

Studies in English, New Series

Volume 3 *Poe-Purri: Edgar Allan Poe Issue*

Article 14

1982

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Recommended Citation

Bandy, W. T. (1982) "Poe, Duane and Duffee," *Studies in English, New Series*: Vol. 3 , Article 14.
Available at: https://egrove.olemiss.edu/studies_eng_new/vol3/iss1/14

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POE, DUANE AND DUFFEE

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I

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In his original biography of Poe for the American Men of Letters series (1885: 204-207), George E. Woodberry first brought to public notice the unfortunate controversy involving a certain Mr. Duane over Poe's failure to return a volume of the *Southern Literary Messenger* he had borrowed. In the revised and augmented edition of the biography (2: 365-368), Woodberry corrected Duane's first name from "Willis" to "William," but made no other changes, except to add nine lines of misinformation concerning the location of the "set" of the *Messenger* that Poe had borrowed. Subsequent biographers have followed Woodberry's account faithfully, including his identification of Duane as "a former Secretary of the Treasury." Miss Phillips even went so far as to publish "an old photograph" with the caption "William J. Duane, Esq. (1780-1865)."

In the following two essays I attempt to set the record straight and to show that Duane's relationship to Poe was more complex and far-reaching than has hitherto been assumed.

II

THE FACTS IN THE CASE OF MR. DUANE

Throughout his tempestuous career, Poe went out of his way to insult people, usually other writers, thereby creating enmities that considerably damaged his own welfare and reputation. On at least one occasion, however, in his bitter controversy with William Duane, he was the victim of circumstance. Woodberry, the first to tell the story in his 1885 life of Poe, repeated almost word for word in the expanded biography of 1909, described the quarrel as a "paltry affair," as indeed it was.¹

Briefly stated here is what occurred, or seems to have occurred. Some time in February or March of 1844, Poe mentioned to Henry B. Hirst that he needed to read a particular article in an early issue of the

Southern Literary Messenger. Hirst offered to borrow the *Messenger* from a friend, William Duane. Poe declared that he would rather have borrowed it personally, but Hirst insisted and Poe allowed him to act as intermediary. Poe said that he retained the book only briefly, then gave it to Mrs. Clemm, with instructions to return it to Hirst.

Although Mrs. Clemm told Poe that she had left the book in Hirst's office, she had actually sold it to Lewis A. Leary, a Philadelphia bookdealer, who then sold the book to a dealer in Richmond, Virginia, who, in turn, sold it to the publishers of the *Southern Literary Messenger*. There, a friend of Duane's who happened to be in Richmond repurchased the book for five dollars and returned it to its original owner.

Commenting on Poe's letters to Duane and the latter's notes on the autographs, Woodberry made several serious mistakes, which have been accepted and passed along by subsequent biographers and editors of Poe. Such errors occur in the passage that Woodberry added in the 1909 biography (p. 368):

The set of the "Messenger" in question, now owned in Richmond, contains Poe's emendations in pencil, and shows that he used the volumes in his work of revision, and also for printing. The leaves of "Hans Phall" were torn out and passed through the hands of at least three printers and have their "take" marks; they were then skillfully replaced. This fact and other indications point to the use of this volume in the publication of the "Tales of the Arabesque and Grotesque" [sic], 1840.

Woodberry speaks of the "volumes" that Poe used in his revision, but it is obvious, from Poe's two letters and the notes written on them by Duane, that Poe borrowed only one volume; both men referred no less than nineteen times to the "volume," the "book," or used the singular pronoun "it." The copy of the *Messenger* that he said was "now in Richmond" was presumably one that J. H. Whitty supposedly found in a second-hand bookstore in Boston. Although Whitty claimed to own the identical volumes, it is clear that the Whitty and Duane volumes were not one and the same, for the latter contains none of the printer's "take" marks that Whitty said were in his copy. Until the Whitty copy is located and examined, doubt regarding its history will remain.²

Poe's biographers and editors have unanimously accepted and repeated Woodberry's assertion that Poe used the Duane copy to prepare the text of *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*, although it is

obviously erroneous. *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* was published in 1839; Poe borrowed the Duane *Messenger* five years later, in 1844. It is surprising to find, in Mabbot's monumental edition of Poe's *Tales and Sketches*, the almost incomprehensible error of Woodberry and his successors repeated no less than seven times.³ Perhaps the most serious mistake, however, and the most easily avoidable it would now appear, was in identifying William Duane as "one time Secretary of the Treasury." Again, Woodberry's error was accepted without question and perpetuated by Poe scholars.

Woodberry was unaware, obviously, that there were three Williams in successive generations of the Duane family. The first, William Duane, Sr., (1759-1835) was one of the leading supporters of Thomas Jefferson. His son, William John Duane (1780-1865), served briefly in the cabinet of Andrew Jackson, until he was removed for insubordination. William Duane, Jr. (1808-1882) was the son of William John Duane and the grandson of William Duane, Sr., and it was he who lent the *Messenger* to Poe in 1844. His grandfather and father, as prominent historical figures, were naturally included in the *Dictionary of American Biography*; William Duane, Jr. was not so honored. Indeed, it is no easy matter to come across biographical information concerning him. Perhaps the amplest account of his life is found in his obituary, published in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* for 7 November 1882:⁴

William Duane, a good citizen of Philadelphia, was buried yesterday at Laurel Hill, having died on Saturday, at the age of seventy-five. He was the great grandson of Benjamin Franklin, being the eldest of nine children born to William J. Duane and Deborah Bache. His father was General Jackson's Secretary of the Treasury in the time of the battle over the removal of the deposits from the United States Bank, and his grandfather, William Duane was the editor of the famous *Aurora*. Deborah Bache, his mother, was a daughter of Richard Bache, from whom is derived a long descent of distinguished Baches in the male line... William Duane was a Philadelphian of the old school, an anti-quarian by taste and researches, scholarly and retiring. He was educated in this city and in Partridge's Military Academy, at Middletown, Conn. He was a brilliant conversationalist, but his bent lay in writing, and he was a constant contributor to literary reviews, periodicals and newspapers, among them the *Ledger*. He did a great deal for the Historical Society in its renaissance period... Mr. Duane lived so entirely among his books that only a small circle of personal friends were aware, when they heard of his death, that a good man and a ripe scholar has passed away. His

disease was softening of the brain. He leaves one son, the Rev. Charles W. Duane, Rector of St. Andrew's Church, West Philadelphia.

The *Southern Literary Messenger* was one of the many literary reviews to which Duane contributed. His writings are not easy to identify, as he never signed them with his full name; most bear no signature whatever and some are signed only with the initial of his surname, the letter "D." The information given by David K. Jackson in *The Contributors and Contributions to the Southern Literary Messenger (1834-1864)* is incomplete, as well as erroneous.⁵ Like so many others, Jackson confused William Duane, Jr. with his father, and listed his contributions under the name of William John Duane. For example, Jackson attributed an unsigned sketch, "The Wissahiccon," published in the *Messenger* for December 1835 (2: 24-27) to William John Duane, perhaps simply because it was dated from Philadelphia. He did add a question mark, showing his uncertainty about the attribution. As a matter of fact, neither of the Duanes was the author of "The Wissahiccon." Thomas Ollive Mabbot pointed out, in his edition of Poe's *Tales and Sketches* that "The Wissahiccon" "was ascribed to B[enjamin] Matthias, when it appeared in *The Philadelphia Book* (1836)."⁶ It seems very likely, therefore, that the sketch was written by Matthias, instead of one of the Duanes. Dwight Thomas, in his dissertation on "Poe in Philadelphia, 1838-1844," notes that Matthias contributed to *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine* during Poe's editorship and that Poe spoke of him in an installment of "Autography."⁷

One of the most reliable sources of information concerning the writings of William Duane, Jr. is a volume by Duane, *Ligan: A Collection of Tales and Essays* (1857).⁸ With characteristic self-effacement, Duane signed only his initials and limited the printing to ninety-nine copies. In *Ligan*, Duane reprints about a dozen of his contributions to various periodicals: *The Philadelphia Monthly Magazine*, *The Southern Literary Messenger*, *The Pennsylvanian*, *The Princeton Magazine*, *Bizarre*, *Putnam's Magazine*, and *The Fireside Visitor*. The materials are arranged in chronological order of publication, from 1828, when the author was only twenty years old, to 1855.

Duane began his contributions to the *Messenger* in the issue for May 1836 (2: 388-389), with an article on barbarisms of English usage entitled "Verbal Criticisms." This was a subject in which Duane (and Poe) were deeply interested; he contributed three more installments to the *Messenger* under the same title (in the issues for January 1837 (3:

34-35), for April 1839 (5: 292), and for April 1841 (7: 325). The first two installments were unsigned, the third was signed "D," and the fourth "D. Philadelphia." All were included in *Ligan*.

Another contribution was an unsigned tale, "Erostratus," in the *Messenger* for July 1836 (2: 467-469). In Jackson's list of contributors to the *Messenger* (p. 15), "Erostratus" is ascribed to none other than Poe himself! This unwarranted attribution was repeated by Heartman and Canny, with the interesting annotation: "*First printing.*"⁹ The tale was reprinted by Duane in *Ligan*; fortunately, to the best of my knowledge, it has never been included in any edition of Poe's works.

The *Messenger* for January 1837 (3: 103-104) published "Passages from the papers of the late George Lepner," with a prefatory note signed "One of his administrators." Jackson lists this article only under the name of Lepner, but the editorial note was by Duane, who included the entire article in *Ligan*.¹⁰

In the *Messenger* for September 1843 (9: 549-555) appeared an article headed "The Basque Provinces of Spain. Translated from the French." B. B. Minor says that the article was translated "by a gentleman, Wm. Duane, of Philadelphia."¹¹ The attribution may well be correct, but it should be noted that Duane did not include the translation in *Ligan*, perhaps because it *was* a translation and not his original work.

Last, but far from least, William Duane, Jr. or his father, submitted to the *Messenger* a series of extracts from the manuscripts of Benjamin Franklin in the possession of the family. The first of these extracts appeared in the issue for April 1836 (2: 293-296), and were followed by an editorial, almost certainly by Poe: "It is with great pleasure that we are enabled, through the kindness of a friend in Philadelphia, to lay before our readers an *Essay, never yet published*, from the pen of Benjamin Franklin. It is copied from the original MS. of Franklin himself, and it is not to be found in any edition of his works. The titles which succeed the *Essay* are also copied from the original MS."

The publication of the Franklin manuscript drew the attention of Jared Sparks, who was probably already gathering material for his life of Franklin. Sparks wrote to T. W. White on 17 May to inquire about the source of the manuscripts. White turned the letter over to Poe, who answered it on 23 May 1836:

The M.S.S. from which we publish are not in our immediate possession, but in that of M^rWm Duane, Jr., of Philadelphia. He

possesses a M.S. volume containing *many* originals of Franklin. I rather suppose that the articles you allude to (as being suspicious) in M^r Duane's edition, are genuine, and are a part of the collection from which we are now publishing. I meant to say, of course, that this collection is in the handwriting of Franklin. M^r D. transcribes the M.S. for our use...¹²

The next two issues of the *Messenger* (for May and June 1836) also contain extracts from the Franklin manuscripts. More appeared in 1839 and 1841; these are duly listed in Jackson's book on the contributors to the *Messenger*. It appears that all of the Franklin manuscripts were submitted by William Duane, Jr., with one exception: a poem in French on the United States, which was presented to Franklin while he was U. S. Minister to France. The letter to the editor of the *Messenger*, accompanying the poem, was signed with the initials of William John Duane.¹³

Duane's copies of Volumes One and Two of the *Messenger* are at present the property of Mr. H. Bradley Martin. Thanks to Mr. Herbert Cahoon, Curator of Autograph Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library, I consulted photocopies of the pages which contain pencilled corrections. Close examination of these pages reveals that almost all of these corrections are in Volume One, which seems to indicate that this volume was the one that Poe borrowed from Duane.

There are only two really significant corrections in the second volume. One is on page 321, in the text of "Maelzel's Chess Player," where the words "Upon beating the game," were altered to read "Upon winning the game." The word "winning" is written in the margin and repeated at the bottom of the page. This correction was probably Duane's, not Poe's; it could be expected from Duane, who was a stickler for correct English, as we have seen from his "Verbal Criticisms" in the *Messenger*.

Only one other correction occurs in Volume Two, on the first page of the issue for October 1836. A poem by Lindley Murray, "To My Wife," is accompanied by a printed note, almost certainly by Poe, at the bottom of the page:

These verses, printed from an original MS. of Lindley Murray, and, as we believe, never before published, present that celebrated grammarian in an entirely new point of view, and give him strong claims to the character of a poet. A sister of Mr. Murray married, we think, one of the Hoffmans of New York, and it is possible some of that highly respected family may have in their possession some other metrical pieces from his pen. It is somewhat remarkable that

the present lines involve an odd *grammatical* error of construction in the concluding stanzas.

Just below Poe's note, someone has pencilled an almost illegible note, which contains only a few words that can be made out; they seem to concern a *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, with a reference to 1: 262. The best known work with that title was the one compiled by Evert and George Duyckinck. In 1: 262, is found Lindley Murray's poem "To My Wife," which, contrary to Poe's note, had been published before its appearance in the *Messenger* for 1836. The Duyckinck *Cyclopedia of American Literature* was first printed after Poe's death, showing conclusively that the note must have been written by Duane.¹⁴

It would appear reasonably certain, therefore, that Poe had not consulted Duane's copy of Volume Two of the *Messenger*, or, if he had, that he made no pencilled corrections therein. Consequently, it was not a crusty old politician who lent Poe the *Messenger*, and was annoyed, justifiably, that the volume was not returned, but instead a comparatively young man, of about the same age as Poe himself, an unassuming man of culture and great learning. Regrettably, Poe did not take a few hours, before he set out for New York, to return the volume in person, as perhaps a meeting face to face with the contributor to the *Messenger* whose writings he had welcomed during his editorship, might have resulted in a new friendship, and not the conflict that embittered his last days in Philadelphia.

III

THE GOLD-BUG VENDETTA

The original publication of the "Gold-Bug" in 1841 provoked a violent controversy in the Philadelphia and New York press, which Poe's biographers treat rather casually, if at all. The only thorough and reliable account of the affair is the one given by Dr. Dwight Thomas, in his unpublished dissertation, "Poe in Philadelphia, 1838-1844" (University of Pennsylvania, 1978). Thanks to Dr. Thomas, it has been possible to formulate the following summary of the essential elements of the quarrel.

On 29 March 1843 the *Dollar Newspaper*, a recently founded Philadelphia weekly, announced a contest for the three best stories submitted to it for publication, with prizes of one hundred, sixty and forty dollars. The first prize was awarded to Poe, for "The Gold-Bug."

Because of length, it was necessary to publish the tale in two installments, the first of which appeared in the *Dollar Newspaper* for 21 June. On 27 June, before the second and concluding installment was published, a rival newspaper, *The Daily Forum*, introduced a discordant note by publishing an open letter, headed: "The 'Gold-Bug'—A Decided Humbug." In the letter, which was unsigned except for the initial "D," the author described "The Gold-Bug" as a "signal abortion," "unmitigated trash," "unworthy of existence," and went on to insinuate that the *Dollar Newspaper* and the selection committee had been guilty of collusion, and had paid Poe only ten or fifteen, instead of the promised one hundred dollars.

At Poe's request, the editor of the *Daily Forum* revealed that the writer of the open letter was a certain Francis Harold Duffee. Poe immediately confronted Duffee, offering him the choice between a public retraction or a suit for libel. Duffee soon caved in and, in *The Spirit of the Times*, on 1 July 1843, published another open letter, signed with his name, claiming that he did not actually *accuse* the *Dollar Newspaper* of fraud, because his position was "qualified by a doubt," and was merely an opinion, but he ended by admitting that, in his criticism, he had "committed an error."

Still, Duffee did not give up his vendetta against Poe. In the same issue of *The Spirit of the Times* that carried his retraction, and on the same page, appeared another assault that bore Duffee's unmistakable trademark, although it was unsigned: "The Prize Tale of 'The Gold-Bug'—Suspected Plagiarism." The author declared that he "would not for the world accuse (Poe) of plagiarism," yet he asserted that he had discovered the substance in fact of "The Gold-Bug" in *Imogine, or the Pirate's Treasure*, a volume recently published by "Miss Sherburne, of Washington City."

Poe did not deign to take note of this new accusation. He had no need to do so, for the editor of *The Spirit of the Times* himself, John Stephenson Du Solle, printed a retraction in the issue for 15 July 1843:

THE GOLD BUG.— We have read this prize tale by Mr. Poe carefully, and also "The Pirate's Treasure" by Miss Sherburne, and while we confess that the Gold Bug pleases us much, is exceedingly well-written and ingenious, we are constrained to add that it bears no further resemblance to Miss Sherburne's tale, than it must necessarily bear from the fact of touching upon the same general grounds. Mr. Poe well deserved the prize of \$100.

One might imagine that, with both of his attacks on Poe backfir-

ing, Duffee would give up. That was not to be, however. Duffee was like the mule, in Daudet's story, who withheld his kick for seven years, before delivering it with devastating results against his enemy. Indeed, Duffee's rancor persisted for much longer; more than thirty years later, it suddenly resurfaced.

Notes and Queries, in the issue for 11 December 1875, printed a request for information from one of its readers, R. Inglis:

PHILADELPHIA AUTHORS.—Can any of your American readers give any information regarding three Philadelphia authors, who are briefly noticed in *Dramatic Authors of America* by James Rees, Philadelphia, 1845:—

1. F. Harold Duffee, author of *Onylda; or, the Pequot Maid: Genius; or, a Mother's Folly: The Black Knight, &c.* Mr. Duffee is said to have "written many beautiful stories, interesting legends illustrative of the Indian character, and essays on various subjects...."

An answer to Inglis was forthcoming in the *Notes and Queries* for 22 April 1876, from a reader who signed with the pseudonym UNEDA and the address, Philadelphia:

PHILADELPHIA AUTHORS.—Mr. Francis Harold Duffee is living, and is a member of the Philadelphia board of stockbrokers. He is a gentleman of decidedly literary tastes, and finds no difficulty in cultivating that taste and attending at the same time to the bulls and bears; just as Rogers was a good poet as well as a good banker. Some years ago, Mr. Duffee proved that Poe (a most unprincipled man) was a plagiarist of his most celebrated story, *The Gold Bug*. Mr. Duffee was at one time a resident of London....

John H. Ingram, the self-appointed champion of Poe, was also a faithful reader of *Notes and Queries*. On reading UNEDA's complimentary remark concerning Poe, his hackles rose and he shot off this response, which was published in the issue for 6 May 1876:

EDGAR A. POE a PLAGIARIST—UNEDA, in speaking of a Philadelphian, a certain Mr. Duffee, alleges, "Some years ago, Mr. Duffee proved that Poe (a most unprincipled man) was a plagiarist of his most celebrated story, *The Gold Bug*." If your correspondent means, and the construction of his sentence is somewhat curious, that Edgar Poe stole the story from someone else, will she or he be good enough to state when and where the charge was proved? As your readers are aware, similar charges have frequently been trumped up against the author of *The Raven*: but hitherto, upon

examination, they have been proved utterly false. Speaking with a full knowledge of Poe's life and character, I emphatically deny that he was "a most unprincipled man."...

In *Notes and Queries* for 24 June 1876, UNEDA offers the following response to John H. Ingram:

EDGAR A. POE A PLAGIARIST—Mr. J. H. Ingram has taken exception to an opinion of mine that Poe was a most unprincipled man, and also my assertion that he borrowed his story of *The Gold Bug* without acknowledging his indebtedness. The columns of "N. & Q." are not the proper place for argument upon the first point. Mr. Ingram says that he knew Poe—I also knew him. I have written, privately, to Mr. Ingram my reasons for the very decided opinion that I entertained upon Poe's moral character. It is one thing to admit the excellence of a writer's imagination, and another thing to believe him a valuable member of society. I will only add that I never heard anyone in this country express any other opinion than that which I entertain respecting the character of Mr. Poe. Mr. Duffee has furnished me with the following remarks upon the subject of Poe's borrowing the story of *The Gold Bug*:—

"I did accuse Edgar A. Poe of *plagiarism*, a charge which was never disproved. He borrowed not only the plot but the language of Miss Georgiana Sherburne's tale of *Imogene: or The Pirate's Treasure*. In fact, Miss Sherburne (daughter of Col. Sherburne, U.S.A.) informed me, in the first place, of the plagiarism, and I exposed Poe in an article in one of our daily papers, for which he commenced a libel suit, and employed Mr. David Brown, who, after receiving a letter from me, soon dismissed the matter, for very good reasons."

I may add to the above that the authoress of *Imogene* is now residing in New York, the wife of a son of one of the most distinguished commodores in the American navy.

After reading UNEDA's rejoinder, Ingram wrote to Mrs. Sarah Whitman as follows, 28 June 1876, p. 438:¹⁵

"Do you not see *Notes & Queries*? 'Tis much read in America. I'll send you the numbers containing my present correspondence & if you see your way to speak a word it will be valuable. Did you ever hear of Miss Georgiana Sherburne, or her story of "Imogene"; or the "Miser's Treasure" from which Poe's "The Gold-Bug" shall be plagiarized? I shall utterly break up the accusation, I feel sure, if they will only continue the correspondence. Did you know this Duffee?"

In a postscript, dated 29 June 1876, and enclosed with the above letter, Ingram gave further details:

Notes & Queries, nos. for 22 April, 6 May, 24 June contain my Poe correspondence with "Uneda." Attack was begun under the heading "Philadelphia Authors." I give these particulars, as I see you say you have *N & Q* in your Athenaeum. If it turn out well I may republish the correspondence, with a few notes of my own.

Mrs. Whitman to Ingram, 11 July 1876, p. 440:

I have just received yours of the 28th. Thanks for sending me the numbers of *Notes and Queries* containing your correspondence with "Uneda." I shall try to look at it this P.M. if the intense heat does not prevent it, but not in time I fear to revert it to this letter.

Mrs. Whitman to Ingram, 18 July 1876, p. 441:

I have been twice to the Athenaeum to examine the *Notes & Queries*. Have seen the April and May numbers with astonishing claim put forth in them! The June number has not arrived. I never heard of Miss Georgiana Sherburne or her story of *Imogene*. I think her bug, if examined by an entomologist, will turn out a humbug. As soon as I can get the June number, I will take note of it.

Notes & Queries, 22 July 1876, p. 78:

EDGAR A. POE a PLAGIARIST—I agree with UNEDA that the columns of "N. & Q." are not the proper place for discussing a man's character, even though that man be celebrated, and regret that the discussion has been forced upon me by the imputation cast upon Poe. UNEDA will scarcely expect me to recount the long list of Americans who have not only expressed verbally, but even in print, an opinion respecting Poe's character different from that he entertains, and I content myself with referring to John P. Kennedy, John Neal, Francis S. Osgood, Mrs. Whitman, N. P. Willis, Mrs. Gove Nichols, W. J. Pabodie, Thomas C. Clarke, L. A. Godey and George R. Graham, all American authors, and four of them of Philadelphia. Of Miss Georgiana Sherburne or of *Imogene*; or *the Pirate's Treasure*, I cannot find any trace in Duyckinck's *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, in Allibone's *Dictionary*, or in Trübner's *Guide*. This last omission is almost conclusive that Miss Sherburne's tale was not published in book form; I am, therefore, again compelled to ask UNEDA, in justice to the dead, and for the satisfaction of the living, to state how, when, and where this charge of literary theft was proved against Edgar A. Poe. Mr. Duffee's letter gives no particulars as to the necessary data.

On 3 August 1876, Ingram again writes to Mrs. Whitman:

When the "Uneda" v J. H. Ingram correspondence is concluded I will send you full copies. I mean the *Notes & Queries* affair. "Uneda" has written to me accusing Poe of all kinds of *filthy* crimes, but my letter (of which you will eventually have copy) will be a "shutter-up" I fancy.

On 25 August 1876, Mrs. Whitman writes John H. Ingram:

"I long to see the whole of the Uneda correspondence...."

On 12 September 1876, Ingram replies:

"I fancy "Uneda" has collapsed. My private letter was too much for him."

In his letter of 2 November 1876, he repeats:

"Uneda"... seems to have shut up...."

It was almost a year before UNEDA broke his silence with a communication that was printed in *Notes and Queries* for 11 August 1877:

EDGAR A. POE a PLAGIARIST—Since the appearance of the demand made by Mr. Ingram in the communication last referred to, I have been of opinion that it should have been addressed to Mr. Duffee, and ought to have been answered by him. As he has remained silent, I feel it to be my duty to state that, after much trouble and a considerable expenditure of time, I have come across a copy of *Imogene*. It is a very extraordinary work for a girl of thirteen to produce, but it does not bear the slightest resemblance to Poe's story of the Gold Bug, either in its incidents or its style. I cannot imagine why my friend Mr. Duffee was made the victim of so silly a hoax.

Miss Sherburne has been married to a Mr. Hull; I am informed that he is not of the family of our distinguished commodores. She resides in Brooklyn, N.Y., and is one of the writers for the New York *Tribune*.

This communication marks the conclusion of the Ingram-
UNEDA

dispute in *Notes and Queries*, and brings up the question: Who was UNEDA? To begin, what is known of him is that he lived in Philadelphia and had almost encyclopedic interests, e.g., history and biography, literature, folklore, philology. He was a regular contributor to *Notes and Queries* from 17 July 1852 until 9 September 1882.

It might be supposed that such a long and continuous association with a renowned publication like *Notes and Queries* would make UNEDA known to the compilers of dictionaries of anonymous and pseudonymous literature, but that turned out not to be true. A fairly thorough search of the major works of reference in that category was fruitless; there was no mention of UNEDA in any of them, except one, a relatively obscure book, hardly more than a pamphlet: *The Colloquial Who's Who*, compiled by William Abbott (1924). On p. 46 is the following entry:

UNEDA.....William Duane, Phila. 1769-1835. See *Notes and Queries*, I ser. 9:12.

How Mr. Abbott determined that UNEDA was the pseudonym of William Duane is a mystery; the reference he gives to *Notes and Queries* leads to a query signed UNEDA, but contains nothing that would identify him as Duane. Still, the identification is correct—or correct as to the surname. There was a William Duane, with the dates (1760-1835), almost the same as Abbott gave, but he could not have been UNEDA, since he died in 1835 and UNEDA began to contribute to *Notes and Queries* in 1852. William John Duane (1780-1865) could not have been UNEDA, since he died in 1865 and UNEDA continued his contributions to *Notes and Queries* until 1882. Obviously, the person who wrote under the pseudonym UNEDA was William Duane, Jr., who was born in Philadelphia in 1808 and died there in 1882, the very year that his contributions to *Notes and Queries* stopped appearing.

Until he received the letter from UNEDA, Ingram did not know whether his adversary was a man or a woman. UNEDA must have signed his letter with his real name, not his pseudonym, as Ingram answered him with a private letter. Neither of the two letters, Ingram's or UNEDA's, seems to have survived. Ingram was accustomed to keep every scrap of paper that related to Poe, yet UNEDA's letter is not included in the vast Ingram Collection of Poana now owned by the University of Virginia. It seems unlikely that Ingram could have misplaced it, but he may have deliberately destroyed it, as

if to drive all memory of the Ingram-UNEDA quarrel from his mind. He never carried through his plan for republishing the correspondence, as he outlined the project to Mrs. Whitman. Nor did he include in his biography of Poe, published in 1880, and reprinted in 1886, even the slightest reference to UNEDA-Duane, or to the charge of plagiarism against Poe made by Duffee. Such discretion was most unusual, for Ingram often took great pleasure in his "triumphs."

It looks very much as though Duffee had for years been imparting to Duane all the gossip he could collect; in view of the unfortunate affair of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, Duane may have been in a receptive frame of mind. Still, after he had read *Imogine* and was in a position to make his own judgment on the question of plagiarism, Duane may have become more wary about relying on his informant. One detects a slight note of disappointment, if not annoyance, in his last reference to Duffee. What became of Duffee after 1877 is unknown. We may assume, though, that he never abandoned his animosity toward Poe and, in all probability, that he clutched it to his bosom as he went to his grave.

NOTES

¹ George E. Woodberry, *Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1885), pp. 204-207; and *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe, Personal and Literary* (Boston & New York, 1909), 2:Appendix A, pp. 365-368.

² J. H. Whitty, "Memoir," in his edition of *The Complete Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1911, 1917), p. xlviii. In a "Foreword" to David K. Jackson's *Poe and the Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond, 1934), p. ix, Whitty stated that "Poe never seems to have kept a file of any magazine he edited. When he needed the *Messenger* to make some of the text for his tales of 1840, he borrowed four of the first volumes, while he lived in Philadelphia, from William Duane, a former Secretary of the Treasury, and who had previously written for the magazine." Even Woodberry had not been able to cram so many errors in such limited space. In general, Whitty's writings on Poe, while often useful, must be read with extreme caution.

³ *M*, 2:17, 52, 85, 150, 188, 209, 239.

⁴ I am indebted to Mr. Howell J. Heaney, Rare Book Librarian, The Free Library of Philadelphia, for a photocopy of this document.

⁵ (Charlottesville, 1936).

⁶ *M*, 3:860, note.

⁷ University of Pennsylvania, 1978. Although not yet published, this remarkable study is readily available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich., either in microfilm or in bound xerographic form.

⁸ *Ligan*, "goods sunk into the sea, but having a buoy or cork attached to them, so that they may be found again."

⁹ Charles F. Heartman and James R. Canny, *A Bibliography of First Printings of the Writings of Edgar Allan Poe...* (Hattiesburg, 1943), p. 257.

¹⁰ Jackson, p. 20.

¹¹ *The Southern Literary Messenger, 1834-1864*, (New York & Washington, 1905), p. 108.

¹² *O*, 1:91.

¹³ The editors of the *Franklin Papers* (Yale University Press) were apparently unaware of the prior publication of the Franklin manuscripts in the *Southern Literary Messenger*.

¹⁴ Evert and George Duyckinck, *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, (New York, 1856).

¹⁵ This and the following interchanges between Ingram and Mrs. Whitman appear in John Carl Miller, ed., *Poe's Helen Remembers* (Charlottesville, 1979). Page numbers are given in the extracts.