takes hold. The sketch ends with a strikingly original metaphor for mortality. The committed worshipper of nature would have had to look far for a more strangely beautiful exaltation of the natural world. Poe had outdone the "quietists,"[45] as he once had derisively called them, at their own occupation.

George Rex Graham was apparently interested for a while in producing with Poe a magazine of transcendent literary quality, designed along the lines of the now defunct "Penn." It would cost five dollars a year, and its rigorously exclusive pages would display only the work of first rank American authors such as John P. Kennedy, Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, James K. Paulding, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, William Cullen Bryant, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Nathaniel P. Willis, and a few others. Graham would bind Poe contractually to write for no other publication for the period of a year, and he would have one-half interest in the magazine for functioning as its editor. There was, however, one onerous condition. Graham would only go ahead with the project if Poe could secure in

---

[45]The term occasionally employed by Poe to describe authors whose work he considered too bland and unoriginal.

advance the services of those literary luminaries whom Graham specified. With this object in mind, on or about June 21 Poe wrote to Kennedy, Irving, Longfellow, Bryant, Halleck, Willis, and Cooper, outlining the enterprise. The letter to Irving is typical of the missives he sent out.

> . . . the finest minds in Europe are beginning to lend their spirit to Magazines. In this country, unhappily, we have not any journals of the class which either can afford to offer pecuniary inducement to the highest talent, or which would be, in all respects, a fitting vehicle for its thoughts.[46]

As Poe described the physical layout of the magazine, it bore an unmistakable resemblance to "The Penn." He proposed to print an octavo of ninety-six pages, employing the best quality paper and type, in a single column, with no engravings but appropriate woodcuts. He sanguinely solicited from each of the authors to whom he wrote a one year pledge to write for no other magazine.[47]

Graham must have known that he had set a nearly impossible condition for his backing of Poe's enterprise. Poe, if he were not entirely blinded by enthusiasm, must of seen this also. To his credit, he tried nevertheless to lure out these notoriously elusive authors. There seems to have been little encouraging response, and the plan foundered.

Poe's state of mind at this time is reflected in

---

[46]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 162.

[47]Ibid., pp. 161-170.

a letter written to Thomas but five days after this series of solicitations. He expressed restiveness with his situation, and evidently Thomas's description of the pleasures of a government post had lodged in his mind. Poe's interest was reinforced by the circumstance that Thomas had just received from President Tyler a $1,000 a year post in the Treasury Department. Poe noted,

> . . . notwithstanding Graham's unceasing civility, and real kindness, I feel more and more disquieted with my situation. Would to God I could do as you have done. Do you seriously think that an application on my part to Tyler would have a good result? My claims, to be sure, are few.[48]

It would appear from this letter that Poe had placed little hope in Graham's qualified offer to back a magazine.

Thomas's response to Poe's question was guardedly optimistic. He suggested that the best course of action would be for Poe to come to Washington and apply to Tyler in person. Reminding Poe that his own appointment was but a temporary one, he suggested that Poe engage the support of someone more influential, like John P. Kennedy, now sitting in Congress as a Representative from Maryland. In the meantime he promised to see Tyler himself on the matter.[49]

It is likely from the slightly more restrained tone of his answer that Thomas, still but a political fledgling

---

[48]Ibid., pp. 161-170.

[49]Thomas wrote on July 1, 1841. See Harrison, Works, 17: 92-93

himself, was reluctant to take the lead in advocating an appointment for Poe. His alternatives, however, were either to anger Poe or to press cautiously forward, and to his credit he chose the latter, perhaps hoping that Poe's enthusiasms would in the meanwhile lead him elsewhere. Poe, however, was increasingly insistent, and finally close to desperation in his need for Thomas's support. Thomas, who was naturally pliant and well meaning, eventually found himself cornered into an advocacy for Poe. This seems, in any case, to be the most likely explanation for the alternating words of encouragement and temporizing found in Thomas's correspondence with his literary friend. Thomas was torn between the sometimes incompatible demands of advancing his own cause and the responsibilities of friendship.

Poe spent a portion of the summer of 1841 unravelling cryptograms to the delight, astonishment, and widespread disbelief of his readers, and in waiting for an encouraging word from Washington. The July number of the magazine, which reported an impressive leap in circulation to 17,000 a month, contained the first installment of Poe's "A Few Words on Secret Writing," which was continued in the August, October, and December issues.[50] His determination to seek a government post was not only firm but growing, and on July 4 he pressed Thomas again on the matter; "I wish to

---

[50]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 240.

God I could visit Washington--but the old story, you know--I have no money--not enough to take me there, saying nothing of getting back."[51] Would Thomas approach Kennedy for him? In much the same terms that he had used to James K. Paulding in 1838, Poe told Thomas:

> I would be glad to get almost any appointment, even a $500 one--so that I have something independent of letters for a subsistence. To coin one's brain into silver, at the nod of a master, is to my thinking, the hardest task in the world.[52]

Thomas had sent Poe a cryptograph devised by his friend Dr. Charles Frailey, who was confident that Poe would be unable to decipher it. Poe sent the correct solution back on July 4, with the pardonable pronouncement that "Nothing intelligable can be written which, with time, I cannot decipher."[53] It infuriated him that people were skeptical of his cryptographic abilities. "I am seriously accused of humbug in this matter--a thing I despise. People will not believe I really decipher the puzzles."[54] To his gratification, Frailey expressed astonishment and provided him with an affidavit.[55]

As the summer deepened, Thomas had little success

---

[51] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 171-172.

[52] Ibid., p. 172.

[53] Ibid., p. 173.

[54] Ibid., p. 173.

[55] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 243.

in forwarding Poe's cause in Washington. Congress was in session in early July when he tried to see Kennedy and failed, but he continued to voice his intention to speak to Tyler. There were, he informed Poe, hoards of applicants, but he nevertheless predicted that Poe would succeed. By the 19th, he had little more to report. He had tried again to see Kennedy, but the House being in session he had again failed. He had been to dinner with Tyler, but it was a formal affair presenting no opportunity.[56] Thomas's reports continued in this vein for the next several months.

Poe was now beset with quantities of cryptographs, and by mid-August he had begun another project which while of questionable literary merits, displayed undoubted journalistic flair. It was a lengthy piece to be published serially under the title of "American Autography," and it would include facsimile signatures of American writers together with thumbnail critical pronouncements on their work, to be based in part on rather arbitrary chirographical analyses of their handwriting. While Graham and Poe worked on the piece together, it was evidently Poe's idea and principally his own production. The piece was immensely popular, and required a good deal of work, as signatures had to be solicited from scores of individuals.[57] Poe had also

---

[56]Ibid., p. 248.

[57]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 179-180.

approached Lea & Blanchard with a proposal that they publish a new two-volume edition of his tales, but they reported on August 15 that, far from having sold out, Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque had not even regained for them the cost of printing it.[58]

Thomas's program for advancing Poe for a political appointment showed, if anything, a retrograde movement in August. The capital was in turmoil, as Tyler had split with Henry Clay and a change of cabinet was rumored. By August 30 Thomas, who had been discouraged by Tyler's son and secretary Robert, recommended that Poe not approach Tyler while political confusion still reigned.[59]

"The Colloquy of Monos and Una," another of Poe's metaphysical dialogues, appeared in the August number of Graham's Magazine. He published a revision of his poem "To Helen" in the September number, together with "Never Bet the Devil Your Head, A Moral Tale," designed as a satire of "improving" literature.

In the "Colloquy" Poe finds several targets, among them the encroachment of technology and architecture upon the natural world, and the levelling influence of democracy. Monos and Una, like Eiros and Charmion, are two deceased beings who meet in an afterworld to discuss the destruction

---

[58]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 254, and Ostrom, Letters, 1: 177.

[59]Harrison, Works, 17: 102-103.

of the earth, where "omni-present Democracy" had prevailed over the "laws of gradation." Democracy and industry were for Poe interdependent evils, and, although he only implied it, they were northern ones:

> Meantime huge smoking cities arose, innumerable green leaves shrank before the hot breath of furnaces. The fair face of nature was deformed as with the ravages of some loathsome disease.[60]

The final bedevilment of this lost civilization, which was by implication the America of the 1840s, however, was not moral turpitude, but rather a diminution of taste.

> But now it appears that we had worked out or own destruction in the perversion of our taste, or rather in the blind neglect of its culture in the schools. For, in truth, it was at this crisis that taste alone--that faculty which, holding a middle position between the pure intellect and the moral sense, could never have been safely disregarded--it was now that taste alone could have led us back to Beauty, to Nature, and to Life.[61]

This point of view prefigured with accuracy the international aesthetic movement late in the century.

It is not difficult to discern reasons for the virulence of Poe's pronouncements on the contemporary urban scene. The profession of editor had caused him to live for years on a restricted income in the midst of America's most populous cities. In an era when America's premier authors, including Hawthorne, Irving, and Cooper sought bucolic

---

[60]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 610.

[61]Ibid., p. 610.

settings and scenic grandeur in their travels and country residences, Poe was chained to the regular grid of Philadelphia's streets, unable to escape its stifling summers and bitter, damp winters. Unlike George Lippard, however, who later railed against the contrast between opulence and poverty in the city, Poe's revulsion was aesthetic rather than social. Architecture was not his favored art:

> we discoursed of the days to come, when the Art-scarred surface of the Earth, having undergone that purification which alone could efface its rectangular obscenities, should clothe itself anew. . . .[62]

"Never Bet the Devil Your Head,"[63] is another of Poe's grisly burlesques, wherein he relates the fate of Toby Dammit, who persists unwisely in employing the expression, "I bet the devil my head . . ." until he is overtaken by disastrous but predictable consequences. As was usual with Poe when he tapped this vein, satirical allusions to the contemporary literary scene abounded. The tale provided him with an opportunity to ridicule a favorite target, the Transcendentalists and, in a later revision, Griswold's Poets and Poetry of America. Evidently Joseph Evans Snodgrass inferred from the tale that Poe had some quarrel with

---

[62] Ibid., pp. 610-612. "The Colloquy of Monos and Una" bears particularly on Poe's theories of prose and poetry, and is discussed with related pieces in an essay by Hoffman, Poe Poe Poe, 169-177.

[63] In the September number of Graham's Magazine. See Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 619-634.

the group of New England literateurs, and Poe attempted to evade the charge:

> I have no quarrel in the world with that illustrious journal [The Dial], nor it with me. I am not aware that it ever mentioned my name, or alluded to me either directly or indirectly. My slaps at it were only in "a general way." The tale in question is a mere Extravaganza levelled at no one in particular, but hitting left & right at things in general.[64]

This coy explanation is typical of the sort of reckless ambivalence which Poe brought to his satirical productions. Such "extravaganzas" were undertaken in the spirit of jest, and so long as he engaged with a scatter gun as opposed to a rifle he expected those who were peripherally peppered not to object. It was a quirk that inspired some justifiable mistrust among his friends and contemporaries.

The last of Poe's late summer group of pieces was "Eleanora," published in early September by the Boston Notion as a selection in The Gift for 1842.[65] The tale, which commences in an enchanted valley, is blatantly autobiographical and eerily prophetic. ("Thus it was we lived all alone, knowing nothing of the world without the valley--I, and my cousin, and her mother.")[66] His cousin Eleanora becomes his lover, then sickens and dies, but not before

---

[64]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 183.

[65]Mabbott placed the date of publication in late February, 1842 (Collected Works, 2: 637), but Dwight R. Thomas has found that it went to press much earlier. See Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 258.

[66]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 639.

exacting a promise from the narrator that he not wed anyone else. He tires of the valley and seeks a new life in a new city, where he eventually meets Ermengarde, whom he marries with absolution from Eleanora's shade.

A variety of interpretations have been lavished on this little fable. It is certainly related to Poe's recurring interest in reincarnation and the afterlife, and it will allow of an "ethical" interpretation as well.[67] Beyond that there was certainly some personal and domestic symbolism at work. Virginia Poe must certainly have recognized herself and her husband in the story, and perhaps she was guided to see in it, as Arthur Hobson Quinn suggests, an affirmation of Poe's constancy.[68] This is another of those instances when Poe's life and art sailed for a while upon parallel courses.

The autumn of 1841 found Poe continuing his "Autography" series, mulling over the stalled plans for "The Penn," and knee-deep in one of those minor entanglements which beset him in clusters and which stemmed from the nature of his professional life. Somehow a poem which had been submitted to Poe for inclusion in "The Penn" had found

---

[67] Mabbott summarizes some of the standard arguments in Collected Works, 2: 636-637.

[68] Ibid., and Quinn, Poe, p. 329.

its way into the pages of the Saturday Evening Post. Poe excused himself to its irate author, Lewis J. Cist, by saying that while he had turned some pieces he had received over to Charles J. Peterson for inclusion in Graham's Magazine, he had not given permission for them to be used elsewhere. (Peterson and Graham were then co-publishers of the Post.) To deflect blame from himself, Poe viciously attacked Peterson in a letter to Cist, a risky expedient as the two men were to all other appearances on good terms and Peterson was still an editor at Graham's. Poe claimed that Peterson was guilty of "a falsehood wilfully perpetrated--of a kind which he is in the habit of perpetrating, and which have before involved me most disagreeably."[69] Poe's defense seems a little too labored to have a ring of total sincerity, and the incident is typical of the sort of contre-temps in which he was sometimes involved.

Poe continued to seek backers for "The Penn." He told Snodgrass in mid-September that he had not yet given up hope that Graham would go in with him on the journal, but he was discouraged enough to sound out Snodgrass about anyone who might have the capital and interest to set him up in Baltimore.[70] If he expected Snodgrass to leap into the breach, the doctor failed to do so.

---

[69]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 182.

[70]Ibid., p. 183.

Poe's friends Thomas and Dow were supportive, but neither was yet in a position to offer him substantial assistance beyond private and public praise. Poe was still being pummeled with cryptographs, which he solved in quantity. Thomas remarked, "Your astonishing power of deciphering secret writing is to me a puzzle which I can't solve."[71] Thomas had written a song which he wanted Poe to find a Philadelphia publisher for. While worried about the political scene, he reported to Poe that he was growing more intimate with Tyler and his son Robert.[72] Jesse E. Dow, who reviewed the October Graham's for the Washington Index, lauded Poe in a fashion which was either deliberately wide of the mark, or laced with heavy irony; Poe "a Richmond boy, by adoption, is the severest critic, the best writer, and the most unassuming little fellow in the United States."[73]

Poe was absent from Philadelphia in October on unknown business, and about this time Poe's political and literary aspirations began to intertwine. Thomas began to hint to Poe that it might be advantageous to publish a favorable review of two speeches made by Tyler.[74] Graham, however, aimed toward universal appeal in his magazine, and

---

[71] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 266.

[72] Ibid., pp. 265-266 (September 22, 1841).

[73] Ibid., p. 268.

[74] Ibid., p. 271.

it is unlikely that he would have wished to deviate from the profitable path of political neutrality. Although this might have helped Poe in his quest for a government post, either he never raised the issue to his chief, or Graham had quashed it.

Poe was being more successful, just then, in ingratiating literary men than in impressing the government. Park Benjamin, one of New York City's young literary powers and editor of the New World, was given a flattering critique in the "Autography" segment in the November Graham's. Benjamin reciprocated with a glowing review of the number in the October 23 New World, praising Poe and opining with utter shamelessness that the most interesting article in the number was that one entitled "Autography."[75]

The "Autography" articles not only attracted readers, but Graham may have used them as well to lure wary contributors. Peterson wrote to James Russell Lowell, requesting a poem for the January number and calling attention to the fact that his signature would appear in the next installment. He wrote, "I hope the notice appended to your name will please you. It is by Poe."[76] From thence forward Lowell would appear increasingly in Graham's Magazine, and Peterson's correspondence with the Cambridge

---

[75]Ibid., pp. 272-273.

[76]Ibid., p. 273.

poet provides glimpses of Poe's relations with his fellow editors.[77]

Despite the restiveness expressed in his continuing desire for a government post or a magazine of his own, Poe's involvement with Graham's Magazine resulted in a period of unusual stability in his life. The magazine continued to do spendidly through the autumn, he told Thomas, and the printing of the January number would reach 25,000. There were occasional but appreciable glimpses of domestic happiness as well. Poe had managed to find a publisher for Thomas's ballad, "Tis Said that Absence Conquers Love," and he had taken it home for Virginia to sing. She, however, expressed some dissatisfaction with its music (Thomas wrote the lyric only).[78]

It was Poe's function as well to attract popular authors to the pages of Graham's, and in this he achieved some success. Graham was prepared to go to financial lengths to do this, and occasionally gave Poe and Peterson broad powers. Thus Poe wrote on November 10 to one of his old contributors at the Southern Literary Messenger, Mrs. Lydia Sigourney, with a courtly request for a contribution. Mrs. Sigourney's articles and poetry were immensely popular,

---

[77] Ibid., pp. 332-333, 384-385.

[78] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 184-185. Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 284. On November 10, F. W. Thomas wrote Poe, "I am sorry that your lady likes not the music to which my song is married . . . Well--I like "Virginia's" frankness, my dear friend, as I have always like [sic] yours. . . ."

and Poe used upon her, as he was wont to do with female authors, all of the drawing-room blandishments at his command. Graham would pay the price she named, and wanted particularly a poem for the January number.[79] Poe got it, a lyric entitled "To A Land Bird at Sea," and it was printed in the January number below Amelia Welby's "Lines Written on a Portrait of William Henry Harrison," whom death had rendered safely apolitical. Poe invited Mrs. Sigourney to contribute regularly, on a monthly basis.[80]

Poe wrote also to Nathaniel P. Willis, who replied that he was already engaged exclusively for the period of a year to Godey's. He was willing to make an arrangement, however, as soon as his term with Godey had ended, and would do so sooner with the latter's approval.[81] Willis did not appear in the magazine in 1842, at least not under his own name.

Through this period correspondence with Frederick W. Thomas continued with what was for Poe, remarkable regularity. Far from being able to help Poe, however, Thomas was struggling to keep his own gains intact. He reported that Kennedy's influence was nil, due to the cabinet shake-up, and that he had been unable as yet to secure

---

[79] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 286.

[80] Ibid., p. 287.

[81] Poe had written Willis on November 10 (the letter is missing), Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 286.

a permanent post:

> If I could get a permanent situation, which I was promised, I could get leave of absence, my salary still continuing, and I could slip on to the City of Brotherly Love and shake you by the hand, which I certainly should --I long to have a talk with you, Poe--On my conscience I know of no man whom I would rather meet than you-- No! I would rather meet you than any "feller" as Sam Weller says that I know--[82]

Thomas was occupying his spare time with the study of French, and being somewhat daunted by the project he requested Poe's advice on how to proceed. Poe recommended side by side translations and living in a French boarding house. Poe, who had a facility for learning a language rapidly, told Thomas to "force yourself to speak French-- bad or good--whether you can or whether you cannot."[83] He then related to Thomas the details of an ongoing dispute with Richard Bolton, a reader who had solved the Frailey cryptograph. Poe, who clove to the belief that he alone could have done it, accused Bolton of plagiarism, but it is apparent that Bolton had indeed arrived at an independent solution.[84]

The ongoing "Autography" series was producing waves of agitation in the literary world, as virtually any writer whose signature could be obtained was included. The series

---

[82] Ibid., p. 291.

[83] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 190.

[84] Ibid., pp. 187-189, 190.

won Poe's friends and enemies, and increased his notoriety as a critic. Most importantly, from Graham's point of view, the series sold magazines, and circulation continued to expand dramatically. James Russell Lowell, who after receiving Peterson's letter of October 26 could have been excused for sitting back to await a flattering paragraph in the series, was discomfitted to discover that Poe's remarks in the December number were at best ambivalent. Peterson attempted to salve Lowell by explaining:

> His remarks on your poetry were well meant; but you know Poe prides himself on his severity, and, except in rare instances, his commendation is wrung out like an eye-tooth. He did not know that your occassional [sic] ruggedness was a matter of choice--besides he has a great fancy for numbers "in linked sweetness long drawn out"[85]

Peterson thought it necessary to point out that Poe was a maverick among critics: "He has one creed: you and I another. I must say, however, in justice to Poe, that I have read some of your poems where I would have liked less ruggedness. . . ."[86]

The Baltimore Saturday Visiter carried some resounding pronouncements on "Autography," possibly from the pen of Joseph Evans Snodgrass. He blasted Graham's Magazine for deteriorating quality, declaring "Autography" to be the only good thing in it. The mention of Poe conveys the awe

---

[85]Thomas, Poe in Philadelphia," p. 293 (November 26, 1841).

[86]Ibid., p. 293.

and puzzlement with which many men in the profession, even his friends, regarded him. While acknowledging that "No pen but Mr. P.'s, could probably have afforded so general a sketch of American literary character,"[87] he found that Poe's own neat script was misleading, "for a more eccentric genius cannot be found in half a dozen months."[88]

It was not in Graham's interest to make enemies in influential editorial chambers throughout the country. Poe later complained to Thomas that Graham had induced him to soften some of the critiques in the series, particularly those pertaining to Philadelphia literati. Poe was compelled to speak more gently of Robert T. Conrad, Ezra Holden, Thomas G. Spear, and his co-editor Peterson than he would otherwise have done. This did not prevent him from referring privately to the latter three as "ninnies."[89] He gave good notices as well to some less than luminous authors, including his friend the Tennessee poet John Tomlin. The circulation for the February number advanced to 40,000.[90]

The principal literary excitement of the winter of 1841-1842, however, involved Poe and Graham but peripherally. In January Charles Dickens arrived in Boston at the onset

---

[87]Ibid., p. 298.

[88]Ibid.

[89]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 191-193.

[90]Ibid.

of his first American tour, and he began a triumphal progress through the principal cities of the United States, which in terms of the near-hysterical adulation lavished upon him, renders the event unique in American literary history. As the most popular author in the English-speaking world, Dickens was an unparalleled celebrity. Crowds of thousands stood for hours to catch a glimpse of him or shake his hand. Societies and organizations of every stamp vied for his attendance at dinners and entertainments. Far from being able to see America in the leisurely fashion he had anticipated, Dickens was shackled by his popularity to a gruelling round of appearances, and the trip came to resemble a royal progress.[91] Everyone in the literary sphere wanted to see and speak to him, including Edgar A. Poe. The editor from Philadelphia was one of a very small percentage of applicants to be granted a personal interview.

Meanwhile, as Dickens made his way south with what must have seemed like agonizing slowness, Poe continued to produce for Graham articles and pieces which were, in general, more journalistic than purely literary in character. He published a minor tale, "A Succession of Sundays," in the November 27 issue of the Saturday Evening Post.

---

[91]Norman and Jeanne Mackenzie, Dickens, A Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 109-125.

The fourth and final installment of the "Secret Writing" series appeared in the December Graham's. In January, along with the final segment of "Autography," there appeared "Exordium," an important exposition of his views on criticism.[92] "Exordium" sets Poe apart from those who were advocating national schools of literature, particularly with reference to America, in a reversal of his earlier thoughts on the matter. He entreats authors and critics to retreat from what he thought to be undue emphasis on national themes. The piece is a manifesto against parochialism, and it calls upon American writers to expand the boundaries of their imaginative realms. His advice to critics extended to the correction of a proclivity which he himself shared, as they were urged in writing a review to concentrate on the book in question rather than on gratuitous displays of their own erudition.

For Poe 1841 ended uneventfully. His correspondence was of a trivial rather than of a momentous nature. From Tennessee, John Tomlin wheedled him about publishing his poetry in Graham's (none of it appeared under Tomlin's name in 1842 numbers). Thomas continued to struggle manfully with the French language, but without marked success.[93] Despite disappointments relative to "The Penn" and the

---

[92]Harrison, Works, 11: 1-8.

[93]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 302, 304, 324.

illusory government appointment, Poe had reason to enter the new year with optimism. Graham's circulation was burgeoning, and his book review editor, whose duties were by no means confined to that quadrant, had attracted both readers and contributors. While he was plagued by chronic dissatisfaction, his health was reasonably stable, and he had the security of a regular salary, although he was constrained to obtain a ten-dollar loan from John Albright, a tailor on 16th street.[94] Poe was never impervious to a crisis, and it was a crisis that upset the harmony of the previous months.

On or about January 20th, Virginia Poe suffered a hemorrhage from the throat while singing, presumably while at their house near 16th and Locust streets. Poe preferred to use the phrase "ruptured a blood vessel,"[95] to describe the event, as if to avoid the terror-ridden terminology of the disease than known as consumption, but in fact Virginia was terminally ill with tuberculosis. This dread disease accounted for a substantial portion of the annual death rate at mid-century, and there existed no known cure. It is not known when the tubercle bacillus began its insidious overthrow of Virginia Poe's health, but

---

[94] Ibid., p. 301.

[95] See Poe's letters of February 3, 1842, and January 4, 1848, Ostrom, Letters, 1: 191-193 and 2: 356.

the pulmonary hemorrhage she experienced in January, 1841, would have been an indication that it was already far advanced. The disease would be her continual affliction until she died in 1847. For Poe, its advance and cruelly deceptive periods of remission were unremitting sources of anxiety. Now he would be caught up in what he later described as "the horrible never-ending oscillation between hope & despair . . ."[96] which would only end with her death five years later.[97] In later years he described himself in terms markedly similar to those he used to introduce his narrators: "I am constitutionally sensitive--nervous in a very unusual degree."[98] It was an apt self-characterization. He was not equipped to deal with this fresh disaster, so reminiscent of the fate that overtook his own mother, and it would prove profoundly unsettling. Poe averred in 1848 that the onset of the outward symptoms of Virginia's disease drove him beyond the brink of sanity, and to drink.[99]

---

[96] Ostrom, Letters, 2: 356.

[97] Virginia Poe died at the Poe's rented cottage at Fordham, New York, on January 30, 1847. Quinn, Poe, 527-528.

[98] Ostrom, Letters, 2: 365.

[99] Ibid. Marie Bonaparte's analysis of Poe's mental distress and its relationship to his wife's condition is, as might be expected of a Freud protégée, classically Freudian. Its limitations result from the distance between subject and analyst, yet it is worthy of consideration. Bonaparte theorizes that Poe turned to drink while his wife was ill because he was "a potential sado-necrophilist." Bonaparte, Life and Work of Edgar Allan Poe, p. 103.

It took Poe about two weeks to emerge from the paralyzing misery occasioned by Virginia's illness, so that he could write Thomas about it. When he wrote on February 4, she was still uppermost in his mind, although he was beginning to turn his thoughts to more mundane affairs:

> My dear little wife has been dangerously ill. About a fortnight since, in singing, she ruptured a blood-vessel, and it was only yesterday that the physicians gave me any hope of her recovery. You might imagine the agony I have suffered, for you know how devotedly I love her. But today the prospect brightens. . . .[100]

In desperation, and probably to allay medical expenses, Poe had appealed to Graham for a salary advance of two months pay, only to be disappointed. "he not only flatly but discourteously refused. Now that man knows I have rendered him the most important services. . . ."[101] Poe went on to recount them, mentioning the increase in circulation and the popularity of the "Autography" series. He does not indicate Graham's reasons for refusing, but the incident had evidently strengthened Poe's determination to strike out on his own. He queried Thomas as to whether Robert Tyler, who was an aspiring amateur author, might consider

---

[100] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 191.

[101] Ibid., p. 192. There may have been benevolent reasons why Graham did not advance the sum, possibly because he did not want Poe to squander it. As Poe and Graham parted company on good terms, it is unlikely that Graham turned a totally deaf ear to Poe's requests.

backing a new magazine.[102]

Poe was active in the editorial offices of Graham's in January and February, and it seems as if Virginia's condition, while precarious, showed a tendency to improve. He was working within eye-shot of Charles Peterson, who often mentioned Poe in his cordial correspondence with James Russell Lowell. Peterson was of an evenly genial disposition, and he probably was innocent of any suspicion that Poe had at any time harbored ill feelings toward him. Before him lay a lengthy and successful publishing career, most notably as editor of Peterson's Magazine. Peterson's good nature, good business sense,and innate caution dictated that his rise would be less meteoric but more sustained than that of his friend and mentor, George R. Graham. His success would result in part from the circumstance that he was, in Barrie Hayne's words, a "quintessential middlebrow."[103] In his early twenties he exhibited a marked conservatism, and he already had arrived at an unshakable intellectual neutrality. As he wrote to Lowell in 1842, "I am no tee-totaller [sic], no abolitionist, no transcendentalist, no peace-man, or any of that sort. Heaven intended me for a conservative in everything but politics."[104]

---

[102] Ibid.

[103] Barrie Hayne, "Standing on Neutral Ground," 512.

[104] Ibid., pp. 512-513.

In the January and February numbers, Poe concentrated principally upon criticism, and some of it was as bitter and biting as he ever published. He was reconciled with Lowell, asking Peterson to remember him to the New England poet,[105] but his malice was manifested elsewhere. In the February number there appeared a corrosive critique of Cornelius Mathews' epic poem "Wakondah." Mathews was the editor of the New York City monthly, Arcturus, and a man well-liked in the profession.[106] Poe's article is sprinkled with such pleasantries as: "'Wakondah,' then, from beginning to end, is trash. With the trivial exceptions which we will designate, it has no merit whatever. . . ."[107] Without doubt "Wakondah" is remarkably silly, but in this instance, as in others, the reader is confronted with Poe unlimbering his artillery in the face of a less than worthy target. The disparity of stature between him and his victim seems to do Poe little credit, until one recalls that he was engaged in what amounted to almost a one man war on banality in an environment that was all too

---

[105] "Poe wishes to be remembered to you." Peterson to Lowell, 8 February 1842, Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 327.

[106] Mathews, to his credit, did not hold this against Poe. Later, when Poe moved to New York City, they became cordial friends. In March of 1844, just before moving north, Poe apologized to Mathews for "a certain impudent and flippant critique." "Since I scribbled the article in question, you yourself have given me fifty good reasons for being ashamed of it." Ostrom, Letters, 1: 245.

[107] Graham's Gentleman's Magazine, 20 (February 1842), 130.

forgiving of sentimental excess.

Lowell evidently remarked that the critique was unusually carping for Peterson replied:

> Poe laughed heartily when I told him you thought he had a pique against "Wakondah" & its author. He says he pleads guilty to the poem, but asks for a nolle prosequi so far as Matthews [sic] is concerned. He thinks the poem is on a par with Sheridan's statesmanship as Brougham describes it--"neither good, bad, nor indifferent, but no statesmanship at all." Matthews is a sociable kind-hearted man & has many friends: so the criticism has woke up quite a tempest. I understand he has said that if he ever gets a chance he will not spare Poe. Poe sends his respects & says that he never allows personal love or hate to warp his criticisms.[108]

Peterson may have appended the last sentence with an aim at irony.

In spite of his difficulties Poe had put a good face on matters, but he cannot have been pleased by more discouraging news from Thomas. Robert Tyler had made the usual offer, by now all too familiar to Poe, to write for whatever magazine Poe might get up, but he could not come through with financial assistance. Thomas, who was evidently concerned with the effusiveness of some of the "Autography" captions, urged Poe to resist Graham's pressure to write sycophantic criticisms.[109]

Poe was now to benefit from an event which, while

---

[108]Peterson to Lowell, 17 February 1842. See Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 332-333.

[109]Ibid., p. 337.

not enhancing his pocketbook, most certainly have bolstered his self-esteem and his reputation. This was the arrival of Charles Dickens in Philadelphia. Dickens had made his way slowly from Boston to New York City, and then on to Philadelphia, arriving on March 5, 1842. His every move and excursion had been followed by the press with fanatical avidity. When it was learned that Boz would indeed visit Philadelphia, John S. DuSolle, in the Spirit of the Times, exhorted the citizenry to match or crown New York's lavish reception of Dickens. On DuSolle's staff, however, there was a nineteen-year-old writer who thought it might be amusing to present an alternative point of view. George Lippard, under the nom-de-plume of "Flib," recommended restrained rather than slavish and unseemly adulation: "Let us dine Boz--let us feed Boz--but do not let us lick his dish after he has eaten out of it."[110] Lippard, as "Flib," wrote a running, satirical commentary on the festivities throughout Dickens's visit.

Dickens, a youthful 30 years of age, lodged with his wife in a suite of rooms at the United States Hotel, on Chestnut Street above 4th, overlooking Chestnut Street and the Second Bank of the United States. On the evening of his arrival he looked out of his window to see "a handsome

---

[110]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 324, 327-328.

building of white marble, which had a mournful, ghostlike aspect, dreary to behold." In the morning he found its "cold cheerless air" unchanged, and discovered it to be "the Tomb of many fortunes--the Great Catacomb of investment --the memorable United States Bank."[111]

Poe immediately sought to meet with Dickens, and in this he was more successful than the vast majority of Philadelphians. He sent to the hotel some books and papers for Dickens' perusal, with a note requesting an interview. It is not known what materials he sent, but Dickens was sufficiently intrigued by them to write Poe on his first full day in the city, granting the request: "I have glanced over the books you have been so kind to send me; and more particularly the papers to which you call my attention. I have the greater pleasure in expressing my desire to see you, on their account."[112]

On or about March 7, Poe met with Dickens once and perhaps twice in his suite at the United States Hotel.[113] Dwight R. Thomas has reconstructed the substance of the interviews based upon the subsequent correspondence of both

---

[111]Charles Dickens, American Notes (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1842), p. 141.

[112]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 341.

[113]Poe wrote to James Russell Lowell on July 2, 1844, mentioning "two long interviews with Mr. D. when here." Ostrom, Letters, 1: 258.

parties. Apparently Poe read Emerson's "The Bumble Bee" to Dickens, who seems to have agreed to help Poe find a British publisher. It is also quite likely that they discussed the need for an international copyright agreement, a subject of considerable interest to both men. Poe evidently tackled Dickens on the subject of a contribution to Graham's Magazine, which as he had no agreement with any American journal would have been an unparalleled coup. It seems that Dickens was noncommittal, but not entirely discouraging.[114] The two authors corresponded subsequently, but not at great length. Dickens' effort to engage a publisher in England for Poe came to nothing.

Evidence of Poe's industriousness during this period lies in the pages of Graham's Magazine for the month of April. It contained, most importantly, his tale "Life and Death," later altered and republished as "The Oval Portrait," together with the second part of an important critique of Longfellow's Ballads and Other Poems, and the first part of a consideration of Hawthorne's Twice Told Tales.

In its first printed state, "Life and Death" probably did more harm than good to Poe's reputation for eccentricity. The tale is thoroughly gothic, the setting being a chateau in the Apennines, "one of those piles of commingled gloom

---

[114] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 342-343. In the July 16, 1844 Saturday Evening Post there appeared an announcement that Dickens, "before leaving this country, pledged himself to write for 'GRAHAM'S MAGAZINE,' if for any periodical in America."

and grandeur."[115] Arriving wounded at the empty ediface, the narrator and his man servant take over an apartment which is filled with pictures. These he eyes from his bed while under the influence of a high fever. The narrator's attention is soon riveted to the portrait of a young woman, which has an unnaturally life-like appearance. A volume resting by the bed describes the portrait's history, and the narrator discovers that the woman was married to the painter, who labored so long and obsessively at the work that he stole the life from its subject. His wife died when the painting was complete. Poe had returned to the theme of the mystical interplay between the animate and the inanimate.

The version of this tale originally published in the pages of Graham's included a lengthy prefatory paragraph relating the narrator's fray with banditti, and a detailed description of his opium habit. It disclosed the knowledge, or the illusion of the knowledge, of considerable technical experience with the consumption of opium, and the tale doubtless contributed to the rumor that Poe was an habitual opium user. The paragraph was excised from the story when it appeared as "The Oval Portrait" in the April, 1845, number of the Broadway Journal. As it is rather tangential to the body of the tale, Poe could have removed it for aesthetic reasons, but he may have also found that this sort of

[115] Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 662.

exotic window dressing was causing people to make assumptions about his own habits.[116]

The tale has been compared to Hawthorne's "The Birthmark" by Seymour Gross, who has called it "a parable of the moral deadliness of artistic monomania."[117] Patrick Quinn sees it, along with "The Island of the Fay," as an allegorical exposition of Poe's cosmology, as it was later formulated more specifically in "Eureka." "To see the organic in the inorganic--this is one of the typical modulations in our experience of the world which Poe makes possible in his stories."[118] While Patrick Quinn's comment points to the essential philosophical underpinning of the tale, it is perhaps inevitable that some should discern autobiographical references. David Rein has seen the piece as an exorcism of Poe's guilt concerning Virginia's illness, an idea which is as romantic as any Poe could have devised.[119]

In the accompanying review of Longfellow's Ballads

---

[116] Graham's Gentleman's Magazine 20 (April 1842), pp. 248-254.

[117] Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 661. "The Birthmark" postdated this tale, and appeared in the March, 1843 number of Lowell's magazine, The Pioneer. See Mellow, Hawthorne, pp. 221, 230.

[118] Quinn, French Face, p. 266.

[119] David Rein, "Poe and Virginia Clemm," Bucknell Review (May 1958) 7: 216.

and Other Poems,[120] Poe continued his assault upon Longfellow, although in more modulated tones than he had earlier employed in the review of Hyperion and Voices of the Night. His principal objection lay with Longfellow's habit of placing moral considerations before aesthetic ones. Poe asserted that for Longfellow, Truth came before Beauty, which he found to be unforgivable. There were, however, "magnificent exceptions, where, as if by accident, he has permitted his genius to get the better of his conventional prejudice."[121] As is often the case with Poe's more important criticism, he uses Longfellow's work as a springboard from which to launch an exposition of his theories. The resultant piece had its admirers in the editorial offices at Graham's. Peterson, in writing to Lowell, unabashedly called it "in my opinion, the most masterly critique, as a whole, I ever saw from an American pen."[122] Poe's brief notice of Hawthorne's Twice-Told Tales, not without barbs, singles Hawthorne out as "one of the few men of indisputable genius to whom our country has yet given birth."[123]

Poe had seldom been as active as a writer and critic

---

[120] Graham's Gentleman's Magazine, 20 (April 1842), pp. 248-254.

[121] Ibid., p. 248.

[122] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 359.

[123] Graham's Gentleman's Magazine, 20 (April 1842), p. 254.

as he was in April, 1842. The inescapable restlessness, however, was at work. Poe was disillusioned with Graham, who consistently found reasons to postpone the "Penn" magazine project. There came, about the beginning of April, the inevitable break. How it occurred is a matter of some debate.

On the face of it, all that is certainly known is that Poe's editorial association with Graham came to an end with the May number, which had gone to press by April 1.[124] The circumstance that Rufus W. Griswold was hired by the end of April to replace Poe, together with assertions made much later by Graham, have given rise to the supposition that Poe left Graham's because of a clash with Griswold. This often repeated story first appeared in William F. Gill's biography of Poe, wherein the author related Graham's assertion that he had hired Griswold to substitute for the ailing Poe: "Poe came back unexpectedly, and, seeing Griswold in his chair, turned on his heel without a word, and left the office. . . ."[125]

Dwight Thomas has observed that this dramatic scene, recounted by the aging Graham to Gill in 1873, does not square with Graham's correspondence with Griswold in 1842. Griswold was in New York City in April, where Graham wrote

---

[124]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 205, and Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 359.

[125]William F. Gill, Life of Edgar Allan Poe, 5th ed. (New York: W. J. Widdleton, 1880), pp. 110-111.

to him on the nineteenth, long after Poe had departed, requesting to know if Griswold would consider relocating in Philadelphia.[126] By May 3, Griswold had accepted Graham's offer of $1,000 a year to occupy Poe's chair. His editorial voice was not heard until the August number.[127]

There seems to have been little or no bad feeling between Graham and Poe. Griswold's association with the magazine was announced in the July number, and appended to it was the notice, "The connection of E.A. POE, Esq., with this work ceased with the May Number. Mr. P. bears with him our warmest wishes for success in whatever he may undertake."[128] News that Poe had left Graham had reached Thomas by May 25, when Poe wrote him in explanation:

> I shall continue to contribute occasionally. Griswold succeeds me. My reason for resigning was disgust with the namby-pamby character of the magazine--a character which it was impossible to eradicate--I allude to the contemptible pictures, fashion-plates, music and love tales. The salary, moreover, did not pay me for the labor which I was forced to bestow. With Graham, who is really a very gentlemanly, although an exceedingly weak man, I had no misunderstanding.[129]

Charles J. Peterson, writing to James Russell Lowell on May 21, summed the matter up with some ambivalence, "I suppose you know Poe has left us. He is a splendid fellow, but 'unstable as water.' Griswold, his replacement, will

---

[126] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 362.

[127] Ibid., pp. 370-371.

[128] Graham's Gentleman's Magazine, 20 (July 1842), p. 60.

[129] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 197.

evidently be more reliable. A more suitable person we could not have obtained."[130]

---

[130]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 384.

Part I, Chapter VIII

"IT IS FOLLY TO HOPE"--April, 1842-March, 1843

Whatever the immediate cause of Poe's resignation from Graham's Magazine, he apparently had no very definite plan to pursue upon leaving. The twin projects of his intervals between employment, hopes for a political post and for his own journal, came once again to the forefront. He continued to publish sporadically in the pages of Graham's and in other receptive periodicals.

Poe's legacy to Graham included in the May number "The Masque of the Red Death" and an expanded appreciation of Hawthorne's Twice-Told Tales. The former has engendered lavish and justified praise, Mabbott calling it "unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled, among Poe's very short stories."[1] It is a highly compressed piece, no less magnificent for its brevity, and its careful prose is unremittingly powerful, as is evident from the opening lines:

> The Red Death had long devastated the country. No pestilence had ever been so fatal, or so hideous. Blood was its Avatar, and its seal--the redness and horror of blood.[2]

The magnificently capricious Prince Prospero immurs

---

[1]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 667.

[2]Ibid., p. 670.

himself and his courtiers within his castle to escape the ravages of the plague. "The external world could take care of itself." In defiance of the misery without, the Prince entertains lavishly. At length he gives a masked ball, held in a seven-room apartment furnished in a wildly whimsical fashion. The last chamber of the seven is a horror of black and red, wherein there is an ebony clock which tolls the hours. The guests disport themselves until midnight, when a great figure in a blood-spattered costume materializes in their midst, spreading instant contagion. It was, of course, the Red Death:

> He had come like a thief in the night. And one by one dropped the revellers in the blood bedewed halls of their revel, and died each in the despairing posture of his fall. And the life of the ebony clock went out with that of the last of the gay. And the flames of the tripods expired. And Darkness and Decay and the Red Death held illimitable dominion over all.[3]

This tale particularly illustrates the variety of sources Poe could bring to a piece of fiction. Mabbott has pointed out as a principal source the sixteenth letter in Nathaniel P. Willis's Pencillings Along the Way, first published in the New-York Mirror in June, 1832.[4] The letter includes a description of a ball in Paris, during the cholera epidemic of 1832, where there appeared "one man, immensely tall, dressed as the personification of the Cholera,

---

[3]Ibid., pp. 676-677.

[4]Ibid., p. 668.

itself, with skeleton armor, bloodshot eyes, and other horrible appurtenances of a walking pestilence."[5]

Other influences descried by Mabbott include the similarity of the last line of the tale, quoted above, to the last two couplets of Alexander Pope's Dunciad:[6]

> Lo! thy dread empire, Chaos! is restored;
> Light dies before thy encreating word;
> Thy hand, great Anarch! lets the curtain fall,
> And universal darkness buries all.[7]

It is of interest that while Poe deplored the moral imperative in poetry,[8] as expressed in his recent review of Longfellow's Ballads, one of the great moral themes of the age underlay "The Masque of the Red Death." The vogue for pinioning a dissolute nobility for ignoring the sufferings of the masses had commenced with Thomas Carlyle's The French Revolution (1837). While Poe was scornful of Carlyle's literary style, his moral viewpoint seems to have made an impression. Dickens would resoundingly strike the same chord in A Tale of Two Cities (1859), in the opening pages of which he employs Poe's own image, the "fancy ball," to dramatize the callousness of the French aristocracy.

---

[5]Ibid.

[6]Which also compare to "The City in the Sea,"--"Lo! Death has reared himself a throne. . . ."

[7]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 678.

[8]This is the Longfellow review of April, 1842, composed at roughly the same time as Poe was writing "The Masque of the Red Death." See Graham's Gentleman's Magazine 20 (April 1842), p. 249.

In his reviews, Poe could be highly critical of writers and poets whose influence nonetheless seeped into his own work. Carlyle, as mentioned above, is a case in point, as is Alexander Pope. While Poe claimed to think little of Pope (he quipped that the "Essay on Man" might better have been entitled an "Essay on Rhyme"),[9] there is certainly something of the Dunciad in "The Masque of the Red Death."

When it was published in Graham's, "The Masque of the Red Death" was sandwiched between "The Bride," one of the love stories which Poe disliked, and "Proscrastination," a little domestic homily by Mrs. M. H. Parsons. Framed thus the violence of its images are even more astonishing, and it seems a little surprising that the thing was published at all. In the pages of Graham's it is possible to discern the full contrast between the mainstream of romantic popular fiction and the opposite current that Poe represented.

With his lengthened review of Twice-Told Tales, Poe complemented his review of Longfellow's Ballads by setting out his theories relating to prose. He festooned his observations on fiction about Hawthorne's work much as he had those on poetry about Longfellow's. In the latter consideration he had written that beauty was the fundamental aim of poetry, and in the Hawthorne review he balanced this with

---

[9] Ibid (May 1842), p. 299.

the opinion that truth, as expressed in tales of ratiocination and of "effect," was the object of the tale. Poe's praise of Hawthorne was undiminished: "Of Mr. Hawthorne's Tales we would say, emphatically, that they belong to the highest region of Art--an Art subservient to genius of a very lofty order."[10] His admiration, however, was not wholly without reservation. Two tales, "The White Old Maid" and "The Minister's Black Veil," are criticised for being too mystical. Poe, whose idée-fixe seems to have been the subject of plagiarism, particularly as it pertained to himself, thought that he saw elements of his own "William Wilson" in "Howe's Masquerade," and he expended considerable space in the exploration of this irrelevancy.

At the beginning of his review, Poe brushed aside Hawthorne's occasional pieces, which he referred to as essays. Short pieces such as "A Rill from the Town Pump" and "The Haunted Mind" were evidently not much to his liking. On these and their ilk he makes the startling but incisive pronouncement that "these effusions of Mr. Hawthorne are the produce of a truly imaginative intellect, restrained, and in some measure repressed, by fastidiousness of taste, by constitutional melancholy and by indolence."[11]

Meanwhile, Poe's domestic arrangements had changed.

---

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., p. 298.

In the spring of 1842 he quit his old address near 16th and Locust. It is possible that unemployment had reduced his income so that he could no longer afford to rent the house, but there is no reliable evidence for this. He may have relocated temporarily in a boarding establishment, for on May 25 he wrote Thomas that if he were to come to Philadelphia, he should inquire at Graham's offices for the proper address where Poe could be found. By September Poe found a new house on Coates Street in Spring Garden's Third Ward, near the Fairmount Water Works, but the exact date of his move to this location remains uncertain.[12]

Through the summer of 1842, Poe's affairs remained unsettled. It was expected that President Tyler would soon move to eject Harrison's appointees and make new appointments in government offices throughout much of the nation. With this in mind, Thomas had approached Robert Tyler, son and secretary to the President, on the matter of an appointment for Poe in the Philadelphia Customs House. In communicating this news to Poe on May 21 Thomas was a little injudicious, for he made the appointment sound like a near certainty: "Robert replied that he felt confident that such a situation could be obtained for you in the course of two or three months at farthest, as certain vacancies would then occur."[13] Thomas inquired, it would seem unnecessarily,

---

[12]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 381-382. Ostrom, Letters, 1: 198.

[13]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 379.

if Poe were interested. Poe of course replied with predictable enthusiasm to this heady news, coming as it did on the heels of his resignation from Graham's: "Nothing could more precisely meet my views. Could I obtain such an appointment, I would be enabled thoroughly to carry out all my ambitious projects."[14]

The spring and summer, however, dragged on without confirmation of the promise. Poe was plagued by continual worry over Virginia's deteriorating health, and by skirmishes with Rufus Griswold.[15] He was stalled, unable to obtain financial backing for his magazine, and unable, or unwilling, to commit himself to another editorial stint. He hoped, week to week and month to month, that the government appointment would materialize. Tyler, however, was reluctant to move on the matter of the Philadelphia Customs House incumbents. The Collector of the Port, Jonathan Roberts, had refused to oust his Whig subordinates, and was thus in open rebellion. Tyler apparently intended to wait until Congress adjourned to remove the obstinate Collector. Action on this matter was suspended by early June, and Poe could do little but wait.[16]

As Poe's financial situation worsened, he began to fasten more and more hope on the government appointment.

---

[14]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 197.

[15]Quinn, Poe, pp. 351-354.

[16]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 388-389.

It seemed the only gleam of promise in his June letter to James Herron, an old acquaintance from Poe's days at the Messenger. Herron had lately gained notoriety as the successful inventor of a trellis railway track. Poe's letter only exists in fragmentary form, and it is possible that he was hinting at a loan when he wrote:

> The state of my mind has, in fact, forced me to abandon for the present, all mental exertion. The renewed and hopeless illness of my wife, ill health on my own part, and pecuniary embarassments, have nearly driven me to distraction. My only hope of relief is the "Bankrupt Act", of which I shall avail myself as soon as possible.[17]

It is clear that Poe was placing dangerous confidence in Thomas's ability to procure for him a post:

> You will be pleased to hear that I have the promise of a situation in our Custom-House. The offer was entirely unexpected & gratuitous. I am to receive the appointment upon removal of several incumbents--the removal certainly to be made in a month. I am indebted to the personal friendship of Robert Tyler.[18]

Poe must have realized that the tone he adopted was excessively optimistic, for he cautioned Herron not to mention the appointment to anyone, should it fail to materialize. On Virginia he had but this to say: "Mrs Poe is again dangerously ill with hemorrhage from the lungs. It is folly to hope."[19]

Despite his assertions, however, there is good reason

---

[17] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 198-199.

[18] Ibid., p. 199.

[19] Ibid.

to believe that Poe had not given over "all mental exertion" but rather that he had been hard at work on one of his lengthiest tales. It was "The Mystery of Marie Roget--a Sequel to the Murders of the Rue Morgue," and on June 4 he offered it simultaneously to two editors of his acquaintance, George Roberts of the Boston Notion and Snodgrass of the Baltimore Saturday Visitor.[20] Poe needed money, and thus he chose a subject that was a current sensation. Mary Rogers, a New York City cigar girl celebrated for her beauty, had disappeared in late July, 1841. Shortly thereafter her bound corpse was found floating in the Hudson near Weehawken. The death caught the horrified imagination of the public, and the press followed the development of the case closely, conjecturing for the most part that the girl had been done in by a street gang. Everyone who read the papers knew about the case. In complaining of the number of disasters which had recently occurred, the Philadelphia merchant Joseph Sill decried in his diary the suicides, steamship explosions, robberies, and "--Miss Rogers murder'd & thrown into the Hudson. . . ."[21]

Poe may have begun the story late in 1841, and it was finished, or nearly so, when he offered it to Roberts and Snodgrass on June 4. To add the gloss of fiction, he changed

---

[20]Ibid., pp. 199-200, 201-203 (letters 136 and 137 in Ostrom's enumeration, both of June 4, 1842).

[21]Joseph Sill Diary, 27 August 1841, HSP.

the scene of the incident to Paris, and turned the case over to his nonpareil ratiocinative crime-solver, Monsieur Dupin. In providing the solution that Mary had been murdered by a secret, and thus unidentified, lover, Poe neatly avoided the possibility of a libel action. He believed, however, if his letter to Roberts can be credited, that he had provided a solution which could lead to the resolution of the actual case.

> . . . under the pretense of showing how Dupin (the hero of Rue Morgue) unravelled the mystery of Marie's assassination, I, in fact, enter into a very rigorous analysis of the real tragedy in New-York. No point is omitted. . . . In fact, I believe not only that I have demonstrated the falacy of the general idea--that the girl was the victim of a gang of ruffians--but have indicated the assassin in a manner which will give renewed impetus to the investigation.[22]

Poe averred to both Roberts and Snodgrass that the article, if published in Graham's, would bring him $100. He offered the piece to Roberts for $50 and to Snodgrass, perhaps as a concession to old friendship, for $40. With a duplicity which would have been amusing were it not so desperate, Poe told each that he would prefer to see the story printed in his paper.[23] Poe seems not to have been bothered by the fact that both editors might seize upon the article, and that his ploy might lose him at least one friend.

Poe must have known that in proposing a solution to an unsolved crime he was taking a considerable risk. If his

---

[22]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 200.

[23]Ibid.

solution should prove false, the article and the vehicle in which it was printed would be ridiculed. This possibility seems to have occurred to both Roberts and Snodgrass, neither of whom offered to purchase the tale. Sometime during the month of June Poe traveled to New York City, where he peddled the piece to Robert Hamilton, editor of Snowden's Ladies' Companion. Poe regretted this subsequently, and tried unsuccessfully in October, 1842, to repurchase the article.[24]

Poe was seldom without his far-flung champions, whose praises doubtless bouyed his spirits during this disappointing summer. A June editorial in the New York New World, probably written by Park Benjamin, included an appreciation of Poe that read in part:

> We regard this gentleman as one of the best writers of the English language now living. His style is singularly pure and idiomatic. He never condescends to affectations, but writes with a nervous clearness, that inspires the reader with a perpetual confidence in his powers.[25]

Notices such as this one, and those by Jesse Dow in the Washington Index, helped to keep Poe's name before the public.

Some of them, however, bear on the guerilla war that was breaking out between Poe and his editorial successor at Graham's, Rufus Wilmot Griswold. There was something in the pompous seriousness of the young Griswold that invited

---

[24]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 406, 448-449.

[25]Ibid., p. 39.

vicious caricature. His overblown, indiscriminate, but undeniably popular Poets and Poetry of America had made its ponderous appearance at the booksellers in mid-April. It was at once a subject of praise and a target of ridicule across the editorial pages and review columns of America. Some of the negative remarks may have been instigated, or at least subtly encouraged, by Poe. Certainly relations had deteriorated between the two men by mid-summer.

Their altercation had the tendency to travel through the profession, breaking out unexpectedly at distant geographic points. Poe was unimpressed by Griswold's tome, and doubtless unflattered by his slight representation in it. In writing to Snodgrass on June 4, he had called the volume "a most outrageous humbug. . . ,"[26] and he openly encouraged his Baltimore friend to disparage it.

There was a more immediate reason, however, why Poe and Griswold had ceased to be cordial friends. The effusive Thomas Holley Chivers, unaware of Poe's departure from Graham's, had written him a note covering a submission of poems, in which he referred to Griswold's verse as "wishy-washy." Griswold, who apparently was in the habit of opening all correspondence addressed to Poe as editor, opened and read the letter, and the war was on.[27]

---

[26]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 202.

[27]Ostrom, Letters, 2: 698. Chivers explained this in a note he inscribed on the reverse of Poe's July 6 letter to him.

Rumor of the altercation had already been heard in Washington, when on May 31 a letter signed "Flash" appeared in the Washington Independent. "Flash" claimed to be a correspondent in Philadelphia, who described Griswold's anthology as "--a tolerable compilation of American poetry,- which, however, is being rather heavily dosed with over-puffing!"[28] This comment elicited cries of "foul" from Griswold's admirers, adding fuel to the controversy.[29]

"Flash's" rejoinder was more specific in reference to Poe. After asserting that Poets and Poetry, being a mere compilation, was a work "such as any one of ordinary poetical taste could compose,"[30] he went on to state:

> Mr. Griswold is a lively and elegant writer of prose and poetry, and a very fair and impartial critic, though the sponsor, as editor of Graham's Magazine, of the malignant, unjust, and disgraceful attacks on the literary character of its former editor, Mr. Poe. . . .[31]

Who was "Flash" and what were the "disgraceful attacks" he alluded to? Dwight Thomas, who unearthed him in the pages of the Independent, does not identify him. Certainly Griswold did not attack Poe in the pages of Graham's, but he may have done so verbally. In any case an altercation between the two men, both principals on the American literary scene, made good press. Soon Jesse Dow joined the fray, if he had not participated in it already, with the following abstruse

---

[28]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 385.

[29]Ibid., pp. 394, 397.

[30]Ibid., p. 398. This was published in the Washington Independent, June 17, 1842.

[31]Ibid., p. 398.

allusion in The Index: "Graham has fitted up a new office for Rueful Grizzle. He will see more sights soon. Bah!"[32] He followed this with a direct and homespun remark on June 23: "We would give more for Edgar A. Poe's toe nail, than we would for Rueful Grizzle's soul, unless we wanted a milk-strainer. Them's our sentiments."[33] It seems that everyone, with the possible exception of "Rueful Grizzle," was having a good time.

Poe, however, had a tendency to dwell upon such incidents to an unhealthy degree, dipping again into his well of resentment. The degree to which the incident gnawed at him is evident from his letter to his supporter Daniel Bryan, the postmaster of Alexandria, Virginia. Bryan had sent Poe some verses for inclusion in Graham's, and upon hearing nothing, inquired of them. Poe told Bryan that he believed that people at Graham's offices opened all of his correspondence, and that although he had not quarrelled with either Graham or Griswold, he now had little use for either. He was particularly rankled by Graham's failure to provide backing for his magazine:

> The result has proved his want of faith and my own folly. In fact, I was continually laboring against myself. Every exertion made by myself for the benefit of "Graham," by rendering that Mag: a greater source of profit, rendered its owner, at the same time, less

---

[32] Ibid., p. 399. The Index, June 18, 1842.

[33] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 205.

> willing to keep his word with me. At the time of our bargain (a verbal one) he had 6,000 subscribers--when I left him he had more than 40,000. It is no wonder that he has been tempted to leave me in the lurch.[34]

Meanwhile, Poe proposed to move ahead without Graham's backing. He informed Bryan that he needed subscribers in advance to arouse the interest of someone who might lend his financial support, and asked him to procure some, if only one. "The Penn," he wrote, will "make war to the knife against the New-England assumption of 'all the decency and all the talent' which has been so disgustingly manifested in the Rev. Rufus W. Griswold's 'Poets & Poetry of America.'"[35]

Bryan had evidently informed Poe, as friends had on former occasions, that attacks had been levelled at him in the press, but upon diligently examining the Philadelphia papers, Poe had found nothing.

The ill-feeling between Poe and Griswold was capped by a decidedly peculiar exchange between the two, beginning in July, 1842. Griswold approached Poe for a review of Poets and Poetry for publication in the New York Democratic Review, and he offered Poe a fee. Poe accepted the proposition, composing a review which he took considerable pleasure in rendering luke-warm.[36] The incident was demeaning to both

---

[34]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 205.

[35]Ibid., p. 206.

[36]The exchange evidently amused Poe. See his letter to Frederick W. Thomas, Ibid., p. 211.

parties, and each struggled to obtain, at least in correspondence with their friends, the upper hand. By mid-August Poe had turned the piece over to Griswold, who, as Poe explained to Thomas, took it while "never daring to look over the M.S. in my presence, and taking it for granted that all was right. But the review has not yet appeared, and I am doubtful if it ever will."[37] Poe, however, had underestimated Griswold's willingness to assume the posture of martyr. He edited the piece a bit, then sent it on to the Boston Miscellany, where it appeared in the November number. Griswold explained to the Boston publisher James T. Fields, "Perhaps Poe's article will not effect the book at all, but I am rather pleased that it is to appear, lest Poe should think that I prevented its publication."[38] To Griswold, who had once written to Fields, "I puff your books, your know, without any regard to their quality,"[39] Poe's behavior must have been comprehensible only in terms of personal animosity. That Poe might have had some professional grounds for being less than enthusiastic about Griswold's sprawling production seems not to have occurred to him at all. Poe, for his part, was sufficiently embarrassed by the transaction to relate the matter to Thomas in a manner which exaggerated the

---

[37] Ibid., p. 211.

[38] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 432.

[39] Ibid., p. 413.

severity of his review. He called Griswold's offer a "bribe."[40]

The incident is instructive in that it illustrates the oddity of Poe's relations with the man who would, following Poe's demise, exert limitless energy in an attempt to destroy his reputation. Significantly, in these petty duels, Poe almost always subtly bested his adversary. Griswold tried, with little apparent success, to obtain some sign of approval from an intellect which he doubtless realized was superior to his own. If he could not demonstrate intellectual superiority in the literary arena, he could at least display moral supremacy. This, after Poe's death, he proceeded to do with a vengeance.

Poe, with the encouragement of Chivers, Thomas, and Bryan, began to renew his enthusiasm for "The Penn" magazine. There was a dubious side of this, however, as both Chivers and Bryan, by harping on their grievances against Graham, performed the possibly harmful service of keeping open Poe's wounds, both real and imagined. Poe, on his part, thought he perceived from afar a monied supporter in Chivers. On making this discovery, his first act was to mend fences. Poe had made some rather sharp remarks about Chivers in the "Autography" series. When Chivers wrote to Poe inquiring

---

[40]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 211.

after the poems he had submitted to Graham's, Poe seized the opportunity to make an elaborate apology:

> What I said of your grammatical errors arose from some imperfect recollections of one or two poems sent to the first volume of the Southern Literary Messenger. But in more important respects I now deeply feel that I have wronged you by a hasty opinion. You will not suppose me insincere in saying that I look upon some of your late pieces as the finest I have ever read. . . . Upon reading these compositions I felt that necessity of our being friends. Will you accept my proffer of friendship?[41]

Poe closed the letter by asking Chivers if he would be willing to become his partner in the venture of founding a magazine.

It is perhaps possible to be too cynical concerning this communication. Poe was faring poorly financially, and Chivers, who came to greatly admire Poe, was a faithful, if distant and uninfluential friend. Cut off from daily contact with writers and editors that he had enjoyed at Graham's offices, Poe began to pay more heed to his correspondence. His letters reveal that he was engaged once again in vigorous pursuit of his magazine project. If he could only obtain the funds, or the subscribers, then he could move ahead with the publication. The first hurdle, that of gaining the necessary support, was always the insurmountable one.

Chivers shied from providing financial encouragement, but he was delighted with Poe's "proffer of friendship," maintaining in reply that he had always thought Poe the best

---

[41]Ibid., p. 207.

critic in the country. He had been distressed when the "Autography" criticism had induced his friends to come "almost to the conclusion that they were not only mistaken, but I was a bad writer, and a fit subject for the Insane Hospital."[42] He would, he promised, obtain subscribers. While no funds were immediately forthcoming, Poe may have been encouraged by the news that Chivers was on his way south to settle his father's estate.[43]

Bryan was, if anything, an even more effusive correspondent. He managed in one letter of July 26 to expand on a number of sore subjects, including the recent fray in the Washington press involving Griswold. He suggested that Poe employ a traveling subscription agent for the "Penn," while admitting that the cost might prove prohibitive. On this head he could only say, "Ah Curse that cruel peace-destroying hag poverty! How she casts her withering blight upon the fairest hopes of the sons of Genius!--"[44] The matter of Bryan's missing poems, which Poe darkly hinted had been purloined from Graham's offices, was subject of recurring concern. Bryan had recommended on July 11 that "the person opening them, was guilty of an act of baseness, for which he deserves to have his ears but off. . . ."[45]

---

[42]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 416.

[43]Ibid., p. 417.

[44]Ibid., p. 420.

[45]Ibid., p. 415.

Poe was embroiled in more than one form of difficulty. An unfortunate event occurred during his June excursion to New York City, where he had evidently fallen into deep trouble. It was difficult for him to make any journey away from his family without "spreeing." The prospect of being away from the immediate cares of home must, at this time, have added a double inducement to enjoy himself. He evidently met with the Kentuckian poet William Ross Wallace, then residing in New York City, and imbibed some juleps prior to calling upon H.G. Langley, editor of the Democratic Review. The purpose of the visit was to offer Langley a stinging review of the poetry of Rufus Dawes, and Poe evidently appeared much the worse for wear. Once he had returned to Philadelphia he was chagrined enough to write:

> Will you be kind enough to put the best possible interpretation upon my behavior while in N-York? You must have conceived a queer idea of me--but the simple truth is that Wallace would insist upon the juleps, and I knew not what I was either doing or saying. The Review of Dawes which I offered you was deficient in a ½ page of commencement, which I had written to supercede the old beginning, and which gave the article the character of a general & retrospective review. No wonder you did not take it. . . .[46]

Evidently Mrs. Clemm and Virginia, who of course was still ailing, were apprehensive about this excursion. Mrs. Elizabeth Tutt, Poe's first cousin, had sent a recipe for

---

[46]Ostrom, Letters, 2: 698-699. Langley did not take it on second perusal either. It eventually appeared in the October, 1842 number of Graham's Gentleman's Magazine.

Jew's beer which she thought might aid Virginia's condition. Poe had written to thank her on July 7, just after returning from New York, noting that the preparation "seemed to have the most instantaneous and miraculous effect. . . . About ten days ago, however, I was obliged to go to New York on business . . . she began to fret because she did not hear from me twice a day. . . . What it is to be pestered with a wife!"[47]

Throughout most of the summer, Frederick William Thomas was remarkable for his silence. Perhaps he was embarrassed over his inability to secure the promised appointment for Poe, who moved to resuscitate the correspondence by writing him on August 27. Complaining about Thomas's silence, Poe noted that he had been encouraged in his hopes since his friend James Herron had taken it upon himself to intercede with Robert Tyler. But, he admitted, "notwithstanding all this, I have my doubts."[48] He was despondent over the state of American literature, and as for Virginia's health, "I have scarcely a faint hope for her recovery."[49]

By mid-September Poe had moved his family to the

---

[47]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 209.

[48]Ibid., p. 210.

[49]Ibid.

Coates Street house near the Water Works,[50] and he announced the change of address to Thomas on the 12th, by which time his state of mind seems to have improved. Poe casually noted that should the Customs House appointment fail to materialize, he had an offer from George G. Foster, editor of the New York Aurura, to go in with him on a magazine. This is the only mention Poe made in his surviving correspondence of such an offer, and it is possible that optimism led him to exaggerate. In fact, he was depending quite substantially on the Customs House appointment, as the acuity of his disappointment later demonstrated.[51] For this, he can hardly be blamed. On September 15 an announcement appeared in the United States Gazette to the effect that a new Collector of the Port, Thomas S. Smith, had been installed by President Tyler, and that eleven of the appointees under him had been turned out of office. It was inevitable that Poe should hope.[52]

In mid-September Thomas arrived in Philadelphia,

---

[50] Ibid., p. 211. McElroy's Philadelphia Register for 1843 carries the following entries: "Clemm, Mary, widow Coates n FM," and "Poe E.A., editor, Coates n FM." See pp. 49, 222. The dwelling was apparently destroyed by the construction of the Benjamin Franklin Parkway, and had been located near the junction of Fairmount Avenue (then Coates Street), and 25th Street. It was identified, many years after the fact, as having been Poe's residence, and listed by Mary Phillips as No. 2502 Fairmount Avenue. For this identification, which is not beyond question, see Phillips, Poe the Man, 2: 747-749.

[51] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 210-213.

[52] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 439.

probably, as far as Poe was concerned, unexpectedly. He made his way to Fairmount, and he left an account of his visit written before his own death in 1866. Of the several verbal portraits of Poe's life in Philadelphia that were composed after the fact, Thomas's has the greatest ring of authenticity. The tone of the reminiscence, which is quite different from the light-hearted letters he was writing in 1842, suggests that he was not immune from the pervasive tendency, following Poe's death, to view his life as a moral admonition. The recollection of the visit may also have been colored by Poe's subsequent visit to Washington in March 1843. For all of these qualifications it is an informative and detailed narrative.

Thomas found Poe living "in a rural home on the outskirts of the city. His house was small, but comfortable inside for one of the kind. The rooms looked neat and orderly, but everything about the place wore an air of pecuniary want."[53] This neat but threadbare aspect seems to have been typical of many of Poe's domestic situations. As he was not at this time regularly employed, things could have been particularly shabby. Thomas continued, "Although I arrived late in the morning Mrs. Clemm, Poe's mother-in-law, was busy preparing his breakfast. My presence possibly caused some confusion, but I noticed there was delay and evident

---

[53]Ibid., p. 442.

difficulty in preparing the meal."[54] Thomas describes the scene as if the reader is expected to read between the lines. He hints broadly at an impoverished household in domestic disarray, where even the relatively simple chore of preparing breakfast cannot be effectively undertaken, and where the head of the family lies about in bed until late hours. Poe kept Thomas waiting for some time:

> His wife entertained me. Her manners were agreeable and graceful. She had well formed, regular features, with the most expressive and intelligent eyes I ever beheld. Her pale complexion, the deep lines in her face and a consumptive cough made me regard her as a victim for an early grave. She and her mother showed much concern about Eddie, as they called Poe, and were anxious to have him secure work. I afterwards learned from Poe that he had been in New York in search of employment and had also made an effort to get out an edition of his tales, but was unsuccessful.[55]

A world of marginal precariousness is conveyed in this description. Domestic tragedy threatens, and professional failure has left its mark. Thomas, however, saves the worst for last:

> When Poe appeared his dark hair hung carelessly over his high forehead, and his dress was a little slovenly. He met me cordially, but was reserved, and complained of feeling unwell. His pathetic tenderness and loving manners toward his wife greatly impressed me. I was not long in observing with deep regret that he had fallen into the habits of intemperance. I ventured to remonstrate with him. He admitted yielding to temptation to drink while in New York and turned the subject off by telling an amusing dialogue of Lucian, the Greek

---

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

> writer. We visited the city together and had an engagement for the following day. I left him sober, but he did not keep the engagement and wrote me that he was ill.[56]

Again, Thomas's implications are clear. Poe, having taken almost the entire morning to rise, appears with a hangover. He does not arrange his clothes and his hair properly, even to greet one of his best friends. Thomas's damning diction does not have Poe dishevelled, or unkempt, but "slovenly," with its added presumption of uncleanliness. The ladies, one assumes, had withdrawn, so Thomas was able to broach the subject of his friend's drinking habits, apparently to no avail. When the hour came around for their meeting the next day, Poe never appeared. Thomas leaves his reader with the implication that he had, once again, indulged himself.

With the departure of summer, Poe began to appear again as the author of tales and critical pieces. Purchasers of The Gift for 1843 were doubtless startled to discover within its normally bland pages "The Pit and the Pendulum." Poe had probably written it over the summer, producing, as Mabbott observes, a ne plus ultra example of the sort of

---

[56]The narrative agrees with Poe's own correspondence on two principal points, the first being the frolic during the New York trip, mentioned in Poe's letter to H.G. Langley, and the second being the broken engagement. Poe was to meet Thomas at the Congress Hall Hotel, and apologized to him for missing the engagement in a letter of September 21, 1842, giving the reason that he had taken a chill. See Ostrom, Letters, 1: 213.

Blackwood's tale he had burlesqued in "A Predicament."[57] There are parallels with "Maelström" as well, for it is another of those tales in which the narrator engages his powers of observation and reasoning to escape one of the infernal devices imperiling his life. In its depiction of the mental state of a prisoner undergoing confinement and torture, the piece is strikingly modern.

The narrator, a prisoner of the Spanish Inquisition, is subjected to torments described as "moral torture," what we would know today as psychological torture. He is first left in a dungeon in total darkness, and only by accident escapes falling into a near-bottomless well at the center of the room. Having thus escaped, he is then bound and placed beneath an enormous pendulum equipped with a blade, which lowers upon him slowly, inch by inch, from the distant ceiling. The narrator is about to be bisected by this horrendous device when his rational powers revive and he devises a last minute escape. His incarcerators, however, have fiendish inventiveness to spare, and they have prepard for him the ultimate horror. He is about to be forced into the well by the contraction of the red-hot iron walls of his cell when he is saved by the timely arrival of General Lasalle and the

---

[57]Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 678-679.

French Army.[58]

Analysts, as might be expected, endow this tale with considerable psychological significance. The more strictly Freudian of them have discerned in it a dream involving castration. Patrick Quinn formulates a neat parallel with "Maelström," both tales being variations upon the fascination and horror of the abyss.[59] It is one of Poe's tales in which what he called "effect" is most perfectly achieved, and he succeeds through the careful arrangement of the circumstances of the tale (the narrator and the reader never encounter the torturers), in manipulating the emotions of the reader.

In July, 1842, Poe had offered a short piece entitled "The Landscape Garden" to H.G. Langley, editor of the Democratic Review. It was rejected, and Poe at length sold it to Snowden's Ladies' Companion for the sum of five dollars.[60] The piece, which was later retitled "The Domain of Arnheim," appeared in the October number. The tale discloses at least a passing interest in one of the more important aesthetic movements of the day, and it may have been inspired

---

[58]Considerable attention has heen lavished on the sources of this tale. See Mabbott, Collected Works, 2: 679-686, and Margaret B. Alterton, Origins of Poe's Critical Theory (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1925).

[59]Quinn, French Face, pp. 164-165.

[60]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 418.

by the appearance, in 1841, of Andrew J. Downing's influential work, A Trastise on the Theory and Practice of American Landscape Gardening.[61] The principal figure in the tale is one Ellison, a gifted man who upon inheriting a fortune of unparalleled immensity, arrives at the eccentric decision to devote it to a gargantuan project of landscape architecture. Poe uses Ellison to voice what appear to be his own views on the subject, which show his awareness of the prevailing taste of the 1840s.

The October number of Graham's Magazine carried Poe's much reworked review of the poetry of Rufus Dawes. It is assumed that the version, or versions, which had been rejected by Burton, Graham, and Langley were more strident than the one which at length appeared. Although it is an unquestionable condemnation of Dawes' work, it is not so virulent as the review of Mathew's "Wakondah" which had appeared the previous February. Poe had no reason to fear, however, that his reputation for harshness would be anything but enhanced. While bestowing modest praise on some of Dawes's lesser pieces, Poe expends most of his space in crucifying his epic poem "Geraldine," which he describes as "a simple embodiment of the whole soul of digression."[62] On the matter of Dawes's critical popularity, which mystified

---

[61]This is Mabbott's observation. See Collected Works, 2: 701.

[62]Graham's Gentleman's Magazine, 20 (October 1842), p. 206.

Poe, he concluded that it could only result from the fact that his poems had never been read.[63]

Poe appears to have recovered some of his energy and determination during the autumn, and began to approach Thomas Holley Chivers directly on the matter of support for his magazine. Chivers had encouraged him by sending a list of subscribers, and Poe was spurred by this to make a specific request. He wrote Chivers on September 27, stating that he needed $1,000 to undertake the venture, and adding, "I know no one with whom I would more readily enter into association than yourself."[64] He ended with the interesting disclosure that he expected, in return for occasional articles expressing support, to be graced with government patronage. Whether Poe was exaggerating this possibility or had actually received a promise is not known. Perhaps Thomas, during his recent visit, had made some intimation of support from Robert Tyler. In any case Poe's plans, as related to Chivers, were now quite specific. His first printing would be of 1,000 copies, and he estimated that the venture would not cost more than $3,000 a year to maintain. At five dollars a subscription, and allowing for one thousand initial subscribers, the project would produce $2,000 in profits the first year. He sanguinely estimated as well that there was no reason why the circulation

---

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 215.

should not rise to 50,000, as had Graham's.[65] If Poe had not revised his thinking as to the contents of the magazine, this was a wildly improbable projection.

Despite these enlivened expectations, Poe's immediate wants were pressing. He was constrained to write in early October to Robert Hamilton, editor of Snowden's, requesting payment for "The Landscape-Garden," and asking if he might repurchase "Marie Roget." Perhaps he had found a higher bidder of it, but there appear to have been other reasons why he was displeased with Snowden's.

> I see you have my Landscape-Garden in your last number--but, oh Jupiter! the typographical blunders. Have you been sick, or what is the matter?
>
> I wrote you, some time since, saying that if, upon the perusal of the "Mystery of Marie Roget," you found anything not precisely suited to your pages, I would gladly repurchase it; but, should you conclude to retain it, for God's sake contrive to send me the proofs; or, at all events read them yourself. Such errors as occur in the "Landscape-Garden" would completely ruin a tale such as "Marie Roget."[66]

Poe had an editor's fastidiousness about punctuation and grammar. The finished copies of his tales and poems are uniformly neat, penned with such clarity as to give no excuse for error on the part of compositors. He maintained this perfection even during periods of deepest personal difficulty, expending the same level of exacting care on his work.

---

[65] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 449.

[66] Ibid., p. 448.

Thomas's September visit, which found Poe in poor condition, may have occasioned an impulse to reform. To Hamilton, who had either been a witness to Poe's New York City spree, or who had heard about it, Poe wrote, "I am as straight as judges--somewhat more straight indeed than some of our Phil: dignitaries and, what is more, I intend to keep straight."[67] He seems to have been able to thrust aside temptation for the next few months; at least, there is no indication in surviving letters to the contrary.

Poe may have been reinforced in his resolution by his desire to obtain the appointment at the Customs House, and his expectations soared on this account. He wrote to John Tomlin on October 5, requesting subscribers for "The Penn" and asserting with some confidence that he expected to be appointed shortly. He would issue his first number of the magazine on January 1, 1843.[68]

His optimism was dampened when, in a fit of anxiety, he called on the new Collector, Thomas S. Smith three times in October and November, without receiving satisfaction.[69] On November 17, a list of appointees was published which included the name "Pogue." Confident that it was a misprint, Poe waited two days for a summons before presenting himself

---

[67] Ibid., p. 449.

[68] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 216-217.

[69] Ostrom, Letters, 2: 699-701.

expectantly on the 19th to Collector Smith. The exchange, as Poe reported it to Thomas, was hardly cordial:

> I asked him if he had no good news for me yet. He replied--"No, I am instructed to make no more removals." At this, being much astonished, I mentioned that I had heard, through a friend, from Mr. Rob. Tyler, that he was requested to appoint me. At these words he said roughly,--"From whom did you say?" I replied from Mr. Robert Tyler. I wish you could have seen the scoundrel--for scoundrel, my Dear Thomas in your private ear, he is --"From Robert Tyler!"says he--"hem! I have received orders from President Tyler to make no more apptS and shall make none."[70]

Poe, who evidently found the political complexities of the period to be mystifying, was astonished that Smith had acquired the post, in that he was said to be a Whig. The rebuff he received at Smith's hands was the culmination of a perplexing sequence of events, for his first interview with Smith, in October, had been more promising:

> I professed my willingness to postpone my claims to those of political claimants; but he told me, upon my first interview after the election, that if I would call on him on the fourth day he would swear me in. I called and he was not at home. On the next day I called again and saw him, when he told me that he would send a Messenger for me when ready:--[71]

Poe had waited for a month before inquiring again, when he received naught but the chilling phrase, "I will send for you Mr. Poe,"[72] but again impatience won out and he called again on the 19th, only to receive the final rebuff. Poe

---

[70]Ibid., p. 700. (N.B.: The version of this letter in Volume 1, pp. 218-219, is faulty.)

[71]Ibid.

[72]Ibid.

begged Thomas to see Robert Tyler, adding:

> Write soon & if possible relieve my suspense. You cannot imagine the trouble I am in, & have been in for the past 2 months--unable to enter into any literary arrangements--or in fact do anything--being in hourly expectation of getting the place.[73]

He concluded, "You have felt the misery of hope deferred & will feel for me."[74]

What was the cause of the granitic and unexpected resistance Poe encountered in the Customs House? It would seem that at some time between mid-October and mid-November, Smith had decided, either of his own volition or following instructions from above, to withhold the appointment from Poe.

In discussing Poe's rejection for the Custom's House appointment William H. Gravely has advanced the argument, which he himself characterizes as inconclusive, that Thomas Dunn English may have been at the bottom of Poe's failure. Initially President Tyler had given the collectorship of the Custom's House to Jonathan Roberts, an old Henry Clay partisan, who had made a number of appointments of men of doubtful party loyalty. Robert S. English, father of the young Philadelphia writer Thomas Dunn English, was a loyal Tyler man, and he had received an appointment under Roberts as a Customs House measurer. Gravely advances the speculation that the younger English, in order to preserve his father's

---

[73]Ibid., p. 701.

[74]Ibid., p. 701.

appointment, had opposed Poe's bid.[75] That there was at one time a slot ear-marked for Poe is clear from a note Thomas wrote on the back of the letter Poe had written him on May 25, 1842:

> I had been promised a place in the Philadelphia Custom House by the powers that were for Poe, but some small beer politician or other got the place and genius was left to its fate.[76]

It is possible that Robert S. English, whose son was then becoming a celebrity in Philadelphia's literary world, was the "small beer politician" in question. There is more evidence of English's connection with Poe's political misfortunes for the period of March and April 1843.[77]

Poe had been rebuffed, and he was now compelled to turn his attention to other affairs. He did not hear from Thomas again until early February, and until then the matter of a political post lay fallow. Poe, however, kept a variety of irons in the fire. The first of the three installments of "Marie Roget" began to appear in the November Snowden's, and in the same month his review of Griswold's Poets and Poetry appeared in the Boston Miscellany. The review was

---

[75] William H. Gravely, Jr., "Poe and Thomas Dunn English: More Light on a Probable Reason for Poe's Failure to Receive a Custom-House Appointment," Papers on Poe, ed. by Richard P. Veler (Springfield, Ohio: Chantry Music Press, Inc., 1972), pp. 165-193.

[76] Ibid., p. 173.

[77] The substance of Gravely's evidence is discussed with respect to Poe's Washington trip of March, 1843.

seen to be a favorable one, despite Poe's face-saving assertions to the countrary, and it did not hurt Griswold, who was riding the crest of success. He had proven invaluable to Graham, as he had attracted Longfellow, Bryant and other first ranking authors to the pages of the magazine. These luminaries were paid fifty dollars for each submission, while Lowell received twenty-five dollars a poem.[78] The financial rewards for Graham were substantial. By November he had moved to back Charles Peterson in his first publishing venture, an extension of Graham's own burgeoning empire, the Ladies' World of Fashion. It was designed to compete directly with Godey's Ladies' Book. Peterson declared, "We think be can, with the two periodicals, meet every taste."[79]

Poe had learned, before his final interview with Collector Smith, that James Russell Lowell had laid plans for his own literary magazine, one designed on lines similar to Poe's. On November 16 Poe wrote to Lowell, offering his services as a regular contributor, on whatever terms Lowell would specify. The New England poet replied almost immediately, praising Poe as "almost the only fearless American critic," and expressing his delight in having secured Poe's services for his magazine, to be called The Pioneer. He solicited whatever pieces Poe had immediately at had, but

---

[78] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 479.

[79] Ibid., p. 461, and also p. 478.

cautioned that he would not publish a piece along the lines of the recent critique of Rufus Dawes, "who, although I think with you is a bad poet, has yet I doubt not tender feelings as a man which I would be chary of wounding."[80] Poe gave him "The Tell-Tale Heart," for a promise of ten dollars.[81]

Beyond this bright prospect, November was in several respects a disappointing month for Poe. On the 18th, with two further installments of "Marie Roget" still in press, the New York Tribune announced the solution of the Mary Rogers case, disclosing that the cigar girl had died as the result of an illegal abortion. Although the Spirit of the Times carried on November 21 a declaration from a New York magistrate which denied the truth of the report, the unexpected disclosure threatened to embarrass Poe. Although he would not receive the letter until much later, more misfortune loomed when Charles Dickens wrote him on the 27th, apologizing for his failure to find an English publisher for Poe's work. While he wrote that he was "at all times prepared to forward your views in this country if I can," he admitted twenty years later in a letter to James McCarroll, "I never in my life succeeded in inducing any publisher to accept a book on

---

[80] Ibid., p. 473.

[81] Ibid. Lowell promised a more substantial fee when the magazine was on its feet.

my recommendation."[82]

"The Tell-Tale Heart" was gathering dust in the office of Henry T. Tuckerman, editor of the Boston Miscellany, who had declined to publish it. Lowell retrieved it for the first number of The Pioneer. Poe had described Tuckerman in his "Autography" series as "insufferably tedious and dull,"[83] which may have had something to do with the rejection. Lowell sold a poem to Graham for ten dollars (his fees had not as yet gone up), which he requested Peterson to turn over to Poe in payment for "Tell-Tale Heart." Poe probably did not receive it until after the beginning of the new year. On Christmas day he wrote to Lowell, thanking him for salvaging the tale, appending the barb, "Should he [Tuckerman], at any time, accept an effusion of mine, I should ask myself what twattle I had been perpetrating, so flat as to come within the scope of his approbation."[84] He included with this letter a poem, probably "Lenore," for The Pioneer.

Poe's tale appeared in the first number of what otherwise was a rather dreary production. Lowell's magazine

---

[82]Madeline House, et al., eds., The Letters of Charles Dickens, vol. 3, 1842-1843 (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 385. The letter to McCarroll is in Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 477.

Dickens had apparently written to Edward Moxon on the matter, but the publisher declined Poe's work. House, Letters of Charles Dickens, 3: 375.

[83]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 484.

[84]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 320.

was aimed toward the intelligensia, and it was laced with articles which all but the most committed reader would have found tedious. It was stuffed with such things as Lowell's critique of Thomas Middleton's plays, and a learned retrospective on Beethoven's symphonies. Nathaniel P. Willis, reviewing the magazine in Brother Jonathan (January 7, 1843), declared that "Mr. Poe's contribution is very wild and very readable, and that is the only thing in the number that most people would read and remember."[85] This propensity for dullness, together with pressing financial problems, doomed The Pioneer to an early demise. Poe, however, is thought to be the author of a favorable review which appeared in a new Philadelphia paper, the Saturday Museum, edited by one Thomas C. Clark.[86]

"The Tell-Tale Heart" is a deft exposition of criminal insanity and crime foiled by conscience. Poe had dealt with the theme from a different perspective in "William Wilson," and he would again, in "The Imp of the Perverse." Mabbott observed that "it preserves the unities completely,"[87] and indeed it is a seamless narrative from start to finish. The narrator, who is indisputably mad, is obsessed with the deformed and vulture-like eye of his aging benefactor, and contrives to murder him. He has just completed the grisly

[85]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 491.

[86]Ibid., pp. 488-489.

[87]Mabbott, Collected Works, 3: 789.

dismemberment of the corpse and concealed the remains beneath the floor when he is visited by the police, who are answering a complaint. The narrator suavely entertains them until he hears, or imagines he hears, the thudding heartbeat of his victim emanating from the planking, and is driven to confession.

The riveting circumstances of the filmy, pale-blue eye and the betraying heartbeat have invited a quantity of interpretations. Most critics perceive the old man's eye to have been a deformed one, the hideous nature of which was exxagerated by the narrator's failing sanity.[88] The heartbeat that drives him to confession is probably his own, the sound amplified by the exaggerated sensual perceptions with which he, like several others of Poe's characters, is afflicted.

Thomas O. Mabbott, following Gunnar Bjurman, traces the murder sequence to a well-publicized crime that occurred in Massachusetts in 1830. Daniel Webster prosecuted the case, and his Argument, published in 1830, contained a dramatic rendering of the killing, and Poe may well have been familiar with it.[89] Henry T. Tuckerman was not alone in finding the tale too lurid for his taste. (It was probably Tuckerman who commented, "If Mr. Poe would condescend to furnish more quiet articles, he would be a most desirable correspondent.")[90]

[88] Ibid., pp. 789-790.

[89] Ibid., p. 791.

[90] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 484.

A review in the New-York Daily Tribune, which Poe attributed to Horace Greeley, described the story as "a strong and skillful, but to our minds overstrained and repulsive, analysis of the feelings and promptings of an insane homicide."[91]

At the beginning of 1843 Poe appears to have become more actively interested in the Philadelphia literary scene. One of the local blades with whom he fell in was Henry Beck Hirst, a young poet whom he might have met as early as his association with Burton. Hirst was evidently known as a flamboyant character, being short in stature, conspicuous for his red hair, and like his friend Thomas Dunn English, vain.[92] Both Hirst and English were poets of decidedly mediocre quality, but they were nonetheless celebrities in Philadelphia's rather tight literary circle. Poe probably saw both men frequently, but as they seldom corresponded but little is known of their friendships. In 1842, both Hirst and English had been savagely sent up by another young writer, George Lippard, in a running satire in the Spirit of the Times. "The Bread Crust Papers" dealt with the inane escapades of "Henry Bread Crust" and "Thomas Done Brown," and the series prospered. Poe's association with Hirst, whose work he can hardly have admired, evidently became fairly close

---

[91] Ibid., p. 493.

[92] Ibid., pp. 809-816.

from the spring of 1843.[93]

It was during the same period that Poe became acquainted with the publisher of the freshly-minted Saturday Museum, Thomas Cotrell Clarke. Clarke was forty-two years of age in 1843, and an experienced publisher. Between 1821 and 1826 he had edited the Saturday Evening Post, and was later associated with the Saturday Courier and with other papers. How he met Poe is uncertain, but by late January, 1843, Poe had Clarke's promise of support for his magazine, now to be retitled "The Stylus." On January 31, Poe and Clarke signed a contract, witnessed by Hirst, binding the noted illustrator Felix O.C. Darley to furnish illustrations for the new publication.[94]

From January into March, Poe rode a rising crest of good fortune. His name was before the public, not only with the "Tell-Tale Heart" but also with "The Conqueror Worm," published in the January number of Graham's, and the second and third installments of "Marie Roget" in the January and February Snowden's Ladies Companion. "Lenore" appeared in the February Pioneer. "The Conqueror Worm" was attacked during Poe's lifetime for its "morbidity," yet most critics find with Mabbott that it is "unsurpassed for its power and pessimism."[95] Poe had turned triumphantly to poetry once

[93] Ibid., pp. 353-357.

[94] Ibid., p. 499.

[95] Mabbott, Collected Works, 1: 323.

more with this and with "Lenore," which was one of those pieces which evolved as Poe worked repeatedly upon it. "Lenore" is a reworking of "A Paean," which had appeared in 1831. The form in which it had appeared in The Pioneer is generally considered to be superior to further reworkings of 1844 and later.[96] Poe was evidently never fully satisfied with it, and could not let it rest.

Thomas Cotrell Clarke, Henry B. Hirst, and Poe seemed to have formed a close association in 1843, as is suggested by several articles and announcements in Clarke's Saturday Museum. For a while it appeared that Poe had attached himself to a man who was similar in many respects to George R. Graham, but who would be more forthcoming with support for his magazine. Poe seems to have been more consistently productive and stable when sheltered by a protector in the guise of a publisher, but he invariably broke away from their stern influences after a relatively short period. The length of the association often depended upon the patience and forbearance of the employer or associate in question. Now Poe was encountering yet another publishing entrepreneur. Like his predecessors, Clarke was evidently intrigued with Poe. The outcome of this relationship was as unnecessarily sad as any of Poe's failures to secure a lasting professional alliance.

---

[96]For the complex odyssey of this poem, see Mabbott, Collected Works, 1: 330-339.

On January 28 a critique of Griswold's Poets and Poetry in America by Henry B. Hirst appeared in the columns of the Saturday Museum. This lengthy diatribe gives evidence of Poe's influence. It scores Griswold for want of taste, as suggested by certain omissions. The list of those named points to Poe as an instigator of the article. Hirst bore down on Griswold for omitting Robert Tyler, whose "Ahasuerus" had rendered him a poet of some popularity, and Frederick William Thomas, only one of whose poems had been included. The reviewer noted that he had "been written to, and his 'biography and best articles' solicited. . . ,"[97] a piece of knowledge which it is likely that only Poe had possessed. Poe might have been glad of the opportunity to tackle Griswold indirectly, especially as he still published occasionally in the pages of Graham's. Griswold's resentment for Poe may have been heightened by the article, especially as it occurred during a period of daunting personal misfortunes. By this time Griswold knew himself to be a victim of what was then known as consumption, and he was far from optimistic about his future. Then, on November 9, 1842, his wife of five years died in childbirth, together with her infant son.[98] Griswold was distraught by this double domestic tragedy, and at the end of December he did something, which if his own

[97] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 496.

[98] Ibid., pp. 458-459.

account of it may be credited, casts a dubious light upon his mental condition. In his own description of the incident, he behaved precisely as if he were the narrator of one of Poe's necrophilic tales:

> In a fit of madness I went to New York. The vault where she [his wife] is sleeping is nine miles from the city. I went to it: the sexton unclosed it: and I went down alone into the silent chamber. I kneeled by her side and prayed, and then, with my own hand, unfastened the coffin lid, turned aside the drapery that hid her face, and saw the terrible changes made by Death and Time. I kissed for the last time her cold black forehead--I cut off the locks of her beautiful hair, damp with the death dews, and sunk down in senseless agony beside the ruin of all that was dearest in the world. In the evening, a friend from the city, who had learned where I had gone, found me there, my face still resting on her own, and my body as lifeless and cold as that before me.[99]

That this gruesome narrative is self-consciously literary should enhance the similarity between the incident and the sort of fiction from which it may have proceeded. The only circumstance separating it from some of Poe's tales is that the corpse fails to revive. One thinks immediately of the narrator willing Ligeia back to life, of "Morella," of "Berenice."

For Poe, many of the impediments which had thwarted his plans over the last three years now seemed to fall away. Vistas of new opportunity opened through his friendship with Clarke and Hirst. The tangible evidence of this was the contract signed with Darley, and it now seemed that Poe had at last found a backer for the magazine, renamed "The Stylus."[100] He was now before the public in a variety of

---

[99]Extract of a letter from Griswold to Henry Dana, Sr., 6 March 1843, Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 486.

[100]Ibid., p. 499.

vehicles. "Marie Roget" was concluding in Snowden's. "Lenore" appeared, with Hawthorne's "The Hall of Fantasy," in the second number of The Pioneer, and the March Graham's, out by mid-February carried Poe's scathing critique of the poetry of Thomas Ward of New York City. In addition, on the front page of the February 25 issue of the Saturday Museum, was part two of its "Poets and Poetry of Philadelphia" series, entitled "Edgar Allan Poe." The biographical sketch and the accompanying portrait of Poe proved sufficiently popular to result in a reprint on March 4. Of the likeness, Poe commented to Thomas, "I am ugly enough God knows, but not quite so bad as that."[101] The article was noticed and excerpted in a number of papers from Boston to Baltimore. The Spirit of the Times pronounced, "We look upon Mr. Poe as one of the most powerful, chaste, and erudite writers of the day. . . ."[102]

On the appearance of the article Poe sent a copy to Thomas, who had originally agreed to write the biographical sketch, but had then demurred. He cited the burdens of his office, with Congress in session, as allowing insufficient time to do the job. Years later, Thomas claimed to have purposely evaded the chore, as Poe had evidently sent him some ludicrously fanciful details for inclusion, and Thomas may have been embarrassed to append his name to so obvious a

---

[101] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 223.

[102] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 510.

fraud.[103] The article, written at length by Hirst, was the source of some stubbornly long-lived bits of fantasy about Poe, including supposed visits to Greece and Russia, the concurrent death of his parents while they were visiting Richmond, and his supposed return from abroad the evening following Mrs. Allan's interment. The article is important in that the poems published include some significant revisions.

The March 4 issue of the Saturday Museum also included two announcements of moment; Poe was said to be the new assistant editor of the paper, and he was to be editor as well of the new journal called "The Stylus," published by Clarke and Poe. "The Stylus" would come out with one hundred royal octavo columns per month, single column, otherwise it would resemble "The Penn" in content. It would be issued first in July, 1843.[105] Poe, thus far, had succeeded far better with Clarke than he had with Graham, for he had induced the publisher to state his intentions in print.

To Thomas, who had written Poe on February 1 with an invitation to visit him in Washington, Poe wrote:

> I have managed, at last, to secure, I think, the great object--a partner possessing ample capital, and, at the same time, so little self-esteem, as to allow me entire control of the editorial conduct.[106]

---

[103] Ibid., pp. 500-502.

[104] Quinn, Poe, pp. 373-374.

[105] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 517-518.

[106] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 224.

Poe claimed to have half-interest in the venture. Clarke would supply funds for business expenses; Poe would be responsible for the content. "This will puzzle me no little, but I must do my best--write as much as possible myself, under my own name and pseudonyms, and hope for the casual aid of my friends, until the first stage of infancy is surpassed."[107]

Not all the news of this period, however, was heartening. Lowell had been stricken with an alarming eye disease. In sending his manuscript of "Notes on English Verse" to Lowell's partner Robert Carter, Poe expressed his concern:

> What you tell me of Mr Lowell's health, grieves me most sincerely--but we will hope for the best. Diseases of an opthamolic character, are, by no means, so intractable now, as they were a few years ago. When you write, remember me kindly to him.[108]

Carter and Lowell, however, were badly in debt, and The Pioneer failed with its March number, which carried Poe's final submission. On March 7, Poe was constrained to ask Carter to forward him the thirty dollars owing him for his contributions, so that he might journey immediately to Washington.[109]

When after a silence of several months Thomas had written to Poe on February 1, he raised anew the matter of

---

[107] Ibid., p. 225.

[108] Ibid., p. 223.

[109] Ibid., pp. 225-226.

a government post. He claimed to have been waiting for Collector Smith to be ejected from office by an ireful Congress, an event which had appeared to be a near-certainty. Apparently Poe had renewed the discussion of an appointment in a letter now lost, and had voiced his intention to travel to Washington to further his cause. Thomas encouraged him to come. He was then living in bachelor's quarters at the popular Fuller's Hotel, where Poe might find him.[110]

On March 3 the long-expected event occurred and Congress replaced Thomas S. Smith with Calvin Blythe, the old Collector of the Port of Philadelphia under the Van Buren administration. Poe perceived that the time was ripe for his visit, and he also saw that he might be able to advance his fortunes on two fronts. He would seek an appointment, with Thomas's help, under Blythe, and would solicit patronage and subscriptions for "The Stylus." Poe was at last approaching the center of political power, and he would be exposed, as he never had been before, to the scrutiny of some of the loftiest political figures in the country. It was an opportunity replete with potential equally for success and for disaster.

Poe arrived in Washington on March 8, where he found Thomas confined to his bed at Fuller's Hotel, convalescing from a fever. This left Poe to his own devices, and when he went off on his own Thomas provided him with a letter of

---

[110]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 517-518.

introduction to Robert Tyler which read in part:

> I would have presented Poe in person to you, but I have been confined to bed for the last week with congestive fever, and am covered all over with the marks of cupping and blistering and am not able to go out, though I am convalescing.--When you are down town do call and see me--I feel lonely as a cat in a strange garret.[111]

It is doubtful if Poe managed to see Tyler in the formal context of the executive mansion.

What we know of the trip can be pieced together from Poe's correspondence, and letters from his friends Thomas and Dow, for whom he was a trial almost from the moment of his arrival. Poe became publicly intoxicated on his first night at Fuller's. He managed subsequently to make himself troublesome to Jesse Dow and his wife. During a spree of several days in duration he insulted several acquaintances, most notably Thomas, and perhaps Thomas Dunn English.[112] On his third full day in Washington he wrote a frenzied and less than coherent letter to Clarke, the writing of which is uncharacteristically blotched and clumsy. Plainly he was in a bad state. His letter to Clarke is quoted here in full, as published by John Ostrom:

> My Dear Sir,
>
> I write merely to inform you of my ill-doing--for, so far, I have done nothing. My friend Thomas, upon whom I depended, is sick, I suppose he will be well in a few days. In the meantime, I have to do the best I can. I have not seen the President yet.

---

[111] Ibid., p. 526.

[112] Quinn, Poe, p. 378.

> My expenses were more than I thought they would be, although I have economised in every respect, and this delay ([Thomas?] being sick) puts me out sadly. However all is going right. I have got the subscriptions of all the Departments--President, [illegible] &c I believe that I am making a sensation which will tend to the benefit of the Magazine.
>
> Day [after] to-morrow I am to lecture.
>
> Rob. Tyler is to give me an article--also Upshur.
>
> Send me $10 by mail, as soon as you get this. I am grieved to ask you for money, in this way.--but you will find your account in it--twice over.
>
> Very truely yours
>
> Edgar A. Poe 113

Poe was certainly creating a "sensation," as Clarke must have feared upon receipt of this letter. He followed his spree by becoming severely ill. Thomas, who was still convalescent, and Dow were evidently at a loss. They determined that the kindest thing they could do would be to get Poe out of Washington and back to safe harbor in Philadelphia, as soon as he was fit to travel. How to make sure that he arrived without incident at his destination, however, put them in a quandary. Dow took the decisive step, and wrote to Clarke. It was a well-meant missive, which read in part:

> He arrived here a few days since. On the first evening he seemed somewhat excited, having been over-persuaded to take some Port wine.
>
> On the second day he kept pretty steady, but since then he has been, at intervals, quite unreliable.
>
> He exposes himself here to those who may injure him very much with the President, and thus prevents us from doing for him what we can if he is himself again in Philadelphia. He does not understand the ways of politicians, nor the manner of dealing with them to

---

[113] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 227.

advantage. How should he?

Mr. Thomas is not quite well and cannot go home with Mr. P. My business and the health of my family will prevent me from so doing.

Under all the circumstances of the case, I think it advisable that you come on and see him safely back to his home. Mrs. Poe is in a bad state of health, and I charge you, as you have a soul to be saved, to say not one word to her about him until he arrives with you. I shall expect you or an answer to this letter by return mail. Should you not come, we will see him on board the cars bound for Phila., but we fear he may be detained in Baltimore and not out of harm's way.[114]

Jesse Dow probably did not know that Clarke was a confirmed temperance man, and that he would very probably receive the letter with shock and disillusionment. Clarke could not, or would not, go to Washington, however. On March 15, when Poe was well enough to travel, he left by himself for Philadelphia. Mrs. Clemm had been alerted that he was coming, and she met him at the station. The next day Poe wrote a letter to Thomas and Dow describing his journey, and putting as good a face as possible on what had been a disastrous affair:

My Dear Thomas, & Dow

I arrive here, in perfect safety, and sober, about half past four last evening--nothing occurring on the road of any consequence. I shaved and breakfasted in Baltimore and lunched on the Susquehannah, and by the time I got to Phil[a] felt quite decent. Mr[s] Clemm was expecting me at the car-office. I went immediately home, took a warm bath & supper & went to Clarke's. I never saw a man more surprised in my life to see another. He thought by Dow's epistle that I must not only be dead but buried & would as soon have thought of seeing his great-great-great grandmother. He received me, therefore, very

---

[114]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 531.

cordially & made light of the matter. I told him what had been agreed upon--that I was a little sick & that Dow, knowing I had been, in times past, given to spreeing upon an extensive scale, had become unduly alarmed &c&c.--that when I found he had written I thought it best to come home. He said my trip had improved me & that he had never seen me looking so well!!!--and I don't believe I ever did.

This morning I took medicine, and, as it is a snowy day, will avail myself of the excuse to stay home--so that by tomorrow I shall be really as well as ever.

Virginia's health is about the same--but her distress of mind has been even more than I had anticipated. She desires her kindest remembrances to both of you--as also does Mr^{s} C.

Clarke, it appears, wrote to Dow, who must have received the letter this morning. Please re-inclose the letter to me, here--so that I may know how to guide myself.--and, Thomas, do write immediately as proposed. If possible, enclose a line from Rob. Tyler--but I fear, under the circumstances, it is not so--I blame no one but myself.

The letter which I looked for & which I wished returned, is not on its way--reason, no money forthcoming--Lowell had not yet sent it--he is ill in N. York of opthalmia. Immediately upon receipt of it, or before, I will forward the money you were both so kind as to lend--which is 8 to Dow--and 3½ to Thomas--What a confounded business I have got myself into, attempting to write a letter to two people at once!

However--this for Dow. My deal fellow--Thank you a thousand times for your kindness & great forbearance, and don't say a word about the cloak turned inside out, or other peccadilloes of that nature. Also, express to your wife my deep regret for the vexation I must have occasioned her. Send me, also if you can the letter to Blythe. Call, also, at the barber's shop just above Fuller's and pay for me a levy which I believe I owe. And now God bless you--for a nobler fellow never lived.

And this for Thomas. My dear friend. Forgive my petulance & don't believe I think all I said. Believe me I am very grateful to you for your many attentions and forbearances--and the time will never come when I forget either them or you. Remember me most kindly to Dr Lacey--also to the Don, whose mustachios I do admire after all, and who has about the finest figure I ever beheld--also to Dr Frailey. Please express my regret to Mr Fuller for making such a fool of myself in his house, and say to him (if you think it necessary) that I should not have

got half so drunk on his excellent port wine but for the rummy coffee with which I was forced to wash it down. I would be glad, too, if you would take an opportunity of saying to Mr Rob. Tyler that if he can look over matters & get me the Inspectorship, I will join the Washingtonians forthwith. I am as serious as a judge--& much so than many. I think it would be a feather in Mr Tyler's cap to save fr[om] the perils of mint julap--&"Port wines"--a young man of whom all the world thinks so well & who thinks so remarkably well of himself.

And now, my dear friends, good bye & believe me

Most Truly Yours.

Edgar A. Poe[115]

Poe was quite evidently in an agony of embarrassment and remorse, compounded with worry over Clarke's probable reaction to his escapade. Before leaving Washington, he, Thomas, and Dow had come up with a rather flimsy plan to quiet Clarke's apprehensions. Thomas found this sad letter sufficiently pitiable to write a paragraph of explanation on its referse side. He noted that it took remarkably little alcohol to intoxicate Poe, and that it invariably made him ill. "His was one of those temperaments whose only safety is in total abstinence. . . . And, moreover, there is a great deal of heartache in the jestings of this letter."[116] There seems to have been a good deal of heartache all the way around. Dow probably regretted having to write his damning letter to Clarke, but his reason for having done so was plain enough. He had told Clarke:

---

[115]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 228-230.

[116]Quinn, Poe, p. 381.

> I do this under a solemn responsibility. Mr. Poe has the highest order of intellect, and I cannot bear that he should be the sport of senseless creatures who, like oysters, keep sober, and gape and swallow everything.[117]

Dow and Thomas had apparently attempted to impress upon their friend the necessity of doing something decisive about forswearing alcohol, and had evidently suggested joining the Washingtonians. The temperance movement had gained ground during the 1830s in the wake of the evangelical reform climate of the era. The conspicuous consumption of vast quantities of cheap and easily obtained spirits was a commonplace of American society, and foreign visitors arriving in the 1820s, '30s and '40s seldom failed to remark upon it.[118] Until 1840, the temperance movement had been dominated by abstainers committed to keeping the uninitiated out of the toils of inebriating substances. The Washingtonian movement was sired by the Washington Temperance Society formed in Baltimore in 1840, and it was founded by drinkers for drinkers. Focusing its organizational energy toward the reform of drunkards, it had a militancy which was new to the temperance movement. The Washingtonian program engendered widespread interest almost immediately. Evangelical in tone and method, by late 1841 it had attracted 23,000 members in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. By late 1843 they claimed a general membership, from signed pledges, of 600,000,

---

[117] Ibid., p. 378.

[118] Pessen, Jacksonian America, p. 24.

and although there was probably much reversion, the organization doubtless reclaimed many alcoholics.[119] Poe evidently never brought himself to the point where he could "take the pledge."

The consequences of Poe's trip to Washington were irreparable. Although Arthur H. Quinn states that "Clarke seems not to have been unduly disturbed by the incident . . ."[120] the affair must have at very least engendered second thoughts in the mind of the publisher. Poe did not yet know it, but "The Stylus" was not to be. On March 16 the new Collector of the Port, Clavin Blythe, arrived in Philadelphia, as reported by the Spirit of the Times. The scarcity of work induced thousands to apply for vacancies at the Customs House. Only a very few of these hopeful applicants found births, and Edgar Allan Poe was not one of them.[121]

---

[119]Alice Felt Tyler, Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History to 1860 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944), pp. 338-341.

[120]Quinn, Poe, p. 381.

[121]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 537.

Part I, Chapter IX

"HE CARRIES A TOMAHAWK--DOES POE"

The demise of "The Stylus" was not immediately born upon Poe as he did not acknowledge the project to be postponed until summer. The withdrawal of Clarke's support, however, was the decisive factor.[1] Poe meanwhile attempted to carry on as if nothing of consequence had occurred. Thomas, who so often in his letters dodged the cold truth in the interest of kindness, encouraged Poe in this. In an attempt to make light of Dow's damning letter to Clarke, Thomas explained, "Our friend Dow, you know, is an imaginative man, and he thought that you, as we say in the West, had 'broken for high timer'--I have had a hearty laugh at him for his fears."[2] Thomas compounded this well-meaning but perhaps too salving effort to allay Poe's anxiety by adding:

> . . . the President, yesterday, asked me many questions about you, and spoke of you kindly. John Tyler, who was by, told the President that he wished he would give you an office in Philadelphia, and before he could reply a servant entered and called him out. John had heard of your frolic from a man who saw you in it, but I made light of the matter when he mentioned it to me; and he

---

[1] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 234. In a letter to James Russell Lowell, Poe blamed the demise of "The Stylus" project on "the imbicility, or rather through the idiocy of my partner. . . ."

[2] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 541.

> seemed to think nothing of it himself. He seems to feel a deep interest in you. Robert was not by. I feel satisfied that I can get something from his pen for your magazine.[3]

Thomas's confident pronouncements about what he could do on Poe's behalf may have begun to ring false, even to Poe. Their correspondence dropped off and did not resume until September 8, 1844. Thomas's well-meaning intentions outpaced his ability to accomplish them, for he was, after all, dependent on Presidential patronage himself. Thomas's recollections of Poe, penned after his friend's death, are markedly more sober in tone than his correspondence, and they give evidence of harbored reservations, at least in retrospect, about Poe's character.[4]

The resiliency Poe repeatedly exhibited in the face of personal disaster or disgrace once again prevailed. Writing was for Poe a regenerative activity, and it was something that no one had to tell him he could do well. About the time of the Washington trip he was at work on a new tale, "The Gold Bug," completed by March 29. He had sold it to Graham for fifty-two dollars, an unusually large sum,[5] but

---

[3]Ibid., p. 541. John Tyler was the President's second son.

[4]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 262; and James H. Whitty, The Complete Poems of Edgar Allan Poe (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), pp. xxxi-xxxv, xliii-xlix. Whitty quotes Thomas's memoir of Poe.

[5]Poe had offered "Marie Roget" to the Boston Notion for $50, and it was rejected. George R. Graham typically paid his authors two to twelve dollars a page, but in May, 1844, Poe agreed to write for The Opal, a gift book, for as little as fifty cents a page. See Quinn, Poe, pp. 341, 357, 417-418.

residence. For those who could afford them, cabs were available for hire throughout the area. The Poe family lived a half block from the teeming Spring Garden Street Market, where provisions of every description could be purchased. The neighborhood was populated by merchants and skilled artisans, and Spring Garden Street was lined with shops, offices, cab and omnibus stands, residences, and taverns. Market arcades extended along the center of the one hundred and twenty-foot wide thoroughfare.[9]

The southeastern corner of Spring Garden had developed intensively during the previous decade. The few vacant lots which remained were subdividing and filling rapidly. Merchants, tradesmen, artisans, dealers, and clerks who worked in the old city south of Vine Street found this a convenient residential district substantially less expensive than the residential streets closer to the center of the city. Building, which was now occurring most intensively on 10th Street and to the west, and north of Coates Street, had been slowed but certainly not stifled by the economic troubles following the Panic of 1837. It was also an area in which a merchant or tradesman with some extra capital could profit from investment in real estate. (See Part I, Chapters 2 and 3.)

When Poe moved to 7th Street he was earning occasional

---

[9]See Part I, Chapter 2.

retrieved it to enter it in a hundred dollar prize competition announced by the Dollar Newspaper.[6] It was another of Poe's tales of ratiocination, this time not involving the sensationalism of a murder but rather the allure of treasure. The hero William Legrand employs his ability to decipher the instructions of a coded message disclosing the location of a hoard of treasure buried by Captain Kidd. It was a tale destined to attract a wide popular audience.

Sometime before June 20, 1843, Poe had moved from his Coates Street house to 234 North Seventh Street, in Spring Garden's Fourth Ward.[7] The move was accomplished after September, 1842, when Thomas had visited Poe "in a rural home on the outskirts of the city."[8] The new location, in the dense, residential southeastern corner of the district, was anything but rural. The new house, containing seven rooms, was in an infinitely more convenient location, being but a twenty-five minute walk from the publishing offices on Dock Street and the United States Post Office in the Merchants' Exchange at 3rd and Walnut Streets. Omnibuses traversed the route, and there was an omnibus stand at 8th and Spring Garden, not quite two blocks from Poe's new

---

[6]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 544.

[7]Poe mentioned his move in a letter to James Russell Lowell. Ostrom, Letters, 1: 234.

[8]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 442.

sums by selling his critical pieces and tales. Mrs. Clemm, as has been suggested, may have supplemented the family income by sewing or by renting out one of their rooms.[11] At first their means of support certainly were slim.[12]

Poe was not alone in his financial misfortunes. James Russell Lowell had contracted an eye ailment which threatened his sight and precluded any literary work. He had launched The Pioneer on a shoe-string, and its stolidly lofty content, only partially enlivened by contributions from Hawthorne and Poe, hastened it to an early demise.[13] The thirty dollars which Poe had requested from Lowell prior to his Washington excursion had never arrived. On March 24 Lowell wrote in explanation, and disclosed that his magazine was "ruined" and that he was at least $1,800 in debt. His recovery from the eye disease was proving painfully slow, and he informed Poe that he was arranging for a loan to cover his outstanding obligations. Thinking that Poe would soon have a magazine of his own, he congratulated him on his return to the editorial arena, "if it were only to keep our

---

[11] Reminiscences of Susan Archer Talley Weiss, reprinted in Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 933.

[12] Poe informed James Russell Lowell in September, 1843, "Since I last wrote you [June 20, 1843?] I have suffered much from domestic and pecuniary troubles." Ostrom, Letters, 1: 237.

[13] See above, Part I, Chapter 8.

criticism in a little better trim."[14]

Lowell's misfortunes elicited Poe's empathy. He held genuinely warm feelings for the New England poet, who seemed to be struggling to break into the publishing establishment much as he had. With a flourish of generosity he wrote:

> I have just received yours of the 24th and am deeply grieved, first that you have been unfortunate, and, secondly, that you should have thought it necessary to offer me an apology for your misfortunes. As for the few dollars you owe me--give yourself not one moment's concern about them. I am poor, but I must be very much poorer, indeed, when I even think of demanding them.[15]

He added that he hoped the reports of The Pioneer's failure were premature, noting that the report that he would edit the Saturday Museum was premature as well. (Poe was, however, publishing in Clarke's paper, for his "Original Conundrums" appeared in the March 23 issue.)[16]

Poe's correspondence with Lowell at this time frequently mentions "The Stylus," as Poe did not officially abandon the project until June. On March 24 he wrote to Peter D. Bernard, son-in-law of the recently deceased Thomas Willis White, inquiring as to whether he might arrange to purchase the subscription list of the Southern Literary

---

[14]Harrison, Works, 17: 138-139; and Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 540.

[15]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 231.

[16]Ibid.

Messenger, to "unite it with that of 'The Stylus'. . . ."[17] A similar query went to William Mackenzie, Richmond merchant and foster brother of Poe's sister Rosalie. He wanted Mackenzie to make inquiries about the same matter, noting that his purchase of the list would be funded by "a capitalist of this place,"[18] possibly a reference to Clarke. Poe also mentioned to MacKenzie that "Virginia is nearly recovered--indeed I might say quite so--with the exception of a slight cough, which is only noticable in the morning."[19]

While regaining his health, Lowell was generous with encouragement and advice. He had induced Hawthorne to write for "The Stylus" for a fee of five dollars a page, and reported candidly that he thought the penurious author would accept five dollars per article, as "your pages will 'eat up' Copy with a less anaconda-like appetite than the fine print magazines, . . ."[20] For an illustration, Mrs. Hawthorne would supply a drawing of her husband, or he could forward a daguerreotype. Lowell further informed Poe that he had given up the study of law and was turning entirely to literary pursuits, having returned home to his father's house in Cambridge. His recent misadventure in publishing provoked

---

[17]Ibid., p. 230.

[18]Ibid., p. 233.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 547.

this advice: "Be very watchful of your publishers and agents. They must be driven as men drive swine, . . ."[21]

Lowell was fulsome in praise of Poe's poetry. While his own illness had prevented him from sending Poe a promised poem, Lowell lauded Poe's work expansively. He found that Poe's early poems "display a maturity which astonished me & I recollect no individual (& I believe I have all the poetry that was ever written) whose early poems were anything as good. Shelley is nearest, perhaps."[22] Lowell sent a poem on May 16, but expressed little confidence in its quality and requested Poe's frank opinion.[23]

Poe, probably relying on Thomas's soothing words, succeeded in convincing himself that the Washington trip had not been as disastrous as he had at first thought. Robert Tyler, perhaps prodded by Thomas, provided him with a letter to the Collector, Calvin Blythe, in which he wrote, "I am satisfied that no one is more competent, or would be more satisfactory in the discharge of any duty connected with the office."[24] Either Robert Tyler's influence, despite his father's office, was negligible, or Blythe saw the statement as damning with faint praise and did not think it necessary

---

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid., p. 552.

[23]Ibid., p. 553.

[24]Ibid., p. 545.

to create a vacancy for Poe. In any case, no appointment resulted from the recommendation. William H. Gravely has speculated that Poe's opportunity was spoiled by Thomas Dunn English, possibly a witness to Poe's Washington escapade and certainly close to Robert Tyler at this time. English was a vigorous temperance advocate, and his father was a Measurer in the Custom's House, and it is possible that he was morally outraged as well as bent upon protecting his father's position.[25] By the end of the year 1843 English would publish, in his serialized temperance novel The Doom of the Drinker, a bitter caricature of a man who was reputed to be Edgar Allan Poe.[26]

At this time, a letter from Poe's erstwhile friend and champion, Lambert A. Wilmer, to John Tomlin, Poe's friend in Jackson Tennessee, sparked another of those insulting exchanges which marred so many of Poe's relationships. Wilmer had heralded Poe's arrival in Philadelphia with an ode, and Poe had reciprocated with praise for Wilmer's satire "The Quacks of Helicon," published in the review columns of Graham's in August, 1841. Wilmer had established a casual literary friendship with Tomlin, and in his May 20 letter related this about the Philadelphia literary scene:

---

[25]Ibid., pp. 560-561; and Gravely, "Poe and Thomas Dunn English," 184-187.

[26]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 760.

> Edgar A. Poe (you know him by character, no doubt, if not personally), has become one of the strangest of our literati. He and I are old friends,--have known each other since boyhood, and it gives me inexpressible pain to notice the vagaries to which he has lately become subject. Poor fellow! he is not a teetotaller by an means, and I fear he is going headlong into destruction, moral, physical and intellectual.[27]

John Tomlin's response to this unguarded but apparently sincere expression of concern was doubtless worse than any Wilmer could have anticipated. Having digested this intelligence Tomlin appears to have decided that it was in Poe's best interest that he know about it, especially as Poe had voiced the concern that Morton McMichael, editor of Godey's, had been agitating against him. The motive behind Tomlin's disclosure is difficult to penetrate. He may have used the Wilmer letter to court Poe's favor, but at best his action was deplorably lacking in judgment. Tomlin wrote Poe on July 2, when the latter was suffering from the manifest failure of his magazine project, and was probably in no frame of mind to be objective about what Tomlin called the "devilish machinations of a <u>certain</u> clique in Philadelphia. . . ."[28] Tomlin queried:

> Have you not in your city, some, that thro' a friendship which they feel not, are doing you much evil? I have had a letter quite lately, from one professing all friendship for you, in which some allusions are made to you in a manner greatly astonishing to me.[29]

---

[27] Ibid., p. 554.

[28] Ibid., pp. 584-586.

[29] Harrison, <u>Works</u>, 17: 150.

Poe responded in a fashion that Tomlin had not the wit to anticipate. He asked Tomlin to forward him a copy of the offending letter.[30] Tomlin, evidently shocked into silence, did not reply. Poe was soon immersed in another controversy which raged about the publication of "The Gold Bug,"[31] during which his relations to Wilmer seem to have fallen off. By August 28, when he next wrote Tomlin, Poe had guessed the identity of the offending correspondent. Demanding once again to see Wilmer's letter, Poe denounced him harshly.

> In Philadelphia no one speaks to him. He is avoided by all as a reprobate of the lowest class. Feeling a deep pity for him, I endeavored to befriend him, and you remember that I rendered myself liable to some censure by writing a review of his filthy pamphlet called the "Quacks of Helicon." He has returned my good offices by slander behind my back.[32]

Poe concluded that it was Tomlin's "duty" to send him Wilmer's missive. Tomlin finally forwarded it, with evident trepidation, on September 10, enjoining Poe to use his "great good sense" in pursuing the matter.[33]

Perhaps recognizing that Wilmer's letter was not as abusive as he had imagined, or engaging at last his "great good sense," Poe does not seem to have carried the issue

---

[30] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 586.

[31] See this chapter, below.

[32] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 236.

[33] Harrison, Works, 17: 152. See also Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 623.

further. The two men may have reconciled, but there is no known correspondence between them. The last word in this exchange was probably from Tomlin, who perhaps still feeling nervous and a bit conscience-stricken about the incident, wrote to Poe in February of 1844. In reference to Wilmer he appended a soothing comment:

> In his former letters, he not only spoke kindly of you, but seemed disposed to become your advocate, against the litterateurs of Philadelphia. I hope that you will forgive him, and that he will go, and 'sin no more.'[34]

To return to Poe's initiatives of the early summer, Thomas Mackenzie had replied indecisively about the matter of the Southern Literary Messenger subscription list, informing Poe that White's heirs had not decided as yet what to do with the journal.[35] By the beginning of June, however, it little mattered. Clarke had formally announced his withdrawal as backer for "The Stylus" in the pages of the Saturday Museum, probably as a result of his own financial embarrassments as much as from any misgivings about his partner's reliability.[36]

Poe wrote to Lowell on June 20, blaming the tardiness of his letter on "sickness and domestic afflictions,"[37] and pronouncing the poem Lowell had sent him to be "truly

---

[34]Harrison, Works, 17: 158. See also Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 623.

[35]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 702-703.

[36]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 558-559, 625-627.

[37]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 234.

beautiful:"[38]

> --but alas! my Magazine scheme has exploded--or, at least, I have been deprived, through the imbicility, or rather through the idiocy of my partner, of all means of prosecuting it for the present. Under better auspices I may resume it next year.[39]

He also wrote, "My address is 234, North Seventh Street above Spring Garden, West Side."[40] It is Poe's first known reference to this address, and he probably appended it because he had, in this letter, extended an invitation to Lowell to visit.

On June 16, William Poe, Edgar's cousin living in Augusta, wrote a letter evidently designed to bolster Poe's flagging spirits. It is the surviving member of what was at least a trio of letters,[41] initiated when Poe had written William, probably asking for a loan. William had refused sternly. Perhaps receiving no reply and softening slightly, William had at length written his missive of the 16th. While admitting that his refusal to grant the loan had been written "in a style not relished by you . . ." it was nevertheless done "in great sincerity of feeling for you & yours. . . ."[42] William offered nothing but advice, as he had recently read

---

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Ibid.

[41]This is inferred from the content of the letter (Harrison, Works, 17: 145-146), which suggests that Poe had written an initial request, to which William had already replied.

[42]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 568. Poe's father and brother Henry both had difficulty with excessive consumption of alcohol. See Quinn, Poe, pp. 37, 49; and Ostrom, Letters, 1: 29-30.

in the Baltimore Sun that Poe had won the Dollar Newspaper's hundred-dollar competition. He asked, "Ought you ever to give up in despair when you have such resources as yr [sic] well stored mind to apply to?" William concluded his letter with a warning against drink.[43] Whatever Poe's financial needs may have been, they were not redressed by his cousin.[44]

Meanwhile Poe was soon to be a figure of celebrity in literary Philadelphia, for on the 14th the Dollar Newspaper announced that he was the winner of their hundred-dollar competition.[45] He was widely congratulated and noticed in the local press. The event, however, seems to have cheered Poe little at first, for when he wrote Lowell on the 20th his chief concern was the demise of his magazine. A year later, however, Poe would describe "The Gold Bug" to Lowell as "my most successful tale."[46] The first segment of the story appeared anonymously in the June 21 issue of the Dollar Newspaper, followed by part two a week later, with the popular illustrator Felix O.C. Darley providing the illustrations. On June 22 the Public Ledger, associated through its joint publishers with the Dollar Newspaper, proclaimed "A GREAT RUSH FOR THE PRIZE STORY!" which had sold out in

---

[43]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 564.

[44]Ibid., p. 569.

[45]Ibid., p. 570.

[46]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 253.

the original edition and was going to be republished. The Saturday Courier published the story in three installments beginning on June 24, after coming to a financial agreement with the publishers of the Dollar, which took out a copyright on Poe's piece.[47]

The popularity of "The Gold Bug" can only have been enhanced by the controversy which Poe now found himself. Six days after the initial installment appeared, a letter was published in the Philadelphia Daily Forum, signed by "D," who excoriated the tale in terms noteworthy for their intemperance even in this hyperbolic era:

> That "one hundred dollars" was paid for this signal abortion we believe to be an arrant falsehood, and in this sentiment we are not singular, for several of our friends who have read the portion which has already appeared, pronounce upon it the verdict of unmitigated trash! We are inclined to think that ten or fifteen dollars satisfied 'the talented Edgar A. Poe, Esq.' for this excruciating effort in the tale line.[48]

"D," soon to be unmasked as the Philadelphian Francis H. Duffee, continued at protracted length, charging that the competition was a hoax upon the public. On the 28th, Poe began legal proceedings.[49]

The youthful George Lippard, whose pen had already satirized Poe's old associates at Graham's (Thomas Dunn English and Henry B. Hirst, in "The Bread Crust Papers,")

---

[47] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 575-577.

[48] Ibid., p. 577.

[49] Ibid., p. 579.

hastened to Poe's defense. Now the editor of The Citizen Soldier, Lippard declared in his paper that "with regard to Mr. Poe, we can have but one opinion. The story is worth the "Prize money" ten times told."[50]

John S. DuSolle, Lippard's former employer, fueled the controversy in the pages of his Spirit of the Times, by suggesting that the tale leaned suspiciously upon a story by one Miss Sherburne, entitled "Imogine; or the Pirate's Treasure," which had been published two years previously. DuSolle concluded:

> Mr. Poe is a good-hearted, clever man, a most able and talented writer, and we would not for the world accuse him of plagiarism, but we cannot help thinking how curious a thing it is that two such persons should hit on exactly corresponding ideas, within two years of the same time.[51]

DuSolle's paper carried as well Duffee's timely retraction of his accusations against Poe and the Dollar Newspaper,[52] but this did not end the affair. The Daily Forum took up the gauntlet, changing in some respects the tenor of the attack, probably with the intent of prolonging the battle and encouraging circulation.

> No living person has been more caustic in his criticisms than Mr. Poe--he has not used the dissecting knife, but the tomahawk and scalping knife, and his victims have writhed under his savage inflictions. Why is it that he does not meet our correspondent on his own ground, (for we have tendered our columns to him,) and resort to the pen rather than the courts?[53]

---

[50] Ibid., p. 580.

[51] Ibid., pp. 583-584.

[52] Ibid., pp. 582-583.

[53] Ibid., pp. 589-590.

The same issue of the Daily Forum carried another letter by Duffee, once more on the offensive, in which he broadened the attack to include criticism of Poe's critical stance, and included the accusation of plagiarism provided gratuitously by the Spirit of the Times.[54] Poe, however, did not reply in the Forum's pages, perhaps perceiving that their motives were purely pecuniary. With Poe determined not to assist the circulation of the Forum, the paper had to run a rather lop-sided controversy.

Possibly fear of prosecution, or satisfaction with his contribution to the mayhem, led John S. DuSolle to retract his plagiarism accusation in the July 15 issue of his paper, in which he conceded that "Mr. Poe well deserved the prize of $100."[55]

Did Poe ever really benefit from the full sum of the prize money, or was there some truth in Duffee's suggestion that the paper had arranged with him to reduce the sum? Poe never had a quarrel with the paper, so one must assume that the matter was conducted to his satisfaction, although the possibility of an "arrangement" cannot be entirely ruled out. The popularity of the tale, however, which was un-questionable, resulted in at least one additional benefit. William H. Graham, a publisher located at No. 98 Chestnut

---

[54]Ibid., pp. 590-592.

[55]Ibid., p. 597.

Street, was persuaded to issue the first part of a paper-bound serial entitled The Prose Romances of Edgar A. Poe. It included "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" and "The Man that Was Used Up," and cost the purchaser twelve and a half cents. While it received many favorable notices, sales were evidently disappointing, and the series was not continued.[56]

George Lippard, now safely lodged at The Citizen Soldier, commenced another of his running satires on the order of "The Bread Crust Papers." The new series, entitled "The Spermaceti Papers," was another satire of Philadelphia's literary establishment.[57] It treated some of Poe's old associates at Graham's with such scorn that it engendered a tradition that Poe wrote the articles. They are entirely in Lippard's style, however, and most scholars accept them readily as his work.[58] In the seventh episode the editor "Grey Ham" of The Babe discusses his impoverished contributors with "Rumpus Grizzle" (Rufus Griswold), and other cronies. One of them queries, "Yet here's one poor author--I'll be

---

[56]Ibid., pp. 598, 600, 601, 604. See also Quinn, Poe, p. 399.

[57]The series ran in ten segments, beginning in June and ending in August, 1843. De Grazia, "Life and Work of George Lippard," pp. 82-85.

[58]Emilio De Grazia, "Edgar Allan Poe, George Lippard, and the 'Spermaceti' and 'Walnut-Coffin Papers'," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America 66 (1972): 58-60.

split if there isn't! Edgar A. Poe--isn't he one o' th' poor devils?" Grey Ham replies:

> Aye, aye, but my dear Mr. Philligrim, this same Edgar A. Poe is--is--rather a bitter fellow, and has a way of his own of using up all humbugs. He carries a Tomahawk--does Poe. A very bad Tomahawk, a very nasty Tomahawk. Poe is poor--but we have to get him to write for the Babe.[59]

"Grey Ham" is accused of fearing Poe, and "Rumpus Grizzle" mutters, accurately, "He doesn't think I'm a great man."[60]

Poe, who had by now become a public property, had found a staunch defender in Lippard. The extent of their relationship is difficult to discern, however, as there is but one known letter from Poe to Lippard written while the former resided in Philadelphia.[61] The two may have known each other reasonably well in 1843, when Lippard first took up the cudgels in Poe's defense.

Lippard's emergence in the Philadelphia literary scene has been rapid. When John S. DuSolle had hired the nineteen-year-old writer in 1842, "His face was thin with hunger; his dress, a collection of rags, lashed together in some places with twine; his whole person a walking image of starvation and despair."[62] Lippard proved to be a demon with

---

[59]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 606.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 242-243.

[62]Butterfield, "George Lippard and His Secret Brotherhood," 293.

a pen, however, and turned out reams of copy for DuSolle, including the commentaries on Dickens's visit alluded to earlier. The offices of DuSolle's Spirit of the Times were at 3rd and Chestnut Street, a close neighbor to Graham's, and Poe may have met the young journalist while he was working for Graham.[63]

In 1843 Lippard started working for the Citizen Soldier, a weekly, catering to the city's militia organizations, and in July of that year became its editor-in-chief. He recast the paper's format, renamed it The Home Journal and Citizen Soldier, and included fiction to broaden its appeal.[64] The Citizen Soldier became the vehicle for Lippard's first full-length romances, and the initial one, entitled The Ladye Annabel, was serialized anonymously.[65] From Lippard's early fictional efforts it is obvious that he and Poe had more than their poverty in common, for the young editor had a pronounced taste for the macabre. Poe, however, was the most painstaking of stylists. Lippard wrote chaotically and with utmost speed, giving little heed to the concept of unity which Poe valued so highly. Roger Butterfield understated the case when he described Lippard's style as "shattering to the modern taste."[66] Poe and Lippard, however, were

---

[63] De Grazia, "Life and Work of George Lippard," p. 43.

[64] Ibid., pp. 73-75.

[65] Ibid., p. 114.

[66] Butterfield, "George Lippard and His Secret Brotherhood," 285.

drawn together as allies by their mutual resentment of the Graham group.

The Ladye Annabel, which Emilio de Grazia has called "perhaps the most infernal book in American literature,"[67] began to appear in the pages of the Citizen Soldier in December, 1843. It was issued in a hard-bound edition early in 1844.[68] Critics greeted this publishing event with undisguised revulsion. Lippard submitted the work to Poe for his opinion, and Poe wrote him a lengthy and encouraging consideration on February 18, 1844.[69] Poe was mindful of the unwavering loyalty Lippard had shown him in the pages of the Citizen Soldier, and his critique is much in the same vein as those friendly bits of advice he had offered Frederick W. Thomas and Jesse Dow in the past.[70] The Ladye Annabel is just the sort of fiction that Poe had flayed mercilessly in his review columns, neither had he in the past shown any inclination to spare aspirant authors on account of their youth. His letter to Lippard is another example of Poe-the-friendly-mentor speaking, rather than Poe the critic.

> Touching the "Ladye Annabel," I regret that, until lately, I could find no opportunity of giving it a

---

[67] Du Grazia, "Life and Work of George Lippard," p. 114.

[68] Ibid., p. 126.

[69] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 242-243.

[70] See above, Part I, Chapter 6.

> thorough perusal. The opinion expressed to you, personally, was based, as I told you, upon a very cursory examination. You seem to have been in too desperate a hurry to give due attention to details; and thus your style, although generally nervous, is at times somewhat exuberant--but the work, as a whole, will be admitted, by all but your personal enemies, to be richly inventive and imaginative--indicative of genius in its author.[71]

On the matter of critics, Poe had this to say, with every word underscored:

> And as for these personal enemies, I cannot see that you need put yourself to any especial trouble about THEM. Let a fool alone--especially if he be both a rascal and a fool--and he will kill himself far sooner than you can kill him by any active exertion. Besides--as to the real philosophy of the thing--you should regard small animosities--the animosities of small men--of the literary animalculae (who have their uses, beyond doubt)--as so many tokens of your ascent--or, rather as so many stepping stones to your ambition. I have never yet been able to make up my mind whether I regard as the higher compliment, the approbation of a man of honor and talent, or the abuse of an ass or a blackguard. Both are excellent in their way--for a man who looks steadily up.[72]

This is as direct an expression of Poe's philosophy of the proper attitude to assume in the face of criticism as he ever made. It included some advice that he may have found particularly difficult to follow himself, as he often bated and challenged his own "emenies" with little regard to the consequences. The last sentence of this letter goes far to explain why Poe seemed sometimes to court criticism, and how he turned negative reaction and even revilement into a badge of honor.

Nothing, as it turned out, could break Lippard's

---

[71] Ostrom, Letrers, 1: 242-243.

[72] Ibid., p. 243.

habit of writing "in too desperate a hurry." In all of his works, the best known of which was The Quaker City; or The Monks of Monk Hall (1845), there is little time expended on literary niceties. Lippard was a social reformer and he usually had some didactic purpose in mind. To all appearances he wrote in a white heat, mindless of entangled plots and characters who disappeared inexplicably only to resurface chapters later. He exulted in compounding depravity, and on curtains rung down on indelicate scenes at the last possible socially acceptable moment. A perusal of the vastly popular Quaker City[73] should check any glib assumptions about the purity of nineteenth-century American popular fiction.

Poe and Lippard had little contact following Poe's removal to New York in 1844. Lippard went zealously to work founding a utopian brotherhood of workers on a proto-socialistic model.[74] In 1849, when Poe passed through Philadelphia on his way to Richmond, he visited Lippard. Poe was ragged, destitute, and in obvious ill-health, and Lippard and John Sartain bought him some necessities and put him on a south-bound train. Lippard came to Poe's defense in the wake of Griswold's calumnies after Poe's death, and remained his champion to the end. With prodigies of writing and organizing behind him, Lippard died of tuberculosis in 1854,

---

[73]The novel apparently sold 60,000 copies in less than a year. De Grazia, "Life and Work of George Lippard," p. 166.

[74]Butterfield, "George Lippard and His Secret Brotherhood," 296-301.

at the age of thirty-one.[75]

"The Gold Bug" affair dragged on through the summer of 1843, affording Poe a quantity of publicity. It was announced in the July 27 issue of the Spirit of the Times that Poe and Duffee had met amicably to settle their differences and had parted friends.[76] Meanwhile, a wave of interest in Poe had been generated by the well-publicized tale and the edition of Prose Romances. A lengthy, if repetitive, commentary in the July 29 Saturday Courier queried, "Is there a man, woman, or child, 'read up,' as they phrase it in American Literature, who is unacquainted with Edgar A. Poe?"[77] The Courier doubted that Poe could attract so wide a readership as did their editor, T.S. Arthur, "But for learning, uniqueness and originality--we unhesitatingly say that Edgar A. Poe, in his own country, stands entirely alone."[78]

The acclamation of the summer, however, did not induce Poe to soften his critical style. Graham printed Poe's critique of the poetry of the younger William Ellery Channing in the August number, as part of a series entitled "Our

---

[75]Ibid., p. 285.

[76]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 607.

[77]Ibid., p. 609.

[78]Ibid., p. 610.

Amateur Poets." Mislabeling Channing the son (he was actually the nephew) of the New England cleric and essayist of the same name, Poe included this sneering charge:

> His book contains sixty-three things, which he calls poems, and which he no doubt seriously supposes so to be. They are full of all kinds of mistakes, of which the most important is that of their having been printed at all. They are not precisely English--nor will we insult a great nation by calling them Kickapoo; perhaps they are Channingese. . . .[79]

The Daily Forum took Poe to task for unleashing his artillery on an amateur.[80] In New York City, Poe's ready antagonist Lewis Gaylord Clark, editor of the Knickerbocker, picked up Poe's ill-considered pronouncement, in the Channing critique, that Thomas Carlyle was an "ass." Quoting the editor of the Louisville, Kentucky, Daily Journal, George D. Prentice, Clark wrote:

> MR. PRENTICE, the well-known Louisville Journalist, is "down upon" a gentleman of some smartness who rejoices in the euphonious name of POE, (a correspondent our ours spells it Poh!) for terming CARLYLE, in one of his thousand-and-one MAC-GRAWLER critiques, "an ass." The Kentucky poet and politician thus rejoins: "We have no more doubt that Mr. EDGAR A. POE is a very good judge of an ass, than we have that he is a very poor judge of such a man as THOMAS CARLYLE."[81]

In early August a dramatic rendition of "The Gold Bug" was presented at the Walnut Street Theatre. It was apparently a less than successful production, and seems to

---

[79]Ibid., p. 611, and Harrison, Works, 16: 174-190, esp. 177.

[80]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 611-612.

[81]Ibid., p. 628.

have survived only one performance.[82] On August 19, the Saturday Evening Post carried Poe's tale, "The Black Cat." By August 26 he had received twenty dollars for it, suggesting that the notoriety engendered by the Dollar Newspaper competition had not resulted in a marked improvement in the prices Poe could command.[83]

"The Black Cat" contains elements which some commentators regard as autobiographical.[84] The Poe household included a cat, but there is no evidence that Poe was given to mistreating it. He launches into a lengthy examination, however, of the ill-behavior which can be engendered by the "Fiend Intemperance," and in this he could have been speaking from experience. As was usual with Poe, he pressed well beyond the autobiographical to achieve a genuinely horrifying effect.

In late August, 1843, Poe visited Richmond, perhaps still pursuing the subscriber list of the Southern Literary Messenger, but the purpose of the trip is unknown. Just before leaving, in a last-minute effort to raise funds, he sent an article to Ezra Holden, editor of the Saturday

---

[82] Ibid., pp. 613-614.

[83] Ibid., pp. 617-618; and Mabbott, Collected Works, 3: 848.

[84] Chiefly Marie Bonaparte and those who would follow a strictly Freudian analysis of Poe's life and work.

Courier, with a request for twenty-five dollars. The article may have been "Diddling," which appeared in the October 14 issue.[85]

In October, George Lippard began another of his running satires in the Citizen Soldier. Bearing his own grudge concerning the Graham group, Lippard went on the offensive once more in "The Walnut-Coffin Papers."[86] Griswold had relinquished his editorship at Graham's in August,[87] but there were still plenty of targets. In the October 11 Citizen Soldier he turned his guns on Charles Peterson, scoring him for plagiarism:

> "And Misther Edgar Allan Poe--what does he say of you, Pather?"
> "Why--why--in fact--Poe--is--a--a great reader of Bulwer, and--he looks at me--as if--he thought, you know--oh, d--n the thing, he knows I steal my stories--that's all!"
> "Is that all! What an inconsiderate creathur that Poe is to be for sure!"[88]

Poe also rekindled his ongoing dispute, one-sided though it was, with New England's popular poet, Longfellow. In writing to Lowell, who was on the mend from his eye

---

[85]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 618-619.

[86]Ibid., p. 624.

[87]As announced in the October number of Graham's Gentleman's Magazine, p. 216. Griswold apparently left to devote himself to another massive publication, entitled Biographia Americana. He maintained friendly relations with Graham. See Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 627-628.

[88]Ibid., pp. 631-632.

disease, in thanks for ten dollars sent in payment for contributions to the defunct Pioneer, Poe set out his thoughts:

> Mr. Longfellow has genius, but by no means equals you in the true spirit. He is moreover so prone to imitation that I know not how to understand him at times. I am in doubt whether he should not be termed an arrant plagiarist. You have read his "Spanish Student?" I have written quite a long notice of it for Graham's December number. The play is a poor composition, with some fine poetical passages. His "Hymn to the Night," with some strange blemishes, is glorious.[89]

Later, in July of 1844, Poe told Lowell that his December review "exposed some of the grossest plagiarisms ever perpetrated,"[90] and wondered why Graham had not published it. The query exposes Poe's unwillingness, or inability, to comprehend Graham's editorial pragmatism. Graham had published Longfellow's "The Spanish Student" in 1842, beginning a serialization on page one of the October issue. Griswold had courted Longfellow assiduously, and Graham was certainly not about to alienate a popular contributor by printing Poe's review.[91]

Longfellow later learned of Poe's review manuscript from both Griswold and Graham, who used it to further their own interests with the poet. Longfellow had been unhappy with Graham on account of an unflattering portrait published in

---

[89] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 238.

[90] Ibid., p. 258.

[91] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 657.

the magazine, and Griswold, although no longer associated with Graham's, had agreed to help placate the author. Griswold, smarting under criticism lately levelled at him by Poe, wrote to Longfellow on December 26, 1843, to solicit contributions for Graham's:

> You may remember some conversations we once had at Cambridge in Regard to Poe. He has recently written an elaborate review of your "Student," in his customary vein, but if anything a little more personal and malignant than usual. This was offered to Graham before I left, and has since been given to him--so anxious is the poor critic for its appearance; but of course Graham refused it. I mention the circumstance because it would be very like Poe, since he cannot find a publisher for his "criticism," to attempt again to win your friendship with his praise.[92]

This transparent attempt to ingratiate Longfellow by means less than savory was seconded by Graham, who let it be known that he had withheld the review.[93] On February 9 he wrote to Longfellow:

> I have a savage review of your "Spanish Student" from the pen of Poe, which shall not appear in Graham. I do not know what your crime may be in the eyes of Poe, but suppose it may be a better, and a more widely established reputation. Or if you have wealth--which I hope you have--that is sufficient to settle your damnation so far as Mr. Poe may be presumed capable of effecting it[.][94]

Graham, who may by this time have become heartily weary of George Lippard's lampoons (for which he could be

---

[92]Ibid., p. 656.

[93]Graham's relations with Longfellow had become rather rocky. See Moss, Poe's Literary Battles, pp. 150-151.

[94]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 679.

excused for assuming Poe to be an accomplice), gave further vent to his rancor:

> The rascal borrowed some money of me the other day to take him to Boston and I learned within the hour afterward abused me at the next corner as an exclusive. I am so unfortunate to have many of his MSS. to cover loans, but we part company as soon as I publish some of the least venomous. I had to suffer $30 for the review of you and you shall have it for as many cents when you come along this way. I do not suppose it will ever be redeemed, and I doubt if the writer of it will be.[95]

Upon very little reflection Graham's remarks appear ungenerous and self-serving, yet he cannot be entirely blamed for having lost patience with Poe.

During the autumn of 1843 Poe discovered a new talent, one which could readily be coined into silver. Although an unpracticed public speaker, his command of language in a conversational setting, and his tendency to hold forth at length on topics of interest to him, bespoke the presence of a natural orator. Toward the end of October it was announced in the local press that Poe would present a lecture on "American Poetry" on November 21.[96] The notice in the Philadelphia Democratic Argus disclosed that Poe would deliver the third in the William Wirt Institute series of Lectures and Debates, at the Juliana Street Church (between 5th and 6th, Vine and Callowhill Street). Tickets were twenty-five cents for "a Gentleman and two ladies," and

---

[95] Ibid., p. 679.

[96] Ibid., pp. 635-636.

single admission twelve-and-a-half cents.[97]

Poe's friends rallied to promote the effort. Lippard proclaimed in the Citizen Soldier on November 15, "Poe is a born poet, his mind is stamped with the impress of genius. He is, perhaps, the most original writer that ever existed in America . . . it was Mr. Poe that made Graham's Magazine what it was a year ago; it was his intellect that gave this now weak and flimsy periodical a tone of refinement and mentor vigor, which all the imbicility of its conductors for a year past, could not erase or utterly annihilate."[98]

Poe gave his lecture, to what was described as "one of the largest and most fashionable audiences of the season,"[99] at seven-thirty on the evening of November 21, probably having walked the six blocks from his home. Allowing for hyperbole, there is no doubt that the lecture was a success, and commanded wide attention. Poe repeated the lecture at Wilmington on November 28, at Newark, Delaware on December 23, again at Philadelphia on January 10, at Baltimore on January 31, and finally in Reading, Pennsylvania, on March 12.[100] The United States Gazette noted that many

---

[97] Ibid., p. 636.

[98] Ibid., p. 639.

[99] Ibid., pp. 641-642.

[100] Ibid., p. 642. See also Ernest John Moyne, "Did Edgar Allan Poe Lecture at Newark Academy?" Delaware Notes, Series 26 (1953): 1-19.

were turned away at the door on the occasion of the first lecture.[101]

Published reviews combine to give a fairly clear idea of the tenor and content of the talk. Nearly all acclaimed Poe's presence on the podium, command of language, and effective speaking voice. Thomas C. Clarke praised him in the Saturday Museum on November 25, noting that Poe had read Judge Conrad's poem "The Lord's Prayer," whereby he "created a marked sensation."[102] Lippard noted that Poe "placed all the pseudo-critics, the Rev. Mr. Rufus Griswold, Esq. among others, to the blush. . . ."[103]

The most complete published description of the event comes from one who chose to cloak his (or her) identity under the pseudonym "Academicus," and whose response to Poe's appearance at the Newark Academy appeared in the Delaware State Journal on January 2. Noting that the audience had been diminished by bad weather, Academicus continued: "It is perfectly impossible to convey to a reader . . . any worthy impression of the rich tide of thought and imagery with which our lecturer charmed his audience for almost two hours."[104] The lecture, according to Academicus, opened

---

[101] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 642.

[102] Ibid., pp. 644-645.

[103] Ibid., pp. 648-649.

[104] Ibid., pp. 662-663.

with "a graceful exordium and prospective apology" on the length of the presentation, followed by the setting out of his criteria for critical judgment and a discussion of the first American poets. Puffery was then "exposed and condemned," the process and mechanism of which he discussed in some detail. Poe derided the mystical school of New England criticism, which he referred to as "Transcendental." He then pointed out by means of "a very finely conducted argument . . . that the prime office of criticism was to detect and correct what was faulty, and not to point out or praise what was good."[105]

Poe then launched into a discussion of American poets and anthologies of poetry, drawing a bead on Griswold. Academicus admitted that "This Book [Poets and Poetry of America] and its author were handled by the critical lecturer in not the most gentle manner."[106] While admitting that Griswold's was the best of the available anthologies, Poe commented at length on the errors of omission and injudicious inclusions. Poe closed with a "condemnation of what the lecturer was pleased to term the 'didacticism' of modern Poetry"[107] (evidently an indirect barb aimed at Longfellow and others). "Academicus" concluded by praising Poe's

---

[105] Ibid., pp. 663-664.

[106] Ibid., p. 664.

[107] Ibid., p. 665.

"ever ready and ever beautiful imagery, and glowing diction."[108]

Poe also explored the merits of selected poets. In the Philadelphia lecture, he singled out for praise Judge Conrad and Robert Morris, editor of the Philadelphia Inquirer (both possibly excised from the Delaware lecture). Academicus noted that Poe spoke of several female poets, as well as Dana, Bryant, Halleck, Sprague, and Longfellow.[109]

When Poe repeated the lecture in Philadelphia on January 10, his effort was heralded by most of the Philadelphia papers. The Inquirer, possibly mindful of the praise proffered Morris, led the accolade, with the United States Gazette and the Public Ledger following suit.[110]

The first Philadelphia lecture in November had drawn out the inveterate Joseph Sill, who in addition to attending every play, opera and ballet he could manage, included in his schedule many improving lectures as well. Sill, an English immigrant and self-made merchant, was a man of sophisticated tastes. An active member of the Unitarian church, he evidently had no difficulty in reconciling his love of theatre

---

[108]Ibid., p. 665.

[109]Lippard's November 29 review mentions Conrad and Morris. See Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 648. The complete "Academicus" review appears on pp. 662-665.

[110]Ibid., pp. 666-668.

and the dance with his deep vein of piety.[111] The evening of the lecture, or the following morning, he recorded his description of Poe's lecture in his diary. It reflects the private reaction of an informed listener, and because it has eluded publication, is given here in full:

> . . . as I was a little out of sorts I did not work much in the afternoon: nor did I intend going out in the Evening, but ascertaining that "Edgar A Poe" was about to deliver a Lecture on "American Poetry" before the William Wirt Institute, I felt a great desire to see & hear him--I accordingly went, wrapping myself up carefully; and got there just before he commenced--He is a man of small stature, and thin--his head is also small generally, but well developed in the upper part: and altogether he has the air of a person who is on good terms with himself--He delivered the Lecture in a distinct tone, with perfect self-possession, and so far as the manner & language of the Lecture are concerned it was a good Lecture: but the spirit of it unfortunately was cynical and fault finding; and too much in accordance with his usual style of writing--In the introductory part of it he discharged his venom against the subsidized press, as he call^{d} it, against Newspaper writers, Magazine & Quarterly Reviewers, in one continued strain of virulence for about half an hour--which was tiresome in the extreme--after which he entered into a review of the various collections of American Poetry that had been made by various Editors, and was severe upon all of them, except that by Mr Keese--but when he came to "the Poets & Poetry of America" by Griswold, he was especially caustic and illiberal, and was evidently under the influence of personal feeling: and because Mr Griswold had not included the Poetry of Judge Conrad in his Book, he thought it was only fair that the Audience should know something about it--he therefore quoted (very unwisely) the whole of the Sonnets on the Lords Prayer; which however good in themselves were not fit for delivery before such an Audience--(there was bad taste in it also as Judge Conrad was sitting immediately below him)--he then proceeded to give his opinion upon the merits of

---

[111] Sill's manuscript diary indicates that he was regularly active in church and charitable endeavors. Joseph Sill Diary, HSP.

> Dana, Sprague, Bryant, Halleck, & Longfellow--as well as of Mrs Sigourney, Mrs Brooks, Mrs Osgood, Mrs S. Smith &c &c; in which he showed a good deal of shrewdness of observation, and critical skill; but a little too much of spice and wormwood-- and concluded with some good observations upon the Art of Poetry, and its end and aim--His remarks on the Poetry of Mrs Sigourney, I thought very just--he said she was an imitator of Mrs Hemans, and had won a name more by her constant appearance before the Public, than by the intrinsic merits of the Muse--But the lecture was too long, and generally too dogmatical and censorious--
>
> On my return I was obliged to go to bed directly, as the cold in my head had increased; and I could hardly bear the light from the weakness in my eyes--[112]

Allowing for a degree of disgruntlement proceeding from sitting in a drafty church for a two hour lecture while suffering from the onset of a bad cold, it is nevertheless evident that Sill had found parts of Poe's lecture injudicious, and even distasteful. While excoriating puffery, Poe did not hesitate to court the favor of Judge Conrad, and the Inquirer, in a flagrant fashion. Sill's objection to the reading of Conrad's poetry may have stemmed from his disapproval of reading devotional pieces, lengthy at that, in a theatrical manner. His jaundiced view balances the fulsome praise which appeared in the press friendly to Poe, and from it we also learn which female poets Poe deemed worthy of discussion.

Although Poe gave the lecture six times and probably found the enterprise to be financially rewarding, there is no evidence that he attempted to compound his success by developing another talk on the same topic or a related one.

---

[112]Joseph Sill Diary, 21 November 1843, HSP.

Later he decided to carry the banner to New England, and by March he had questioned Lowell on the probable receptiveness of a Boston audience.* Lowell replied that while the lecture season was nearly over, the secretary of the Boston Lyceum was interested in engaging Poe for the following year, the honorarium being between fifty and one hundred dollars. Lowell conceded that "The Boston people want a little independent criticism vastly."[113] While he admitted to often disagreeing with Poe, Lowell claimed to be receptive so long as Poe demonstrated solid reasoning behind his critical statements.[114]

The lecture on "American Poetry" was Poe's last major offensive to gain the attention and support of the Philadelphia literary establishment; the last in a series of efforts which included two editorial posts, two unsuccessful attempts to launch a magazine, a collection of tales which failed to sell, and the notoriety following the Dollar Newspaper competition. Failures, which included the Customs House appointment debacle, were insufficiently offset by the occasional flashes of publicity and the sale of his works, which brought him small financial reward. Poe had produced some of his best fiction during the years in Philadelphia,

---

[113] Harrison, Works, 17: 159.

[114] Ibid., pp. 158-160. Poe gave a lecture and reading in Boston, with disastrous results, on October 15, 1845. Quinn, Poe, pp. 485-489.

* [Editor's Note: Poe's questioning of Lowell is deduced from Lowell's reply cited in footnote 113.]

but his reputation as a critic, for which he was probably best known and which had afforded him his livelihood, attracted increasing censure. Once his reviews for the Southern Literary Messenger had generated interest not only for their merciless dissection of authors great and small, but also because they were graceful, serious of purpose when the occasion warranted, and often brilliantly humorous.[115] As Poe was well aware, people read the critical notices not only to be informed, but to be entertained. Because he had early-on developed a formula which blended erudition, wit, humor, and an intelligently consistent approach to literature, the little Richmond journal attracted a deserved national following. While he was in Philadelphia, however, Poe's critical work showed a tendency to darken and become harsher in tone. His attacks became increasingly bitter, his rhetoric embarrassingly personal, and his humor ponderous and forced. His increased attention to plagiarism amounted to an obsession, and it compromised the integrity of some of his better critical pieces. The reviews of Cornelius Mathews, Rufus Dawes, and William Ellery Channing, Jr. were diatribes and a waste of his very considerable talent.* The unpublished critique of Longfellow purchased by Graham was probably as bad or worse. Certainly not all of his critical work suffered

---

[115] An example of the latter quality is Poe's review of Joseph Robinson's The Swiss Heiress, in the October, 1836 Southern Literary Messenger (pp. 715-716). A. H. Quinn is of the opinion that Poe wrote this review, and there is no reason to dissent, although it is unsigned. See Quinn, Poe, p. 258.

* [Editor's Note: This is the author's opinion. It is partially supported by Quinn, pgs. 399-400 & 402-403.]

from these defects, but his reputation for blood-thirstiness, which Poe himself encouraged, was built upon them. The inevitable conclusion is that Poe's judgment in the bestowal of time and energy had faltered. With the exception of his considerations of Hawthorne, Dickens, and a few others, he tended more toward ponderous discussions of minor and transiently popular authors and poets. Longfellow, of course, was larger prey, and Poe never seems to have been able to pull together his divergent feelings about the poet into a single, consistent review. Longfellow would remain the man whom Poe would praise in one sentence and damn in the next. While Poe was known throughout his career for the caustic quality of his criticism, it seems to have become more acid with age.

By late 1843, Poe's critical approach had condensed into a hard and demanding philosophy. If "Academicus," his Newark listener, had heard him correctly, Poe had pronounced that the task of the critic was not to praise what was good, but to "detect and correct what was faulty."[116] This left him with a grim mandate indeed, and in following his own dictum as far as possible, Poe robbed some of his reviews of the balance which lends credibility to critical work. There are indications as well that the professional audience was becoming weary with his unrelenting style.

---

[116] Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," p. 664.

The obvious conclusion to be drawn is that the adversity, disappointment, and domestic worry which had afflicted Poe in Philadelphia had embittered him and distorted his critical perspective. There may have been, for instance, a grain of truth in Graham's pronouncement that Poe envied Longfellow his wealth and popularity. But to leave the discussion here would be to ignore other sources of Poe's unhappiness. Other American authors of the period, including Hawthorne and Melville, suffered long periods of adversity and public apathy. Even Longfellow had to apply himself doggedly, overcoming critical displeasure with Hyperion, before he reached his pinnacle. The Cambridge poet wrote, with forgivable envy, when Harriet Beecher Stowe became an overnight sensation upon the publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin, "At one step she has reached the top of the staircase up which the rest of us climb on our knees year after year."[117]

The America of the late 1830s and early 1840s was not hospitable to Poe's conception of the purpose of poetry and art, and he seems to have been equally at odds with the prevailing viewpoint of his times. The popular themes of the day involved moral and social reform, given expression in movements for abolition and temperance, and in evangelical

---

[117]Milton Rugoff, The Beechers: An American Family in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1981), p. 326.

revivals.[118] Even Poe's protégé George Lippard devoted the preponderence of his short life to the advancement of his utopian brotherhood. Yet Poe persistently refused to acquiesce to the enlistment of poetry in the crusades for either social or personal redemption. Poe's definition of poetry, derived directly from Coleridge, was expressed as early as 1831, in the preface to the edition of his poems published in that year. He wrote, "a poem, in my opinion, is opposed to a work of science by having, for its immediate object pleasure, not truth."[119] He would adhere to this philosophy, with but slight modification, in "The Poetic Principle" (posthumously published, 1850).

Poe was not Godless but he did not give evidence of concern with conventional Christianity. While he would later emerge in "Eureka" as an original metaphysician, Poe was wholly lacking in outword spirituality on one hand, and in the pervasive, materialistic optimism evidenced in the belief in progress and perfectibility on the other. Three months after leaving Philadelphia, in July of 1844, he wrote to Lowell:

---

[118]For coverage of popular movements such as revivalism, temperance, and reform see Carl Bode, The Anatomy of American Popular Culture 1840-1861 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), Russell Blaine Nye, Society and Culture in America, 1830-1860 (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), and Alice Felt Tyler, Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History to 1860 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944).

[119]Quinn, Poe, p. 175.

> I really perceive that vanity about which most men merely prate--the vanity of the human or temporal life. I live continually in a reverie of the future. I have no faith in human perfectibility. I think that human exertion will have no appreciable effect on humanity. Man is now only more active--not more happy--nor more wise, than he was 6000 years ago. The result will never vary--and to suppose that it will, is to suppose that the foregone man has lived in vain--that the foregone time is but the rudiment of the future--that the myriads who have perished have not been upon equal footing with ourselves--nor are we with our posterity. I cannot agree to lose sight of the individual, in man the mass.--I have no belief in spirituality. I think the word is a mere word. No one has really a conception of spirit. We cannot imagine what is not.[120]

This is the statement of a man profoundly at odds with his times. The literature he had produced, and continued to produce, is largely consistent with this philosophical expression. There was a widening gulf between Poe's work, critical, literary and poetic, and the morally tempered aesthetic of the 1840s. Lowell's reaction to Poe's revealing letter, in which Poe poured forth some observations prefiguring Eureka, is unrecorded. The private response, however, on the part of the poet who would employ his pen with such topical pieces as "The Biglow Papers"[121] may have been bemusement. Bitterly Poe berated the poets who ignored his edicts on the pure pursuit of the art, and when they failed to listen, and bowed instead to popular applause, he became more strident still.

---

[120] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 256-257.

[121] Lowell wrote the popular poem in response to the Mexican War.

Following upon the controversies of the summer and autumn of 1843, the early months of 1844 seem to have been quiet ones for Poe. Eighteen forty-three may have ended on a slightly unpleasant note. Beginning in November, Thomas Dunn English, now strongly allied with the temperance movement, began the serialized publication of The Doom of the Drinker in the Saturday Museum. Part 3 of the novel, published on December 9, contained a sketch in which many scholars recognize a portrait of Poe. The scene is a dinner where spirits flow freely. Next to the host

> . . . sat a pale, gentlemanly looking personage, with a quick piercing, restless eye, and a very broad and peculiarly shaped forehead. He would occasionally, under the excitement of the wine, utter some brilliant jests, which fell all unheaded on the ears of the majority of the drinkers, for they could appreciate no witticisms that were not coarse and open. This man seemed hardly in his element, and no doubt wished himself away at least a dozen times during the evening. He was an extraordinary being, one of the few who arise among us with a power to steal judiciously. He was a writer of tact, which is of a higher order than ordinary genius. But he was better known as a critic than as any thing else. His fine analytical powers, together with his bitter and apparently candid style, made him the terror of dunces and the evil spirit of wealthy blockheads, who create books without possessing brains. He made no ceremony though, in appropriating the ideas of others when it suited his turn, and, as a man, was the very incarnation of treachery and falsehood.[122]

It is not known whether Poe encountered, or reacted to this clever mixture of fact and fiction. As his inability to

---

[122]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 650-652. Sidney Moss argues that the identification of Poe as the central figure in English's sketch is uncertain. See Sidney Moss, Poe's Major Crisis (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1970), p. 101. Dwight Thomas argues to this reader's satisfaction that the personage described was indeed Poe.

tolerate alcohol became generally known, Poe would be trundled out repeatedly whenever temperance advocates needed an example of a brilliant but misspent life.

Poe's literary output continued in a regular but unhurried fashion. "Morning on the Wissahickon," an occasional piece written sometime in 1843, appeared in The Opal for 1844.[123] It is one of the very few sketches in which Poe drew heavily upon his Philadelphia surroundings, and his obvious familiarity with the landscape and flora of the creek lends credence to Horace Wemyss Smith's recollection that Poe used to visit his grandmother at her home near the Falls of the Schuylkill.[124] Poe's review of Richard Henry Horne's Orion appeared in the March number of Graham's, and "A Tale of the Ragged Mountains" in the April Godey's. He may possibly have been at work on "The Balloon Hoax," "The Raven," and possibly "The Purloined Letter." As "The Balloon Hoax" was published in the New York Extra Sun on April 13, it is likely that he had been at work on it before leaving Philadelphia on April 6. "The Spectacles," a lengthy and ill-admired burlesque, appeared in the Dollar Newspaper on March 27.[125] Along with the tale in Godey's, "The Spectacles"

---

[123]Mabbott, Collected Works, 3: 860.

[124]Ibid., p. 861.

[125]Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 692, 695.

was one of the last pieces to appear while Poe resided in Philadelphia. The period was not without it's lulls, however, for on March 30 Poe was writing to Lowell, "I am just now quite disengaged--in fact positively idle."[126]

Graham, despite his harsh treatment of Poe in his letter to Longfellow, was not above asking Poe to write a biographical sketch of Lowell for the series entitled "Our Contributors." Poe asked Lowell for the requisite data so that he might supply the sketch. The project was dropped when Poe moved to New York, but Lowell provided the same service for Poe, producing one of the few genuinely thoughtful critiques to appear on Poe during his lifetime. Graham printed it, with an inexplicably vapid portrait engraving, in his February 1845 number.[127]

By now, resorting to a magazine project had become a reflexive action for Poe between periods of irregular employment. In his March 30 missive to Lowell he ruminated on the problems proceeding from the lack of an international copyright law, and disclosed his continuing interest in "a well founded Monthly Journal, of sufficient ability, circulation, and character, to control and so give tone to, our

---

[126]Ostrom, Letters, 1: 246.

[127]Graham's Gentleman's Magazine (1845): 49-53. On this exchange see Thomas, "Poe in Philadelphia," pp. 687-688.

letters."[128] He envisioned it achieving a circulation of 100,000, and at this juncture he introduced a new idea; "a coalition" of eminent writers to set it on its way and serve as guardians of its lofty ideals of "Independence, Truth, Originality."[129] Would Lowell, he asked hopefully, give his opinion?

When at length Poe did accomplish his goal of having his own publication, in 1845, and had taken control of the New York newspaper called the Broadway Journal, he lacked the funds, the resiliency, and the good fortune to be able to sustain the project and turn it into the showcase of literary excellence that he had for so long envisioned.[130]

In his March 30 letter to Lowell, Poe made no mention of an impending move to New York, yet before a week was out, he had packed up Virginia and had taken her northward to resume their lives in a new setting.* Possibly the New York Sun had already accepted "The Balloon Hoax," and Poe sensed that new opportunities were opening to the north. His efforts to found his own magazine in Philadelphia having failed, he likely felt that, as one biographer has put it, "Philadelphia was played out. . . ."[131]

---

[128] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 247.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Quinn, Poe, pp. 488-495.

[131] Bittner, Poe, p. 193.

* [Editor's Note: Poe's move to New York is described in Ostrom, Letters, 1: 251-253. The letter is dated, "New-York, Sunday Morning April 7. just after breakfast."]

Leaving Mrs. Clemm behind to deal with disposing of items in the house, and perhaps having given some furniture to his landlord to cover arrears in rent,[132] Poe and Virginia left the 7th Street house early on the morning of April 6. He described the ensuing trip minutely, in a curiously infantile letter to Mrs. Clemm, written from New York on the following day.[133]

He and Virginia had taken a conveyance with their luggage to the Walnut Street Wharf, arriving at a quarter past six. "The driver," he told Mrs. Clemm, "wanted me to pay a dollar, but I wouldn't."[134] They had a forty-five minute wait before the train left, and after loading the baggage Poe took Virginia to the Depot Hotel where they read the Ledger, the Spirit of the Times, and the Chronicle. Travelling by train to Amboy and then by steamboat to New York, they arrived about three in the afternoon, in a heavy downpour. Having bought an umbrella for sixty-two cents for Virginia, Poe went off alone in search of a boarding establishment. He found one readily enough, Morison's on the west side of Cedar Street, within the space of half an hour. The food, he told Mrs. Clemm, was sumptuous and plentiful. She would follow them later, with the family cat.*

* * *

---

[132] Phillips, Poe the Man, pp. 825-827.

[133] Ostrom, Letters, 1: 251-253. The letter is dated, "New-York, Sunday Morning April 7. just after breakfast."

[134] Ibid., p. 251.

* [Editor's Note: The author is making a guess that Maria Clemm brought the cat with her. This guess is probably based upon Poe's letter cited in footnote 133 above.]

Poe's literary output during the six years he spent in Philadelphia is remarkable particularly in the light of the upheavals which punctuated his professional and domestic life. He produced at the very least twenty-five tales, the occasional poem, and prodigious quantities of reviews and articles. For these he received but slim financial reward. He was only employed regularly as an editor for about two years, and for the remainder of the time he eked out a living with his writings. Arthur H. Quinn was probably correct in saying that "For part of his stay in Philadelphia he was even happy, . ."[135] but we know certainly that the reverse was often the case. Would he have stayed if the literary climate had been more hospitable? Probably, if he had been able to launch his magazine. The restlessness, however, that recurred during his adult life should not be discounted in considering the motive for his move.

Virginia Poe died of tuberculosis on January 30, 1847, at the cottage Poe had rented in Fordham, New York.[136] When he left Philadelphia Poe himself had but five and a half years left to live, during which time the demons of his existence tightened their grip on his failing mind and body. Before him lay more tales, a revived interest in poetry, and Eureka. His death in Baltimore in October of 1849 was as

---

[135] Quinn, Poe, p. 404.

[136] Ibid., pp. 527-528.

enigmatic as the demise of any of the characters in his tales.[137] Poe's work was then left to an admiring, bemused, and in the case of the Reverend Rufus Griswold, an unforgiving posterity.

---

[137]Ibid., pp. 635-641.

Part II, Chapter I

"UNHAPPY PRIVACY"--THE POE HOUSE TO 1928

On January 11, 1845, William M. Alburger, who was probably Poe's landlord and the owner of No. 234 (530) North Seventh Street, transferred the property by deed to James and Henry Jones, brass founders, for $1,000.[1] When Henry Jones sold his half-share of the property to James Jones on May 22, 1849, the price was $2,899.25.[2] It is reasonable to suggest that the increased value of the property within the space of four years resulted from the construction during that period of the main, or front, portion of the structure. The tax assessment for the property in 1847 was $1,400 (as contrasted with $3,400 for No. 532),[3] and thus the date for the construction of the main block of No. 530 might be further narrowed to between 1847 and 1849. The tax assessment of the 4th Ward, Spring Garden, taken in late 1843 or early 1844 identified the Jones's as the tax paying owners of the property, thus it is possible that they had some interest in it while Poe, who is listed as the

[1]Philadelphia Deed Book RLL--33, pp. 119-201, ACCP.

[2]Philadelphia Deed Book GWG--53, pp. 231-233, ACCP.

[3]Note by Beatrice Kirkbride, Research Assistant, Philadelphia Historical Commission, 10 August 1972, Philadelphia Historical Commission.

renter, lived at the location.[4] The property then descended through the family of James Jones and their heirs until a sale was concluded in August, 1913, between Frank M. Oliver and Marcus Hillman.[5] During the years between 1844 and 1913, a strong neighborhood tradition continued to identify the rear, back building of No. 530 as the structure in which Poe and his family had resided.

At the end of the nineteenth century, thanks in part to continued interest in France and Great Britain, enthusiasm for Poe's work began to revive. His personal reputation still suffered from the calumnies which had been heaped upon him by Rufus Griswold, but his manifest and acknowledged influence on writers both European and American led at last to his recognition as one of the great American writers of his century. At the same time, spurred by the Centennial celebrations of 1876, a movement grew for the preservation of dwellings and sites related to America's political, military, and cultural heroes. Thus it was that an article entitled, "Shall We Preserve the Poe Cottage at Fordham" appeared in New York City's influential Review of Reviews in April, 1896. It recorded a mixed but generally favorable response to the query, which had been submitted by the

---

[4]Tax Assessment, 4th Ward Spring Garden, 1844, ACCP.

[5]Philadelphia Deed Book ELT-244, pp. 568-576, ACCP.

editors to several literary and scholarly figures, including Hamlin Garland, Woodrow Wilson, and Julian Hawthorne.[6] Hawthorne sounded the dissenting note, and deplored the practice of preserving the houses of noteworthy men, when their own work was likely to remain their most important monument. On Poe he wrote:

> Personally, his figure is touching, pathetic and lovable: no man who knows men can condemn him. He seems to have put into his work what was highest in him; what was not high he tried to conceal; but it is no one's business to disturb that unhappy privacy.[7]

Positive voices eventually prevailed, however, and after narrowly escaping demolition, the Fordham cottage was moved to a nearby park and opened as a museum in 1917.[8] Meanwhile, residents of Poe's adopted native city of Richmond formed the "Poe Memorial Association" in 1906 to commemorate Poe's residence in the city with a bronze statue, and by

---

[6]See Burton R. Pollin, "Woodrow Wilson and Julian Hawthorne on Poe: Letters from an Overlooked Scholarly Resource," Poe Studies 12 (December 1979): 35. Also on the history and preservation of the Poe Cottage in Fordham: John Piper, "The Edgar Allan Poe Cottage . . . A Reflection of American Culture and Society." Master's Thesis, University of Maryland, 1977; and Reginald Bolton, The Poe Cottage. New York: Bronx Society of Arts and Sciences, 1922.

[7]Julian Hawthorne to Albert Shaw, 18 March 1896, Gratz Collection, HSP.

[8]Gary D. Hermalyn, "The Poe Cottage of Fordham," The Poe Messenger, 8 (Spring 1978): 9.

1907 a similar movement was afoot in Baltimore.[9] The Poe Memorial Association of Richmond was an ancestor of the Poe Foundation, Incorporated, current proprietors of the Poe Museum in that city.

In 1906, Ellis Paxon Oberholtzer published his Literary History of Philadelphia, which focused attention on the Poe residence at 530 North Seventh Street. While Oberholtzer drew much of his published commentary from the questionable reminiscences of Amanda Harris and Mayne Reid, he correctly identified the structure as "the back building of the house standing at 530 North Seventh Street, at the corner of Brandywine which is a small street just above Spring Garden."[10]

Oberholtzer was author of another unpublished paper as well, one which investigated in depth the association of Poe with Spring Garden. He evidently interviewed neighbors who had recollections of Poe's residency in the neighborhood. Although the manuscript was used by Hervey Allen in Israfel and by Mary Phillips in Poe the Man, it has since

[9]Denise Bethel, "The Origins of Richmond's Poe Museum," The Poe Messenger, 7 (Spring 1977): 1.

[10]Ellis Paxon Oberholtzer, Literary History of Philadelphia (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs, 1906), p. 287. As a result of the consolidation of the City of Philadelphia and the outlying districts in 1854, Wistar Street between Seventh and Franklin was renamed Minerva Street. (See Philadelphia City Council, An Ordinance to Change the Names of Certain Streets. . . (Philadelphia: Bicking & Guilbert, 1858), p. 64. The name was again changed, to Brandywine Street, in about 1895.

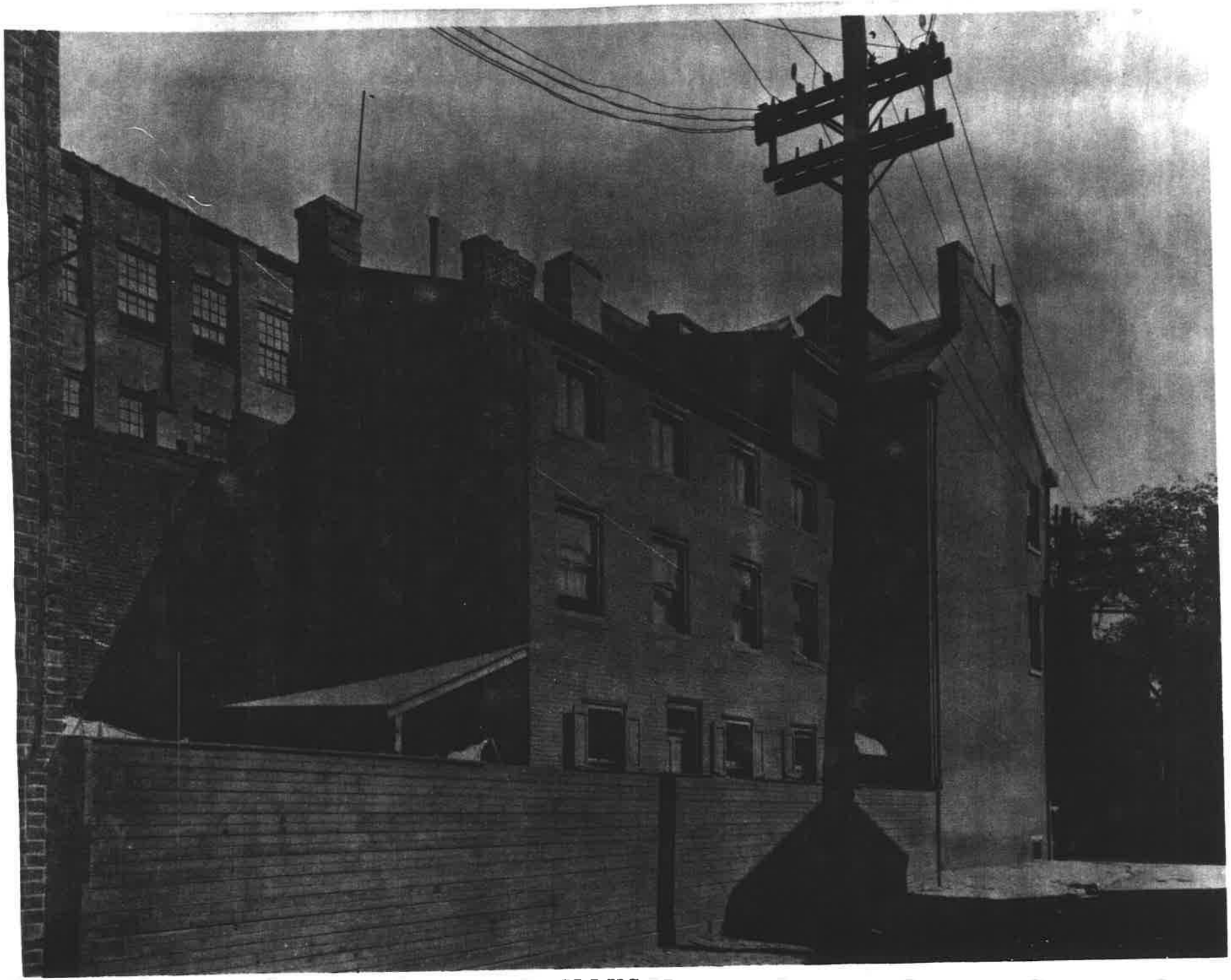
been lost.[11] Following Oberholtzer, the house also drew the attention of Mary Phillips, and Joseph Jackson, in his Literary Landmarks in Philadelphia (1939). About the same time, the house began to be featured in popular guide books of Philadelphia, such as Francis Burke Brandt and Henry Volkmar Gummere's Byways and Boulevards in and about Historic Philadelphia (1925), and Joseph Jackson's See Philadelphia (1937).

By the 1920s, sites in Philadelphia associated with Poe were fast succumbing to the wreckers. No. 2502 Fairmount Avenue, supposed by some to have been the house Poe lived in while resident in the Fairmount section, was demolished to make way for the Benjamin Franklin Parkway. In 1924, No. 227 Dock Street, on the corner of Moravian, identified as the offices of Burton's Gentleman's Magazine, was razed to accommodate the building of the Seaman's Church Institute of Philadelphia. While the event was noticed nostalgically in the press, there was no concerted effort to save the building.[12]

---

[11] A Search of the Oberholtzer Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania failed to locate the manuscript. An article in the Philadelphia Public Ledger, 22 March 1904, entitled "What Edgar Allan Poe Did in Philadelphia," implied that the 530 North 7th Street address had been recently brought to the attention of the public through inquiries among elderly inhabitants of Spring Garden.

[12] Philadelphia Public Ledger, 22 June 1924, "Edgar Allan Poe's Workshop in Dock Street to Vanish with Erection of New Building." (The article includes a photograph.)



ILLUS. 7

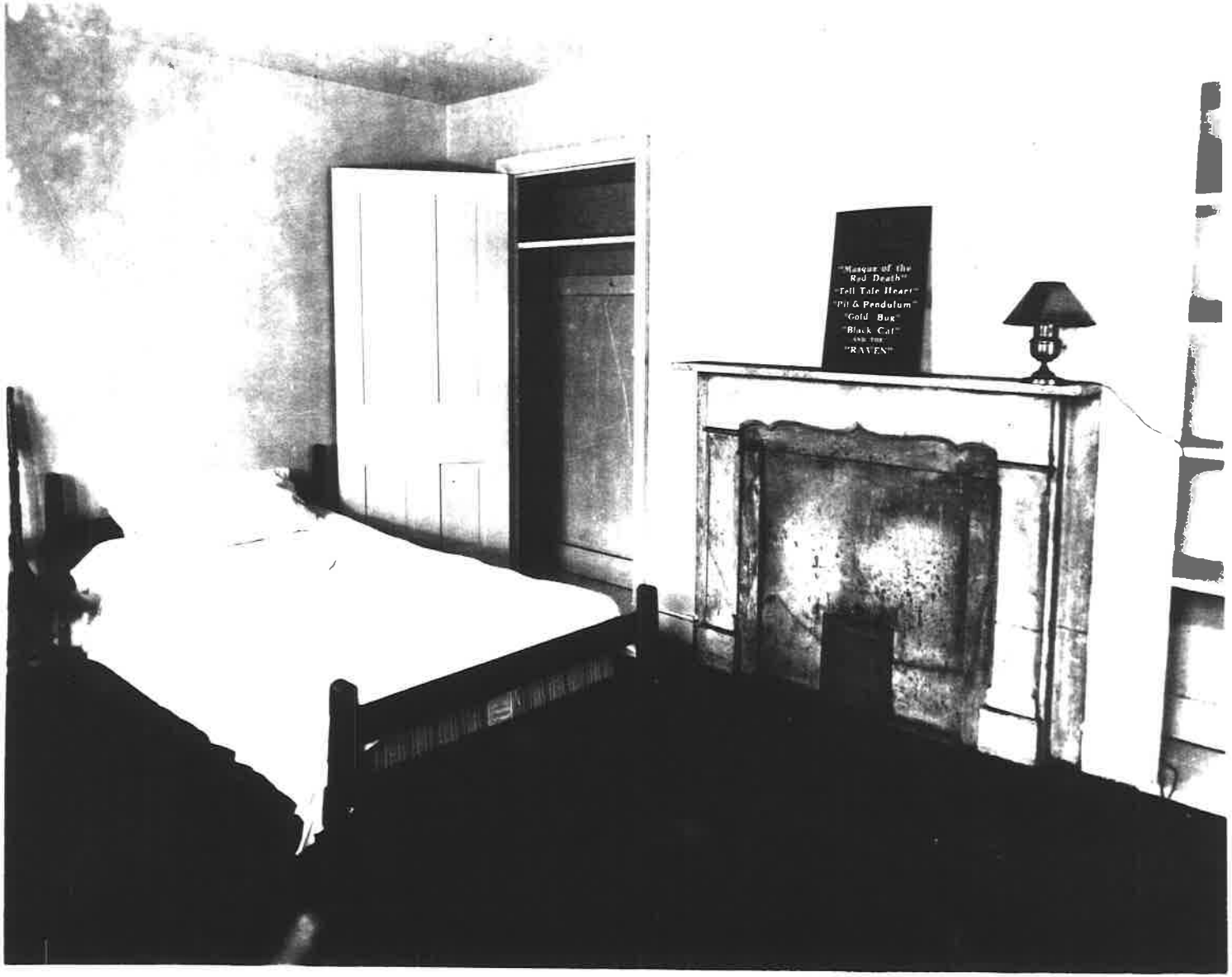
ILLUS. 8

ILLUS. 9

A PHILADELPHIAN
DURING THE MOST
IMPORTANT PART
OF HIS LIFE
1838 1844

ILLUS. 11

ILLUS. 12


"Masque of the
Red Death"
"Tell Tale Heart"
"Pit & Pendulum"
"Gold Bug"
"Black Cat"
and the
"RAVEN"

ILLUS. 13

Before long it was evident that the only building remaining in Philadelphia with which Poe was known to have had any important association was No. 530 North Seventh Street. It is said that a Mrs. William Owens lived in the house during the 1920s, and that she was well aware of its former inhabitant.[13] She opened the house on the anniversaries of Poe's birth and death each year, as numerous afficionadoes visited, from near and far. The cost of a glimpse of the interior of the back portion of the house, where Poe had lived, was five cents.[14]

By 1930 the neighborhood was still residential in part, but large multi-storied brick factories now overshadowed the remaining residences on Seventh Street. One towered over the cramped back yard of No. 530 (see illustration 10), and another, a five-story structure where brooms were manufactured, had replaced No. 536 and No. 538 and adjoined No. 534 (see illustration 9). At this time residences still lined the east side of Seventh Street (see illustrations 7 and 9), and thus the neighborhood exhibited traces of its nineteenth century appearance. By 1859, however, Caspar Pennock's offices on the northwest corner of Seventh and Spring Garden had been replaced by the First Dutch Reformed Church (see Map 7). By this time Poe's old

---

[13]Mrs. Owens does not appear in the chain of title, and thus she is likely to have been a renter.

[14]Personal communication, Mrs. Anthony Frayne.

block had been almost entirely built up, the only open space being a marble yard. By 1930, the church had disappeared, to be replaced by a gas station. Some of the houses in the neighborhood, like No. 534, were by this time converted into rooming houses. It would have taken little imagination to see that the Poe house and its remaining neighboring dwellings, situated in a declining residential neighborhood infiltrated by light industry, were ripe for the wreckers.

Part II, Chapter II

RICHARD GIMBEL AND THE POE FOUNDATION, 1928-1971

Credit for saving the Poe house from a probable demise is unquestionably due to Richard Gimbel, Philadelphia entrepreneur and one of the principal collectors of manuscripts and rare books of his generation. Gimbel had the unfailing determination to acquire important items which is the essential attribute of a great collector, and the materials he amassed on Charles Dickens (Yale University), Thomas Paine (American Philosophical Society), and aviation (Smithsonian), as well as on Poe, represent a remarkable achievement. The Poe Collection, now housed at the Philadelphia Free Library, is one of the foremost Poe collections in the world, including letters, manuscripts, paintings, memorabilia, runs of nineteenth century periodicals, foreign editions of Poe's work, and pamphlets.

Richard Gimbel's interest in Poe was evidently kindled through his collecting of the work of Charles Dickens.[1] About 1928 he began negotiations for the purchase

[1]This by Gimbel's own statement, "Richard Gimbel Discusses Work of Restoring Poe House in Philadeophia," The Academy Scholium (Episcopal Academy newspaper), 48 (12 December 1935): 1. Verbal communication, Mrs. Richard Gimbel.

of 530 North Seventh Street and, through the Richard Gimbel Foundation for Literary Research, concluded the purchase of the property by December 1, 1933.[2] During the period over which he acquired the property, Gimbel began collecting Poe items in earnest. As he declared in 1935, "It is my aim to make the collection of Poe-ana, or things having to do with Poe, the finest of its kind in the world."[3] As he began to accumulate what became at length a vast collection, much of the material was stored at the Poe house.

Gimbel was now faced with the problem of insuring the safety and proper care of the house and his burgeoning acquisitions. In 1933 he met Anthony J. Frayne, an instructor in English at Villanova University, who by late May 1933 had applied for the position of curator of the Poe house.[4] Frayne was engaged by November, and began four decades of service to the Poe house which concluded only with his death in 1973. Mrs. Barbara Frayne, resident with him from the time of their marriage in 1936, shared the responsibilities of care for the house and guiding visitors through the

---

[2]Deed Book JMH--3708, pp. 471-473. ACP. Gimbel was managing the property from 1932.

[3]"Richard Gimbel Discusses Work of Restoring Poe House in Philadelphia," The Academy Scholium, 48 (12 December 1935): 1.

[4]Richard Gimbel to Mrs. Henry T. MacNeill, 23 May 1933, PFL.

premises seven days a week.[5] By November of 1933, Anthony Frayne was giving tours of the house to clubs, school groups, and other organizations.[6]

Richard Gimbel had soon embarked on a vigorous publicity campaign to alert the world to the nature of his prize acquisition, and to engender interest in the poet himself, whom many considered to be sadly neglected and still suffering from the blemished reputation fostered by his enemies. The initiatives included radio and newspaper interviews and programs, talks before literary and historical societies, dinners, celebrations, and the announcement of new and exciting acquisitions to the press. Gimbel had founded an organization called the Poe Club by 1930, the activities of which were noticed in the local press, and he spoke before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in January, 1933. He was prominent in the intercity network of organizations pursuing similar aims in other eastern cities.[7]

In 1933 Gimbel began preparations for an extravaganza of overwhelming proportions; a formal dinner for 1,300 to mark the 125th anniversary of Poe's birth, January 19, 1934, given at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel. He invited every dignitary imaginable, those whom he thought might actually

---

[5]Personal communication, Mrs. Anthony Frayne.

[6]See for instance Margaret T. Maguire to Richard Gimbel, 1 November 1933, and Isabel Crawford to Richard Gimbel, 13 November 133, PFL.

[7]Frances A. Wister to Richard Gimbel, 18 February 1933, PFL.

attend and those who might supply a suitable congratulatory tribute to Poe. The invitees included literary and journalistic figures, the governors of every state in the union, hosts of foreign ambassadors and ministers, senators, representatives to Congress, scholars and businessmen. Although most declined to attend, Gimbel filled his dining room and achieved his objective: the creation of a "media event" of considerable magnitude. The guests of honor included scholar and lecturer William Lyon Phelps, Governor Gifford Pinchot, members of the Poe family, Thornton Wilder, and Belle da Costa Green of New York's Morgan Library. At the dinner, Gimbel read samples of the bushels of messages that had arrived, including one from George Bernard Shaw, who cabled, "I congratulate America on having at last discovered its finest and too long buried literary treasure. Are you the 'Goldbug'?"[8] The dinner program included a dedication of the Poe house, and a playlet dramatizing an incident which had occurred in the offices of Graham's Magazine.[9]

The Poe anniversary banquet was followed on April 9, 1934, by a smaller affair commemorating the birth of the French poet and Poe translator, Charles Baudelaire. The

---

[8]Undated note, Gimbel Collection, PFL.

[9]Dinner program for banquet, 19 January 1934, Benjamin Franklin Hotel, Philadelphia, PFL.

increased publicity engendered by Gimbel's efforts had the benefit of eliciting numerous inquiries from persons wishing to sell Poe items. If occasionally these seemed but marginally relevant (Miss Olive Wells wished to sell Gimbel a portrait of Thomas Sutcliff, "who was the inventer [sic] of the fly shuttle"),[10] Gimbel nevertheless concluded many important purchases for the collection.

Having purchased 530 North Seventh Street and engaged a curator, Gimbel refurbished the house for receiving the public. Over the years of Gimbel Foundation proprietorship, the building was replastered and repainted, new window sashes were installed, and a tall, protective weatherboard fence was erected between the house and Brandywine (Wistar) Street.[11] The house was gradually furnished by Gimbel and by Anthony Frayne with period furniture, although no piece had a Poe association.

In December, 1935, Gimbel negotiated the purchase of 532 North Seventh Street, to add to the space available for the collections and to provide living quarters for Mr. and Mrs. Frayne.[12] The building was in very poor condition (a

---

[10]Olive Wells to Richard Gimbel, 7 February 1936, PFL.

[11]See illustrations 7 through 10.

[12]This transaction was a bit complicated. On December 9, 1935, the Kazimierz Wielki Building & Loan Association sold No. 532 to Israel Goldberg for $2,250, and Goldberg turned it over to the Richard Gimbel Foundation for a consideration of one dollar on the same day. (Deed Book JMH--3914, pp. 350-35 and 433-435. ACP). As Gimbel's interest in properties adjacent to the Poe house became known, he seems to have employed agents.

roomer kept chickens on the top floor), and many of the doors and portions of trim had been gnawed irrecoverably by rats. Gimbel and Frayne acquired used doors from a salvage company and Frayne fitted them and did much of the repair work himself.[13] In January 1936 Gimbel purchased a filing cabinet, bookcase, and a moveable safe, presumably for installation in 532 to house his collections and research materials.[14] Gimbel turned the front (east) room of 532 into an office, and the rear, or west, room into an office for Frayne.[15]

For thirty years the house continued under this arrangement, with minor repairs being the only occurrences. Then several important events affecting the future of the house occurred in rapid succession in 1963 and 1964. On January 4, 1963, the National Park Service announced that the Poe house, along with the Walnut Street Theatre and the Academy of Music, had been declared National Landmarks.[16] The same year, the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority began the demolition of buildings to the north, south, east, and west of the property in preparation for construction of the East Poplar Urban Renewal Area housing project. A gas station which had been built on the northwest corner of

---

[13]Personal communication, Mrs. Anthony Frayne.

[14]Receipt dated 12 January 1936, PFL.

[15]Personal communication, Mrs. Anthony Frayne.

[16]Philadelphia Inquirer, 4 January 1963.

Seventh and Spring Garden was razed, as were factory structures adjoining the property on the west and on the southwest corner of Seventh and Green.

For many years Richard Gimbel had been interested in acquiring properties adjoining the Poe house lot, and at last he had the opportunity. On January 20, 1966, a transaction was completed whereby the Richard Gimbel Foundation purchased two now vacant lots, for the sum of $9,800. One lot extended 134' 8-3/8" north on Seventh Street from the corner of Spring Garden, and west 77'6" along Spring Garden. The other extended 78'8" south from Green Street on Seventh and 88' 5-3/4" along Green.[17] (The former included the lot owned by Caspar Pennock in 1844, and the latter the former sites of Nos. 238, 240, and 242 North Seventh Street, by the old pre-1854 numbering system.) (See Map 5.)[18]

In 1963 the interior of the Poe house was also refurbished, as it had evidently received only routine maintenance during the thirty years of Gimbel Foundation proprietorship. While the two new lots were fenced and seeded, and Brandywine Street between Seventh and Franklin permanently closed to traffic, a chain-link fence along the south facade of the Poe house was removed and replaced with

---

[17]Deed Book CAD-664, pp. 68-68, ACP.

[18]See also memorandum for Francis Delahanty to Joseph J. Turchi, 21 January 1966, Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority.

a white picket one. The refurbishments, which included repainting and some replastering in the interior, were widely noticed in the press.[19] The Fraynes continued as curators and guides, the managerial arrangement remaining unchanged until a new era began following the death of Richard Gimbel in 1971.

As a driving force behind the Gimbel Foundation, Richard Gimbel had assured the preservation of a landmark through four difficult decades. It remained for municipal and Federal agencies to take up the responsibility for the preservation and interpretation of Poe's residence on Seventh Street.

---

[19]See Arthur M. Louis, "Poe's Garden, House Being Restored Here," Philadelphia Inquirer, 13 October 1963; and James Smart, "In Our Town," Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, 30 March 1964.

Part II, Chapter III

THE POE HOUSE, 1971-1981

In May, 1971, Philadelphia's Mayor Tate proposed an ordinance before City Council whereby the City would accept the Poe House from the Richard Gimbel Foundation for Literary Research, the house to be administered by the Philadelphia Free Library.[1] The ordinance was approved and the Free Library began its ten-year tenure as custodian of the Seventh Street property, now including Nos. 530 and 532, and the lots Gimbel had acquired on Spring Garden and Green Streets. Under city management, Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Frayne continued as live-in curators.

The Free Library began almost immediately to seek funds for an architectural analysis of the property, and on August 1, 1972, the National Trust for Historic Preservation granted the Library $400 to engage an architectural consultant to examine Nos. 530 and 532 and provide recommendations on restoration.[2] By November 1972 John Lloyd Associates of

---

[1]"City Takeover of Poe House Is Proposed in Tate Ordinance," Philadelphia Inquirer, 8 May 1971.

[2]Russell Keune to Keith Doms (Director of the Free Library), 1 August 1972, Philadelphia Historical Commission. (Letter announcing grant.)

Philadelphia were retained as consultants on the project,[3] and the firm submitted a brief report the following October which outlined a program of renovation.[4] Pending arrival of funds, the work did not move ahead until 1977.

In May 1974, Congressman Joshua Eilberg introduced resolution 14964 in the House of Representatives to establish the Edgar Allan Poe House as a National Historical Park, an initiative which would at length see fruition in 1978.

In 1977 the City of Philadelphia received a grant of $469,000 from the Economic Development Administration, under the Public Works Employment Act of 1976, for work on the Poe House. This was supplemented by a $50,000 grant from the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.[5] On November 3, 1977, John Lloyd Associates were informed that their bid for restoration work on the Poe House was accepted,[6] and on January 4, 1978, the firm released their "Specifications for the Edgar Allan Poe House Complex,"[7]

---

[3]Russell Keune to Keith Doms, 3 November 1972, Philadelphia Historical Commission.

[4]John Lloyd Associates, Architects, "Architectural Report on the Restoration of the Edgar Allan Poe House. . ." (October 1973), typescript, Philadelphia Historical Commission.

[5]Correspondence, Philadelphia Historical Commission.

[6]Otto Hass to John Lloyd Associates, 3 November 1977, Philadelphia Historical Commission.

[7]Copy on file, Philadelphia Historical Commission.

for construction subcontracting. The Poe House was subsequently closed for the renovations, which continued throughout 1978.

At length, on November 10, 1978, Congress passed Public Law 95-625, section 503 of which authorized the establishment of the Edgar Allan Poe National Historical Site:

Sec. 503. (a) In recognition of the literary importance attained by Edgar Allan Poe, there is hereby authorized to be established the Edgar Allan Poe National Historic Site.

(b) The Secretary is authorized to acquire by donation, purchase or exchange the lands and buildings within the area described in subsection (c). The lands and buildings acquired by the Secretary under this section shall comprise the Edgar Allan Poe National Historic Site and shall be administered by the Secretary through the National Park Service. The Secretary shall administer, maintain, protect, and develop the site subject to the provisions of law generally applicable to national historic sites.

(c) The lands and buildings specified in subsection (b) comprise the area of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania known as the Poe House complex and includes the house at the rear of 530 North Seventh Street, the adjoining three-story brick residence on the front of the land backing up to and including the building at 532 North Seventh Street, and the North Garden of approximately seven thousand and eighty square feet and the South Garden of approximately nine thousand three hundred and fifty square feet.

(d) As soon as the Secretary finds that the substantial portion of the acquisition authorized under subsection (b) has been completed, he shall establish the Edgar Allan Poe National Historic Site by publication of notice thereof in the Federal Register.

(e) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this section.

Public Law 95-625
November 10, 1978

Cecil D. Andrus, then Secretary of the Interior, gave notice of the establishment of the site on 22 August, 1980, as follows:

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Edgar Allan Poe National Historic Site,
Notice of Establishment

Whereas, the United States has acquired the land described in Section 503 (c) of Pub. L 95-625, November 10, 1978, and has placed it under administration of the National Park Service for the purposes specified in the Act.

Now, therefore, I, Cecil D. Andrus, Secretary of the Interior, hereby give notice of the establishment of Edgar Allan Poe National Site in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Edgar Allan Poe National Historic Site shall be administered in accordance with the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535) as amended and supplemented (16 U.S.C. 1-4).

Dated August 14, 1980.

Cecil D. Andrus
Secretary of the Interior[8]

John Lloyd Associates had completed renovations to the portion of No. 530 known as the Poe House by the time the National Park Service took possession in March, 1980. Alterations to the structure included replacement of window sashes, replastering and painting the interior, and replacement of door hardware. The fireplace in the west room on the ground floor was substantially altered, and the exterior

---

[8] Federal Register, Vol. 45, No. 165 (22 August 1980), Notices.

of the building repointed.[9]

The Edgar Allan Poe National Historic Site, its significance as a site of national cultural importance officially recognized, is currently administered by Independence National Historical Park. The site was dedicated by Superintendent Hobart G. Cawood on June 18, 1981, with scholars, representatives from other Poe museums, and members of the Gimbel family in attendance.

---

[9]For documents and articles relating to the controversy that developed surrounding the work of John Lloyd Associates at the house, the reader is referred to: Edward Weintraub (State Historic Preservation Officer) to Thomas J. McConkey (Chief, Administrative Services, Free Library), 10 January 1979, Philadelphia Historical Commission; and Lee H. Nelson to Edward Weintraub, 25 April 1979, Philadelphia Historical Commission. As for the manner in which the issue was treated in the press, see the Philadelphia Inquirer, 14 January 1979 and 23 March 1979.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A1

CHAIN OF TITLE

Property now known as No. 530 North Seventh Street

Deed Book AM-70, 632-637
Sarah Pennock, widow to Caspar W. Sharpless and Abraham W. Sharpless
15 May 1834, recorded 13 January 1836

. . . And also that lot of ground situate on the West side of said 7th Street between said Green and Wistar Streets containing in front on the said Seventh Street 114 feet 8 inches on the said Green Street 124 feet 5 3/4 inches and on the said Wistar Street 114 feet 11 inches bounded Northward by said Green Street eastward by said 7th Street Southward by Wistar Street and Westward by a lot above described as part of the allotment made and assigned to the said Sarah Pennock.

[Six lots in this area were involved in this transaction.]

Deed Book SHF-2, 43-44
Abraham W. Sharpless to Caspar W. Sharpless, for $18,000.
13 March 1836, recorded 2 April 1836.

Three lots, one as described above.

Deed Book GS-20, 415-418.
Caspar W. Sharpless & Elizabeth his wife, Abraham W. Sharpless & Anne C. his wife, to William M. Alburger, District of Spring Garden, Plumber, for $1.00 and yearly rent and taxes at $102.
9 September 1840, recorded 21 September 1840.

A certain lot or piece of ground situate on the west side of Delaware Seventh Street at the distance of 97'8" Southward from the South west corner of sd. Seventh Street and Green Street in the District of Spring Garden aforesaid. Containing in front or breadth on said Seventh Street 17 feet

& extg. thence in length or depth Westward 78 feet 11 inches on the South line and 80 feet 7 1/4 inches on the North line thereof which is at right angles with said Seventh Street. Bounded Northward by a lot granted or intended to be granted to John Evans Jr. on Ground Rent Westward by a lot heretofore granted to George Dilks on Ground Rent Southward by a 20 feet wide street called Wistar Street and Eastward by Seventh Street aforesaid.

. . . .

Also that he the said William M. Alburger his heirs & assigns shall and will within one year from the date hereof erect and build on the said hereby granted lot a good and substantial Brick Building of sufficient value to secure the said yearly rent hereby reserved.

[A note appended states that if $1,700. is paid the Sharpless's within seven years, the yearly rent is cancelled.]

Deed Book GS-44, 194-195
William M. Alburger, Plumber & Lydia Ann, his wife, to Jesse White Gentleman, for $1,200.
4 August 1842, recorded 5 August 1842

All that Certain Lot or piece of ground with the 3 story brick Building thereon by William Alburger Situate on the west side of Delaware 7th St. at the distance of 97 feet 8 inches Southward from the southwest corner of said 7th St. & Green Street. Containing in front or Breadth on the said 7th St. 17 feet and extended thence in length or depth westward 78 feet 11 inches on the south line and 80 feet 7 1/4 inches on the North line thereof which is at right angles with said 7th St. Bounded Northward by a lot granted or intended to have been granted to John Evans Jr. on ground Southward by a 20 foot wide street called Wistar Street and Eastward by Seventh St.

[N.B.--Considering this transfer and the one preceding, we can assume that a three story brick structure was erected on the property, as a rental property, between September 9, 1840 and August 4, 1842. As other evidence suggests (See Part I, Chapter 3), that the structure fronting on Seventh Street was not erected until a later date (roughly between 1847 and 1849), this "three story brick Building" was doubtless the one that Poe inhabited in 1843-1844, and which later became the back building to No. 234 (530) North Seventh Street. (White was still directed to pay the $102. yearly rent to Caspar and Abraham Sharpless.)]

Deed Book RLL-7, 385-387
Jesse White, late merchant & Margaretta, his wife, to
William Alburger Plumber, for $1,200.
7 January 1843, recorded 2 June 1843.

The same property, with the ground rent of $102. still due to Caspar and Abraham Sharpless.

Deed Book RLL-33, 199-201
William Alburger, Plumber & Lydia Ann, his wife, to James Jones and Henry Jones, brass founders, for $1.000.
11 January 1845, recorded 24 January 1845

The same property, ". . . with the three Story Brick Messuage or Tenement thereon Situate. . . ," with $102. yearly ground rent still due Caspar and Abraham Sharpless.

Deed Book GWC-53, 231-233
Henry Jones of New York City, brassfounder, & Mary his wife to James Jones, Philadelphia, brassfounder, for $2,899.25.
22 May 1849, recorded 22 October 1850

One-half part of the same property, ". . . with the three Story brick Messuage or Tenement situate. . . ." The increase in value would suggest that between 11 January 1845 and 22 May 1849 the main block of the house, fronting on Seventh Street, had been built.

Deed Book TH-122, 373-375
Benjamin Davis, Brickmaker, and Amelia, his wife, to James Jones, Brass Founded, for $1,400.
26 April 1852, recorded 10 January 1854

All that certain lot of ground situate on the North side of Wistar St. at the distance of 78 feet 11 inches Westward from the West side of Delaware 7th St. . . . Containing in front or breadth on the said Wistar St. 18 feet and extg. in length or depth Northward in parallel lines at right angles with the sd. Wistar St. on the East line thereof 43 feet 2 3/8 inches and on the West line thereof 44 feet 9 inches and containing in breadth the rear and thereof 18 feet 3/4 inches Bounded Eastward partly by ground of James Jones and Charles W. Shoemaker Northward by ground of William Cox Westward by ground of Reuben Webb and northward by Wistar Street.

[By this acquisition James Jones extended his rear lot. As the inventory taken of his household on April 10, 1871 (See Appendix B) includes a stable, he may have bought the lot to accommodate this structure.]

Deed Book ELT-244, 568-576
Heirs of James Jones to Marcus Hillman, for $4,000.
27 August 1913, recorded 24 September 1913

The same property, including the 1852 acquisition from Davis, above. The property had descended through Jones's family and heirs, who included:
Frank M. Oliver & Kathryn L., his wife
Eleanor M. Oliver, single
Harry S. Stone & Mary S., his wife
Albert Fogg & Blanche Stokes Fogg, his wife
Amanda L. Stokes, widow of Thomas T. Stokes, the younger
John W. Shuler & Margaret A., his wife
Horatio N. Oliver, Jr. & Alice M. his wife by attorney James Alcorn
Henry B. Amberg & Ida his wife
Douglas W. Stewart & Eliza his wife
J. Edward Elliott & Carrie Stokes, his wife
James C. Stokes & Leonia his wife
Commonwealth Title Insurance Company, guardian for Marie Conway Stokes, minor
Fidelity Trust Company & Douglas W. Stewart, committee for Maggie W. Frost, a lunatic

---

Deed Book ELT-270, 296-298
Marcus Hillman & Minnie, his wife, to Judas Spivack, for $1.00
27 August 1913, recorded 24 September 1913

Property as described above.

Deed Book ELT-323, 99-102
Judas Spivack & Rosie, his wife, to Ida Greenberg, wife of Morris Greenberg, for one dollar plus two mortgages of $2,800. and $1,400.
27 August 1913, recorded January 29, 1917

Property as described above.

Deed Book JMH-1565, 19-21
Morris Greenberg & Ida his wife, to Egan Adams, for $1.00
28 March 1923, recorded 31 March 1923

All that certain lot of ground with the buildings thereon erected situate on the northwest corner of 7th and Brandywine Streets . . . extending northward along the west side of said 7th Street 17 feet thence westward through the middle of a party wall 98 feet 8 inches to a point thence southward 25 feet 8½ inches more or less to the north side of said Brandywine Street aforesaid thence eastward along same 96 feet 11 inches to the first mentioned point and place of beginning.

Deed Book JMH-3069, 64-66
Egan Adams & Eva his wife, to George E. Stephan, for $1.00
19 July 1929, recorded 29 July 1929

Property as described above.

Deed Book JMH-3041, 316-318
George E. Stephan, singleman, to Real Estate Land Title and Trust Company, for $1.00
19 July 1929, recorded 29 July 1929

Property as described above.

Deed Book JMH-3613, 256-258
Real Estate Land Title & Trust Company, to Building Operation Holding Company, for $1.00
30 December 1932, recorded 31 December 1932

Property as described above

Deed Book JMH-3707, 564-566
Building Operation Holding Company, to Arthur Taylor, widower, for $1.00
5 April 1933, recorded 27 December 1933

Property as described above.

Deed Book JMH-3708, 471-473
Arthur Taylor, to Richard Gimbel Foundation for Literary Research, for $1.00
1 December 1933, recorded 27 December 1933

Deed Book DWH-25, 465-468
William J. Hamilton, Sheriff, to Richard Gimbel Foundation for Literary Research, for $7,000.
1 March 1937, recorded 8 April 1937

Property as described above.

APPENDIX A2

CHAIN OF TITLE

Property now known as No. 532 North Seventh Street

Deed Book AM-70, 632-637
Sarah Pennock, widow, to Caspar W. Sharpless and Abraham W. Sharpless
15 May 1834, recorded 13 January 1836

. . . And also that lot of ground situate on the west side of said 7th Street between said Green and Wistar Streets containing in front on the said Seventh Street 114 feet 8 inches on the said Green Street 124 feet 11 inches bounded Northward by said Green Street eastward by said 7th Street Southward by Wistar Street and Westward by a lot described as part of the allotment made and assigned to the said Sarah Pennock.

[This transaction involved six lots belonging to Sarah Pennock, one of which is described above.]

Deed Book SHF-2, 43-44
Abraham W. Sharpless to Caspar W. Sharpless, for $18,000.
13 March 1836, recorded 2 April 1836

[A transaction involving three lots, one . . .] Situate on the West side of 7th St. between Green and Wistar Streets 114 feet 8 3/4 inches on said Green St. 124 feet 5 3/4 Inches and on said Wistar Street 114 feet 11 inches Bounded N. by Green St. E. by 7th St. S. by Lawrence [sic--read "Wistar"?] W by ground allotted to the said Sarah Pennock.

Deed Book GS-20, 411-414
Caspar W. Sharpless, Attorney-at-Law, & Elizabeth O., his wife, and Abraham Sharpless, Farmer, & Anne C. his wife, to John Evans, House Carpenter, for $1.00 plus ground rent of $114. for 2? years.
9 September 1840, recorded 21 September 1840

A Certain piece of ground situate on the West side of 7th St. continued at the distance of 78 feet 8 inches

Southward from the Southwest corner of 7th & Green Sts. containing in front or breadth on 7th St. 19 feet & extg. thence westward in length or depth between parallel lines at right angles with 7th St. 80 feet 7¼ inches on the South line & 82 feet 2½ inches on the north line. Bounded N by other ground granted to John Evans, on ground rent W. by ground granted to George Dilks on ground rent S. by ground granted to William M. Alburger on ground rent E. by 7th St.

Deed Book GS-31, 572-574
John Evans, Jr.--House Carpenter & Rachel, his wife, to
Thomas F. Vallette, Accountant, for $7,000.
4 October 1841, recorded 13 October 1841

All that Certain 3 Story Brick Messuage or Tenement & Lot of ground situate on the West side of 7th St. contained at the distance of 78 feet 8 inches southward from the South West corner of 7th & Green Streets . . . Containing on front or breadth on 7th St. (including the southernmost part of an alley 2 feet 4 inches wide on the north hereafter mentioned(19 feet & extg. W.ward in length or depth bet, parellel lines to right angle with sd. 7th St. 80 feet 7¼ inches on the South line and 82 feet ½ inch on the North line hereof Bounded N. by ground of John Evans, Jr. W. by ground granted to Geo. Dilks on Grd. rent S. by ground granted or intended to be granted to William M. Alburger on ground rent E. by 7th St.

[Evans, a builder, evidently bought the land as a speculative venture and between September 9, 1840 and October 4, 1841 erected on it the house now known as 532 North Seventh Street, selling it to Thomas F. Vallette, still the owner (who rented it out) in 1844.]

Deed Book AWM-78, 155-157
Thomas T. Valette, Accountant, & Marie, his wife, to Henry
Menke, Cabinetmaker, for $4,650.
4 July 1848, recorded 9 August 1848

Property as described above.

Deed Book AWM-78, 157-159.
Henry Menke, Cabinet Maker, & Margaret, his wife, to
Charles Shoemaker, House Carpenter, for $4,570.

18 July 1848, recorded 9 August 1848

Property as described above.

Deed Book TH-47, 259-261
James Jones, Brass Founder, & Mary, his wife, to Charles Shoemaker, Lumber Merchant, for $600.
20 May 1852, recorded 6 November 1852

All that certain Lot of Ground . . . Beginning at a point on a line at a right angle with Wistar Street at the distance of 24 feet 1 5/8 inches Northward from the North side thereof and at a distance 80 feet 7¼ inches Westward from the west side of 7th St. on a line nearly at a right angle herewith (Being the South line of the other ground of the sd. Charles Shoemaker heretofore being described as being at a right angle with 7th St.) Thence extg. Westward continuing sd. line by other ground of James Jones 18 feet and 3/4 inch thence N.ward on a line at a right angle with said Wistar St. by ground of Reuben Webb 19 feet and 3/4 inch thence Eastward on a line nearly at a rt. angle with said 7th St. (being a continuation of the north line of the sd. Charles Shoemaker's other ground heretofore erroneously described as being at a rt. angle with 7th St.) by ground of William Cox 18 feet and sd. Wistar St. by the said Charles Shoemaker's other ground 19 feet and 3/4 inch to the place of beginning.

Deed Book JAH-265, 503-507
Rachel Shoemaker, widow of Charles Shoemaker; Samuel R. Elton, Accountant & his wife Annie E.; Frank M. Shoemaker & Kate his wife (by atty. Thomas Marker); Charles Shoemaker, Merchant & Christiana, his wife, to George W. Brown--Gentleman.
20 August 1872, recorded 2 September 1872

All that certain three story brick (building) Messuage & Tenement and lot of ground situate on W. side of 7th Street at the distance of 78 feet 8 inches S.ward from the Southwest corner of 7th & Green Sts. . . . Containing in front or breadth on 7th St. . . 19 feet & extg. thence Westward in length or depth bet. parallel lines nearly at rt. angles with the sd. 7th St. on the N. line 100 feet 3¼ inches and the S. line 98 feet 8 inches & containing in breadth in the rear end thereof 19 feet 3/4 inch.

Deed Book GGP-73 382-385
George W. Brown, Gentleman, to Elizabeth Balduston, wife of Wm Balduston; David Brown; Rebecca F.B. Hulme, wife of John K. Hulme; Robert P. Brown; Anne Brown, single-woman, for $9,000.
21 October 1885, recorded 22 October 1885

Property as described above.

Deed Book GGP-315, 361-365
Elizabeth Balduston, widow, by atty Robert P. Brown; William Balduston Farmer, Morrisville, Pa., & Sarah his wife; David J. Brown, Accountant, & Anne E. his wife; John K. Hulme, City Collector, & Rebecca his wife; Robert P. Brown, Manufacturer, & Mary his wife; Anne Brown, singlewoman; William Henry Brown & Elizabeth his wife, to George W. Blabon, Oil Cloth Manufacturer, for $8,250.
8 December 1887, recorded 9 December 1887

Property as described above.

Deed Book GGP-483
George W. Blabon, Oil Cloth Manufacturer, & Rebecca, his wife, to Henry Dilg, Furniture Manufacturer, for $7,500.
1 April 1889, recorded 5 April 1889

Property as described above.

Deed Book WSV-418, 110-112
George C. Blabon & Carrie his wife; Edwin L. Blabon & Edith his wife; Walter D. Blabon, singleman; Rebecca H. Blabon, widow of George W. Blabon; (all the foregoing, heirs to George W. Blabon), to David Lampert, Butcher, for $3,800.
10 November 1904, recorded 15 November 1904

Property as described above.

Deed Book WSV, 396-335
David Lampert, butcher, & Bessie, his wife, to Samuel Messinger, horseshoer, for $800. plus mortgages of $3,000 & $600.
11 November 1904, recorded 16 November 1904

Property as described above.

Deed Book ELT-62, 17-20
Samuel Messinger & Rosa his wife, to Benjamin Messinger, trustee for Minnie Messinger, $1.00
19 January 1912, recorded 26 January 1912

Property as described above.

Deed Book JMH-1156, 579-581
Benjamin Messinger, Trustee for Minnie Messinger, to Minnie Messinger, for $1.00
31 May 1917, recorded 1 June 1917

Property as described above.

Deed Book JMH-1748, 402-404
Joseph Messinger, widower; Samuel Messinger & Rose, his wife; Benjamin Messinger; Aaron Messinger; William Messinger, to Samuel Messinger, for $1.00 plus two mortgages of $3,000. and $1,000.
21 January 1924, recorded 23 January 1924

Property as described above.

Deed Book JMH-3137, 123-127
William Messinger (for Bertha, Lillian, and Tobin Messinger, minors); William Messinger, singleman; Nathan Goldberg & Regina his wife; Albert Messinger, singleman (heirs of Samuel Messinger, who died intestate 1926), to William Schirmer, for $5,000.
20 November 1929, recorded 26 November 1929

Property as described above.

Deed Book JMH-3113, 114-116
William Schirmer, widower, to Joseph P. Sahutsky, for $1.00 and a mortgage of $4,000.
25 November 1929, recorded 26 November 1929

Property as described above.

Deed Book JMH-3708, 96-97
Richard Weiglein, Sheriff, to Kazimierz Wielki Building & Loan Association, for $50.00
10 July 1933, recorded 21 July 1933
Property as described above, ". . . together with the free use and privilege of the said 2 feet 4 inches wide alley and at least 7 feet 6 inches headway above the pavement extending from 7th Street aforesaid westward to the depth of 37 feet to the square of the said alley and narrowing at each side to a point in the middle at the distance of 39 feet from 7th Street [?] passageway and water course and to lay pipe of conduit therein in common with the owners tenants and occupiers of the lot next adjoining on the north."

Deed Book JMH-3914, 433-435
Kazimierz Wielki Building & Loan Association, to Israel Goldberg, for $2,250.
9 December 1935, recorded 11 December 1935

Property as described above.

Deed Book JMH-3914, 350-353
Israel Goldberg and Blanche, his wife, to Richard Gimbel Foundation for Literary Research, for $1.00
9 December 1935, recorded ? December 1935

Property as described above.

APPENDIX B

Inventory of the Contents of 530 N. 7th Street, taken 10 April 1871, estate of James Jones, Register of Wills, City and County of Philadelphia, Archives of the City and County of Philadelphia.

1 Mirror	50.00
3 Ornaments	3.00
2 Engravings	8.00
1 Clock	6.00
3 Blinds	6.00
Piano	25.00
6 Chairs	12.00
2 Sofas	40.00
1 Table	5.00
Parlor Carpet	45.00
Hall & Stair Carpet	15.00
Hat Rack	1.50
Mats & Oil Cloth	2.00
7 Chairs	6.00
Table	3.00
Carpet	3.00
Stove	2.00
2 blinds	2.00
Kitchen Utensils	5.00
3 Blinds	3.00
6 Chairs	6.00
Book Case	6.00
	$254.00

Sofa	6.00
Stove	1.50
Lot Engravings	5.00
Carpet	8.00
Stair Carpet & Rods	12.00
Blind	1.00
2 Tables	3.00
Carpet	8.00
Table	1.50
Bureau, Bedstead & Bedding	40.00
Carpet	10.00
2 blinds	2.00
1 Engraving	1.00
6 chairs	3.00
1 Glass	2.00
3 shades	.75
Bedstead & Bedding	15.00
Washstand & Toilet Ware	2.00
Carpet	8.00
2 Rocking Chairs	3.50
3rd Story Back Room	8.00
Bedstead	2.50
2 Vases	3.00
[total]	399.25

Stable

Horse	125.00
1 Falling Top Wagon	300.00
1 Falling Top Wagon	40.00
1 Sett Harness	20.00
Sleigh	30.00
Strap of Bells	1.50
1 Robe	10.00
1 Whip	1.50
	$528.00

Inventory of the estate of Charles Shoemaker, of 532 N. 7th Street, 16 January 1864, Register of Wills, City and County of Philadelphia, Archives of the City and County of Philadelphia.

House Hold Goods	
Contents of Cellar	20.00
Contents of Parlor	
3 Sofas	105.00
1 Rocking Chair	15.00
2 Arm Chairs	45.00
8 Mahogany Chairs	32.00
2 Side Tables	55.00
1 Pier Table	20.00
1 Pier Glass	45.00
Mantle Ornaments	20.00
3 blinds	15.00
60 yards Parlor Carpet	75.00
9 Yards of Wide Drugget	9.00
Half First Story	
Hat Stand	8.00
9 Yards Entry Carpet	14.00
9 Yards Drugget	4.00
5 Mats & Entry Oil Cloth	10.00
Stair Carpet & Rods	20.00
2nd Story Entry Carpet	15.00
3rd Story Stair & Entry Carpet & Rods	7.00
Dining Room	
25 Yards Ingrain Carpet	15.00
8 Chairs	8.00
Extention Dining Table	35.00
Dining Table	5.00
Looking Glass	2.00
Mantle Ornaments & Waiters	3.00
Contents of Closets	35.00
Table Covers	2.00
Kitchen	
Carpet & Oil Cloths	3.00
2 Chairs & Settee	3.00
Leaf Table	1.00
Contents of Closet	15.00
Sad-Irons Tea Kettles &c	5.00
Sitting Room	
20 Yards carpet	5.00
Sofa	10.00
Center Table & Cover	12.00
Rocking Chair	5.00
3 blinds	9.00
Clock	10.00
Glass	3.00
Contents of Closet	25.00
Second Story Front Room	
70 yards of carpet	42.00
Bed and Bedstead	70.00
Cedar Wardrobe	35.00
Dressing Bureau	40.00
Wash Stand &c	25.00
3 chairs	5.00
Large Chair	3.00
2 blinds	5.00
Mantle Ornaments	4.00
Back Room	
Bed and Bedstead	40.00
Washstand &c	7.00
Dressing Bureau	15.00
3 chairs	3.00
Small Stand	2.00
1 Blind	2.00
Plated Tea Sett	50.00
3rd Story Back Room	
20 yards carpet	10.00
Bureau	10.00
Bed & Bedding	30.00
Bureau	20.00

3rd Story Back Room (continued)	
Glass	3.00
Pier Stand Contents & Table	6.00
2 chairs	2.00
3rd Story Back Building	
Bed and Bedstead	10.00
Carpet &c	5.00
Fire Proof	20.00
Jars &c	6.00
Carpet & Chair, Basket &c	2.00
3 Bed-Steads	10.00
2 Wash Stands	6.00
Sofa	10.00
Trunk	5.00
Residue	5.00
Blind in the entry	2.00
Bedding & Other Goods &c	50.00
Garret Room	
Red Cedar Chest	10.00
Cribb	5.00
7 Chairs	4.00
	$1,346.00

APPENDIX C1

GLOSSARY OF ARCHITECTURAL TERMS APPEARING IN THE FOLLOWING SURVEYS

ARCHITRAVE	In this context, the frame surrounding a door or window.
ASLER	Probably refers to "ashlar," or cut and faced stone, used in steps to front door.
BACK BUILDING	Rear appendages to the main block of Philadelphia town houses, sometimes refering to the PIAZZA as well.
BALUSTER ("BALLUSTER")	Upright stair supports for the rail, usually turned or carved.
BARGE BOARD	A Board concealing the roof timbers which project over gable ends.
CASED WINDOW FRAME	Wooden frame surrounding window.
CENTERPIECE	Central plaster ornament in ceiling.
CIRCLE	Rounded corner of a building, common in Philadelphia BACK BUILDINGS.
CONDUCTOR	Pipe or downspout from gutter.
CORNICE	Decorative moulding at the intersection of ceiling and walls, or beneath eaves on a building's exterior.
DRESSER	A built-in cupboard with shelves, drawers and doors, used in kitchen to store utensils, dishes, etc.
ENTABLATURE	Upper section of classical orders, including achitrave, frieze, and cornice.

FASCIA BOARD ("FACIA")	Horizontal board below cornice.
FAN LIGHT	Semicircular window, often used over doors.
GARRETT	Story immediately under the roof.
JOIST	Horizontal timber supporting floorboards.
LATHING	Thin pieces of wood attached to studs, used as a base for plaster.
LIGHT	Window pane.
NEWEL	Terminal posts supporting stair rails at bottom, top, or on landings.
NEWEL, OPEN	Stairs rising on an open well, with several newel posts.
NOSING, RETURN	Rounded edge of stair tread projecting over riser.
OVOLO MOULDING	Rounded convex moulding.
PACE, HALF	Stairway landing where a 180 degree turn is made.
PACE, QUARTER	Stairway landing where a 90 degree turn is made.
PIAZZA	Room adjoining the main structure of a Philadelphia town house, usually to the rear, often containing a staircase and linking the main block to the back buildings.
PILASTER	A panel representing the vertical section of a column, often used at the sides of doors and windows.
PINE, CAROLINA	A species of southern YELLOW PINE.
PINE, HEART	The older, central, and more durable section of the pine tree.
PINE, SAP	Younger, outer section of the pine tree.

PINE, WHITE	Pinus strobus, commonly used eastern pine.
PINE, YELLOW	Any of several species of southern pine, often used for flooring.
PITCH, DOUBLE	A roof with a peak and two inclinations.
PITCH, SINGLE	A roof with one inclination, shed roof.
REVEAL WINDOW FRAME	A frame set into and back from masonry face (?)
RISER ("RIZER")	Upright board between stair treads.
SCANTLING	Small lumber.
SHUTTER, PANEL	Shutters with solid wood panels.
SHUTTER, VENETIAN	Shutter with horizontal louvered slats.
STRING	Side board supporting treads and risers of a stair.
STUCCO	Decorative plaster.
STUD PARTITION	Partition supported on vertical members (studs).
TRANSOM	Timber or beam separating a door from the window above.
TRAP DOOR	Door giving access to the roof.
WAINSCOTING	Paneled or wood lined lower portion of a wall.
WASHBOARD	Wood baseboard surrounding room.
WATER TABLE	A projecting rounded or bevelled course of brick or stone on a building's exterior.
WEATHER BOARDS	Horizontal exterior boards which overlap like clapboards.

APPENDIX C.2

NOTE ON THE ARCHITECTURAL SURVEYS

Although none of the appended surveys are for either 530 or 532 North Seventh Street (the closest we come is 534), they are included to illuminate such questions as the nature of building materials and technique, architectural vocabulary, room usage, and household amenities in Spring Garden contemporary with Poe's residence in the district. All of the surveys are for buildings within a block or two of Poe's door, and they are located on Map 4. The appended drawings are reproduced exactly as they appear in the surveys.

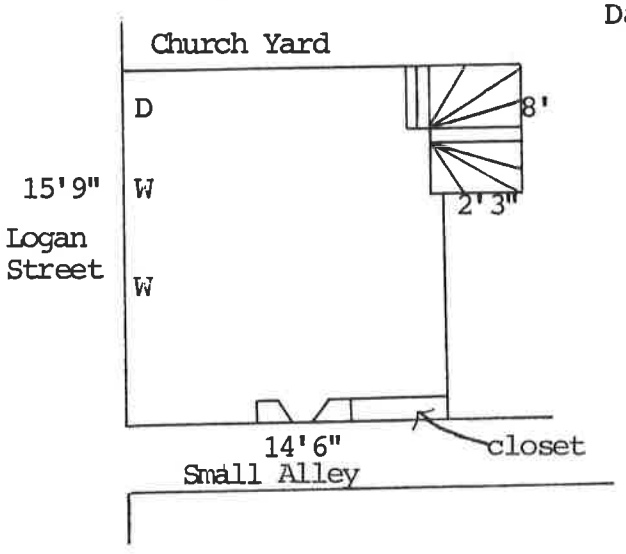
Franklin Fire Insurance Company survey (HSP)
No. 4808, 17 November 1843, for David Gibb
(No. 1 on Map 4)

A Three Story Brick dwelling house and piazza situate on the West Side of Logan Street (between Franklin and Eighth Streets) commencing 71 feet south of Wallace Street, in the District of Spring Garden, Philadelphia County $600. Insured. Dimensions 15 feet 9 in. front by 14 feet 6 in. deep, 9 inch walls, Hemlock joist, sap pine floor boards, house all lathed & plaster'd wood facia and back board & barge boards, single pitch roof, Cedar Shingles Tin gutter & conductor, trap door; Reveal window frames, wood sills panel shutters first and second stories.

The First Story has a square head door frame with transom & three lights glass, panel door & marble sill wood steps and 2 - 12 light 9 by 12 windows front, a plain wood mantel & side Closet, Square framed panel doors, 8 feet story, grecian Ovolo mouldings & washboard. The Second Story has 2 - 12 light 11 by 14 windows front, plain mantel, side closet, doors, mouldings & washboard first story, Entry off around Stairs, and 7 feet 4 in. Story. The Third Story has 2 - 12 light 10 by 12 windows front, plain mantel, grecian ovolo mouldings, washboard single pitch roof Celings to rafters Story 7 feet 4 in. high on Logan Street 4 feet 10 in high back, roof pitches back, Piazza roof is a continuation of the back roof, 3 flights of common winding stairs of white pine boards from the Cellar kitchen to the third floor and a flight to the Cellar below of the same, the upper flights skirted, a doorway and panel door & wood sill in first story of the Piazza; the Cellar kitchen has 2 - 3 light 8 by 12 windows front and 1 - 16 light back ledge shutters, side Closet, square framed doors.

D. H. Flickwin, Surveyor

David Gibb



Franklin Fire Insurance Company survey (HSP)
No. 4591, 27 July 1843, for Benjamin Kugler
(No. 2 on Map 4)

A Three Story Brick dwelling house with three story back Buildings (all rough Cast on the outside except the front of main house) situate on the West Side of Franklin Street No. 116, commencing 30 feet south from Wallace Street, in the District of Spring Garden, Philadelphia County $2500. Insured. Dimensions 20 feet front by 33 feet deep, Back Building 16 feet wide and 42 feet long, Oak joist first floor, Hemlock in the others, Yellow pine floor boards, stud partitions, and all lathed & plastered throughout; reveal window frames front marble sills, panel shutters first & second floors, Cased frames South side and back, panel shutters first story and Venetian to Second Story of Back Buildings & third story back of main house; Marble Water Table Asler [sic] steps & platform front, a furnace in front cellars for warming the front house, brick piers in cellar & girder on them under the floor, Double pitch roof 5 ft 6 in pitch Cedar Shingles Tin gutters & Conductors trap door, wood Eave & Cornice front, facia board & cornice back & barge Cornice South Side; walls 9 inches thick except front wall first story which is 13.

The First Story is on One room Entry off the Whole depth, a vestibule in Entry with pilasters, Square transom fancy sash & Venetian door in it, a Square head front doorway with transom sash, outside wood frontispiece with pilasters & caps neat square entablature & cornice and 2 - 12 light 11 by 17 windows front recessed to floor panneled below & displayed jambs, a 12 light 9½ by 18 window back with doors below, and a 12 light 12 by 18 window on the South Side, plain Opened pilasters with plain flat heads to doors & windows, Stucco Cornice, plank double worked passage doors, 2 heavy pilaster mantels of black & gold marble, 11 feet story. The Second Story is in 2 rooms Entry off the back room, 2 - 12 light 12 by 17 windows front recess'd to floor and plastered, below inside panel shutters, a recess between the windows, a 12 light 12 by 18 window South Side & 1 back End with inside shutters to it, a marble pilaster mantel & side closet withwith Square Corner blocks to doors & windows, plank double worked folding & passage doors, 10 feet story a doorway into Bath room.

The Third Story is in 2 rooms the same, 2 - 12 light 12 by 13 windows front with inside shutters, side Closet wood bracket mantel front room, mantel & recess closet & 2 - 12 light windows back room, Square mouldings to door & windows, washboard 6/4 double worked passage doors, 8 feet Story.

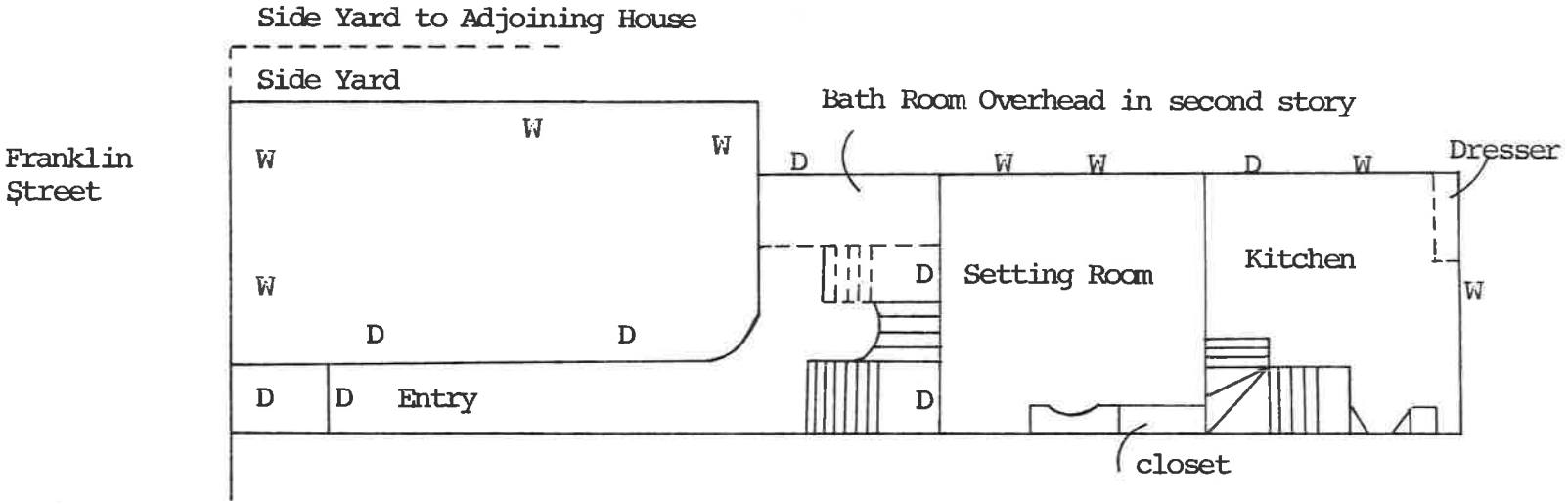
The Back Building has a Stairway 12 feet deep off next to main house and has a door frame with Marble sill, Square head, panel doors and side lights in the first story, a bathroom & store room off the South Side with a 12 light 12 by 13 window with inside shutters in bathroom & a 11 by 12 window in the storeroom The Stairs from the first to third floor are continued rail, heart steps & rizers, turned maple ballusters, mahogany rail, turned mahogany newell post first floor, Square steps & quarter paces, Open String, a lantern over the Stairs with Double pitch roof, planed weatherboarding, and 24 lights 10 by 12 glass on the south side.

The First Story of the Back Building is in 2 rooms, setting room & Kitchen; the setting room has 2 - 12 light 11 by 14 windows on the South Side, Side Closet, a niche for stove with mahogany brackets, Stucco Cornice, plain Square Mouldings, Washboard, 8 ft 4 in Story, 1½ double worked passage doors, Closet under Stairs.

The Kitchen has a plain door frame with Marble Sill & panel door & 12 light 11 by 14 Window South Side & a 10 by 13 window back End, dresser with doors & drawers, closet, Mantel Shelf & sink, grecian Ovolo mouldings, washboard, square doors; a flight of common winding stairs to cellar & 2 flights to second & third stories of White pine boards. The Second Story is in 2 rooms, Stairway & pantry off the back room, 3 - 12 light 12 by 13 windows in the South Side and 1 - 16 light 10 by 14 back, inside shutters to windows in front room, mouldings, washboard, niche & brackets in front room as first story, a 12 light 10 by 12 window North Side, grecian Ovolo mouldings washboard 5/4 square framed doors back room, 8 ft 1 in story:

The Third Story is in 2 rooms 3 - 12 light 11 by 12 windows South Side & 1 back End, wood mantel & closet front room, grecian Ovolo mouldings, washboard, single worked panel doors, Closet in back room & Story 7 ft 6 in high. Single pitch roof about 6 feet rise, cedar Singles Tin Gutter & Conductor, plain brick Eaves, barge boards; Cellar door back wood cheeks & Sill.

Benjn Kugler

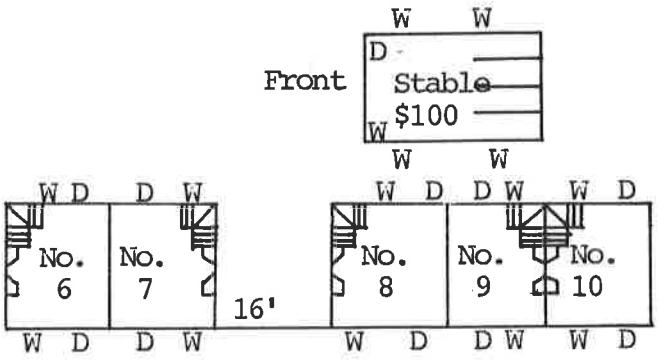

Side Yard to Adjoining House
Side Yard
Franklin Street
W
W
W
W
D
D
D
D
Bath Room Overhead in second story
W
W
D
W
Dresser
D
Setting Room
Kitchen
W
D
Entry
D
closet

Franklin Fire Insurance Company survey (HSP)
No. 3970, 11 April 1842 for David Ellis
(No. 3 on Map 4)

Five Three Story Brick dwelling Houses situate on the West side of an Alley called Marble place nos. 6.7.7.9 & 10, running North from Green Street between Delaware Seventh & Eighth Streets, commencing about 122 feet north of Green Street, in the District of Spring Garden, Philadelphia County $1000. Insured viz $200. on each house; Also a Two Story Brick Stable situate in the rear of nos. 8.9 & 10, $100. Insured. The houses are about 13 feet front each by 16 feet deep, 9 inch walls, Hemlock joints, sap pine floor boards, lathed & plastered and finished alike, three flights of common winding Stairs in each house of sap boards, common scantling window frames, pannel shutters first stories. The first stories have a plain door frame with square transom & 4 lights of glass, pannel door, marble sill, and a 15 light 8 by 10 window front, a window the same back, & a plain door frame & pannel door, plain wood mantel, side closet, square frame pannel doors, common ovolo mouldings & washboard 8 feet story. The second stories have 2 - 12 light 8 by 10 window frames front & 1 back, Entry off back around stairs, finished as first stories & t ft 8 in high. The third stories are in 2 rooms, 2 - 9 light 8 by 10 windows front ' 1 - 12 light back, side closet front room, mouldings, doors & washboard as second story, stories 5 ft 8 in high front & 6 gt 8 in back, ceil partly on the rafters, single pitch roof 4 feet pitch, lined step ladder to roof, cedar shingles, Tin gutters and Conductors, trap doors, plain brick eaves, back & barge boards, posts & rails for drying clothes on. The Stable is 19 feet 6 in. wide by 26 feet long, 9 inch walls, Yellow pine board floor partly doubled, 2 door frames front, ledge doors, 2 - 6 light windows East & West sides, 9 feet story, 3 stalls racks & mangers; Hemlock joist & grooved sap pine boards floor, second story, a door frame & ledge door front end, 6 feet Story, single pitch roof 7 feet pitch, Cedar Shingles, Tin gutters & conductor, back, barge & facia boards.

D. C. Flickwin, Surveyor

David Ellis



Front on Marble Place

Franklin Fire Insurance Company survey (HSP)
No. 2965, 11 February 1840, for Jacob Painter
(No. 4 on Map 4)

A Three Story Brick dwelling House, Piazza and Back Building Situate at the South West Corner of Green and Lawrence Street now called Franklin Street in Spring Garden District, County of Philadelphia $3000. Insured. Dimensions 18 feet 3 in front by 28 feet deep, Piazza 8 feet 6 in by 11 feet deep, Back Building 14 feet wide by 21 feet deep including a passageway back built over in second & third stories, Hemlock joist, heart pine floor in first story & White pine in second and third stories, house all lathed and plastered; Reveal window frames front and north end of main house, Cased frames back, sash double hung, pannel shutters first story and Venetian to second and third stories, marble heads and sills in front windows and sills only to the North end windows, wood eaves and Cornice front and back all around, Cedar shingles, Tin gutters and Conductor, 3 oval 4 light windows in Circular end of Back Building. The First Story of the main house is in two rooms , an entry off the South Side, Vestibule, Square head transom and side lights, pannel door, marble frontispiece to front door, Square head, cornice, pilaster and fancy sash, Marble Sill, Steps & platform, Water Table and asler. 2 - 12 light 11 by 18 windows front, back and 2 10 by 18 ditto in North end, all recessed to floor and panneled below, pilasters and washboard, black and gold marble mantel, Stucco Cornice & centerpiece, double worked plank passage doors, story 11 feet high.

The Second Story is in two rooms entry off back room 2 - 12 light 11 by 16 windows front 1 back and 2 - 9 by 16 ditto in North end, neat wood pilaster mantel and closet in each room, 6/4 double worked passage doors, wide mouldings, washboard, stucco cornice and Story 10 feet high in the clear.

The Third Story is in two rooms as second story 2 - 12 light 11 by 13 windows front and 1 back and 2 - 9 by 13 windows north and plain wood mantel and closet each room, Square framed pannel doors, Grecian ovolo mouldings and washboard, Story 8 feet 4 in high in the clear,an entry and straight flight of garret stairs off back room, white pine floor, a 16 light twin 9 by 12 window North end, plain washboard, Double pitch roof 8 feet 4 in pitch, trap door & ladder.

The Stairs are Continued rail, Square steps & winders, quarter pace, heart steps & white pine rizers, Open string return nosings turned newell and ballusters, mahogany rail, panneled wainscoting a 12 light 11 by 13 window in the third story of Piazza 11 by 17 ditto in second Story and a door frame with sidelights the first story.

The first story of the Back Building is the Kitchen a plain back door frame and 2 - 12 light 11 by 13 windows, dresser with doors & drawers, mantel shelf, Grecian ovolo mouldings, washboard, Story 8 feet 6 in. high in the clear, 6/4 double worked passage doors, a flight of circular steps in the circle to first quarter pace and straight flight of cellar stairs.

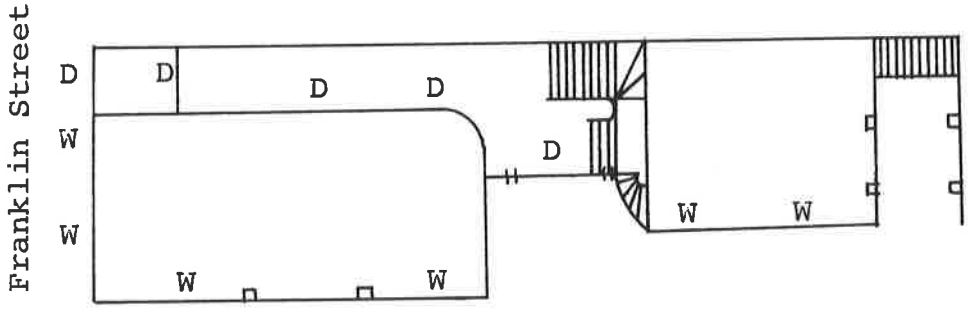
The Second Story has 3 - 12 light 10 by 14 windows, plain marble mantel and side closet, doors, moulding as first story a small room taken off back end, story 8 feet 6 in high.

The Third Story has 3 - 12 light 10 by 11 windows, small room as second story, square framed pannel doors plain mantel, mouldings & washboard, side closet, story 7 feet 6 in. high, single pitch roof 5 feet pitch, sing pitch roof to Piazza 3 feet pitch, level eve and valley.

D. H. Flickwin Surveyor

Jacob Painter

[Survey 2966, done for Stilwell Eldridge for a house fronting on the W. side of Franklin, begining 28 feet south of Green Street, is virtually identical to this, its adjoining twin.]



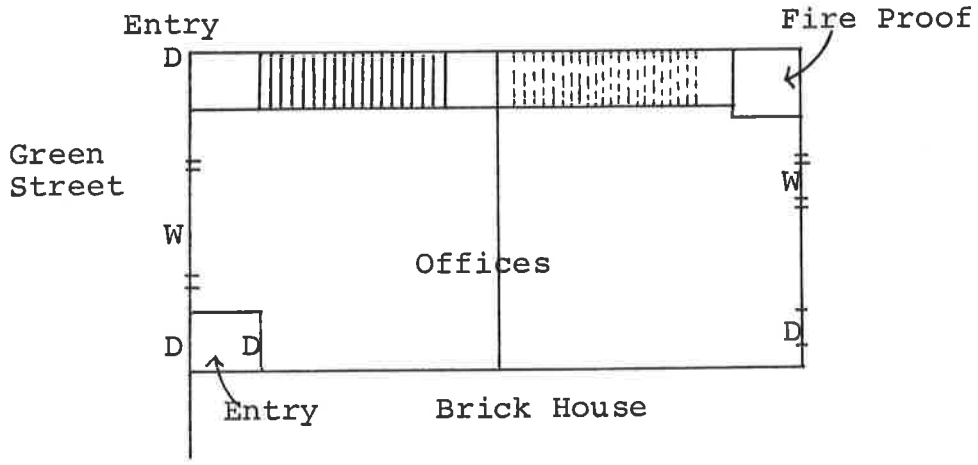
Franklin Fire Insurance Company survey (HSP)
No. 5774, 3 May 1844, for James P. Ellis
(No. 5 on Map 4)

A Three Story Brick Building occupied for Offices and meeting rooms situate on the South Side of Green Street between Seventh and Franklin Streets, commencing about 70 feet west of Seventh Street in the District of Spring Garden, Philadelphia County $800. Insured.

Dimensions 18 feet front and 36 feet deep, 9 inch walls except the first Story front which is 13 inches thick, Hemlock joist, Carolina pine floor boards, stud partitions and building all lathed and plastered marble water table, asler steps and platform front; Reveal window frames back, panel Shutters to first and second Stories front and back; The First Story is in 2 rooms, Entry and Stairway off on the East Side and a small box entry on the West Side and a 20 light 10 by 18 Venetian Window front. 2 doorways with square transoms and 3 lights of glass, panel doors and a sett of steps to each, a square door frame and a window the same back, a Fire proof Closet in the back room with iron doors, folding doors between the rooms, Stucco Cornice and Story 10 feet plank double worked panel doors, the stairs from first to third Story are Square Steps, of heart pine boards plastered partition, a closet underneath the first story.

The Third Story is in one room, 2 - 12 light 12 by 14 windows front and 2 ditto back, grecian Ovolo mouldings, wash-board, 9 feet story, and Cherry rail and turn'd ballusters around the Stairway, Double pitch roof, 8 feet pitch, Cedar Shingles, Tin gutters and conductors, trap door and ladder, wood Eave and Cornice front and plain brick Eave back; Cellar door front with Marble Cheeks and sill, a sash door to Cellar, and the Cellar is floor'd with planed boarding about one half of the Cellar.

D. H. Flickwin Surveyor
Approved
James P. Ellis



Franklin Fire Insurance Company survey (HSP)
No. 5089, 8 March 1844, for John Evans, Jr.
(No. 6 on Map 4)

A Three Story Brick dwelling House, Piazza and Two Story Back Building situate on the West Side of Seventh Street between Green and Spring Garden Streets, Commencing 60 feet South from Green Street in the District of Spring Garden, Philadelphia County. $2500 Insured. Dimensions 19 feet front to the centre of a 2 ft 4 in wide alley built over and 35 feet deep, Piazza 12 feet long and 9 feet wide, Back Building 26 feet long and 14 feet wide, Spruce and Hemlock joist, Carolina pine floor boards first and second Stories and sap pine in third story and Garrett, Stud partitions and house all lathed and plastered; Marble Water table, asler, steps and platform and cellar door cheeks and sill front, marble sills to back doors, Reveal window frames front, marble sills, panel shutters to front and second stories front and back, cased frames back, Cedar shingles on roofs. Tin gutters & conductors, wood Eave & cornice front and plain brick Eaves back, A Furnace in the Cellar which appears safe,

The First Story is in two rooms, Entry off both rooms, a neat square head front door frame with transom and fancy sash panel door and 2 - 12 light 10 by 17 windows front and a 20 light Venetian ditto back all recessed to floor and paneled below, pilasters with turned blocks to doors and windows, plain pilasters with moulded caps and plain entablature and Cornice to folding doors, plank double worked folding and passage doors, Stucco Cornice and center pieces, a neat black and gold marble pilaster mantel each room, a Vestibule in Entry with Square transom a fancy sash panel door, Story 11 feet high.

The Second Story is in two rooms Entry off the back room 2 - 12 light 11 by 17 windows front recessed to floor and paneled below a side ane recess closet in from room, 1 - 12 light 11 by 17 window back not recessed & 2 side Closets, a neat plain White Marble mantel each room and Stucco Cornice small pilasters and blocks, washboard, plank double worked passage and 5/4 single worked Closet doors, 11 feet Story.

The Third Story is in 2 rooms Entry [?] garrett Stairs off the back room, 2 - 12 light 11 by 12 windows front and 1 - 11 by 14 back, wood pilaster mantel with brackets and 1 side closet in the front room and a mantel and 2 side Closets in the back room, 6/4 double worked passage and 5/4 single worked closet doors, qreek Ovolo mouldings & washboard and Story 7 ft 9 in high. The Stairs to garrett are a straight flight of white pine boards, plastered partitions and Closet

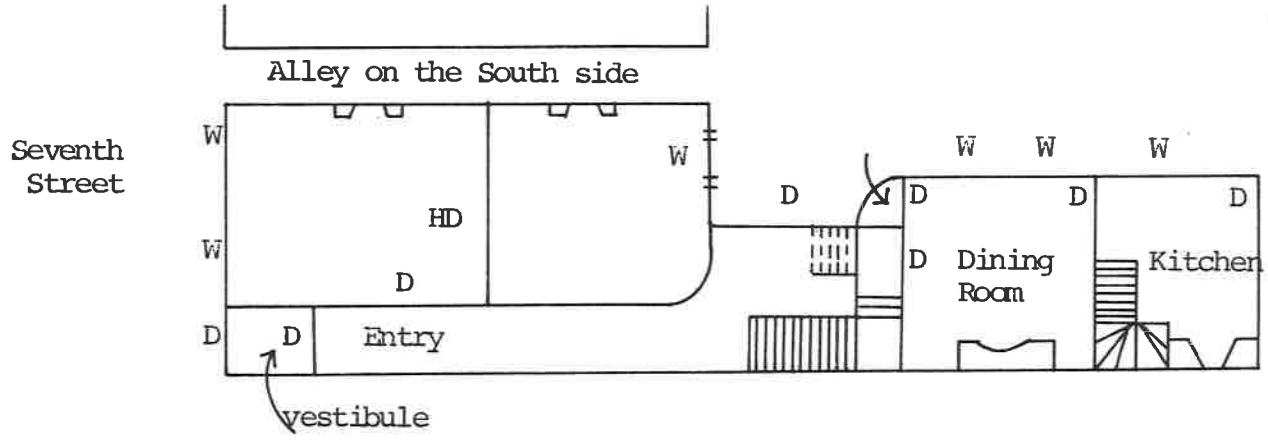
underneath, the Garrett is in two rooms, a 12 light pediment top 10 by 12 Dormer window front and a plain Ridge top ditto back. Double pitch roof 1/3 pitch trap door & ladder, A Valley back with piazza roof which is single pitch, a 12 light 10 by 12 window in the second & third stories and a segment top Door frame with side lights in the first story. The Stairs from first to third Story are open newell, open string, turned newells & ballusters white pine steps & rizers, mahogany rail, square steps & quarter paces, paneled wainscoting under string & Mahogany newell post, Closet under Stairs.

The First of the Back Buildings is in 2 rooms, dining room and kitchen, the dining room has 2 - 12 light 10 by 13 windows recess'd to floor & paneled below, small pilasters & blocks, a niche for stove, small Stucco Cornice, Closet in Circle & Story 8 ft. 6 in high. The Kitchen has 1 - 12 light 11 by 13 windows, a mantel shelf, a plain back door frame, grecian Ovolo mouldings, washboard, dresser or Closets, a flight of White pine winding stairs to Cellar and also to second Story. The Second Story has a sitting room over the dining room and Bath room and store room over the kitchen, 3 - 12 light 10 by 12 windows South side & 1 - 16 light 8 by 10 back, White pine floor, a niche for stove in sitting room, grecian Ovolo mouldings, washboard, Closet in Circle, 6/4 double marked passage doors 4/4 Single Closet doors, 7 ft. 10 in Story. Single pitch roof about 5 feet pitch.

D. H. Flickwin Surveyor

John Evans Jr

[A notice of alteration dated 29 October 1861 specifies that the back building has been extended 4 feet 9 inches in depth and a third story added to it. Gas has also been introduced and the parlor petition in the main block removed and replaced with an arch.]



3 Story Brick dwelling house

[N.B.--Note presence on south side of existing structure. This would be 236 (532) N. Seventh Street, evidently extant by March, 1844.]

Philadelphia Contributionship survey
No. 5027, for Charles Lukens, 12 February 1835
(No. 8 on Map 4)

I have Surveyed a House belonging to Dr. Charles Lukens situate on the north side of Spring Garden Street West of & near Seventh Street--Being 34½ feet front 40 feet deep--Piazza 9 by 14 feet four stories high Kitchen 14 feet by 30 feet three stories high--14 & 9 in walls--the lower story of the main house is divided into 2 ["four" crossed out] & passage, one partition of 9 in brick wall the depth of the house from the cellar to the garret--in the centre--one plan'd board partition on the east side--& the doors & windows finish'd with single mould^{gs}--pilaster architraves on the west side--floor of 5/4 yellow pine--moulded base round, one plain marble mantel & breast closet. Glass 11 & 10 by 18 outside shutters front & back--the 2^{d} story in three rooms & short passage--floor of 5/4 yellow pine. moulded base round--pilaster architraves--in the Western part & single mouldings in the Eastern, three plain marble mantles & one of wood--two breast closets--[crossed out], painted, glass 11 by 17 outside shutters front & back--the 3^{d} story in seven rooms & short passage--floor same, plain base round--single mouldings six plain wooden mantles & 6 breast closets--glass 11 by 16--The 4th story floor of the same--& divided & finish'd in the same manner glass 11 by 13--Stairs in the Piazza, open newel & string, turn's ballusters to the 2nd story--& plain do. to the 4th story--ramped mahogany rail from the lower to 4th story--both with flat roof, brick eave & covered with tin. The Kitchen floor of 5/4 yellow pine--base round single mould^{gs} two mantle shelves & large dresser with doors & a closet in the Circle. Glass 10 by 14 outside shutters--the 2^{d} story in two rooms, & short passage. floor of the same & plain base round, single mouldings--plain wooden mantle & two closets--glass 10 by 14 outside shutters the third story divided in the same manner & finish'd the same--the glass 10 by 12--1 plain mantle & breast closet. Brick eave shed roof, shingled, rails round--tin gutter & pipe.--ash holes in the cellar.

2d Mo. 12th 1835 John C. Evans

Ch. Lukens

[This survey has several very light pencil amendations, one of which notes that the building is a tavern.]

No. 5041, 1 April 1835, as above.

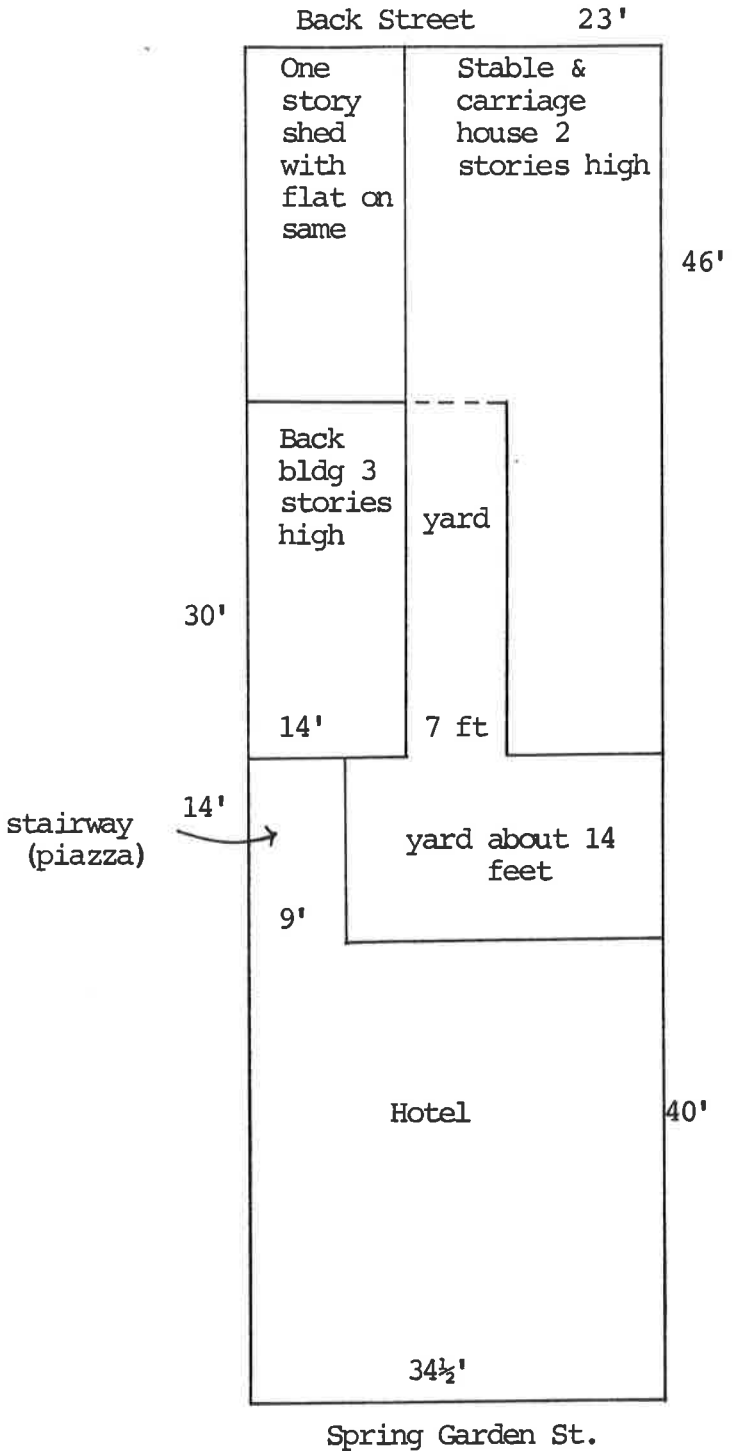
I have Surveyed a Stable belonging to Doct^{r} Charles Lukens situate on the rear of his lot--North side of Spring Garden Street West of & near Seventh Street-- Being 46 feet by 23 feet--two stories high. 9 in Brick walls The lower story is divided into 20 stalls all rough & rough racks & mangers--earth floor,--Hay loft above with com^{n} white pine floor--groved & laid rough--outside, ledged doors & shutters--planed & painted--Brick eave tin gutters & pipes. --newly built.--

4 Mo. 1st 1835 John C. Evans

correct Ch. Lukens

[N.B.--This sketch is taken from a later survey of the property, (No. 7625, Contributionship, and is dated August 1857. It seems to be substantially the same as described in 1835.]

[N.B.--This sketch is taken from a later survey of the property, No. 7625, Contributionship), and is dated August, 1857. It seems to be substantially the same as described in 1835.]



Philadelphia Contributionship survey
No. 5745, 16 March 1842, for Caspar W. Pennock
No. 9 on Map 4)

I have Surveyed a Building belonging to Dr. Caspar W. Pennock, situate on the northwest corner of Spring Garden & Seventh Streets, Being 38 feet on the former & 30 feet on the latter street--two stories high, 9 in walls. The lower story is divided into three offices, by 9 in brick walls each one has two rooms--divided by plastered partitions, the floors, inch Carolina heart & sap boards--moulded base round, single mouldings to the doors and windows.--a plain mantle shelf in each back room. the glass [sic] are 10 by 16 in outside, pannel'd shutters, front & back--sash double hung.--doors double faced 1½ in thick. a plain square transom sash over each of the outer doors.--The 2^{d} story is divided in two rooms by a planed board partition, with two pannel'd doors in it--The floor, same as in the lower story, moulded base round, single mouldings to the door & windows. Glass 10 by 20 in outside shutters front & back--two posts supporting the raising [?] floor, cased in form of an open pilaster.--plain cornice & block dentil under the eave on 2 sides--the roof being hip'd on two corners--brick eave back--tin gutters & pipes.--The upper rooms being occupied for school rooms. --newly built.--

3^{d} Mo. 16th 1842 John C. Evans
Surveyor

[An appended note states:]

I agree to the above survey and admit it to be correct. It is understood and agreed that the building or stairway (mentioned in the sub joined note) is not insured.

Caspar W. Pennock

Note--There is a building 12 feet front on 7th St. by 18 feet deep adjoining the above, the north & west sides are of wood--in which is the stairs & room for cloaks &c &c a door into the school rooms.--& wooden buildings adjoining to the West of the main house.--

Philadelphia Contributionship resurvey
No. 5745, 20 May 1842, for Caspar W. Pennock
(No. 9 on Map 4)

I have resurveyed the within mentioned Building, alterations having been made therein--Viz. a bulk window in front of each--the corner has 12 lights of glass 12 by 20 in--one

light 24 by 40 in french plate--the side lights are 7 by 20 in--the shutters fold into a box on each side.--in the two adjoining are two bulk windows of 16 lights each--glass 12 by 19 in and side lights 7 by 19 in both with shutters--as above mentioned--plain cornice and block dentil heads to each--the cellar of the corner is paved with bricks & has a small oven in it which appears to be safely built--in the middle, the cellar is floored with rough boards.

5th Mo. 20th 1842 John C. Evans
Surveyor

Admitted to be correct
Caspar W. Pennock
[No appended drawing.]

Franklin Fire Insurance Company survey (HSP)
No. 4234, 19 October 1842, for Maurice McNamee
(No. 10 on Map 4)

A three story Brick dwelling House & Piazza situate on the South Side of Spring Garden Street the third house about 30 feet west of Franklin Street in the District of Spring Garden, Philadelphia County $1000. Insured.

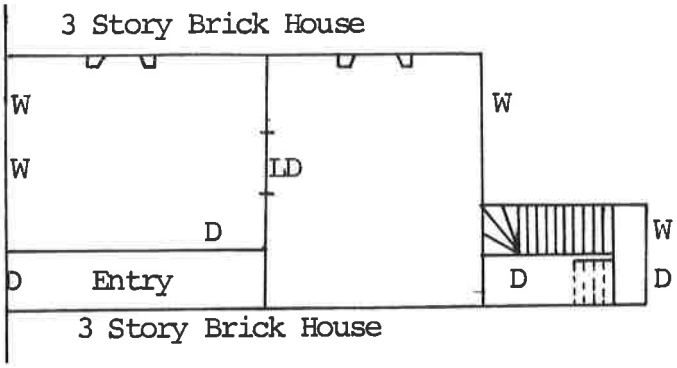
Dimensions 15 feet front by 30 feet deep, Piazza 7 feet wide by 11 feet deep 9 inch walls, Oak joist first floor and Hemlock in second & third floors, sap floor boards & stud partitions, house all lathed & plastered, Reveal window frames front, wood sills cased frames back, pannel shutters to first & second stories and venetian shutters to piazza.

The First Story is in 2 rooms off the front room, a circular top front door frame, fan sash, pannel door, marble sill, steps & platform, 2 - 12 light 9 by 16 windows front and 1 - 10 by 16 back, plank double worked folding and passage doors, marble mantel & recess closet each room, pilasters and wash-board, Stucco Cornice, Story 9 feet 6 in. high.

The Second Story is in 2 rooms Entry off the back room, 2 - 12 light 10 by 15 windows front and 1 back, 6/4 double worked passage and single worked Closet doors, side Closet and wood pilaster mantel Each room, grecian Ovolo mouldings and wash-board, story 8 feet 6 inches high.

The third story is in 2 rooms as Second Story 2 - 12 light windows front & 1 back, mouldings, closets and mantels as second story, Square framed pannel doors, 8 feet story; Double pitch roof 6 feet rise, trap door, the piazza roof is a continuation of the back roof, Cedar Shingles, Tin gutters & conductors, Wood eave & cornice front and plain brick eave back, wood facia and barge boards to piazza; a 12 light 9 by 11 window in the second and third stories of piazza and a door frame with pannel door marble sill and a 2 light window in the South and first Story. The Stairs are open newell, Open String, Square ballusters, Yellow pine steps, white pine rizers, 2 landings, reeded wainscoting; Straight flight of cellar stairs; a doorway from the Stairway into the area; a cellar Kitchen in the back part, heart pine floorboards, a 12 light 10 by 12 window, dresser with doors & drawers, Side Closet, mantel shelf, Square framed pannel doors, wash-board and mouldings, pantry in the piazza.

D. H. Flickwin Surveyor
Approved
Maurice McNamee


3 Story Brick House
W
W
LD
W
D
W
D
Entry
D
D
3 Story Brick House

Franklin Fire Insurance Company survey (HSP)
No. 4235, 19 October 1842, for Maurice McNamee
(No. 10 on Map 4)

A Three Story Brick dwelling House, Piazza and Two Story Back Building situate on the South Side of Spring Garden Street, the fourth house about 45 feet west of Franklin Street in the District of Spring Garden Philadelphia. 1000. Insured.

Dimensions 15 feet 6 inches front by 30 feet deep, Piazza 8 feet 8 inches wide by 11 feet deep, Back Building 12 feet wide by 17 Feet deep, 9 inch walls, Oak joist in the first story and Hemlock in the second and third floors, Sap pine floor boards Stud partitions, house all lathed and plastered; Reveal window frames front wood sills, Cased frames back except the back building which has Scantling frames, pannel shutters to first and Second Stories front and back, Sash double and single hung; Cedar Shingles on roof, Tin gutters and Conductor, wood eave and Cornice front, plain brick Eaves back, wood facia and barge boards to Piazza.

The First Story is in one room Entry off the Whole depth a vestibule with fan sash over it & pannel door, a Circular top front door frame fan sash, pannel door, marble sill, steps and platform, 2 - 12 light 8½ by 16 windows front and 1 - 10 by 16 back all recessed to floor and panneled below, 6/4 double worked passage doors, 2 chimnies but no Fire places or Mantels, the room being warmed by a Furnace in the Cellar which appears safe, pilasters and washboard, Stucco Cornice and Story 9 feet 6 inches high.

The Second Story is in 2 rooms Entry off the back room 2 - 12 light 10 by 15 windows front and 1 back, grecian Ovolo mouldings, wash board, doors as first story, 2 side Closets in each room 8 feet 8 inches high.

The Third Story is in 2 rooms Entry off the back room 2 - 12 light 10 by 12 windows front and 1 back, closet and mouldings as Second Story, Square framed pannel doors, 8 feet Story, Double-pitch-roof 6 feet pitch; the piazza roof is a continuation of the back roof a 12 light 9 by 12 window in the third story a 9 by 14 ditto in the Second Story and a door frame with transom 4 lights of glass, pannel door & marble sill in the first story; The Stairs are open newell, open string, square ballusters, mahogany rail, reeded wainscoting, with pine steps and rizers, a Straight flight of Cellar Stairs.

The First Story of the back building is the kitchen and has 2 10-light 8 by 10 windows, plain back door frames, side Closet & Closet in the circular end, grecian Ovolo mouldings,

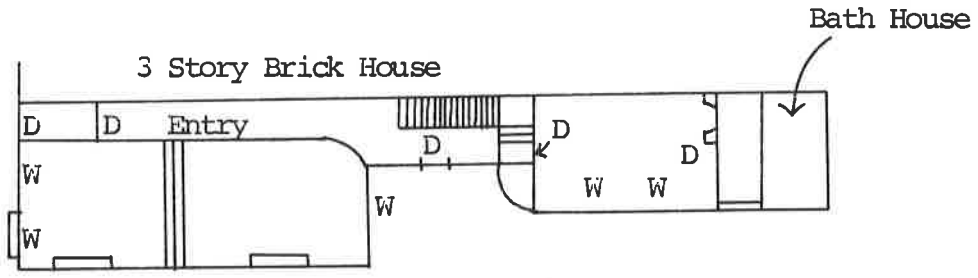
washboard, mantel shelf & brackets, Square framed pannel doors, Story 8 feet 4 in high,

The Second Story has 2 - 16 light 8 by 10 windows, closets, doors, mouldings and washboard as first story, plain wood mantel, Story 8 feet high, a door into Frame Bath house, single pitch roof 4 ft 6 in. rise.

The Bath House is 8 feet deep by 11 feet wide 7 feet high, planed boarding single pitch roof 2 ft 6 in pitch, Cedar Shingles, 2 - 12 light 8 by 10 windows with Venetian Shutters, plain square Column underneath, room plastered & the ceiling below also.

D.H. Flickwin Surveyor

Approved
Maurice McNamee



Franklin Fire Insurance Company survey (HSP)
No. 4738, 19 October 1843, for Thomas H. Powers
(No. 11 on Map 4)

A Three Story Brick dwelling House with Two Story Back Building situate on the East Side of Franklin Street between Buttonwood and Spring Garden Streets (commencing 101 feet 7 in. north of Buttonwood Street), in the District of Spring Garden, Philadelphia County, $3000. Insured.

Dimensions 22 feet front by 28 feet deep, Back Building 16 feet 6 in. wide by 34 feet deep, 13 & 9 inch walls, Oak joist first floor and Hemlock in the others Carolina pine floor boards, Stud partitions and house all lathed & plastered throughout; marble Water Table, Asler, steps and platform front, Reveal window frames with Marble Sills front & cased frames back, panel shutters to first & second stories front and back and Venetian Shutters to third story front, neat wood Eave & Cornice front and back to main house and plain brick eave to back Building; a brick wall & lintels under Entry partition & a Furnace in the Cellar which appears safe; cedar shingles on roofs Tin gutters & Conductors & trap door.

The First Story of the Main House is on One with an Entry & Stairway off the whole depth 6 feet 6 in wide, a Square head front door frame with Marble lintel, Square transom & fancy sash & plank panel folding doors, 2 - 12 light 12 x 20 windows front recessed to floor and paneled below and 1 ditto back down to floor with panel doors below, plain pilasters with Square heads, moulded caps & cornice to doors & windows, sub washboard, neat white Marble pilaster mantel, plank double worked passage door, panel'd ceiling and stucco Cornice 12 feet story, a vestibule in Entry with Square transom & 3 lights of glass side lights and plank folding doors to it.

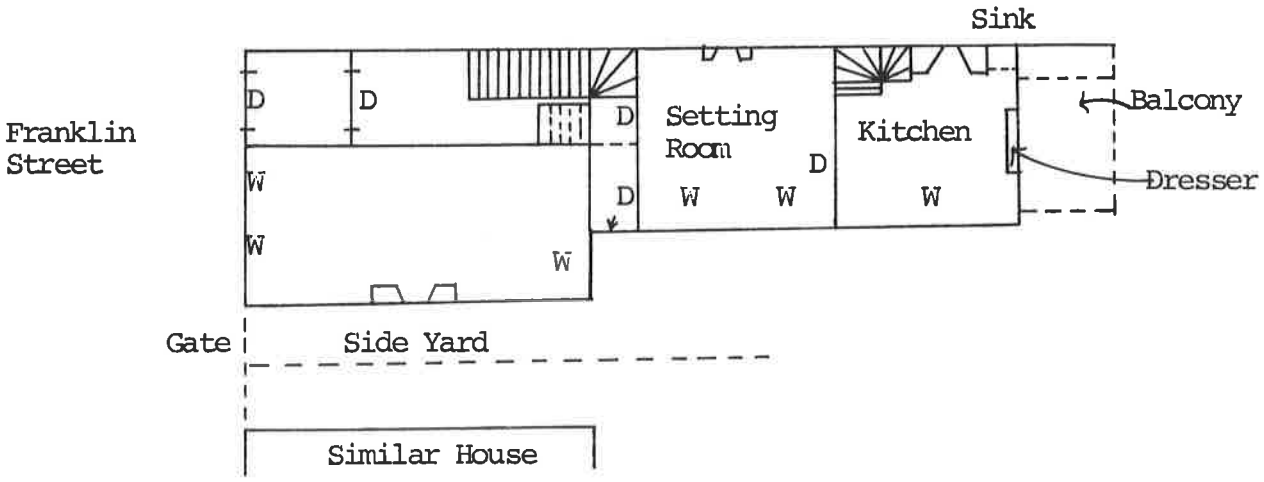
The Second Story is in 2 rooms, Entry & Stairway off the back room 3 - 12 light 11 by 18 windows front & 1 back all recessed to floor & paneled below, pilasters with square blocks to doors & windows, plain white marble mantel & Stucco Cornice in front room, a side Closet in back room, plank panel doors story 11 feet high.

The Third Story is in 3 rooms, 2 front and & back, 3 - 12 light 11 by 14 windows front & 1 back, wood mantel & side closet in front room, 6/4 panel doors, grecian Ovolo mouldings, washboard, 8 feet story, Entry and garrett stairs off the back room, The Garrett Stairs are a plain flight of winders of White pine boards, with Closets underneath; The Garrett is in one room and has a window with sash on the south side and a 12 light 10 by 12 window on the north side,

Double pitch roof about 9 feet pitch. The Stairs from first to third Story are Continued rail large mahogany turned newell post first floor, mahogany rail, open string, turned newells, heart steps & rizers, quarter pace in first flight & half pace in the Second & a 12 light 11 by 12 window over the second landing, paneled wainscoting under string first story and Closets under the stairs.

The First Story of the Back Building is in 2 rooms Setting room & Kitchen and a small entry off adjoining main house, a neat black & gold marble pilaster mantel, Stucco cornice. Ogee mouldings to doors & windows, 2 - 12 light 10 by 14 windows recessed to floor & paneled below, 6/4 double worked passage doors, a plain door frame in Entry with transom & panel door; The Kitchen has a 12 light 10 by 14 window & a plain back door frame, dresser with doors & drawer, mantel shelf, mouldings & washboard; a flight of plain Cellar stairs and a flight of common winding stairs of White pine boards to Second Story which is in three rooms, setting room, sewing room & Bath room, an Entry & stairway off the sewing room, 4 - 12 light 10 by 14 windows South Side & 1 back, 8 ft 6 in. Story, 6/4 double worked passage doors, a plain Marble mantel in setting room, a doorway back on to balcony, a flight of winders & square steps to Garrett which is in 2 rooms, a 12 light 10 by 12 pediment top Dormer window front on South Side & a 12 light 10 by 12 window back End, Single pitch roof 8 feet rise, Ceiling to rafters, the back End of Stairway above the roof of back building is weatherboarded. The Balcony is 2 stories high with single pitch roof, hip'd level Eave, the first Story has plain railing & ballusters & a store room partitioned off. Ceilings plastered.

D.H. Flickwin
Surveyor
Thomas H. Powers
Octr. 27th 1843



APPENDIX D

TALES, SKETCHES AND POETRY PUBLISHED BY POE WHILE RESIDENT IN PHILADELPHIA, 1838-1844. (First Printings)

"Ligeia"	American Museum of Science, Literature, and the Arts (September 1838)
"The Psyche Zenobia"	American Museum of Science, Literature, and the Arts (November 1838)
"The Scythe of Time"	American Museum of Science, Literature, and the Arts (November 1838)
"Literary Small Talk"	American Museum of Science, Literature, and the Arts (January and February 1839)
"The Haunted Palace"	American Museum of Science, Literature, and the Arts (April 1839)
"The Devil in the Belfry"	Saturday Chronicle and Mirror of the Times (Philadelphia) (18 May 1839)
"The Man That Was Used Up"	Burton's Gentleman's Magazine (August 1839)
"American Novel Writing"	Literary Examiner and Western Monthly Review (Pittsburgh) (August 1839)
"The Fall of the House of Usher"	Burton's Gentleman's Magazine (September 1839)
"The Conversation of Eiros and Charmion"	Burton's Gentleman's Magazine (December 1839)
"Enigmatical and Conundrumical"	Alexander's Weekly Messenger (18 December 1839)

"The Journal of Julius Rodman" (unfinished)	Burton's Gentleman's Magazine (January, February, March, April, May, June 1840)
"Silence--A Sonnet"	The Saturday Courier (Philadelphia)
"Instinct vs. Reason--A Black Cat"	Alexander's Weekly Messenger (29 January 1840)
"Peter Pendulum"	Burton's Gentleman's Magazine (February 1840)
"Philosophy of Furniture"	Burton's Gentleman's Magazine (May 1840)
"The Murders in the Rue Morgue"	Graham's Magazine (April 1841)
"A Descent into the Maelström"	Graham's Magazine (May 1841)
"Dickens' Barnaby Rudge"	Saturday Evening Post (1 May 1841)
"The Island of the Fay"	Graham's Magazine (June 1841)
"A Few Words on Secret Writing"	Graham's Magazine (July 1841)
"The Colloquy of Monos and Una"	Graham's Magazine (August 1841)
"To Helen" (revised)	Graham's Magazine (September 1841)
"Never Bet Your Head"	Graham's Magazine (September 1841)
"Israfel" (revised)	Graham's Magazine (October 1841)
"Secret Writing"	Graham's Magazine (October 1841)
"A Chapter on Autography" (probably assisted by Graham and possibly others)	Graham's Magazine (November and December 1841)
"A Succession of Sundays"	Saturday Evening Post (27 November 1841)
"Secret Writing"	Graham's Magazine (December 1841)
"An Appendix of Auto-graphs"	Graham's Magazine (January 1842)

"Exordium"	Graham's Magazine (January 1842)
"Life in Death"	Graham's Magazine (April 1842)
"The Mask of the Red Death"	Graham's Magazine (May 1842)
"The Landscape Garden"	The Lady's Companion (Snowden's) (New York) (October 1842)
"The Mystery of Marie Roget"	The Lady's Companion (Snowden's) (November, December 1842 and February 1843)
"The Tell-Tale Heart"	The Pioneer (Boston) (January 1843)
"The Conqueror Worm"	Graham's Magazine (January 1843)
"Notes Upon English Verse"	The Pioneer (March 1843)
"The Gold Bug"	The Dollar Newspaper (21 & 28 June 1843)
"The Black Cat"	Saturday Evening Post (19 August 1843)
"Raising the Wind; or Diddling Considered As One of the Exact Sciences."	The Saturday Courier (14 October 1843)
"The Spectacles"	The Dollar Newspaper (27 March 1844)
"A Tale of the Ragged Mountains"	Godey's Lady's Book (April 1844

APPENDIX E

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Few historical research projects exhaust the research strategies and resources which might be brought to bear on them if unlimited time and money were available. There are questions raised in the course of the research on the Poe House which have as yet eluded answers. Some of them require the discovery of substantial new evidence before they can be addressed. All will provide a basis for future inquiry.

ROOM USAGE. Poe did not discuss in detail his domestic arrangements in Philadelphia in his known correspondence, neither did his contemporaries leave descriptions of his home which can definitely be tied to the Seventh Street address. Mrs. Anthony Frayne has related to the author a tradition, whereby the second floor room on the east is identified as Poe's bedroom. She has said as well that the third floor room on the east was used by Virginia Poe, and that the one across the passage on the west was the bedroom of Mrs. Maria Clemm. Unfortunately, this description is corroborated by no period evidence which the author could locate, and thus for now must remain in the speculative realm. Mrs. Frayne declares that two letters written by

Mrs. Clemm from the Seventh Street address bear on this matter, but they have been missing since about 1978. Should such correspondence be located, it might aid in the investigation of Poe at home.

FURNISHINGS. Poe was similarly uncommunicative about furnishings. As discussed in the text, we can assume that his surroundings were modest and at times even threadbare. Although allusions to a harp and piano gracing the Poe parlor are unproved by contemporary evidence, the fact that both Poe and his wife were definitely known to be musical might support the suggestion that musical instruments might have been used in the household. Poe's reduced economic circumstances while he was living in the Seventh Street house, however, should militate against assuming that he could afford such luxuries.

Objects and furniture associated with Poe and his family are housed at the Poe Museum in Richmond and at the Poe Cottage at Fordham, yet there is no provable association of any of these artifacts with Poe's Philadelphia period. In the absence of the discovery of further evidence, a furnishing plan must be predominently hypothetical.

SURVEYS. In the search for insurance surveys for 530 and 532 North Seventh Street, the indexed surveys of the Philadelphia Contributionship, Mutual Assurance Company, and the Insurance Company of North America were searched without

success. The unindexed surveys of the Reliance Insurance Company and the Franklin Fire Insurance Company were also checked. The latter collection, at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, was checked through 1850, the size of the collection and time available precluding any further research. The collection might be checked for the period following 1850 for the desired surveys.

ARCHIVES. Forty-two archives identified as having Poe materials were queried by letter on the matter of whether they had recently acquired or discovered manuscripts bearing on Poe in Philadelphia which were heretofore unpublished. Most responded negatively, and a few produced items of interest. The emergence of other material is of course possible, and communications with Poe scholars should be maintained in order to benefit from new research.

THE POE NEIGHBORHOOD. Possibilities abound in the definition of the Seventh Street environment in 1844. Title searches for the properties bordering Poe's, to the rear (west) and on the east side of the street, might reveal further details about the block.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

I. REFERENCE WORKS AND ATLASES

Adams, James Truslow, ed. Dictionary of American History. 2nd ed. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946.

Benet, William Rose. The Reader's Encyclopedia. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. History of Wages in the United States from Colonial Times to 1928. Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1934.

Daly, John. Descriptive Inventory of the Archives of the City and County of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: City of Philadelphia Department of Records, 1970.

Daly, John, and Allen Weinberg. Genealogy of the Philadelphia County Subdivisions. Philadelphia: City of Philadelphia Department of Records, 1966.

Useful, although there is an inaccuracy in the given division between Spring Garden's 1st and 4th Wards.

Dameron, J. Lasley. Edgar Allan Poe: A Bibliography of Criticism. Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1974.

A recent and excellent starting point for Poe research involving criticism.

Eizen, Liza. Subject Index to the Photograph Collection of the Philadelphia City Archives. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Department of Records, 1976.

Gordon, John D. Edgar Allan Poe . . . A Catalog of First Editions, Manuscripts, Autograph Letters from the Berg Collection. New York: New York Public Library, 1949.

Directory to the substantial holdings of the New York Public Library.

Heartman, C. F., and J. R. Canny. A Bibliography of First Printings of the Writings of Edgar Allan Poe. Hattiesburg, Miss.: The Book Farm, 1940.

Use with care, contains some listings not by Poe.

Hexamer, Ernest, and William Locher. Atlas of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: E. Hexamer & Wm. Locher, 1859.

Hyneman, Esther F. Edgar Allan Poe: An Annotated Bibliography of Books and Articles in English, 1827-1973. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1974.

Hopkins, Griffith Morgan. Atlas of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: G. M. Hopkins Co., 1876.

McElroy, A[rchibald]. McElroy's Philadelphia Directory. Philadelphia: 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845.

Miller, John Carl. John Henry Ingram's Poe Collection at the University of Virginia. Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1960.

Guide to an important Poe collection.

Robbins, J. Albert, ed. American Literary Manuscripts: A Checklist of Holdings in Academic, Historical, and Public Libraries, Museums, and Authors' Homes in the United States. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1977.

An excellent sources for tracking down literary manuscripts.

Robertson, John W. Bibliography of the Writings of Edgar Allan Poe. 2 vols. San Francisco: Russian Hill Private Press, 1934.

This bibliography runs into difficulties in identifying unsigned articles and reviews. Use with care.

Titus, Edna Brown, ed. Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada. 3rd ed. New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1965.

Indispensible for tracking down the first appearances of Poe's work.

II. GENERAL HISTORICAL AND LITERARY STUDIES

Auerbach, Erich. Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature. Princeton: Princetown University Press, 1953.

Bode, Carl, ed. American Life in the 1840s. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967.

A compilation of period sources.

Baym, Max Isaac. A History of Literary Aesthetics in America. New York: Unger, 1973.

Bode, Carl. The Anatomy of American Popular Culture, 1840-1861. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959.

A wide-ranging survey of popular interests and attitudes.

Brown, Clarence A., ed. The Achievement of American Criticism: Representative Selections from Three Hundred Years of American Criticism. New York: The Ronald Company, 1954.

Useful for its extensive bibliography.

Brownell, William C. American Prose Masters. New York: 1909.

A classic consideration of Poe and others.

Carrott, Richard G. The Egyptian Revival, Its Sources, Monuments, and Meaning, 1808-1858. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

Superb analysis, with European antecedents, of this popular and exotic architectural style.

Charvat, William. Literary Publishing in America, 1790-1850. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959.

The mechanics of publishing examined by an eminent literary historian.

Charvat, William. The Origins of American Critical Thought, 1810-1835. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936.

An excellent overview, putting Poe's critical work in perspective.

Chitwood, Oliver Perry. John Tyler, Champion of the Old South. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939.

A venerable but detailed biography, concentrating on political matters.

Combe, George. Notes on the United States of North America during a Phrenological Visit in 1838-9-40. 1841: reprint ed., New York: Arno Press, 1974.

Good travel book by a pseudo-scientist and an acute observer.

Dickens, Charles. American Notes for General Circulation. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1842.

To be found in most collected editions of Dickens' work. The section on Philadelphia deals mainly with the prison system at the Eastern State Penitentiary.

Eby, Edwin H. "American Romantic Criticism, 1815-1860." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1927.

Useful on Poe's period.

Exman, Eugene. The Brothers Harper: A Unique Publishing Partnership and its Impact upon the Cultural Life of America from 1817 to 1853. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965.

Background on the canny publishers of Pym.

Fiedler, Leslie. Love and Death in the American Novel. New York: Criterion Books, 1970.

Very good on American romantic fiction.

Fussell, Edwin. Frontier: American Literature and the American West. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.

Bears on Poe's unfinished serial, "Julius Rodman."

Gunderson, Robert Gray. The Log Cabin Campaign. n.p.: University of Kentucky Press, 1957.

A monograph, with colorful detail, on William Henry Harrison's successful bid for the Presidency.

Gurney, John Joseph. A Journey in North America Described in Familiar Letters to Amelia Opie. 1841. reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1973.

The author of this staid but revealing travelogue was a Quaker banker from Norwich, England, who spent some time in Philadelphia.

Johnson, David Ralph. Policing the Urban Underworld: The Impact of Crime on the Development of the American Police, 1800-1887. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979.

Touches on Philadelphia's unique law enforcement system and the increasing crime and unrest in the 1840s.

Lawrence, D. H. Studies in Classic American Literature. New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1923.

Ideosyncratic and provocative musings on Poe and others.

Levin, Harry. The Power of Blackness. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967.

A classic study. Superb on Hawthorne, Melville, and Poe.

Lowenthal, Leo. Literature, Popular Culture, and Society. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961.

Marx, Leo. The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Useful in dissecting some of Poe's attitudes toward nature and hostility to the urban scene.

Mencken, H. L. Prejudices: Fifth Series. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926.

Miller, Perry. The Raven and the Whale. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1925.

Mott, Frank Luther. A History of American Magazines, 1741-1850. 1930. reprint ed., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Places Burton's and Graham's magazines in the perspective of period publishing.

Novak, Barbara. Nature and Culture: American Landscape Painting 1825-1875. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

Nye, Russell Blaine. Society and Culture in America, 1830-1860. New York: Harper & Row, 1974.

A perusal of this will emphasize the number of popular movements and issues that Poe did not become involved with.

Parrington, Vernon Louis. Main Currents in American Thought: Volume II, 1800-1860. The Romantic Revolution in America. 1927. reprint ed., New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, n.d.

Poe is conspicuously absent from this classic study.

Pessen, Edward. Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics. Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1969.

Pizer, Donald. Realism and Naturalism in 19th-Century American Literature. Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1966.

Pochmann, Henry A. German Culture in America. Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957.

This serves to illuminate why Poe was so often associated with German influences.

Quinn, Arthur Hobson. "American Literature and American Politics." Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society 59 (1944): 59-112.

Considers Poe and nine others.

Rourke, Constance. American Humor, A Study of National Character. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1931.

Helps to illuminate Poe's burlesques and political satires.

Satterwhite, Joseph Nichols. "Godey's Lady's Book and Fiction: 1830-1850." Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1954.

How one of Graham's greatest competitors shaped periodical literature.

Sharpe, James Roger. The Jacksonians versus the Banks: Politics in the States after the Panic of 1837. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.

Studies local effects of the panic of 1837.

Spencer, Benjamin T. Quest for Nationality: An American Literary Campaign. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1957.

Poe made several statements on "national" literature, and this study provides the framework of the debate in which he took part.

Taylor, George Rogers. "The Beginnings of Mass Transportation in Urban America." The Smithsonian Journal of History 1 (Summer 1966): 35-50, and (Autumn 1966): 31-54.

Deals in part with the Philadelphia transport system.

Tebbel, John. A History of Book Publishing in the United States. 2 vols. New York: R. R. Bowker, 1972.

A good general history, but it contains some misinformation on Poe.

Thompson, Ralph. American Literary Annuals and Gift Books. 1936. reprint ed., n.p.: Archon Books, 1967.

Poe and his contemporaries published quantities of tales and poems in these popular and influential gift annuals.

Tyler, Alice Felt. Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History to 1860. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944.

On the social and evangelical reform movements in antebellum America.

Van Deusen, Glyndon G. The Jacksonian Era 1828-1848. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959.

A standard, reliable, one-volume history of the era. Partial to Van Buren and his tribe.

Wellek, Rene. A History of Modern Criticism, 1750-1950. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.

A compendious general history of literary criticism. Helps to put Poe's contribution in focus.

III. PHILADELPHIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Adams, Donald R. "Wage Rates in Philadelphia, 1790-1830." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1967.

Bethell, Robert. A Digest of the Acts of Assembly and the Ordinances of the Inhabitants and Commissioners of the District of Spring Garden for the Government of that District. Philadelphia: J. H. Jones, printer, 1852.

This, together with the similar volume listed below under "Spring Garden District," is essential for tracing the municipal development of the district.

Bezanson, Anne, and Robert D. Gray and Miriam Hussey. Wholesale Prices in Philadelphia 1784-1861. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936.

Bliss, Arthur Ames, ed. Theodore Bliss Publisher and Bookseller, A Study of the Character and Life of the Middle Period of the XIX Century. n.p.: privately printed, 1911.

A copy is available in the University of Pennsylvania library. Theodore Bliss makes detailed comments on the appearance of Philadelphia when he arrived in 1844.

Blumin, Stuart M. "Mobility in a Nineteenth-century American City: Philadelphia, 1820-1860." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1968.

This, with the next study, explicates worker mobility patterns in antebellum Philadelphia.

_____. "Residential Mobility within the Nineteenth-Century City." In The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic and Lower-Class Life, 1790-1940, pp. 37-51. Edited by Allan F. Davis and Mark H. Haller. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973.

[Bowen, Daniel]. A History of Philadelphia, with a Notice of Villages, in the Vicinity, Embellished with Engravings, Designed as a Guide to Citizens and Strangers, Containing A Correct Account of the City Improvements, Up to the Year 1839: . . . Philadelphia: Daniel Bowen, 1839.

Less a history than a detailed description of Philadelphia's amenities as they existed at the time. Mentions hotels, markets, water-works, etc.

Bradsher, Earl L. Matthew Carey, Editor, Author and Publisher: A Study in American Literary Development. New York: 1912.

On the founder of Poe's Philadelphia publishing company, Lea & Blanchard.

Breck, Samuel. "The Diary of Samuel Breck, 1839-1840," ed. by Nicholas B. Wainwright. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 103 (1979): 497-527.

Superb diary, serialized in the PMHB, by a prominent Philadelphian.

Carey, Matthew. Appeal to the Wealthy of the Land. Philadelphia: L. Johnson, 1833.

Carey's plea for the improvement of wages and working conditions in Philadelphia.

*
Every Philadelphian's Book. Philadelphia: Gillis & Walker, 1845.

A guide-book.

Feldberg, Michael. The Philadelphia Riots of 1844: A Study of Ethnic Conflict. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975.

Although the riots occurred after Poe left the city, the book contains useful information on the ethnic composition of Philadelphia and on attitudes toward immigrants and the growth of urban unrest.

Geffen, Elizabeth M. "Joseph Sill and His Diary." Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biogrqphy 94 (1970): 275-330.

A Guide to the Lions of Philadelphia: Comprising a Description of the Places of Amusement, Exhibitions, Public Buildings, Public Squares, &tc in the City. Philadelphia: Thomas T. Ash, 1837.

Harrison, Eliza Cope, ed. Philadelphia Merchant: The Diary of Thomas P. Cope, 1800-1851. South Bend, Ind.: Gateway Editions, 1978.

Another valuable Philadelphia diary.

* [Editor's Note: The following source should be added:

Dinner Program for Benjamin Franklin Hotel Dinner, January 19, 1934 Philadelphia Free Library.]

Jackson, Joseph. Literary Landmarks of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: David McKay Co., 1939.

A venerable and chatty look at Philadelphia's literary shrines.

Kaser, David. Messrs. Carey & Lea of Philadelphia: A Study in the History of the Booktrade. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957.

Interesting background on the Philadelphia publishing scene, but the study extends only to 1838, the year Poe arrived in Philadelphia.

[Lea Brothers, & Co.] One Hundred Years of Publishing, 1785-1885. Philadelphia: Lea Brothers & Company, 1885.

A twenty-page encapsulated history of Poe's Philadelphia publishers.

Lindstrom, Diane. Economic Development in the Philadelphia Region, 1810-1850. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.

Deals principally with outlying areas around the city of Philadelphia.

McLeod, Richard A. "The Philadelphia Artisans, 1828-1850." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 1971.

Important for understanding Poe's neighbors.

Memoirs and auto-biography of some of the Wealthy Citizens of Philadelphia, A Fair estimate of their estates--founded upon a knowledge of the facts. Philadelphia: n.p., 1846.

A presumptuous pantheon of Philadelphia's well-heeled citizens.

Oberholtzer, Ellis Paxon. The Literary History of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: George W. Jacbos, 1906.

Venerable but worthwhile.

"Our Hidden Streams: Forgotten Watercourses Beneath the City of Philadelphia." Philadelphia Times, 11 August 1889.

A copy of this article may be found in "Ashmead's Newspaper Cuttings," vol. 12, pp. 33-36, HSP.

Philadelphia City Council. An Ordinance to Change the Names of Certain Streets, Lanes, Courts, Alleys, &c in the City of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Bicking & Guilbert, Printers, 1858.

Philadelphia Gas Works. Reports of the Trustees of the Philadelphia Gas Works to the Select and Common Councils of the City of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: J. H. Jones & Co., 1857.

Philadelphia Museum of Art. Philadelphia: Three Centuries of American Art. Philadelphia: n.p., 1976.

Philadelphia Watering Committee. Report of the Watering Committee to the Commissioners of the District of Spring Garden, January 22, 1827. Philadelphia: Jacob Frick & Co., 1827.

Scharf, J. Thomas and Thompson Westcott. History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884. Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1884.

Sketch of the Water Works at Fairmount and at Chestnut Street, Schuylkill. Prepared from Reports of the Watering Committee. Philadelphia: Manly, Orr, and Lippincott, 1842.

A brief but detailed description of the Philadelphia waterworks at this date.

Spring Garden District Board of Commissioners. A Digest of the Acts of Assembly and the Ordinances of the Inhabitants and Commissioners of the District of Spring Garden for the Government of that District. Philadelphia: Thomas B. Town, 1841.

This should be used with Bethell, noted above.

Smyth, Albert H. The Philadelphia Magazines and Their Contributors, 1741-1850. Philadelphia: Robert M. Lindsay, 1892.

There is little here that cannot be found elsewhere, in better documented sources.

Tanner, Henry S. A New Picture of Philadelphia, or the Stranger's Guide to the City and Adjoining Districts. Philadeophia: H. Tanner, 1840.

Warner, Sam Bass, Jr. The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.

Serious and well researched. One of the best historical studies of the city.

Weigley, Russell F., ed. Philadelphia: A 300-Year History. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982.

White, Theo B. Philadelphia Architecture in the Nineteenth Century. revised ed. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Art Alliance Press, 1973.

Wolf, Edwin. Philadelphia Portrait of an American City. Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1975.

Pictorial, using the superb resources of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library Company of Philadelphia.

IV. EDITIONS OF POE'S WORKS

Brigham, Clarence S. "Edgar Allan Poe's Contributions to Alexander's Weekly Messenger." Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society 52 (April 1942): 45-125.

Griswold, Rufus W., ed. The Works of the Late Edgar Allan Poe. 2 vols. New York: Redfield, 1855.

Harrison, James A., ed. The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe. 17 vols. 1902. Reprint ed. New York: AMS Press, 1965.

Includes all of his journalistic works, including some pieces probably not by Poe.

Levine, Stuart, and Susan Levine. The Short Fiction of Edgar Allan Poe. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Educational Publishing, 1976.

An annotated anthology.

Mabbott, Thomas Ollive, ed. Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe. 3 vols. to date. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969.

Three volumes, containing the poems, tales, and sketches, have appeared to date.

Whitty, James H. The Complete Poems of Edgar Allan Poe. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911.

Important, as it contains F. W. Thomas's reminiscences of Poe.

V. SELECTED BOOKS AND ARTICLES ABOUT POE

Allen, Hervey. Israfel, The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe. 2 vols. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927.

Imaginative and novelistic, use with extreme caution.

Allen, Michael. Poe and the British Magazine Tradition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Discusses Blackwood's and its influence on American magazines, and the degree to which Poe's ideas on magazine publishing diverged from the mainstream.

Alterton, Margaret. Origins of Poe's Critical Theory. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1925.

Bandy, W. T. "Who Was Monsieur Dupin?" Papers of the Modern Language Association 79 (1964): 509-510.

Identifies personages from whom Poe derived the name of his character.

Benton, Richard P., ed. New Approaches to Poe, A Symposium. Hartford, Conn.: Transcendental Books, 1970.

A collection of articles of varied quality.

Bethel, Denise. "The Origins of Richmond's Poe Museum." The Poe Messenger 7 (Spring 1977): 1-3.

Bittner, William. Poe, A Biography. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1962.

Generally reliable, highly compressed popular biography.

Bolton, Reginald. The Poe Cottage. New York: Bronx Society of Arts and Sciences, 1922.

On Poe's Fordham, N.Y., cottage, by its curator.

Bonaparte, Marie. The Life and Works of Edgar Allan Poe: A Psycho-Analytic Interpretation. London: Imago Publishing Co.

A Freudian approach, based on faulty biography. Contains some compelling observations, nevertheless.

Bondurant, Agnes. Poe's Richmond. 1942. Reprint ed., Richmond: Poe Associates, 1978.

Assiduous dissection of Poe's complicated Richmond connections, by a person who knows her Richmond.

Braddy, Haldeen. Glorious Incense: The Fulfillment of Edgar Allan Poe. Washington, D. C.: The Scarecrow Press, 1953.

Chiefly on Poe's influence on other writers.

_____. Three Dimensional Poe. El Paso, Texas: Texas Western Press, 1973.

Buranelli, Vincent. Edgar Allan Poe. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1961.

A brief but insightful study of Poe's work.

Burroughs, John. "Mr. Gosse's Puzzle Over Poe." The Dial 15 (16 October 1893): 214.

Campbell, Killis. "Contemporary Opinion of Poe." Publications of the Modern Language Association 36 (June 1921): 160-161.

An early comment on the complex question of how Poe was perceived by his audience.

_____. The Mind of Poe and Other Studies. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1933.

A fundamental Poe study.

_____. "Poe's Indebtedness to Byron." The Nation 88 (1909): 248-249.

_____. "Poes Reading." University of Texas Studies in English 5 (October 1925): 166-169.

An attempt to reconstruct what Poe read, based on his reviews and tales. Underlines the wide range of Poe's reading.

Carlson, Eric W., ed. The Recognition of Edgar Allan Poe. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1966.

A compilation of some of the best and most provocative Poe criticism.

Cherry, Fannye N. "The Source for Poe's 'Three Sundays in a Week.'" American Literature 2 (1930): 232-235.

Good sleuthing into Poe's sources.

Cohen, B. Bernard and Lucian C. Cohen. "Poe and Griswold Once More." American Literature 34 (1962): 97-101.

Cook, John Esten. Poe as Literary Critic. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1946.

Darnall, F. M. "The Americanism of Edgar Allan Poe." The English Journal 16 (March 1927): 185-192.

Daughrity, K. L. "Notes, Poe and Blackwood's." American Literature 2 (1930-1931): 289-292.

Davidson, Edward. Poe, A Critical Study. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957.

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

Chivers is an important source, but one which should be used carefully. He is the sole source for certain details concerning Virginia Poe's illness.

De Grazia, Emilio. "Edgar Allan Poe, George Lippard, and the 'Spermaceti and Walnut-Coffin Papers.'" Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America 66 (1972): 58-60.

Eaves, T. C. Duncan. "Poe's Last Visit to Philadelphia." American Literature 26 (1954): 44-51.

One of Poe's last encounters with Lippard, Sartain, et al., just prior to his death.

Eliot, T. S. "From Poe to Valery." The Hudson Review 2 (Autumn 1949): 327-342.

English, Thomas Dunn. "Reminiscences of Poe." The Independent (New York), 15, 22, 29 October and 5 November, 1896.

Vituperative but probably accurate in part. Colored by English's temperence advocacy.

Evans, May G. "Poe in Amity Street." Maryland Historical Magazine 36 (December 1941): 363-380.

On Poe in his Baltimore setting.

Fagin, N. B. The Histrionic Mr. Poe. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1949.

Fisher, Benjamin Franklin, ed. Poe at Work: Seven Textual Studies. Baltimore: Edgar Allan Poe Society, 1978.

On Poe's literary technique.

Frayne, Anthony J. "The Rose-covered Cottage of Edgar Allan Poe in Philadelphia." Philadelphia: Anthony J. Frayne Publications, [c. 1934].

A fond and imaginative evocation.

Friedman, William F. "Edgar Allan Poe, Cryptographer." American Literature 8 (January 1937), 266-280.

A good introduction to Poe's cryptographical interests, tending to deflate Poe's claims of extraordinary ability.

Gill, William F. Life of Edgar Allan Poe. 5th ed. New York: W. J. Widdleton, 1880.

Gravely, William Henry, Jr. "An Incipient Libel Suit Involving Poe." Modern Language Notes 40 (1945): 308-311.

_____. "Poe and Thomas Dunn English: More Light on a Probable Reason for Poe's Failure to Receive a Custom-House Appointment." In Papers on Poe: Essays in Honor of John Ward Ostrom, edited by Richard P. Veler. Springfield, Ohio: Chantry Music Press, Inc., 1972.

Excellent dissection of this complicated problem.

Grubb, Gerald B. "The Personal and Literary Relationships of Dickens and Poe." Nineteenth Century Fiction 5 (1950): 8-15.

Deals with Barnaby Rudge and Poe's criticism.

Halliburton, David. Edgar Allan Poe, A Phenomenological View. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.

Harris, Amanda B. "Edgar Allan Poe." Hearth and Home 8 (9 January 1875): 24.

A sentimental, second-hand reminiscence. Use with care.

Harrison, James A. Life and Letters of Edgar Allan Poe. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1903.

Hermalyn, Gary D. "The Poe Cottage in Fordham." The Poe Messenger 8 (Spring 1978): 9-11.

Hess, Jeffrey. "Sources and Aesthetics of Poe's Landscape Fiction." American Quarterly 22 (1970): 177-189.

Hine, Thomas. "'A Third-rate Job' on the Poe House." Philadelphia Inquirer (14 January 1979): 1-B, 4-B.

Hoffman, Daniel. Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe. New York: Anchor Press, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1972.

Subjective, insightful, ingratiating study of Poe.

Howarth, William L., ed. Twentieth Century Interpretations of Poe's Tales. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1971.

Useful compilation of recent criticism.

Hull, William Doyle, II. "A Canon of the Critical Works of Edgar Allan Poe." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1941.

Hutcherson, D. R. "Poe's Reputation in England and America, 1850-1909." American Literature 14 (November 1942): 211-233.

_____. "The Philadelphia Saturday Museum Text of Poe's Poems." American Literature 5 (1933): 36-48.

Important, as Poe revised the pieces published in the Museum.

Hyneman, Esther F. "The Contemporary Reputation of Edgar Allan Poe, with Annotated Bibliography of Poe Criticism 1827-1967." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1968.

Useful not only for the bibliography, but for the discussion of Poe's impact on contemporary readers.

Jacobs, Robert Durene. Poe, Journalist and Critic. Baton Route: Louisiana University Press, 1969.

The best overall study of Poe's career as editor and critic.

Krutch, Joseph Wood. Edgar Allan Poe, A Study in Genius. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926.

Lindsay, Philip. The Haunted Man: A Portrait of Edgar Allan Poe. New York: The Philosophical Society, 1954.

Proliferates some old errors.

Lloyd, J. A. T. The Murder of Edgar Allan Poe. London: Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., 1928.

Mabbott, Thomas Ollive and William Henry Gravely, Jr. "Two Replies to 'A Minor Poe Mystery.'" Princeton University Library Chronicle 5 (1944): 106-114.

Marchand, Ernest. "Poe as a Social Critic." American Literature 6 (march 1934): 27-43.

A necessarily short article, as social criticism was not one of Poe's primary concerns.

Mauclair, Camille. Le Génie d'Edgar Poe. Paris: A. Michel, 1925.

One of the best French commentators on Poe.

Moldenauer, Joseph J. "Beyond the Tamarind Tree: A New Poe Letter." American Literature 42 (1971): 52-58.

Moore, John K. "Poe, Scott, and the 'Murders in the Rue Morgue.'" American Literature 8 (March 1936): 52-58.

Moss, Sidney P. Poe's Literary Battles: The Critic in the Context of His Literary Milieu. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1963.

A good study of the background of Poe's criticism, and especially good on the "Longfellow War."

_____. Poe's Major Crisis. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1970.

_____. "Poe's 'Two Long Interviews' with Dickens." Poe Studies 11 (June 1978): 10-12.

On Poe's meetings with Dickens at Philadelphia's United States Hotel.

Moyne, Ernest John. "Did Edgar Allan Poe Lecture at Newark Academy?" Delaware Notes, 26th series (1953): 1-9.

Nichols, Mary Grove. Reminiscences of Edgar Allan Poe. 1863. Reprint ed., Folcroft, P.A.: Folcroft Library Editions, 1973.

Ober, Warren U., ed. The Enigma of Poe. Boston: Heath, 1960.

A collection of useful articles.

Ostrom, John Ward. "Fourth Supplement to The Letters of Poe." American Literature 45 (1974): 513-536.

Contains some important additions and amendments to the collection below.

_____. The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe. 2 vols. New York: Gordian Press, Inc., 1966.

This is the standard edition of Poe's letters, with excellent notes.

Parkes, Henry Bamford. "Poe, Hawthorne, Melville: An Essay in Sociological Criticism." Partisan Review 16 (February 1949): 137-165.

Parks, Edd Winfield. Edgar Allan Poe as Literary Critic. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1964.

Philbrick, Thomas. Review of Volumes II and III of Mabbott's Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe. Nineteenth Century Fiction 33 (1978): 403-405.

Takes Mabbott to task for relying too heavily on Griswold's texts of the tales. An important commentary.

Quinn, Patrick F. The French Face of Edgar Poe. Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971.

An excellent study of the wide-ranging French response to Poe's work.

Randall, David A. The J. K. Lilly Collection of Edgar Allan Poe. Bloomington, Ind.: Lilly Library, Indiana University Press, 1964.

Regan, Robert. "Hawthorne's 'Plagiary': Poe's Duplicity." Nineteenth Century Fiction 25 (1970-1971): 281-298.

Regan, Robert, ed. Poe, A Collection of Critical Essays. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1967.

Reid, Mayne. "A Dead Man Defended. Being Some Reminiscences of the Poet Poe." Onward: A Magazine for the Young Manhood of America (April 1869): 305-308.

Rein, David M. "Poe and Virginia Clemm." Bucknell Review 7 (May 1958): 207-216.

Robbins, J. Albert. "Edgar Poe and the Philadelphians: A Reminiscence by a Contemporary." Poe Studies 5 (December 1972): 45-48.

Robertson, John W. Edgar A. Poe: A Psychopathic Study. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1923.

Dated, in almost every respect. Not very useful on Poe's Philadelphia period.

Rosenfeld, Alvin. "Description of Poe's 'Landor's Cottage.'" Studies in Short Fiction 4 (1967): 264-266.

Schulte, Amanda P., and James S. Wilson. Facts About Poe. Portraits and Daguerreotypes of Edgar Allan Poe. Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Extension Series 10, No. 8, 1926.

An obfuscating guide to the complex matter of Poe portraits.

"Shall We Preserve the Poe Cottage at Fordham?" Review of Reviews 13 (April 1896): 458-462.

Julian Hawthorne's answer seems to have been no. (See Pollin above.)

Stanard, Mary Newton. The Dreamer: A Romantic Rendering of the Life-Story of Edgar Allan Poe. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1925.

"Romantic rendering" is an understatement. Amusing.

Steklow, Steve. "Poe's Note to Library." Philadelphia Evening and Sunday Bulletin, 29 November 1978, B-61.

On an important letter added to the Gimbel Collection at the Philadelphia Free Library.

Phillips, Elizabeth. "Edgar Allan Poe: The American Context." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1957.

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

This Poe enthusiast sought out the places, buildings, and objects associated with Poe throughout his life. Untiring but credulous, Phillips produced volumes that are valuable but which should be used with care.

Piper, John. "The Edgar Allan Poe Cottage . . . A Reflection of American Culture and Society." Master's thesis, University of Maryland, 1977.

The last word on Poe's Fordham, New York, cottage.

Pollin, Burton R., comp. Dictionary of Names and Titles in Poe's Collected Works. New York: DaCapo Press, 1968.

An invaluable aid by a pre-eminent Poe scholar.

_____. "Poe as Probable Author of 'Harper's Ferry.'" American Literature 40 (1968): 164-178.

Most scholars do not accept this piece as Poe's work.

_____. "Poe's Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym and the Contemporary Reviewers." Studies in American Fiction 2 (1974): 37-56.

_____. "The Temperence Movement and its Friends Look at Poe." Costerus (Amsterdam, Netherlands) 2 (Summer 1972): 119-144.

On how temperance advocates affected Poe's reputation.

_____. "Three More Early Notices of Pym and the Snowden Collection." Poe Studies 8 (1975): 32-35.

Pollin has been one of the most assiduous seekers of contemporary reviews of Poe's work.

_____. "Woodrow Wilson and Julian Hawthorne on Poe: Letters from an Overlooked Scholarly Resource." Poe Studies 12 (December 1979): 35.

On the letters in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania relating to the preservation of the Fordham cottage.

Quinn, Arthur Hobson. Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography. 1941. Reprint ed., New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1969.

Despite its age, still the standard scholarly biography.

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

Symons, Julian. The Tell-Tale Heart: The Life and Works of Edgar Allan Poe. London: Faber & Faber, 1978.

A recent biography, with little detail for the Philadelphia period.

Spivey, H. E. "Poe and Lewis Gaylord Clark." Papers of the Modern Language Association 54 (1939): 1124-1132.

Stovall, Floyd. "Poe's Debt to Coleridge." Texas Studies in English 10 (1930): 70-127.

Thomas, Dwight Rembert. "Poe in Philadelphia, 1838-1844: A Documentary Record." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1978.

The indispensible aid in investigating Poe in Philadelphia, with an excellent biographical dictionary with entries covering everyone with whom he came in contact during the period.

Thorp, Willard. "A Minor Poe Mystery." Princeton University Library Chronicle 5 (1943): 30-31.

For a reply, see Mabbott and Gravely above.

Tuerk, Richard. "John Sartain and E. A. Poe." Poe Studies 4 (December 1971): 21-23.

Vann, J. Don. "Three More Contemporary Review of Pym." Poe Studies 9 (1976): 43-44.

Varner, John Grier, ed. Edgar Allan Poe and the Philadelphia Saturday Courier. Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1933.

Veler, Richard P., ed. Papers on Poe: Essays in Honor of John Ward Ostrom. Springfield, Ohio: Chantry Music Press, 1972.

Wagenknecht, Edward. Edgar Allan Poe: The Man Behind the Legend. New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.

Walsh, John. Poe the Detective: The Curious Circumstances Behind "The Mystery of Marie Roget". New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1968.

Detailed study of Poe's interest in the Mary Rogers murder.

Weiss, Susan Archer. The Home Life of Poe. New York: Broadway Publishing Company, 1907.

An old chestnut, to be treated with care.

Whipple, William. "Poe's Political Satire." The University of Texas Studies in English 35 (1956): 81-95.

Wilson, Edmund. The Shores of Light. New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1952.

Contains a valuable consideration entitled "Poe at Home and Abroad."

Wilt, Napier. "Poe's Attitude Toward His Tales: A New Document." Modern Philology 25 (1927-1927): 101-105.

Woodberry, George E. The Life of Edgar Allan Poe, Personal and Literary, with His Chief Correspondence with Men of Letters. 2 vols. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909.

VI. BOOKS AND ARTICLES ON AND BY POE'S LITERARY CONTEMPORARIES

Bayless, Joy. Rufus Wilmot Griswold: Poe's Literary Executor. Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 1943.

A frankly partial biography seeking to rehabilitate Griswold.

Butterfield, Roger. "George Lippard and His Secret Brotherhood." Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 79 (1955): 285-309.

Chase, Emma Lester, and Lois Ferry Parks, eds. The Complete Works of Thomas Holley Chivers. Volume I, The Correspondence. Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press, 1957.

Chaudry, Ghulam Ali. "Dickens and Hawthorne." Essex Institute Historical Collections 100 (1964): 256-273.

This contains information on Dickens and Poe.

Cunningham, Mary E., ed. James Fenimore Cooper: A Re-Appraisal. Cooperstown, N. Y.: New York State Historical Association, 1954.

An important set of articles on Cooper and his literary milieu.

De Grazia, Emilio. "The Life and Works of George Lippard." Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1969.

The most complete biographical study of Lippard to date.

_____. "Poe's Devoted Democrat, George Lippard." Poe Studies 6 (June 1973): 6-8.

Dunlap, Leslie W., ed. The Letters of Willis Gaylord Clark and Lewis Gaylord Clark. New York: New York Public Library, 1940.

Revealing correspondence of Poe foes.

Ehrlich, Heyward. "The 'Mysteries' of Philadelphia: Lippard's Quaker City and 'Urban' Gothic." ESQ 18 (1972): 50-65.

An excellent article fitting Lippard into the gothic tradition of Eugène Sue, and others.

Hayne, Barrie. "Standing on Neutral Ground: Charles Jacobs Peterson of Peterson's." Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 93 (October 1969): 510-526.

Good sketch of Poe's fellow editor at Graham's.

Hilen, Andrew, ed. Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966.

House, Madeline, et al. The Letters of Charles Dickens, Volume III 1842-1843. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1974.

Jackson, Joseph. "George Lippard: Misunderstood Man of Letters." Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 59 (1935): 376-391.

An early but informative article.

Johnson, Rue Corbett. "The Theatrical Career of William E. Burton." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Indiana, 1967.

Kaplan, Justin. Walt Whitman, A Life. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980.

Lippard, George. The Quaker City; or, The Monks of Monk Hall. 1845. Reprint ed., Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers, 1876.

Lippard's sensational, best-selling novel.

Mackenzie, Norman and Jeanne. Dickens, A Life. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Mellow, James R. Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Times. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1980.

A recent, extensive, and reliable biography.

Neu, Jacob L. "Rufus Wilmot Griswold." University of Texas Studies in English 5 (October 1925): 101-165.

An old but generally reliable sketch.

Prestwich, Ann. "Charles Jacobs Peterson, Editor, and Friend of Lowell and Poe." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1938.

Considerable detail on Peterson and Poe.

Putnam, George Haven. George Palmer Putnam, A Memoir. 2 vols. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912.

Contains unreliable information on Poe.

Ringe, Donald A. The Pictorial Mode: Space and Time in the Art of Bryant, Irving, and Cooper. Lexington, Ky.: The University Press of Kentucky, 1971.

Useful on the relationship between literature and landscape painting.

Robbins, J. Albert. "George R. Graham, Philadelphia Publisher." Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 75 (July 1951): 279-294.

_____. "The History of Graham's Magazine." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1947.

The two studies above are the best works to date on Graham.

Rugoff, Milton. The Beechers: An American Family in the Nineteenth Century. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1981.

Sartain, John. Reminiscences of a Very Old Man 1808-1897. 1899. Reprint ed., New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969.

The section on Poe is important for reconstructing Poe's last visit to Philadelphia. An "extra-illustrated" edition (one is located at the HSP) contains some portrats of Poe's Philadelphia associates.

Thompson, Lawrence. Young Longfellow, 1807-1843. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938.

Wagenknecht, Edward. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Portrait of an American Humanist. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Whitman, Walt. Complete Poetry and Collected Prose. Ed. by Justin Kaplan. New York: The Library of America, 1982.

See Specimen Days for Whitman's attitude toward Poe.

VII. MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

Archives of the City and County of Philadelphia (Philadelphia)
- Minutes of the Paving Committee, Spring Garden District
- Street Paving Accounts, 1814-1845, Spring Garden District Treasurer
- Watering Committee Stubs, Requests for Water Supply, 1834-1842, Spring Garden District
- Market Stalls Rental Ledger, 1842-1851, Spring Garden District Treasurer
- Paving Committee Permit Stubs, Spring Garden District
- Rough Minutes of the Health Office (Board of Health, City and County of Philadelphia), 1841-1844
- Tax Assessment, 4th Ward, Spring Garden District, 1844
- Deed Books, Philadelphia County
- Register of Wills, Philadelphia County (Inventories)

Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia)
Joseph Sill Diary
Manuscript Map of Spring Garden, 1845
Franklin Fire Insurance Company Surveys
Gratz Collection
"Prospectus of The Penn Magazine"

Philadelphia Contributionship (Philadelphia)
Insurance Surveys

Philadelphia Free Library (Philadelphia)
Gimbel Collection

Philadelphia Historical Commission (Philadelphia)
Files pertaining to the Poe House, 7th and Spring Garden Streets

Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority (Philadelphia)
Files pertaining to the Poe House and adjacent properties

VIII. PERIODICALS

Southern Literary Messenger
Burton's Gentleman's Magazine
Graham's Gentleman's Magazine
Philadelphia Inquirer
The Academy Scholium (Newspaper of the Episcopal Academy)

IX. INTERVIEWS

Mrs. Richard Gimbel
Mrs. Anthony Frayne

NOTES ON THE MAPS

MAP 1. *

Photo-reproduction of Tanner's map of "Philadelphia," first produced in 1836 and revised in 1840. This map was printed in numerous editions. Shared areas indicate blocks and portions of blocks that have been developed. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

MAP 2.

Based upon Tanner's 1840 "Philadelphia," with the addition of ward boundaries as they existed in 1844. In 1833 the boundary between wards one and four had been designated as Green Street, but by 1843 it had moved South to Buttonwood.

MAP 3.

Based on Tanner's 1840 "Philadelphia." Smaller alleys and courts are not shown.

MAP 4. *

Based upon "A Plan of the District of Spring Garden," surveyed by Philip M. Price and Company, 1847, published by Lloyd P. Smith. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

This plan provides highly accurate measurements of blocks and streets, as reproduced on Map 4. The numbered, shaded structures are buildings for which precise insurance survey drawings have been located (only those for which there are measurements which permit their positioning on the blocks are reproduced). The surveys appear in appendix E, according to the number by which they are identified on Map 4. Measurements for large vacant lots are from the 1844 tax assessment for the Fourth Ward, Spring Garden (ACP). Other suggestions of property divisions are only approximate, and indicate only the numbers of houses on each block, as derived from the 1844 tax assessment. They are provided only to indicate the heavily developed nature of the neighborhood.

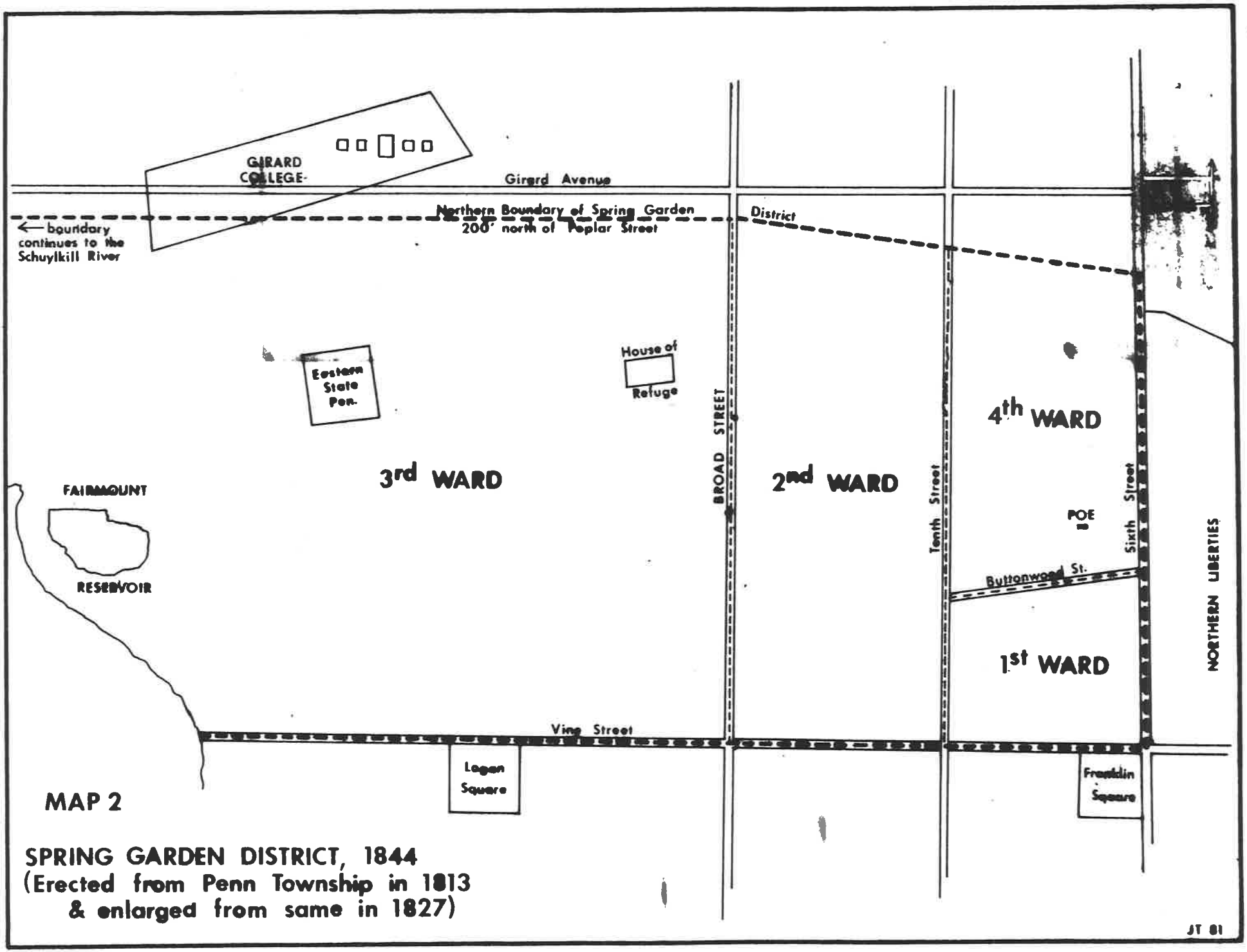
* [Editor's Note: Maps #1 and #4 are oversized maps. They can be found in the basement library in a tube.]

MAP 5.

Block and street measurements are based on "A Plan of the District of Spring Garden," surveyed by Philip M. Price, 1847, and published by Lloyd P. Smith (HSP). All other information derives from the tax assessment of Spring Garden's Fourth Ward, 1844 (ACP), and from insurance surveys. Property divisions as indicated are approximate.

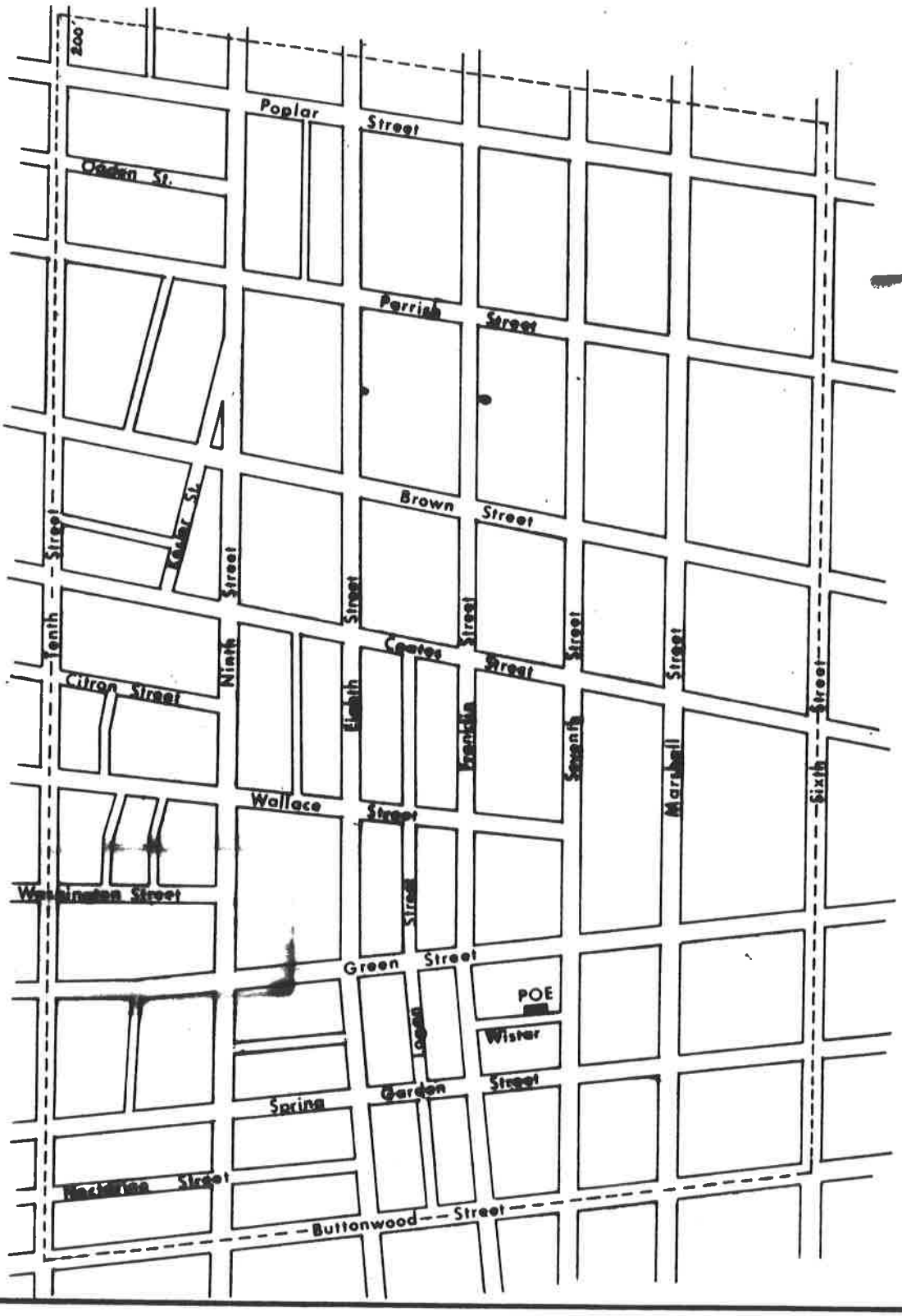
MAPS 6 THROUGH 10.

Photo-reproductions. Six through nine are from the Hexamer & Locher Atlas, Philadelphia, 1859. Map 10 is from the Hopkins Atlas, Philadelphia, 1876. Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

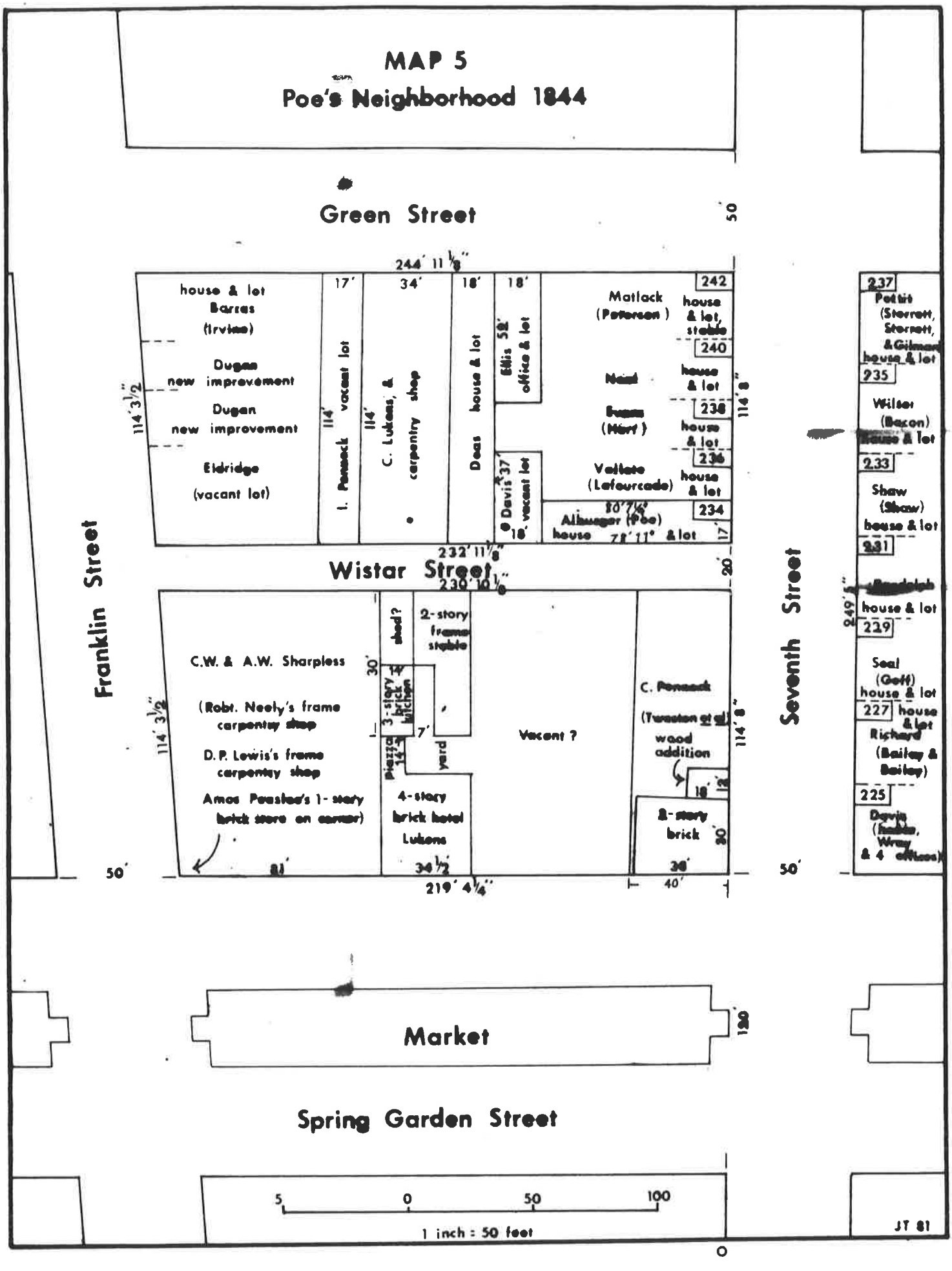

GIRARD COLLEGE
Girard Avenue
Northern Boundary of Spring Garden District
200' north of Poplar Street
← boundary continues to the Schuylkill River
Eastern State Pen.
House of Refuge
BROAD STREET
Tenth Street
Sixth Street
3rd WARD
2nd WARD
4th WARD
1st WARD
POE
Buttonwood St.
NORTHERN LIBERTIES
FAIRMOUNT
RESERVOIR
Vine Street
Logan Square
Franklin Square
MAP 2
SPRING GARDEN DISTRICT, 1844
(Erected from Penn Township in 1813
& enlarged from same in 1827)
JT 81

MAP 3

4th WARD, SPRING GARDEN DISTRICT



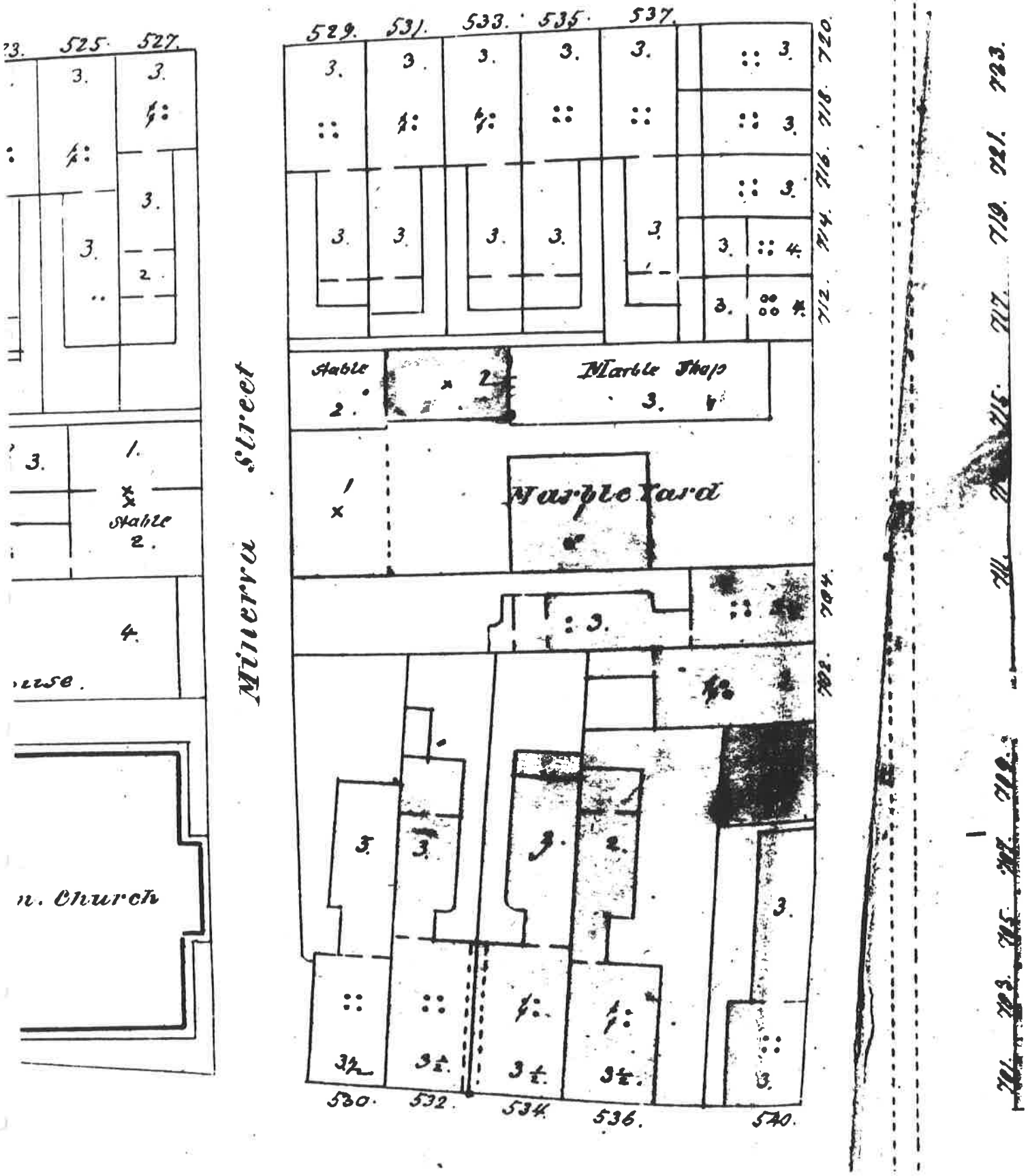
JT 81


MAP 5
Poe's Neighborhood 1844
Green Street
Wistar Street
Franklin Street
Seventh Street
Market
Spring Garden Street
244' 11 1/8"
232' 11 1/8"
230' 10 1/8"
219' 4 1/4"
114' 3 1/2"
114' 8"
50'
20'
120'
house & lot
Barras
(Irvine)
Dugan
new improvement
Dugan
new improvement
Eldridge
(vacant lot)
17'
34'
18'
18'
114'
114'
I. Pennock vacant lot
C. Lukens, &
carpentry shop
Deas house & lot
Ellis 52'
office & lot
Davis 37'
vacant lot
18'
Matlack
(Peterson)
242
house
& lot,
stable
240
house
& lot
238
house
& lot
236
house
& lot
234
house
& lot
17'
Vallete
(Lafourcade)
Alburger (Poe)
house
& lot
C.W. & A.W. Sharpless
(Robt. Neely's frame
carpentry shop
D.P. Lewis's frame
carpentry shop
Amos Peaslee's 1-story
brick store on corner)
shed?
2-story
frame
stable
30'
3-story
brick
kitchen
14'
7'
piazza
14'
yard
4-story
brick hotel
Lukens
Vacant ?
C. Pennock
(Twaston et al)
wood
addition
18'
2-story
brick
30'
81'
34 1/2'
36'
40'
237
Pettit
(Storrett,
Storrett,
& Gilman)
house & lot
235
Wilson
(Bacon)
house & lot
233
Shaw
(Shaw)
house & lot
231
Randolph
house & lot
249' 5"
229
Seal
(Goff)
house & lot
227
house
& lot
Richard
(Bailey &
Bailey)
225
Davis
(house,
Wray
& 4 offices)
5
0
50
100
1 inch = 50 feet
JT 81

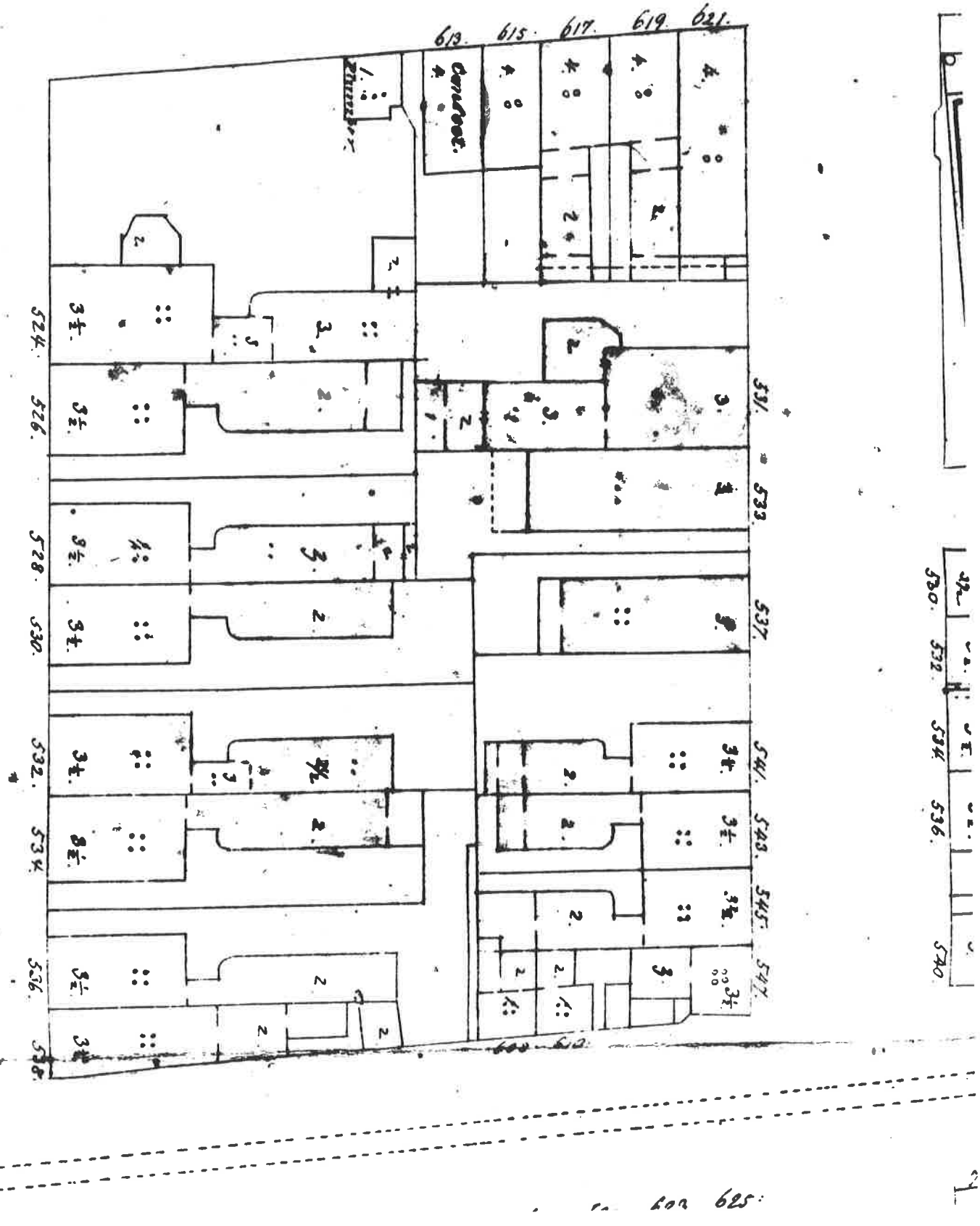
MAP 6

STREET
STREET
STREET
727.
729.
731.
733.
735.
737.
739.
722.
724.
726.
718.
720.
725.
527.
529.
531.
533.
535.
537.
539.
541.
543.
540.
538.
536.
534.
532.
528.
526.
524.
522.
523.
525.
527.
529.
531.
533.
535.
537.

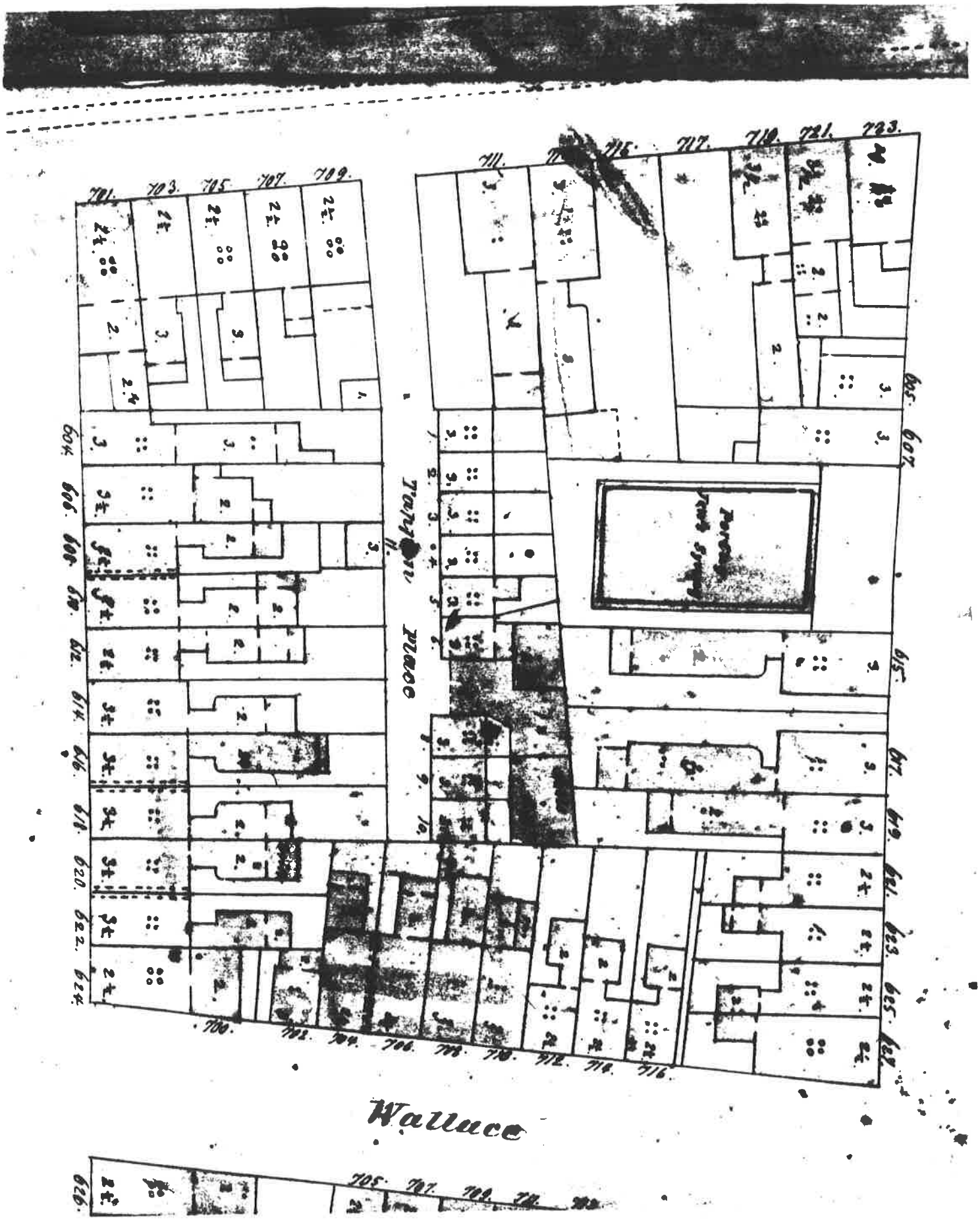
MAP 7


525.
527.
Minerva Street
529.
531.
533.
535.
537.
Stable
2.
Marble Shop
3.
Marble Yard
530.
532.
534.
536.
540.
n. Church

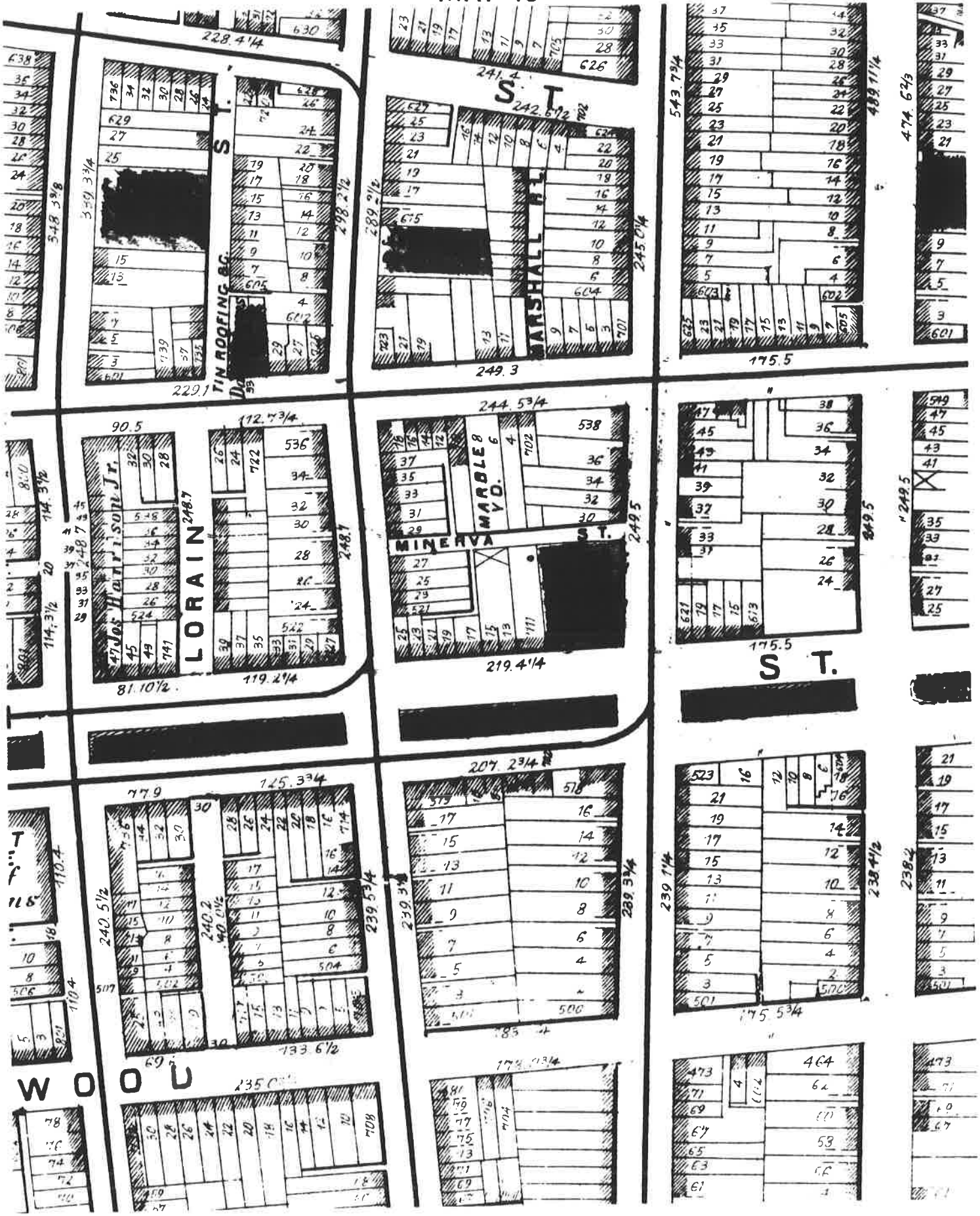
MAP 8


613.
615.
617.
619.
621.
524.
526.
528.
530.
532.
534.
536.
538.
531.
533.
537.
541.
543.
545.
547.
530.
532.
534.
536.
540.
625.

MAP 9



MAP 10



S T.
TIN ROOFING &C.
MARSHALL HL.
LORAIN
Jos Harrison Jr.
MARBLE YD.
MINERVA ST.
S T.
W O O D

SUBJECT INDEX

A

Abolitionism, 28-29
Academicus, 335-37, 342
Academy of Music (Philadelphia), 365
Academy Scholium, The, 360n1, 361n3
ACCP. See Archives of the City and County of Philadelphia
Adams, Donald R., 10n15
Adams, James Truslow, 8n12
Addis, Samuel Y., 75
"Ahasuerus", 291
Albright, John, 234
Alburger William M., iii, 40n9, 70-72, 82, 353
Alcott, Bronson, 107n44
Alexander, Charles W., 202
Alexander's Weekly Messenger, 130, 144, 148, 153-54, 156, 158, 202, 414-15
Allen, Hervey, 82, 91n11, 356, 432
Allen, John, 118
Allen, Michael, 105, 172, 200n14
Alterton, Margaret B., 275n58
Ambitious Quest, The, 204n24
American Autography, 218
American Literature, 89n8, 153n100
American Museum, 96, 100-101, 105, 108, 110, 114, 414
American Notes, 241n111
American Novel Writing, 414
American Philosophical Society, 360
American Publisher's Circular, 92n12
American Quarterly, 145n76
American Republican Association, 9
American Stationers Company, 85
American, The, 127
American Theatre (Baltimore), 161
An Appendix of Autographs, 415
Anatomy of American Popular Culture 1840-1861, The, 344n118
Andrus, Cecil D., 371
An Ordinance to Change the Names of Certain Streets ..., 356n10
Apennines, the, 242
Appleton, Frances, 139
"A Predicament", 105, 108, 274
Arch Street, 16, 22, 91, 101, 105
Arch Street Theatre, 30
Architectural Report on the Restoration..., 369n4
Architectural terms glossary, 388-90
Architecture (Philadelphia), 19-20

Archives of the City and County of Philadelphia (ACCP), iii, 38n7, 39n9, 41n12, 48n26, 49n29, 52n34, 62n36, 66n2, 69n5, 70n9, 71n13, 72n18, 74n23, 83n36
Arcturus, 238
Argand, Aime, 162n120
Argand lamp, 162
Argument, 287
Armstrong, Judge Thomas, 183
Arthur, T.S., 327
Ashmead's Paper Cuttings, 66n1
Astoria, 102
Athenaeum, The, 30
Atkinson, 183
Autography, 223, 226, 229-30, 233, 236, 239, 265, 267

B

Babe, The, 321
Bacon, Charles W., 74
Baigel, M.E., 62n36
Bailey, Thomas, 74
Bailey, William, 74
Ballads and Other Poems, 242, 245, 251-52
"Balloon Hoax, The", 347, 349
Baltimore Chronicle, 131
Baltimore, MD, 6, 96, 101, 224, 302, 351
Baltimore Post, 132
Baltimore Saturday Visiter, 127, 230
Baltimore Steamboats, 16
Baltimore Whig, 169
Balzac, Honore de, 104, 144
Bandy, W.T., 199n12
Bank of the United States, 4
Bank Panic of 1840, 191-93
Barnford, John, 61
Barras, John B., 63
Battle of the Thames, 123
Baudelaire, Charles, 363
Bayless, Joy, 206n27
Bean, Isaac I., 67, 75
Beard, James F. Jr., 144n74
Beechers: An American Family..., 343n117
Beethoven, 286
"Beleaguered City, The", 210
Bellini, 30
Benet, William Rose, 86n3
Benjamin, Park, 136, 226, 259
Benjamin Franklin Hotel, 362, 363n9
Benjamin Franklin Parkway, 270n50, 357
"Berenice", 292
Bernard, Peter D., 309
Bethel, Denise, 356n9
Bethel, Robert, 43n18, 48n27

Biddle, Nicholas, 188-91
"Biglow Papers, The", 345
Biographia Americana, 330n87
"Birthmark, The", 244
Bittner, William, 124n15, 349n131
Bjurman, Gunnar, 287
"Black Cat, The", iii, 329, 416
Blackwood, Mr., 106-7
Blackwood's Magazine, 30, 105, 107, 131, 172, 274
Blaine, J., 39n9
Blatchford, Stephen, 63
Bliss, Arthur Ames, 17n29
Bliss, Theodore, 16, 23
Blumin, Stuart, 29, 53
Blythe, Calvin, 296, 300, 303, 311
Bode, Carl, 344n118
Bolton, Reginald, 355n6
Bolton, Richard, 229
Bonaparte, Marie, 99n26, 235n99, 329n84
Boston, 146, 231, 240
Boston Lyceum, 340
Boston Miscellany, 264, 282, 285
Boston Notion, 149
Boston Quarterly Review, 140
Bowdoin College, 155
Bowen, Daniel, 13n22, 26n46, 45
Boyd, Joseph P., 179
Brandt, Francis Burke, 357
Brandywine (Wistar) Street, 34n2, 356, 364, 366
Bransby, Reverend John, 113n54
"Bread Crust Papers", The, 288, 318, 321
Breck, Samuel, 21-22, 24
"Bride, The", 252
Brigham, Clarence S., 153n100, 156n107
British Isles, 8
Broad Street, 14, 22, 35, 36, 42-46, 50-51
Broadway Journal, 243, 349
Brooks, Mrs., 339
Brooks, Nathan C., 91n11, 96, 100-102
Brother Jonathan, 286
Brougham, 239
Brown, Thomas, 109
Browne, Sir Thomas, 199
Brownson, Orestes, 107n44
Bryan, Daniel, 262-63, 265, 267
Bryant, William Cullen, 161, 213-14, 283, 337, 339
Bucknell Review, 244n119
Bulwer-Lytton, Edward, 110, 197
"Bumble Bee, The", 242
Burton, William Evans, 30, 33, 93-95, 115-21, 116ill, 129, 131, 135-36, 147-50, 153n101, 155, 158-69, 173-76, 181-84, 192, 195-96, 201-3, 276, 288
Burton's Gentleman's Magazine. See Gentleman's Magazine.

Burton's National Theatre, 30, 162ill, 163n129, 181
Butterfield, Roger, 322n62, 323, 326nn74
Buttonwood Street, 36-39, 51, 66
Byways and Boulevards in and about Historic Philadelphia, 357

C

"Callirhöe", 195
Callowhill Street, 28, 38, 42, 44, 66, 333
Camden, NJ, 16
Carey & Hart, 12n21, 114
Carey, Mathew, 12
Carlson, Eric W., 114n58
Carlyle, Thomas, 251-52, 328
Carrott, Richard G., 20n33
Carter, Robert, 295
"Cask of Amontillado, The", 166
Casket, The, 182-83
Casses, James, 62
Cawood, Hobart G., 372
Cedar Street (New York), 350
Cedar Street Wharves, 16
Celebrations in Philadelphia, 31-32
Centennial Celebration of 1876, 354
Chandler, Joseph R., 130-31
Channing, William Ellery Jr., 327-28, 341
A Chapter on Autography, 128n26, 415
Charvat, William, 13n22, 86n3, 141n66
Chase, Emma Lester, 179n32
Chestnut Street, 7n10, 14-17, 92, 162, 163n121, 198, 240, 323
Chestnut Street Theatre, 30
Chitwood, Oliver Perry, 207n30
Chivers, Thomas Holley, 160, 178n29, 179, 180, 260, 266, 267, 277
Cholera, 21, 250
Chronicle, 127, 132, 350
Cigar Girl Case, 284
Cincinnati, Ohio, 168
Cist, Lewis J., 224
Citizen Soldier, The, 319-24, 330, 334
City Takeover of Poe House is Proposed in Tate Ordinance, 368n1
Civil Services in Philadelphia, 20-29
Clark, Lewis Gaylord, 140, 328
Clark, Thomas C., 286
Clark, Willis Gaylord, 140, 156-57, 173
Clarke, Thomas Cotrell, 289-304, 309-10, 315, 335
Clay, Henry, 219, 281
Clemm, Mrs. Maria, iii, 35, 77-82, 88, 103, 176, 186, 268, 270n50, 271, 299, 308, 350, 417-18
Clinton Bradshaw, 168-69, 185
Coates Street (Fairmount Avenue), 34-35, 38, 39n9, 47, 51, 78, 254, 270, 270n50, 271, 306-7
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 141, 344

"Coliseum, The", 210n39
Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe, 97n20, 106n40, 111n49, 113n54, 122n9, 129n31, 137n53, 138n56, 151n93, 154n102, 162n119, 166n130, 198n9, 199n13, 212n43, 221n63, 222n65, 223n67, 243n115, 244n117, 249n1, 251, 251n7, 273, 274n57, 275n58, 276n6, 286n87, 289n95, 290n96, 329n83, 347n123
Collector of Port of Philadelphia, 270, 296
Collector Smith, 280, 283, 296
"Colloquy of Monos and Una, The", 152, 219, 221n62, 415
Columbia Railroad, 47, 66
Combe, George, 1, 11, 14-16, 19, 22, 24, 31
Commercial Bulletin, 131
Complete Poems of Edgar Allan Poe, The, 305n4
Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe, The, 110n48, 156n106, 179n32, 200n14, 211n40, 215n49, 219n59, 233n92, 309n14, 313n29, 314n33, 315n34, 316n41, 328n79, 340n113
Complete Works of Thomas Holley Chivers, The, 179n32
Conchologist's First Book; or, A System of ..., The, 109
Conchology, 109, 114
Congress Hall Hotel, 169, 185, 273n56
"Conqueror Worm, The", 289, 416
Conrad, Judge, 335-39
Conrad, Robert T., 191, 231
Consolidation Act, 36
"Conversation of Eiros and Charmion, The", 151, 414
Cooke, John Esten, 141n66
Cooke, Philip Pendleton, 134-35
"Cooper and His Artistic Contemporaries", 144n74
Cooper, James Fenimore, 86, 144, 213, 214, 220
Cornucopia Restaurant, 169
Correspondence, The, 179n32
County Sheriff, 27
Cox, John C., 91n11, 104, 115
Crawford, Isabel, 362n6
Cunningham, Mary E., 86n3, 144n74
Cuvier, George, 109

D

Da Costa Green, Belle, 363
Daily Chronicle, 158, 163, 169, 180, 188, 200, 205
Daily Forum, 318-20, 328
Daily Journal, 328
Daily Standard, 206
Daly, John, 36n3
Dana, Henry, 292n99, 337, 339
Darley, Felix O.C., 289, 292, 317
Davis, Allan F., 29n51
Davis, Benjamin, 67, 74, 40n9
Dawes, Rufus, 119, 120, 268, 276, 284, 341
Deas, James H., 40n9

"Death of the Old Year, The", 156
Deed Books. See Philadelphia Deed Book
De Grazia, Emilio, 149n88, 321nn57, 321n58, 323n63, 324, 326n73
Delahanty, Francis, 366n18
Delaware Avenue, 17
Delaware Notes, Series 26, 334n100
Delaware River, 1, 14, 22-23
Delaware State Journal, 335
Democratic Argus, 333
Democratic Party, 4-6
Democratic Review (New York), 263, 268, 275
Depression of 1837, 4
"A Descent into the Maelstrom", 107, 204, 415
"Devil in the Belfry, The", 117, 121, 414
Dial, The, 107n44, 222
Dickens, A Life, 232n91
Dickens' Barnaby Rudge, 415
Dickens, Charles, 85, 103, 111, 186, 205, 231-32, 240-42, 251, 284, 285n82, 323, 342, 360
Dictionary of American History, 8n12
Diddling. See Raising the Wind; or Diddling Considered ....
"Did Edgar Allan Poe Lecture at Newark Academy?", 334n100
A Digest of the Acts...District of Spring Garden..., 36n5, 43n18
Dinner Program for Banquet, 19 January 1934, 363n9
D'Israeli, Benjamin, 134n46
D'Israeli, Isaac, 134n46
District Treasurer, 42
Dock Street, 13, 17, 29, 306
Dollar Newspaper, The, 306, 317-19, 329, 340, 347, 416
"Domain of Arnheim, The", 275
Doms, Keith, 368n2, 369n3
Dow, Jesse Erskine, 126n20, 169, 170, 185, 203n22, 207, 209, 225, 259, 261, 297, 299, 300-301, 302, 304, 324
Downing, Andrew J., 276
Doyle, A. Conan, 198
Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, 114
"Drunkard's Death, The", 186
Dubouchet, C. Auguste, 199
"Duc de L'Omlette, The", 166
Duffee, Francis H., 318-20, 327
Dunciad, 251, 252
Dunlap, Leslie W., 158n111
DuSolle, John S., 176, 240, 319-323
Dutch Reformed Church, 358

E

Earle, Pliny, 180, 210
"Earth's Holocaust", 151
East and West, 168
Eastern State Penitentiary, 18, 49
East Poplar Urban Renewal Area, 365

Economic Development Administration, 369
Economy of Philadelphia, 1837-1842, 7-12, 29-30, 147, 191-93
Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography, 88n6, 90n9, 91n10, 109, 109n46, 113n54, 119n2, 120n6, 124n16, 127n22, 132n40, 136n50, 137, 137n54, 139n59, 141n66, 142n67, 143n70, 147n80, 153n101, 154, 154n103, 155n104, 159n113, 178n28, 194n1, 206n27, 207n29, 223, 223n68, 235n97, 255n15, 294n104, 297n112, 305n5, 316n42, 340n114, 341n115, 344n119, 349n130, 351, 351n135
Edgar Poe and the Philadelphians, Poe Studies (1972), 203n22
Edgar Allan Poe as Literary Critic, 141n66
"Edgar Allan Poe Cottage... A Reflection of American Culture and Society, The", 355n6
Edgar Allan Poe, Cryptographer, 153n100
"Edgar Allan Poe, George Lippard, and the 'Spermaceti' and 'Walnut-Coffin Papers'", Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 321n58
Edgar Allan Poe House, 75-84, 353-87, 358ill
  architectural surveys, 391-413
  chain of title, 373-84
  construction, 353
  furnishings, 161-62, 417-19
  inventory of contents, 1871, 385-87
  National Landmark designation, iii, 369-72
  neighborhood, 51-53, 60-65, 68-83, 354-59, 364-66, 419
   maps, 24, 207, 448
  owners, 353-54, 364, 368, 371, 373-84
  photographs, 358
  preservation, 354-72
  publicity, 356-57, 362-64
  room usage, 417-18
  value, 353, 373-84
Edgar Allan Poe House: A Historical Structure Report, The, 48n26
Edgar Allan Poe National Historic Site, 365, 369, 371-72, 417
Edgar Allan Poe,(part of Poets and Poetry of Philadelphia), 293
"Edgar Allan Poe's Contributions to...", Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, 153n100
"Edgar Allan Poe's Workshop in Dock Street ...", 357n12
Edgar Allan Poe, The Man, 71n17, 82
Egyptian Revival, Its Sources, ..., 1808-1858, The, 20
8th Street, 39, 44, 61-62, 64, 306
Eilberg, Congressman Joshua, 369
Eldridge, Stilwell, 63
"Eleanora", 222-23
11th Street, 39, 51
Elliott, Jesse Duncan, 169
Elsler, Fanny, 30
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 107n44, 143, 242
Employment in Philadelphia, 1830-1842, 9-11
Encyclopaedia Britannica, 204n25
England, 30, 92n12, 93, 111
English, Robert S., 281, 282
English, Thomas Dunn, 78ill, 79-82, 127n22, 178n29, 281, 288, 297, 312, 318, 346

"Enigmatical and Conundrumical", 153n99, 414
Entertainment in Philadelphia, 1830's-1840's, 30-32
Episcopal Academy newspaper, See The Academy Scholium
Ermengarde, 223
"Essay on Man", 252
Essays in London and Elsewhere, 104n35
Eton, 113
"Eureka", 211, 244, 344, 345, 351
Europe, 50
Evans, John Jr., 69, 70, 71n14, 73, 77
Eveleth, George W., 178n29
Evening Bulletin (Philadelphia), 367n19
Evening Post, 183
Evening Star, 131, 200
"Exordium", 233, 416
Extra Sun, 347

F

Fairmount, 78, 79, 83
Fairmount Avenue, See Coates Street
Fairmount Fire Engine Company, 52
Fairmount Street, 34, 77
Fairmount Water Works, 19, 21, 34, 40, 70, 104, 270
"Fall of the House of Usher, The", 110, 129, 134, 144, 146, 148, 151, 414
Falls of the Schuylkill, 347
Federal classicism, 20
Feldberg, Michael, 8n12, 28n49
"A Few Words on Secret Writing", 216, 415
Fields, James T., 264
5th Street, 333
Fire Association of Philadelphia, 52
Fire Companies in Philadelphia, 28
1st Ward, 36, 47
Fisher, Burke, 124-25
530 North Seventh Street, 353-54, 356, 358, 361, 364, 368-70, 418
538 North Seventh Street, 358
534 North Seventh Street, 358, 359
536 North Seventh Street, 358
532 North Seventh Street, 364n12, 368, 370, 418
Flaubert, Gustave, 104
"Flib", 240
Fordham, New York, 235n97, 351
Forrest, Edwin, 30
45 FR 165 (August 22, 1980), 371
Foster, George G., 270
Foundation for Literary Research, 361
Founder's Hall, 19
4th Street, 17-18, 24, 240
4th Ward, iii, 36, 47, 52, 65, 66n2, 72n18, 74n23, 83n36, 353

Fra Diavolo, 30
Frailey, Dr. Charles, 217, 229, 300
France, 354
Franklin Fire Insurance Company, 52, 63n37, 64n38, 419
Franklin Insurance Company Survey No. 5089, 70n8
Franklin Square, 66
Franklin Street, 25ill, 39, 44, 61-64, 356n10, 366
Fraser's Magazine, 204n25
Frayne, Anthony J., 64, 358n14, 361-62, 365, 368, 417
Frayne, Mrs. Barbara, 361
Freedom's Ferment:..., 303n119, 344n118
French Face of Edgar Poe, The, 98, 114, 244, 275
French Revolution, The, 251
Freud, Sigmund, 99, 235n99
Friedman, William F., 153n100
Front Street, 17-18
Frost, John, 130, 144, 148, 152
Fuller, Hiram, 127n22, 300
Fuller, Margaret, 87, 107n44
Fuller's Hotel, 296
Furness, Dr. William Henry, 28

G

Gallagher, William Davis, 197
Garland, Hamlin, 355
Genealogy of Philadelphia County Subdivisions, 36n3
General Lasalle, 274
Gentleman's Magazine, 93, 95, 115, 122-29, 132, 135, 138, 140, 142, 150-51, 154-55, 163, 176, 178, 181, 183, 186, 357, 414-15
"George Lippard and His Secret Brotherhood", 322n62, 323n66, 326n74
George Palmer Putnam, A Memoir, 92n12
"George R. Graham Philadelphia Publisher", 183n41
"Geraldine", 119, 276
German Gothicism, 100
German Society Garden, 74
Germantown, 9
Germantown Telegraph, 200
Gift for 1843, The, 273
Gift for 1842, The, 222
Gill, William F., 246
Gilman, John, 74
Gimbel Collection, Philadelphia Free Library, 363n8
Gimbel Family, 372
Gimbel Foundation, 366
Gimbel, Mrs. Richard, 360n1
Gimbel, Richard, 360-67
Girard, Stephen, 190
Girard College, 19
Glanville, Joseph, 96

Godey's Ladies' Book, 13, 148, 228, 283, 313, 347, 416
Goff, Jacob W., 74
"Gold Bug, The", iii, 128n27, 305, 314, 317-18, 327, 328, 416
Goldberg, Israel, 364n12
Good-Will Fire (Hose) Company, 28, 52
Graff, Frederick, 19
Graham, George Rex, 12, 33, 159, 182-84, 192-96, 203-4, 213-14, 218, 224, 226, 228, 230-37, 246, 247, 258, 262-63, 266, 267, 276-78, 283, 285, 294, 305, 327, 330-33, 341, 343, 348
Graham, William H., 320
Graham's Magazine, and the Ladies' and Gentleman's World of Literature and Fashion, 100n28, 120n3, 120n5, 182, 192, 194n1, 196n6, 208-11, 215, 221n63, 224-27, 230, 233, 237, 238n107, 242-49, 251n8, 252, 255, 259, 260, 261, 262, 268n46, 276, 289, 291, 293, 312, 318, 321, 323, 330n87, 332-34, 347-48, 363, 415-16
Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP), 355n7
Gravely, William H., 281, 282n75, 312
Graves, Robert, 96
Gray's Ferry Avenue, 18
Great Britain, 354
Greece, 294
Greeley, Horace, 136, 288
Green Street, 27, 36, 39, 44, 61-64, 68, 70-74, 83, 366, 368
"Grey Ham", 321-22
Griswold, Reverend Rufus Wilmot, 77, 119n2, 205-6, 210, 211n41, 221, 246-47, 255, 259-65, 282-83, 291, 292n99, 321, 322, 326, 330-38, 354
Gross, Seymour, 244
Gummere, Henry Volkmar, 357
Gunderson, Robertson Gray, 6n9
Gurney, John Joseph, 25n44, 26

H

"Hail, Columbia", 191
Haines, Hiram, 160
Haines Street, 28
Halleck, Fitz-Greene, 213-14, 337, 339
Haller, Mark H., 29n51
"Hall of Fantasy, The", 293
Hall, William, 75
Hamilton, Robert, 259, 278, 279
Hamilton Street, 44, 47
Hamlet, 30
Harper Brothers, 92, 149, 200n14
Harper's, 88, 111
Harris, Amanda Bartlett, 77, 79, 356
Harrisburg, PA, 5
Harrison, James A. See Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe, The
Harrison, William Henry, 5-6, 124, 168, 191, 207, 254

Hart, Lydia, 69, 74
Hass, Otto, 369n6
"Haunted Palace, The", 110, 114, 210, 414
Haviland, John, 18, 20, 62
Hawthorne, Julian, 355
Hawthorne, Mrs. Nathaniel, 310
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 85, 86n1, 100n28, 142, 151, 204, 220, 242, 244, 245, 249, 252-53, 293, 308, 310, 342-43
Hayne, Barrie, 178, 237
Health Committee, 49, 50
Health Office, 51
Heart and Home, 77
Heath, James E., 132-33
"Helen, To", 219
Helfenstein, Emanuel, 75
"Henry Bread Crust", 288
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: Portrait of ..., 139n57
Hermalyn, Gary D., 355n8
Herron, James, 256, 269
Hess, Jeffrey, 145n76
Hexsamer and Locher maps, 73, 75
High (Market) Street, 14, 17-18, 63, 74
Hilen, Andrew, 157n110
Hillman, Marcus, 354
Hirst, Henry Beck, 288, 290, 292, 294, 318
Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP), 7n10, 32n55, 70n8, 163n121, 170n5, 172n10, 257n21, 362, 419
A History of American Magazines, 1790-1850, 13n22
A History of Book Publishing in the United States, 92n12
History of Philadelphia, 26n46, 28n49, 29n50
History of Philadelphia 1609-1884, 9
A History of Philadelphia,...Up to the Year 1839, 13n22, 45n21
Hoffman, Daniel, 96, 98, 99n27, 108, 113n54, 114, 130n32, 152, 221n62
Hoffman, E.T.A, 138
Holden, Ezra, 148, 231, 329
Holm, Alvin, 48n26
Home Journal and Citizen Soldier, The, 323
Home Life of Poe, The, 81
Hopkinson, Joseph, 191
Horne, Richard Henry, 347
Houghton Library, Harvard University, 196n5
House, Madeline, 285n82
House of Poe, 130n32
Howard Pinckney, 168-69, 185, 208
"Howe's Masquerade", 253
"How to Write a Blackwood Article", 105
Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, 196n6
"Hymn to the Night", 155, 331
Hyperion, 138-141, 245, 343

I

"Imogine; or the Pirate's Treasure", 319
"Imp of the Perverse, The", 114, 286
Independence National Historical Park, 372
Independent (Washington), 79, 261
Index (Washington), 225, 259, 262
Inquirer (Philadelphia), 337, 339, 365n16, 367n19, 368n1, 372n9
"Instinct vs. Reason--A Black Cat", 154, 415
Insurance Company of North America, 418
International Copyright Agreement, 111, 242, 348
Irish Immigration, 8
Irving, Washington, 86, 101-3, 133, 143-46, 213-14, 220
Irving, William, 86
"Island of the Fay, The", 211, 244, 415
Israfel: The Life and Times of ..., 82, 91n11, 356, 415

J

Jackson, Andrew, 4-6
Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics, 5n6, 7n10, 8n12
Jacksonian Era 1828-1848, The, 4n5, 5n7
Jacksonians versus the Banks:..., The, 4n3
Jackson , Joseph, 357
Jackson, TN, 312
Jacobs, Robert D., 129n30, 141n65
James Fennimore Cooper, A Re-Appraisal, 86n3, 144n74
James, Henry, 104n35
John di Procida, 30
John, John Ward. See The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe
John Lloyd Associates, 369, 371, 372n9
Johnson, Richard, 123, 124n15
John Tyler, Champion of the Old South, 207n30
Jones, C., 91, 105
Jones, Henry, 72, 353
Jones, J. Beauchamp, 127-29
Jones, James, 72, 353, 354
Joseph Sill Diaries, 7n10, 15n24, 257n21, 338n111, 339n112
Journal of Julius Rodman, The, 415
A Journey in North America...Letters to Amelia Opie, 25n44, 26n47
Juliana Street Church, 333

K

Kaplan, 143n72
Kazimierz Wielki Building & Loan Association, 364n12
Kennedy, John Pendleton, 87, 188, 213-18, 228
Kensington, 14

Keune, Russell, 368n2, 369n3
Kirkbride, Beatrice, 353n3
Kneedler, Simon, 39n9
Knickerbocker, 140, 171, 328
Knowle, Sheridan, 30

L

Lacey, Dr., 300
Ladies' Book, See Godey's Ladies Book.
Ladies' Companion (Snowden's), 259, 275, 289
Ladies' World of Fashion, 283
Ladye Annabel, The, 323, 324
Lafourcade, Edward, 68, 73
Landing Avenue, 47
Landing Street, 47
Landor, Edmund Wilson, 204n25
"Landscape Garden, The", 275, 278, 416
Langley, H.G., 268, 275-76
La Sonnambula, 30
La Tarantale, 30
Laurel Hill Cemetery, 19
Law Enforcement of Philadelphia, 27
Lea & Blanchard, 12, 136, 146-47, 169, 175, 190, 219
Leaves of Grass, 86
Ledger, 350
Le Genie d'Edgar Poe, 98
"Lenore", 285, 290, 293
Letters of Charles Dickens, The, 285n82
Letters of Edgar Allan Poe, The, 80n34, 89n8, 91n11, 100n29, 101n31, 105n37, 125n18, 127n23, 129n28, 132n41, 134n46, 142n69, 143n71, 146n79, 158n112, 159n115, 161n117, 165n126, 172n9, 175n17, 176n21, 177n24, 178n29, 179n30, 181n35, 182n38, 185n45, 188n52, 189n56, 192n63, 199n11, 200n14, 201n16, 207n29, 202n19, 210n38, 214n46, 217n51, 218n57, 222n64, 224n69, 227n28, 228n79, 229n83, 231n89, 234n95, 235n96, 236n100, 238n106, 241n113, 246n124, 247n129, 254n12, 255n14, 256n17, 257n20, 258n22, 260n26, 262n33, 263n34, 265n40, 268n46, 269n47, 270n51, 273n56, 277n64, 279n68, 285n84, 293n101, 294n106, 297, 298n113, 301n15, 304n1, 305n4, 306n7, 308n12, 309n15, 314n32, 315n35, 316n42, 322n61, 324n69, 325n71,331n89, 345n120, 348n126, 349n128, 350n133
Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, The, 157n110
Letters of Willis Gaylord Clark and... , The, 158n111
Levin, Harry, 98, 130n32
Levine, Stuart, 152n98
Levine, Susan, 152n98
"Life and Death", 242
Life and Letters of Edgar Allan Poe, The, 200n14
Life and Works of Edgar Allen Poe, The, 99n26, 235n99

Life and Works of George Lippard, The, 149n88, 321n57, 323n63, 324n67, 326n73
Life in Death, 416
Life of Edgar Allan Poe, 246n125
"Ligeia", 96-100, 114-15, 134-35, 414
Lindsay, Robert, 63
Lines Written on a Portrait of William Henry Harrison, 228
Lippard, George, 1-3, 149, 221, 240, 288, 318-19, 321-26, 330, 332, 334-35, 337n109, 344
Literary Biography, 2-3
Literary Climate, 1830's-1840's, 85-87, 107, 172, 343-45
Literary Examiner and Western ...(Pittsburgh), 124,414
Literary History of Philadelphia, 356
Literary Landmarks in Philadelphia, 357
"Literary Life of Thingum Bob, Esq., The", 166
Literary Publishing in America, 1790-1850, 13n22
Literary Small Talk, 110, 114, 414
Literati of New York City, The, 128n26
Locust Street, 20, 34, 80, 234, 254
Locust Ward, 9
Logan Street, 61-63
Log Cabin Campaign, 6n9
Log Cabin Strategem, 6
London, 24, 92n12
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 85, 87, 138, 140, 155, 157, 173, 210, 213-14, 242, 244-45, 251-52, 283, 330-32, 337, 339, 342-43, 348
"Longfellow War", 139
"Lord's Prayer, The", 335
Louis, Arthur M., 367n19
Lowell, James Russell, 103, 195, 226, 230, 237, 238, 241n113, 244n117, 245, 283-86, 295, 300, 304n1, 306n7, 308-11, 315-317, 330-31, 340, 344-45, 348-49
Lukens, Dr. Charles, 67-68, 75

M

Mabbott, Thomas Ollive. See Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe
McCarroll, James, 284
McConkey, Thomas J., 372n9
McElroy, Archibald, 18n30, 270n50
McElroy's Philadelphia Directory, 18n30, 70n9, 91n11
McElroy's Philadelphia Register, 63n37
MAC-GRAWLER, 328
Mackenzie, Jeanne, 232n91
Mackenzie, Norman, 232n91
Mackenzie, Thomas, 315
Mackenzie, William, 310
McMichael, Morton, 148, 313
MacNeill, Mrs. Henry T., 361n4
Madrid, 86
"Maelstrom: A Fragment, The", 204n25, 274-75

Maguire, Margaret T., 362n6
"Man of the Crowd, The", 1176n21, 186
"Man that Was Used Up, The", 321, 414
Marathon and Other Poems, 210
Marble Place, 64
"Marie Roget", 278, 284, 289, 293, 305n5
Market (High) Street, 14-15, 18, 22, 24-26, 41
Marshall Street, 43, 61, 70
Maryland, 215
"Mask of the Red Death, The", 249-52, 416
Masonic Hall, 198
Master Humphrey's Clock, 205
Mathews, Cornelius, 238-39, 276, 341
Mauclair, Camille, 97
Maupin, Dr. Socrates, 199
Mayne, Reid, 76-77
May Number, 247
Mechanic's Fire Engine Company, 52
Mellow, James R., 86n1, 244n117
Melville, Herman, 86, 343
Memoirs and Auto-Biography of Some of the Wealthy..., 19
Merchants, 14, 16-18
Merchant's Exchange, 13, 18, 23-24, 34, 77, 306
Merchant's Hotel, 24
Messenger, 133, 256
"Metzengerstein--The Horse Shade", 137n55
Middleton, Thomas, 286
"Midnight Mass for a Dying Year", 156
Mind of Poe and Other Studies, The, 200n14
Minerva Street, 34n2, 356n10
"Minister's Black Veil, The", 253
Minor, Lucian, 179
Mirror (The New York), 87, 148
Mitchell, Dr. John Kearsley, 160, 190, 198
Mitchell, Weir, 160
Monsieur Dupin, 198-99, 258
Moran, Edward, 39n9
Moravian Street, 357
Morell, Charles R., 163
"Morella", 135, 292
Morgan Library (New York), 363
Morison's (on Cedar Street), 350
"Morning on the Wissahickon", 347
Morris, Robert, 337
Moss, Sidney P., 139n58, 140n63, 156, 332n93, 346n122
Mott, Frank Luther , 13n22
Moyamensing, 10, 14, 50
Moyamensing Prison, 19
Moyne, Ernest John, 334n100
"Ms Found in a Bottle", 204
Mulberry Street, 74-75, 91
"Murders in the Rue Morgue, The", 197, 200, 204-5, 208, 321, 415
Museums, i-ii, 356, 418
Musical Fund Hall, 30
Mutual Assurance Company, 52, 418
"Mystery of Marie Roget...", 257

Naiad Queen, The, 30, 162n121
Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket, 88, 92, 94, 111, 115, 119, 155, 165
Natalie, 30
Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Times, 86n1, 244n117
National Park Service, The, iii, 365
National Trust for Historic Preservation, 368
Nativism, 8-9
Nature and Culture: American Landscape and ..., 145n76
Neal, John, 174
Neal, Joseph C., 130
Neal, William, 74
Nelson, Lee H., 372n9
"Never Bet the Devil Your Head, A Moral Tale", 219, 221, 415
Newark Academy, 335
Newark, DE, 334
New Jersey, 22, 26, 302
New World(New York), 226, 259
New York Aurura, 270
New York City, 3, 8, 16, 50, 72, 88, 92, 121, 226, 238, 240, 246, 268, 279, 302, 326, 348-49, 350
New-York Daily Tribune, 288
New Yorker (The), 9, 136, 200, 206
New York Evening Star, 205
New-York Mirror, 250
New York State, 351
New York Steamboats, 16
New York Tribune, 284
Niblo's Gardens, 121
Night and Morning, 197
Night Watch (Philadelphia), 23, 46
9th Street, 43, 44, 162
98 Chestnut Street, 320
Nixon Street, 44
Noah, Mordecai Manuel, 131
North American, (The Philadelphia), 149, 174
Northern Liberties, 14, 51
Northern Poudrette Lot, 49-50
Notes on English Verse, 295
Notes on the United States of North America..., 1, 31n54
Notion (Boston), 206, 210, 222, 257, 305n5
Novack, Barbara, 145n76
Nye, Russell Blaine, 344n118

O

Oberholtzer, Ellis Paxton, 82, 356-57
Oberholtzer Papers, 357n11
Ohio, 5

Old Curiosity Shop, The, 205
Oliver, Frank M., 354
On Dramatic Art and Literature, 141n66
One Hundred Years of Publishing 1785-1885, 12n21
On Literature and Art, 141n66
Onward: A Magazine for the Young Manhood of America, 76
Opal for 1844, The, 347
Opal, The, 305n
Ordinances (Spring Garden District), 41n13, 42n15, 46n22
"Original Conundrums", 309
Origins of American Critical Thought, 1810-1835, The, 141n66
Origins of Poe's Critical Theory, 275n58
Origins of Richmond's Poe Museum, The, 356n9
Orion, 347
Osgood, Mrs., 339
Ostrom, John Ward. See The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe
O'Sullivan, John L., 110
"Our Contributors", 348
Outre-Mer, 138
"Oval Portrait, The", 242, 243
Owens, Mrs. William, 358
Oxford University, 115

P

P.L. 95-625, 370
Pacific Ocean, 86
"A Paean", 290
Paine, Thomas, 360
Painter, Jacob, 63
Panic of 1837, 4-11, 29, 50, 86, 307
Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 321n58
Papers of the Modern Language Association, 199n12
Papers on Poe, 282n75
Parker, Theodore, 107n44
Parks, Edd Winfield, 141n66
Parks, Lois Ferry, 179n32
Parrish Street, 39
Parsons, Mrs. M. H., 252
Passayunk, 14, 18
Patriot, 127
Paulding, James Kirke, 86, 89-90, 122, 213, 217
Paving Committee (Spring Garden Street District), 37-39
Peg's Run, 66
Pencillings Along the Way, 250
Penn, The, 32, 66, 168, 171-75, 180, 187-92, 213-14, 223, 233, 265, 267, 279, 294
Penn, William, 66
Pennock, Caspar, 358, 366
Pennsylvania Assembly, 9, 35, 36

Pennsylvania Fire Insurance Company, 20
Pennsylvania Hall, 28
Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 369
Pennsylvania Hose Company, 52
Pennsylvania Inquirer & Courier, The, 13n22, 125, 147
Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 21n35, 178n27, 183n41
Pennsylvanian, The, 13n22, 92, 130, 147, 200
Penn Township, 19, 35
Peoples of Philadelphia..., 29n51
Percival, H, Esq., 195
Perkin's book shop, 92
Perth Amboy, 16
Pessen, Edward, 5n6, 8n12
Peterman, James, 71n14
"Peter Pendulum, the Business Man", 158, 415
Peterson, Charles J., 178, 183, 195-96, 224, 227, 230, 231, 237-39, 283, 330
Peterson, Lemuel F., 74
Peterson's Magazine, 237
Phantasy-Pieces, 107n44
Phelps, William Lyon, 363
Philadelphia : A 300-Year History, 8n12, 21n34
Philadelphia City Council, 356n10
Philadelphia Contributionship, 52
Philadelphia Customs House, 7, 254, 255, 270, 279, 282
Philadelphia Deed Book ELT-244, pp.568-576, ACCP, 354n5
Philadelphia Deed Book GWG--53, 353n2
Philadelphia Deed Book JMH--3708, 361n2
Philadelphia Deed Book JMH--3914, 364n12
Philadelphia Deed Book RLL--33, 353n1
Philadelphia Free Library, 196n6, 360, 368
Philadelphia Gas Works, 22, 23n39
Philadelphia Gazette, The, 13n22, 140, 156, 173
Philadelphia Historical Commission, 353n3, 368n2, 369n3
Philadelphia: Portrait of an American City, 19n31, 23n39, 37n6, 163n121
Philadelphia Public Ledger, 28
Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority, 366n18
Philadelphia Register, 270n50
Philadelphia Riots of 1844, The, 8n12, 28n49
Philadelphia Saturday Courier, 137n55
Philadelphia Saturday News, 183
Philadelphia Times, 66n1
Philadelphia Watering Committee, 40n10
Philharmonic Society, 30
Phillips, Mary, 71n17, 82-84, 270n50, 350n132, 356-57
"Philosophy of Furniture", 84, 161, 415
Pictorial Mode: Space and Time in the Art of..., 145n76
Pinchot, Gifford, 363
Pinkney, Edward Coote, 211
Pioneer, The, 103, 244n117, 283-86, 289-90, 293, 295, 308, 309, 331, 416

Piper, John, 355n6
"Pit and the Pendulum, The", 108, 204, 273
Poe A Biography, 124n15
Poe and the British Magazine Tradition, 105n38, 172n11, 200n14
Poe and Thomas Dunn English..., 282n75, 312n25
Poe and Virginia Clemm, 244n119
Poe as Literary Critic, 141n66
Poe at Home and Abroad, 114n58
Poe Club, 362
Poe Cottage at Fordham (Bronx, NY), 355, 418
"Poe Cottage of Fordham, The", 355n8
Poe Cottage, The, 355n6
Poe, Edgar Allan
    altercation with Rufus Wilmont Griswold, 259-65
    correspondence, 102-4
    cryptograms, 153, 197, 199, 216-18, 225, 229
    drinking, 79-80, 87-88, 178, 181, 201-4, 235, 268, 272-73, 279, 297-303, 312, 346-47
    friendship, 184-85
    government appointment, 90, 209, 215-19, 225-26, 228, 254-56, 270, 279-82, 296-303, 304, 311-12
    illness, 143, 187-88, 192, 273, 279, 298-303, 326
    income, 33, 82, 84, 101, 115-16, 147, 196, 307-8
    lectures, 333-40
    literary criticism, 95-96, 102, 119-20, 124, 139-42, 156-57, 169-70, 173, 178, 230-31, 238-39, 245, 252-53, 260, 276-77, 284, 291, 319, 324-25, 327-28, 331-32, 341-43
    literary output in Philadelphia (Total), 351, 414-16
    magazine publishing
        Broadway Journal, 349
        The Penn, 32-33, 135, 163, 168, 170-80, 184, 187-93, 197, 224, 236-37, 262-63, 265-67, 277-78
        The Stylus, 292, 294-95, 304, 309-11, 315-16
    opium use, 243
    perfectionism, 278
    portrait, Frontispiece
    spirituality, 344-45
Poe Family, The, 363
Poe Foundation, 356
Poe House (Baltimore, MD), ii
Poe House (Philadelphia), See Edgar Allan Poe House
Poe in Philadelphia 1837-1844, A Documentary Record, i, 33n57, 34n1, 76-77, 79, 81n35, 87n4, 89n8, 91n11, 92n13, 100n30, 102n34, 109n47, 111n49, 115, 117n1, 119n2, 120n4, 121n7, 125, 126n20, 129n29, 130n33, 133n43, 134n45, 136n49, 142n68, 144n73, 145n75, 146n77, 147n81, 149, 156n108, 159n114, 160n116, 163n122, 169, 170n2, 173n13, 176n22, 178n29, 180n34, 181n36, 182n39, 184n43, 185, 186, 187n51, 188n53, 190n59, 192n67, 194n2, 196n5, 197n7, 198n10, 200, 202n18, 205n26, 206n28, 208, 209, 211n41, 216, 217n55, 219n58, 222n65, 225, 227n78, 228n81, 230n85, 233n93, 238n105, 239n108, 240n110, 241, 242n114, 245n122, 246, 247n126, 248n130, 254n12, 255n16, 259n24, 261n28, 264n38, 267n42, 270n52, 275n60, 278n65, 283n78, 285n83, 286n85, 287n90, 291n97, 292n99, 293n102, 294n105, 296n110, 299n114, 303n121, 304n2, 306n6, 308n11, 309n14, 310n20, 312nn26, 314n30, 315n36, 316n42, 318n47, 322n59, 327n76, 328n80, 330n85, 331n91, 332n94, 335n101, 337n109, 342n116, 346n122, 347n125, 348n127

Poe, Journalist and Critic, 129n30, 141n65, 141n66
Poe Memorial Association of Richmond, 355-56
Poe Museum (Richmond, VA), i-ii, 356, 418
Poe, Nielson, 101, 131, 132, 142, 143n70
Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe, 98n25, 99n27, 100n28, 108n45, 113n54, 114n58, 130n32, 152n97, 221n62
Poe, Rosalie, 310
Poe's Garden, House Being Restored Here, 367n19
Poe's Literary Battles: The Critic in the Context of His Literary Milieu, 139n58, 140n63, 156n107, 332n93
Poe's Major Crisis, 346n122
Poe's Political Satire, 124n15
Poe Studies, 203n22, 355n6
Poe the Man, 83n36, 270n50, 350n132, 356
Poets and Poetry of America, The, 206, 210-11, 221, 260-61, 263, 282, 291, 293, 336, 338
Poe, Virginia, 35, 77, 79, 81, 88, 176, 186, 223, 227, 234-36, 244, 255-56, 262, 268-69, 299, 300, 310, 349-51, 417
Poe, Washington, 177
Poe, William, 177, 316-17
Pogue, 279
Politics in Philadelphia, 1832-1841, 3-7
Pollin, Burton R., 355n6
Pope, Alexander, 251-52
Poplar Street, 36
Population of Philadelphia, 1830-1840, 9-10
Port of Philadelphia, 16
Power of Blackness, The, 98, 130n32
"Power of Words, The", 152
"A Predicament", 105, 108, 274
Prentice, George D., 328
Prince Prospero, 249
Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of its Growth, The, 7n10, 10n14, 11n19
Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society 52, 153n100
"Procrastination", 252
Prose Romances of Edgar A. Poe, The, 321, 327
"Prospectus of the Penn Magazine", 170n5, 172n10
"Psyche Zenobia, The", 105, 414
Public execution in Philadelphia, 27
Public Hygiene in Philadelphia, 48-50
Public Law 95-625, 370
Public Ledger, 13n22, 131, 174, 317, 337, 357n11
Public Markets in Philadelphia, 25-26
Public Transportation in Philadelphia, 23ill, 25
Public Water Supply in Philadelphia, 21
Public Works Employment Act of 1976, 369
Publishing in Philadelphia, 12-13
  See also individual publishers
"Purloined Letter, The", 347
Putnam, George Haven, 92n12
Pym, 94, 111, 115, 119, 155, 165

Q

"Quacks of Helicon, The", 312, 314
Quaker City; or The Monks of Monk Hall, The, 1, 3, 149, 326
Quaker Influence, 27
Quinn, Arthur Hobson. See Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography
Quinnn, Patrick F. See French Face of Edgar Poe, The

R

Rabelais, 139
Raising the Wind: or Diddling..., 158, 416
Randolph, Ann, 73-74
"Raven, The", iii, 347
Reader's Encyclopedia, The, 86n3
Reading, PA, 334
Recognition of Edgar Allan Poe, The, 87n5, 114n58, 130n32
Reid, Mayne, 356
Rein, David, 244
Reliance Insurance Company, 419
Religion in Philadelphia, 8-9
Reminiscences, 196n6
Reminiscences of a Very Old Man 1808-1897, 104n36
Reminiscences of Poe, 76-83
Report of the Trustees of the Philadelphia Gas Works..., 23n39
Report of the Watering Committee..., 40n10
Republican, 127
Resolution 14964 in the House of Representatives, 369
Review of Reviews, 354
Rhode Island, 168
Rhode Island Patriot, 200
Richard Gimbel Discusses Work of Restoring..., 360n1, 361n3
Richard Gimble Foundation for Literary Research, 368
Richmond Compiler, 137n53
Richmond, VA, 87, 146, 326, 329, 341, 355
Ridge Road, 38, 44
"A Rill From the Town Pump", 253
Ringe, Donald A., 145n76
Robbins, J. Albert, 183n41, 203n22
Roberts, George, 257-59
Roberts, Jonathan, 255, 281
Robinson, Joseph, 341n115
Rogers, Mary, 257, 284
Roman Catholicism, 8
Rueful Grizzle, See Griswold, Reverend Rufus Wilmot
Rufus Wilmot Griswold: Poe's Literary Executor, 206n27
Rugoff, Milton, 343n117
Rumpus Grizzle, See Griswold, Reverend Rufus Wilmot
Russia, 294

Saint George's Society, 32
Salmagundi Papers, 86
Sartain, John, 104, 194, 196n6, 326
Saturday Chronicle and Mirror...(Philadelphia), 117, 121, 414
Saturday Courier, The, 13n22, 148, 154, 174, 289, 318, 327, 330, 415-16
Saturday Evening Post, 13n22, 94, 109, 131, 146, 148-49, 154, 173-74, 192, 242n114, 286, 289, 290-91, 293-94, 309, 315, 335, 346
Saturday Visitor (Baltimore), 257
Scharf, Thomas J., 9, 28n49, 29n50
Schlegel, August Wilhelm von, 141
Schuykill River, 17, 21-23, 35-38, 41
Schuylkill Street, 27
"Scythe of Time, The", 105-6, 414
Seaman's Church Institute, 357
Second Bank of the United States, 7, 240
2nd Street, 13, 17-18, 29, 115, 121
2nd Ward, 9, 47
"Secret Writing", 233, 415
See Philadelphia, Joseph Jackson's, (1937), 357
7th Street, iii, 17, 34, 36-39, 41, 52, 61, 62, 64-66, 68-73, 75-77, 81-83, 307, 350, 356n10, 358, 366, 368, 417-19
"Shall We Preserve the Poe Cottage at Fordham", 354
Sharp, James Rodgers, 4n3, 5n6
Sharpless, A.M., 40n9
Sharpless, Abraham W., 69, 70
Sharpless, C.M., 40n9
Sharpless, Caspar W., 69, 70
Shaw, Albert, 355n7
Shaw, Alexander, 74
Shaw, George Bernard, 363
Shelley, 311
Shelter for Colored Orphans, 28
Sherburne, Miss, 319
Sheridan, 239
Short Fiction of Edgar Allan Poe, 152n98
Sigourney, Mrs. Lydia, 227, 339
"Silence--A Sonnet", 154, 415
Sill, Joseph, 15, 30-32, 162n121, 257, 337, 338n111, 339
Simms, William Gilmore, 184
16th Street, 34, 80, 234, 254
16 U.S.C. 1-4, 371
6th Street, 17, 27-28, 35-36, 38-39, 42, 47, 333
Sketches by Boz, 186
Sketches from the Log of Old Ironsides, 169
Sketch of the Water Works at Fairmount, and at..., 40n10
Slavery in the United States, 90
"Sleeper, The", 210n39

Smith, Horace Wemyss, 347
Smith, Mrs. S., 339
Smith, Thomas S., 270, 279, 296
Smithsonian, 360
Smithtown, Long Island, 86
Snodgrass, Joseph Evans, 80, 96, 100, 131-32, 142, 146, 151, 158n112, 165n127, 174-75, 191, 201-3, 221, 224, 230, 257-60
Snowden's, 278, 282, 293
Society and Culture in America, 1830-1860, 344n118
Society of Friends, 28
"Sources and Aesthetics of Poe's Landscape Fiction", American Quarterly 22, 145n76
Southern Literary Messenger, 87, 90, 102, 132, 141, 146, 169, 171, 178-79, 186, 227, 310, 315, 329, 341
South Street, 9, 14, 17, 21, 23, 27
Southwark, 14
Spain, 86
"Spanish Student, The", 331, 332
Spear, Thomas G., 231
Specifications for the Edgar Allan Poe House Complex, 369
"Spectacles, The", 347, 416
"Spermaceti Papers, The", 321
Spirit of the Times, 13n22, 176, 240, 284, 288, 293, 319, 320, 323, 327, 350
Sprague, 337, 339
Spring Garden District, 9, 18-19, 34-84, 254
  boundaries, 35
  expansion, 37, 307
  fire companies, 52
  law enforcement, 45-48
  maps, 448
  markets, 41-43, 67
  occupations of residents, 52-63, 74
  population, 10, 52
  private baths, 21
  property values, 61-63, 73
  public transportation, 306-7
  public vehicles, 43-45
  regulations and ordinances, 43-45, 48, 51
  water services, 40-41, 70
Spring Garden District Board of Commissioners Ordinances (1841), 41n13, 42n15, 46n22
Spring Garden District Treasurer, 43n17, 71n16
Spring Garden Gas Company, 47
Spring Garden Hotel, 75
Spring Garden Paving Committee, 47
Spring Garden Street, 14, 24ill, 25, 39, 40-42, 44-46, 61-67, 70-71, 74-75, 81, 306-7, 316, 353, 356, 358, 366, 368
Spring Garden Street Market, 35, 67, 307, 25n45
Spring Garden Water Works, 20
Spring Street, 357n11
Spruce Street, 15-16

Standing on Neutral Ground: Charles Jacobs Peterson of Peterson's, PMHB 93 (1959), 178n27, 237n103
Sterett, James, 74
Sterett, John, 74
Stevenson, Robert Louis, 114
Still, Joseph, 7n10
Stoke-Newington, 113n54
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 343
Street Lighting in Philadelphia, 22-23
Street Paving, 37-39
Strickland, William, 18
Strickland's Merchants' Exchange, 20
Stylus, The, 289, 292, 294, 296, 303, 304, 309, 310, 315
"A Succession of Sundays", 232, 415
Sun (Baltimore), 317
Sun (New York), 349
Superintendent of Police, 46
Sutcliff, Thomas, 364
Swiss Heiress, The, 341n115
Synopsis of Natural History, 124

T

"A Tale of the Ragged Mountains", 347, 416
A Tale of Two Cities, 251
Tales and Sketches 1831-1842, 97n20
Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque, 12, 102n34, 107n44, 132n41, 136-37, 143, 146-50, 152, 175, 190, 219
Tate, Mayor, 368
Tax Assessment, 4th Ward Spring Garden, 1844, ACCP, 354n4
Tebbel, John, 92n12
"Tell-Tale Heart, The", 284-86, 289, 416
Temperance Movement, The, 302-3
Tennyson, Alfred, Lord 156-57
10th Street, 36, 38, 50-51, 307
Text-Book of Conchology, The, 109
3d Street, 17-18, 306, 323
3d Ward, 47, 254
13th Street, 28
13th Ward, 37, 75
39 Stat. 535, 371
"Thomas Done Brown", 288
Thomas, Dwight Rembert. See Poe in Philadelphia
Thomas, Frederick William, 82-83, 126n20, 168, 178n29, 184, 191, 197, 215-19, 225-31, 236, 239, 254, 256, 263n36, 264-65, 269, 270-73, 279-82, 291-306, 311, 324,
Thomson, Charles West, 175, 176
"Tis Said that Absence Conquers Love", 227
"To A Land Bird at Sea", 228
To Helen" (revised), 415
Tomlin, John, 180, 184, 197, 231, 233, 279, 312-15

"Tortesa, The Usurer", 124
Tradesmen, 14, 16-18
Trappers of Sonora, The, 76
Treasury Department, 215
A Treatise on...American Landscape Gardening, 276
Tristram Shandy, 139
Tuckerman, Henry T., 285, 287
Turchi, Joseph J., 366n18
Tutt, Mrs. Elizabeth, 268
12th Street, 18, 51, 270
25th Street, 270n50
24th Street, 18
22nd Street, 22
Tweston (or Tweestor), Augustus, 67, 74
Twice-Told Tales, 85, 100n28, 242, 245, 249, 252
240 North Seventh Street, 366
242 North Seventh Street, 366
238 North Seventh Street, 366
234 North Seventh Street, 306, 316, 353
227 Dock Street, 357
2502 Fairmount Avenue, 257n50, 357
Tyler, Alice Felt, 303n119, 344n118
Tyler, John, 5-7, 207, 215, 219, 225, 255, 270, 281, 304, 305n3
Tyler, Robert, 219, 225, 236, 239, 254, 269, 277, 280, 291, 297-98, 300-301, 305, 311-12

U

U.S.S. Constitution, 169
Uncle Tom's Cabin, 343
Unitarian Church, 28
United States Bank, 22, 188, 191, 241
United States Gazette, 13n22, 92, 130, 147, 163, 174, 270, 334, 337
United States Hotel, 240-41
United States Magazine and Democratic Review, 110
United States Naval Asylum, 18
United States Post Office, 13
Urban Landscape of Philadelphia, 14-20
Urn Buriel, 199

V

Valentine Museum (Richmond, VA), ii
Van Buren, Martin, 4-6, 89, 123, 124n15, 296
Van Deusen, Glyndon G., 4n5, 5n6, 7n10
Villanova University, 361
Vine Street, 9, 17-18, 21, 23, 27, 35, 40, 44, 307, 333
Virginia, 81
Virginia Star (Petersburg), 160
Voices of the Night, 140, 155, 157, 245

Wagenknecht, Edward, 139n57
Wage Rates in Philadelphia 1790-1830, 10n15
Wages in Philadelphia
  1830, 9
  1842, 11
Wagner, William J., 75
Wainwright, Nicholas B., 21n35
"Wakondah", 238-39, 276
Walker, May, 82
Wallace, William Ross, 268
Walnut Street, 15-18, 115, 121, 306
Walnut Street Theater, 328, 365
Walnut Street Wharf, 350
Walter, Thomas U., 18, 20
Walt Whitman, A Life, 86n2
Warner, Sam Bass, 7n10, 10n14, 11
Washington, DC, 3, 209, 215-17, 261, 271
Washington Temperance Society, 302
Washingtonians, The, 302
Watch, Captain of, The, 47
Watch House, 46
Watering Committee, 41
Watering Committee Report, 21
Watering Committee Stubs, 70n9, 71n14
Waterloo Place, 92n12
Water Street, 17, 74
Webster, Daniel, 287
Weigley, Russell F., 8n12, 21n34
Weinberg, Allen, 36n3
Weintraub, Edward, 372n9
Weiss, Susan Archer Talley, 81, 308n11
Welby, Amelia, 211, 228
Weller, Sam, 229
Wells, Miss Olive, 364
Well's Row, 62, 64
Wescott, Thompson, 9, 28n49. 29n50, 203n22
Western Fire Engine Company, 52
Wharves, 18
What Edgar Allan Poe Did in Philadelphia, 357n11
Whig Party, 4-6, 280
Whipple, William, 124n15
"White Goddess", 96
White, Jesse, 70
"White Old Maid, The", 253
White, Thomas Willis, 87-88, 132-33, 309, 315
Whitman, Walt, 86, 143
Whitty, James H., 305n4
"Who Was Monsieur Dupin?", 199n12
Wilbur, Richard, 130n32

Wilder, Thornton, 363
Williams Street, 44
"William Wilson", 113n54, 114, 134n45, 138, 143, 145, 148, 253, 286
William Wirt Institute, 333, 338
Willis, Nathaniel Parker, 86, 124, 213, 214, 228, 250, 286
Willow Street, 44, 66
Wilmer, Lambert A., 94, 95, 312, 314, 315
Wilmington, DE, 334
Wilson, Edmund, 114
Wilson, Woodrow, 355
Wilt, William, 39n9
Wissahockon Creek, 19
Wistar, Dr. Mifflin, 67
Wistar Street, 34, 39, 51, 68, 70-76, 83, 356n10
Wister, Frances A., 362n6
Wolf, Edwin, 19, 23n39, 37n6, 163n121
Wood, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph, 30
Woodrow Wilson and Julian Hawthorne on Poe..., 355n6
Wood Street, 44
Works (Harrison), 156n106, 314n33, 315n34, 316n41, 328n79
Wray, James, 74
Wyatt, 114-15, 124

Y

Yale University, 360
Yellow Fever, 21