Margaret Fuller's Dishonest Appropriation of Mathew Franklin Whittier's "Star" Signature

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Introduction

Mathew Franklin Whittier, the younger brother of Quaker poet John Greenleaf Whittier, was an obscure, under-appreciated author of the 19th century whom historians have primarily credited with only one series—a satire featuring one "Ethan Spike" from "Hornby." This, actually, was merely his literary "toy," and the reason he is known for this body of work is that this is the only one for which his authorship was ever exposed to the public. The writer of this paper has spent well over a decade exploring M.F. Whittier's life and legacy in the deep historical record, from primary sources. The younger Whittier brother has emerged from those studies as a child prodigy who began publishing in the Boston "New-England Galaxy" at age 12, in 1825. His literary career, spanning 54 years, embraced a variety of genres including humorous sketches, travelogues, essays, editorials, short stories, poetry and novels. He was the first to use Yankee dialect in humorous fiction in America, beginning with his series of letters featuring "Joe Strickland" in 1826.

Unlike his famous brother, Mathew published almost all of his work anonymously, under a vast number of pseudonyms; and for various reasons, even when his work was plagiarized, or claimed by rumor for another author, he would not publicly defend his authorship. One of his persistent signatures, to which he returned periodically from 1829 until 1873, was a single asterisk, or "star." It appears to have held a deep significance to him, inasmuch as his beloved first wife, Abby, loved the stars and considered them as living beings—believing Mathew and herself to be "twin stars," destined to marry.

The "star"-signed work in the New York "Tribune"

At issue for this paper are some 238 reviews, essays and reports written for the New York "Tribune," from Nov. 23, 1844 until Aug. 8, 1846. All were signed with this same pseudonym, a "star." But all are attributed, by historians, to Margaret Fuller, who was the literary editor of the paper under editor-in-chief, Horace Greeley. After this period, Fuller was made a foreign correspondent, writing under the "star" when she went to Europe. That she was "sent" there by the "Tribune" seems a bit misleading, because in her correspondence she made it clear many months earlier that she was planning the trip; and her submissions would not be covering her expenses. In any case, literary historians don't seem to be as impressed with this latter body of work. In a book entitled "Margaret Fuller: Critic," edited by Judith Mattson Bean and Joel Myerson, which draws upon the 1844-1846 star-signed pieces (and includes them all in a CD attached to the back cover), the editors stop at this point, not having included Fuller's material from overseas. One would think, if the quality had been equal to the first series, that it would have been *more* important, inasmuch as Fuller is celebrated as one of the first female reporters.

This research, concerning Mathew and Abby Poyen as unsung literary figures of the 19th-century, branched off from a study of reincarnation. While that element is not emphasized in this

paper, the influence of past-life memory—chiefly, as a method of suggesting the most fruitful lines of research—may be brought in from time to time.

Tracing the origins of Mathew's "star"

The evidence touched upon in this paper is fully explored in my second e-book, "Mathew Franklin Whittier in his own world." Here, we will begin with the question of Mathew's prior claim to this pseudonym, the single "star." It was first discovered during a perusal of the 1856 volume of the Portland (Maine) "Transcript," to which literary newspaper Mathew was a regular contributor. In the July 26, 1856 edition is a star-signed article entitled "Spiritualism in Portland." I was already aware, from other sources including Mathew's personal correspondence with his brother, that Mathew was at that time a member of the Spiritualist Association of Portland. This article went rather deeply into the group's finances, so his authorship seemed plausible inasmuch as he knew both shorthand and bookkeeping; and because he would typically volunteer for the organizations he joined as either the secretary or the treasurer. As it turned out this suspected attribution was correct, and the discovery of Mathew's "star" opened the door to a vast body of his work reaching, as indicated in the introduction, from 1829 until 1873.

We must first establish what this pseudonym *meant* to Mathew. In all of these cases of plagiarism, we find that the disputed work has deep meaning, and a deep context, for Mathew Franklin Whittier; whereas there is no personal meaning in it for the plagiarist, just as we might expect. Where the plagiarist claims a back-story, it invariably turns out to have been cleverly concocted by way of an explanation. Such explanations have no depth—poke just a little beneath the surface, and they fall apart. Conversely, the more deeply one digs into Mathew's authentic context, the more one finds.

At this point, we will simply note that the personal information cited in the following analysis has been painstakingly extrapolated from a great many veiled autobiographical references which appear in Mathew and Abby's works, as well as from Mathew's travelogues and a relatively small body of personal correspondence. All is presented, along with the context and dates of discovery, in "Mathew Franklin Whittier in his own words," and its sequel, "Mathew Franklin Whittier in his own world."

In order to understand what the "star" meant to Mathew, we have to go back to his courtship with his first wife and true love, Abby Poyen. Mathew began publishing at age 12, in 1825, in which year he also ran away from home. He may have returned for a time, working as a shoemaker alongside his brother, but he was definitely living on his own, in Boston and in New York City, by age 14. Part of his reason for leaving was that his father refused his pleas for a higher education. But his young friend Abby, a child prodigy from an upper-class French household, had been given a full, European-style private education. This she apparently agreed to share with Mathew, as his tutor, in lieu of college. Much of this mentoring would have had to take place by correspondence, but it was also conducted in person whenever he visited their hometown of East Haverhill, Massachusetts.

Now, Abby's father was a French marquis, a refugee from Guadeloupe. His family had fled the island during a slave uprising, as his own father (Abby's grandfather) had owned a plantation

there. Joseph Poyen was a worldly man; but Abby's mother, Sally Elliot Poyen, whom one historian has called "brilliant," was inclined to both mysticism and the occult (where "occult" means spiritualism, or what we would today call the "paranormal"). There are many indirect clues, including my own past-life memory, that she had retained the mysticism of her native Scotland. Her parents owned a tavern, and it's likely that she knew healing herbs (since there were no hospitals in small towns, inns would sometimes shelter sick guests). But there is one piece of direct evidence: a poem written by Abby and published posthumously for her by Mathew in the May 25, 1850 Boston "Weekly Museum," entitled "Lilias." The name "Lilias" is the Scottish form of "Lily." In this poem, a little girl reports to her mother where she has been during the day. Her mother has told her stories of the faeries, and taking it quite literally, she has been searching for them!

> "Lilias, bright Lilias! silver-spoken Lilias—
> Tell us where your ways have been?
> Tell us of the sights you've seen?—
> Wandering the day-long, thus
> Far away from all of us—
> Nimble-footed Lilias?"
>
> "Oh, mother! I've been by the oaken tree,
> Adown by the brookside, o'er the lea,
> Far away, up in the mountains blue,
> And thickets, and pastures, and meadows through.
> I have been to look for the sylvan bands
> That you say inhabit such beautiful lands;
> And, mother, I sought again and again,
> The plains and the woodlands o'er in vain.

But now we see that Abby is not only an occultist by training, but that she almost certainly was herself psychic, and that she was also a lover and seeker of God, which is to say, a mystic:

> "But as I looked in the brooks as I hurried by,
> And there lay the sunlight, and the clear blue sky;
> I glanced at the towers, and on every one
> Was the light of a marvelous glory strown,
> And the grass-blades—oh, and the very air
> Bore token their footsteps had just been there.
>
> "And was it so, mother?—and would they fly
> From the mere approach of such as I!
> Or were they concealed there?—the light that shone
> Up from the earth—was it not their own?
> *I* think it was even the living glow
> Of their very presence, entranced me so,
> I think they dwell always, wherever bloom
> Or the gladness of springing life finds home,

And the beauty of verdure, and flowing wreath,
Is the raiment that God hath clothed them with."

The earliest I have found Mathew using the "star" is in the Aug. 11, 1829 Boston "Courier," where he may have been working as a printer's apprentice at age 17. Here, he is attacking the hypocrisy of the editor of a rival paper, the "Gazette," with unrestrained sarcasm typical of his youthful style, in defense of a local poet whom he admires:

> The pages of yesterday's Gazette sparkled with unwonted brilliancy in a column and a half of the condensed extract of caustic satire, alleviated with the soothing cataplasms of fancy and wit. We know not when the hereditary dullness of the paper has been so happily relieved by the excited genius of the editor, and we are willing to forgive the thrice written and thrice confuted sophistry of its political speculations in consideration of one column of novelty, one brilliant and manly effort to strike into a new and untrodden path. We cannot now enter into a detailed analysis of all the delicious emanations of a fancy so imaginative as his who "*wields the destinies of a whole republic*," but having directed the attention of our readers to the leading article in the Boston Gazette of yesterday for an unparalleled display of Horatian pungency and elegance, we shall pass on to the concluding paragraph, as the only one which we feel disposed to notice with any other mark of observance than silent and perfect contempt. In this paragraph, the editor has chosen to blend the semblance of adulation with premeditated insult, and disguise hypercritical and wanton abuse under "fair seeming words." Not satisfied with gentle reproof of a *manner* which, if it exists, it is too late to reform, and of which the urgent necessity of reformation is somewhat paradoxical he accuses the Poet of the Phil Beta Kappa of sycophantic adulation, as if he were ignorant of the character of the man and did not know that the accused was the last of all men to cringe and the latest to flatter. Perhaps it proceeded from a want of personal intercourse with the poet; we are not aware of any social sympathies between them, and if so Mr. Sprague is infinitely happier in the wild and untamed hatred of such a man, than in the proffer of his feline courtesies or the possession of his familiar confidence.

Next we see the star—in this case a double star—in the July 30, 1831 New York "Constellation," which paper Mathew was editing under editor-in-chief Asa Greene at this time. He had just recently turned 19, which means that Abby, who was four years younger (and whose birthday was the previous month), had just turned 15. This is a whimsical report of Mathew's struggles with insomnia during the hot summer months in New York City, entitled "Grins and Groans" Many clues suggest that the two stars stood for Mathew and Abby as what we would, today, refer to as a "soul-mate" pair. The stars stood for souls, and the twin stars signified that they were twin souls in heaven. It apparently represents Mathew's attempt to reassure Abby that he remains hers despite geographical distance, the lures of the big city, and parental disapproval. Abby was a musical prodigy who excelled in voice and piano. Mathew would praise her, but then she would fear that *any* girl in New York City who could play as well, might replace her in his affections! In this piece, ostensibly complaining of insomnia, he reassures her that the piano-playing city girl in the apartment across the street holds no attraction for *him*:

> "Whiz—whiz"—there is music for you, but 'tis not the music of the spheres—no, nor yet is it Miss Arabella's piano, upon which she has been jingling half the evening.

> Heaven rest her soul, and her voice, and her piano—heaven rest all three!—She has herself gone to rest an hour ago—at least the light is no longer visible at her window—I would not for the universe awake her—another seranade from her to-night would annihilate me.

This, by the way, is absolutely representative of his style, and his humor.

We next see Mathew sign as the "star" in the December, 1831 edition of the "New-England Magazine," published in New York. This magazine belonged to one of Mathew's former editors, Joseph T. Buckingham (owner of both the "Courier" and the "Galaxy"), for whom Mathew had begun writing in Boston when he was only 12 years old. Mathew had been submitting fairly often to Buckingham's new publication—he had even written the opening piece in Vol. I, No. I, signing with his middle initial, "F." Here in December, 1831 we see a "star"-signed poem entitled "To Julia." It has been my intuition that as a teenager, Abby was dissatisfied with her given name of "Abigail," and that she had tried some more melodious-sounding names on for size. For one thing, in the 19th century, the name "Abigail" was slang for a British nanny, while Abby's family was French. Abby's given name was Abigail Weld Poyen, and it appears that she had been named after the local doctor's wife, Abigail Weld. On the other hand, Abby's full maiden name in her marriage records is given as Abigail Rochemont Poyen, where "Rochemont" is a family name from her father's side. It thus appears that, for whatever reason, Abby did not choose to honor her local namesake. (Although no supporting evidence has been uncovered, logically, the most likely reason would be if Mrs. Weld had been pro-slavery.)

As I uncovered Mathew's various stories and poems, written in secret tribute to Abby after her death, I found that he most often named the character representing her "Juliana," or "Julia"; while occasionally using the name "Adeline" or "Adela." I extrapolated that *these* must have been the names which Abby adopted for herself during this period of her life. Mathew used the character name "Julia" in 36 of his works (out of over 2,700).

So in this "star"-signed poem in the "New-England Galaxy" of December 1831, Mathew is writing to "Julia," but he seems to think that she has rejected him because of his lower class status:

> Maiden, go!—if thou hast lost
> All that made thee once so dear,
> Let not now our parting cost
> Thee a sigh, or me a tear:
> Go, with Fashion's heartless train,
> Go, where Wealth and Pleasure wait,—
> Seek them all, nor seek in vain,—
> Go, and leave me to my fate;
> And if, 'mid thy gay career,
> Thought of love and me intrude,
> Check the rising thought, nor e'er
> Let it mar thy lighter mood.

It was all a mistake, presumably a result of her father's opposition to their relationship on the basis of class, the details of which we needn't go into in any great depth, here. There is the distinct possibility that Abby's younger brother John, who was his father's "right-hand man," had written a letter supposedly in Abby's behalf, saying that she wanted to break off the relationship on this basis (or something to that effect). But we see that Mathew holds out a shred of hope, by ironically signing as a single "star." In other words, he is *reminding* her that she has once described them as twin stars, and he remains, now, her single star—hoping against hope that she will rejoin him.

Maiden, go !—I will not call
A blush again to shame that brow,
But may you in the festal hall
Be tranquil as you leave me now !
Still my lot in life must be
In some dim secluded spot,
Undisturbed by thoughts of thee,—
Dreams of love and all forgot :
But not the Tajo's sands of gold,
Nor all the treasures of the deep
Can pay you for the peace you 've sold,—
Pleasant dreams and quiet sleep !

They do, of course, repair the breach, presumably just as soon as it is ascertained that it was a trick by her brother. No doubt Mathew was mightily relieved that he had taken the tone he had, in the poem, i.e., "Well, okay, if you must go then go, I'll be fine."

It is in a young man's magazine in Boston, called "The Essayist," that we see Mathew adopt the single "star" as his pseudonym for reviews—just as he will for the "Tribune" roughly 12 years later. The first instance appears in the May, 1832 edition, where his is reviewing "Biography of Self-Taught Men, with an Introductory Essay," by B.B. Edwards. This, of course, was a topic dear to Mathew's heart. In the same edition there follow a few more essays on books which were likely assigned, but which would also have been of personal interest, including "The Visitor of the Poor—translation from French of the Baron Degerando—by a Lady of Boston: with an Introduction by Joseph Tuckerman." Abby, who spoke French at home, was undoubtedly teaching Mathew the language (this is significant inasmuch as the "Tribune" reviewer translates French); and she was deeply involved in charity work. So this one was probably recommended by her, perhaps having originally been part of her curriculum. We also see "The Sylva Americana; or a Description of the Forest Trees of the United States..." Mathew and Abby shared a deep appreciation of Nature, and she may have recommended this book, as well.

The distinguishing excellence of the work before us, and one which should attract the confidence and regard of the community, is, that it is a practical illustration of self-education. It is, as its title indicates, a portraiture of the lives and labors of 'self-taught men.' The Introduction greatly enhances its value, and should be read by every young man in our country. We welcome its appearance, and heartily hope for it a reception corresponding to its worth. *

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These star-signed reviews for "The Essayist" continue through September of 1833. Mathew also signs essays in this publication as "Franklin, Jr." (his middle name being "Franklin"). He occasionally signed with his middle name, or middle initial, throughout his career. Similarly, he continued to sign with the star, periodically, for the remainder of his career in a number of different publications. For example, he used this signature for three deeply personal poems in the Portland "Tribune" (not to be confused with the New York "Tribune"), concerning intimate issues in his marriage with Abby, which were published not long after her passing. As evidence for Mathew's use of the "star" in that publication, the editor, D.C. Colesworthy, published a lengthy poem entitled "School's Out" in 1867. In the extensive "Notes," on page 403, he mentions Mathew by name as a contributor:

> Among the writers for the Tribune we call the following to mind: John Neal, Nathaniel Deering, William Cutter, Elizabeth Oakes Smith, George A. Bailey, Sylvester B. Beckett, Jesse W. Mighels, George W. Light, Charles Holden, David D. Mariner, Matthew F. Whittier, and Isaac G. Blanchard.

However, the only three pieces I could identify as Mathew's work were the three "star"-signed poems, suggesting that *this* was, indeed, his pseudonym in that paper.

Mathew also signed with the star throughout his career in the Portland "Transcript," including the report on the Portland Spiritualist Association previously alluded to. The first star-signed piece in the "Transcript" is a poem entitled "The Dying Mother's Soliloquy." It appears in the Oct. 13, 1838 edition, when Mathew and Abby would have just recently moved to Portland. The introductory note to the editor indicates it was based on a real-life incident—the execution of a young widow with a child of about nine months. Mathew did typically write from real life.

The "star" appears periodically in the "Transcript" thereafter, being used for both poetry and prose. For example, in the Oct. 5, 1839 edition is an essay entitled "Beauties of the Material World." It is clearly based on a mystical, esoteric world view, and no-doubt reflects (if imperfectly) Abby's teachings on these subjects. Here we see Mathew Franklin Whittier, the philosopher:

> How infinitely indebted is man to the God of all Nature for that *mind*, which enjoys, which sees and feels this beauty. What would man be without the pleasant and delightful objects of Nature? Where would be the rapture, the adoration, which her

> works now excite in him? Deprive the material world of beauty, and you wrong the immortal mind, you give an offence for which no recompense can be made, while the mind dwells in clay. But the question returns what would *beauty* be, without the mind? We do not suppose that the waving grass, the murmuring rivulet or the gentle moon are conscious of giving or receiving delight from themselves.—What but the *human mind* delights in their loveliness? Let no conscious being exist, save the Almighty, who continues the material world as now it is, but what does it avail?—For what is all this expense? There is no perception of beauty or harmony, no, and cannot be until the mysterious mind of man, which alone can perceive and which is introduced to the scene. Senseless matter is so fashioned, so made as to produce emotions of beauty in the human mind. This divine principle sees, rejoices and admires. Here is a subject for the philosopher. Here are cause and effect, deeply interesting in their respective natures, and in their practical and moral influence on man's immortal principle.

Sometimes, especially when he wanted to include Abby for some reason (either as a co-author, or by topic), Mathew would sign with a double star, as we see in the Jan. 8, 1842 edition. This is about nine months after Abby's death, and it concerns the establishment of a "lyceum" (speaking series) in that city. Perhaps this an issue that both felt strongly about. Likely, it was the culmination of a goal they had *worked toward*, when they lived in Portland—hence, he is dedicating the article to her with this signature.

The "star" next appears in the Portland "Transcript" on June 15, 1844. Abby's birthday was June 2nd, and this was a weekly paper, so it was probably written for her birthday, but didn't make it into the paper until mid-June. The poem is entitled "The Spirit Lyre," and it symbolically traces Abby's life through three spiritual stages: childhood, marriage, and her transition to heaven. Because of its poignancy and quality, I will reproduce it in full:

> THE SPIRIT LYRE.
>
> 'T'was morn to earth's fair child, the morn of life,
> The spirit lyre with joyous strains was rife;
> They knew it by the quick and graceful mien,
> They knew it by the eyes' full gladsome beam,
> By that exuberance of happiness
> Which only youth's first hours can e'er possess.
>
> Time passed,—the lyre sent forth a deeper tone;
> With higher pleasure was her pathway strown:
> Love's altar now had found itself a place
> Within her soul, and gave to every grace
> An added charm; soon Hymen's chain had bound,
> And zephyrs still all lightly played around:
>
> But deeper, richer, more melodious still,
> The harmony did all her spirit fill:
> A purer, holier light was in the glance,

And shed its glory o'er the countenance,
A peace like that which dwells upon the breast
Of silent waters, when the day beams rest

In mute farewell; and life, so bright before,
Was happier still; for now religion o'er
Its every scene a holy radiance cast;
And when the storm of life arrived at last—
For none, however bright their lot, are free—
The lyre discoursed of immortality. *

Abby was both a poetic child prodigy and a musical prodigy, so representing her as a musical instrument was a natural choice.

Finally, in order to get a sense of Abby's literary prowess at age 14, as well as her mystical perception and her particular love for the stars, we turn to a poem entitled "Part of an Address to the Stars." It appeared in the April 2, 1831 Philadelphia "Album and Ladies' Literary Port Folio." This, like her poem, "Lilias," was signed with her maiden initials, "A.P." (technically, "Lilias" is designated as "by the author of" the first story in the series which bore that signature). Most of the poetry that had been published in previous years under the signature "A.P." was falsely claimed by Albert Pike, of notorious Masonic fame. It appears that he was her classroom teacher in 1830, and in that capacity, he either directly stole, or at the very least revised and claimed, this body of poetic work for himself. That, however, is a subject for another paper.

In this poem about the stars, it is clear that Abby believes—at least in some esoteric sense, if not literally—that stars are living, conscious beings, which either are, or represent, souls in heaven. It is also clear that she has studied not only Western esoteric sources, but the Eastern teachings as well, because she makes a specific reference to them. During this period, it can be seen in Mathew's humorous essays and editorials in the New York "Constellation" that he has been making light of what Abby attempted to teach him on these subjects—especially concerning prescient dreams (which Abby may have had), and astrology. As he is four years older, and has a powerful, skeptical mind, he has shaken her faith in astrology—but she draws the line when it comes to her beloved stars! That is the real theme of the poem. Although the whole is piercingly beautiful, I excerpt here only the final two stanzas:

O deathless spirits! ye are beautiful
  Beyond our comprehension—there is naught
Of this inspired matter, that bears rule
  Upon this earth, so beautifully wrought,
So wonderful as ye!—Are ye not full
  As this, of life, divinity, and thought?—
So eastern realms have judged, and bending down,
Joyed in your smile, or wept beneath your frown.

Ye are unswerving on your changeless way,
  And time hath over you no influence;
Yet poor weak man, whose life is but a day—

The sport of heaven's winds—is an intense
Eternal spirit—an embodied ray
Of wisdom and eternity—but whence
Shall he assert, in overweening pride,
That ye are lifeless sods? Proud spheres once deified!

A.P.

Mathew Franklin Whittier's use of the star signature continued until June 28, 1873 (again, the month of Abby's birthday) in which issue of the Portland "Transcript" is published a deeply personal tribute. Here, he is memorializing a female friend named Martha B. Davis whose personal qualities, by the description, must have very much reminded him of Abby. Ms. Davis' father was a former editor who had lived in Portland, so very likely Mathew, being personal friends with him, wrote this tribute for his daughter. However, it is my feeling that she reminded him so much of Abby that this becomes a kind of dual eulogy. Mathew writes:

> In the death of Miss Martha B. Davis, the large circle of her acquaintance has sustained a serious loss—a loss the extent of which will become more apparent, and be more sensibly felt and appreciated, as time passes on, and the memory, only, of her former presence and her kindly greetings, of her quick sympathy and benevolent acts, remains. To those who were admitted to the more intimate relations of a personal friendship with her, the loss is beyond the power of any poor words of ours to describe. To them, by her life and her intercourse, she has taught a rare lesson, and, in her death, left to them a priceless legacy—the knowledge of the value of a *true friend*--one not so in profession and name, merely, but in deed and in very truth. When she took them into her regard and bestowed upon them the appellation of friend, it was no heartless form, no conventional act, or the passing shadow of some vague sentiment, but to use her own frank and hearty words, "*it meant something.*" It stood out as the representative of everything valuable in that endearing term and relation. And all this she proved to them. No sacrifice was counted by her too great to be made for her friends; no devotion to them could impose too heavy a tax upon her time or her strength, and in their service, for the promotion of their good or their happiness, she never stopped at any thing short of entire self abnegation. And all this, too, came with her, as a matter of course—so naturally, so gracefully, so generously, and so unselfishly, that the obligation laid upon the object of her friendship and her devotion, rested so lightly, that it carried with it a sense of nothing burdensome or oppressive.

The "star" in the New York "Tribune"

Now, all that is by way of setting the stage. I had to establish the *deep context* of Mathew Franklin Whittier's use of this star symbol, before I began disputing Margaret Fuller's claim to it.

Margaret Fuller's personal context for choosing the "star," as a signature, is very easily dispensed with—she has none. In her correspondence, her first reference to the series appears in the final paragraph of her letter to her friend James Freeman Clarke, dated Dec. 12, 1844:

> I desired them to send you a number of the Tribune, containing my piece on Mr E. which, I thought, might interest you.

Robert N. Hudspeth, who edited this compilation of Fuller's correspondence, remarks by way of a footnote:

> "Emerson's Essays," *New-York Daily Tribune*, 7 December 1844. Fuller's first review for Greeley's paper. Fuller said of her friend that he "imprisons his reader only to free him again as a 'liberating God.'" While positive, the essay was unusually reserved, given the close friendship between author and subject.

This should have been a red flag for Prof. Hudspeth, and not merely an inexplicable curiosity. The reason it isn't a match for Fuller, is that she didn't write it.

Note, as regards the quoted phrase, "a 'liberating God,'" in the original review Mathew made it clear he was quoting directly from Emerson, by adding in parentheses, "(to use his own words)." Elsewhere, where the author mentions God, it is more devotional, as I would expect from Mathew (but not from Fuller). That's why he made a particular point to emphasize that the words were Emerson's.

Fuller's first specific mention of the "star" signature appears very briefly in a letter to her friend Mary Rotch, dated Jan. 15, 1845, in a postscript. The series itself had only begun a month earlier. Responding to a question as to whether that signature is hers, she simply answers in the affirmative: "You are right in supposing my signature is the Star."

Of course, Rotch knows that Fuller has been given the position of literary editor for the "Tribune," so the *question* is natural—but the *answer* is a fib. Only if she believed that her title as the Literary Editor gave her entire dominion over the freelancer writer who was submitting the work to her, such that effectively she owned it, could she have ever conceived of this work as her own. But again, Mathew had already been using it for 15 years. He had more writing experience than she had, and, given Abby's tutoring and his own efforts, probably at least as good an education.

The subject of Fuller's ownership if the "star" pseudonym comes up again just as briefly, also in a postscript, in a March 19, 1845 letter to her younger brother, Eugene, where she writes: "If you see the Weekly Tribune you will find all my pieces marked with a Star. I began 1st Decr." Additionally, there are a couple instances of Fuller using the star as a symbol in back-to-back letters written to her love interest, James Nathan—and that is all I was able to find in terms of direct references. In the "Tribune," the "star" is rendered several point sizes larger than the preceding type:

structure and ways of thinking, but fellow students of the Divine will. O had we but found such an adversary, above the use of artful abuse, or the feints of sophistry, able to believe in the noble intention of a foe as of a friend, how cheerily would the trumpets ring out while the assembled world echoed the signal words, 'GOD SPEED THE RIGHT!' The tide of Progress rolls onward, swelling more and more with the lives of those who would fain see all men called to repentance. It must be a strong arm, indeed, that can build a dam to stay it even for a moment. None such do we see yet, but we should rejoice in a noble and strong opponent, putting forth all his power for conscience' sake.—God speed the Right! *

However, aside from these brief admissions in private correspondence—usually, tacked onto to the end of correspondence with personal friends, seemingly as an afterthought—public conviction of Margaret Fuller's authorship of the "star" series seems to have developed in 1846 as a public rumor. That it was not generally known or accepted as of mid-1845, can be seen by the letter of an advocate for the Swedenborgian church who responds, on July 1, to a "star"-signed review of June 25:

> Permit me to notice a few things, which I find on the first page of The Tribune for last Wednesday, in an article entitled Swedenborgianism, reviewing some new church books, and signed *.
>
> First, let me express to you and the reviewer my sincere thanks for that article, and especially for the high and merited praise therein bestowed on Swedenborg. Most heartily do I thank the writer for his bold and manly independence, and for the true courage that he has displayed in daring to speak as he has, of one of the greatest and best of men, who is yet but little known to the people of Christendom, and who is commonly regarded as a dreamer or a madman. Well, indeed, would it be for our country and for the world, had we many such writers as this reviewer, and many such papers as the New York Tribune.

The issue came to a head when Mathew was heavily critical of a pro-capital punishment book (the conclusion of this review is shown in the graphic, above), appearing in the March 4, 1846 edition. We know that he was strongly against capital punishment, because he has written forcefully on this subject elsewhere. In this case, the authors have struck back, disparagingly *assuming*, based on rumor and the evident sensitivity of the author, that Fuller was the writer of this critical review. Mathew, without giving away his identity or his gender, must counter them. And as he is doing so, in the March 10, 1846 edition, he embeds a wry clue for posterity. See if you can catch it:

> We were not aware that the Bible, or the welfare of human beings were subjects improper for the consideration of 'females,' whether '*fair*' or otherwise. We had also supposed that, in the field of literature, the meeting was not between man and woman, but between mind and mind. Personal allusions to private life should, indeed, be excluded from this field, whether man meets man, or man meets woman. On occasions where the theme is purely intellectual we had supposed that, in all civilized communities, the question was, Is the mode of treating the subject noble, the statement commanding, the thought just? or the reverse? and that, in either case, it mattered not whether the mind from which such statement originated was placed here on earth, as man or as woman. Even among the Hebrews—the only sufficient authority, we believe, with T. L.—we find numerous instances in which all such considerations were set aside as not to the purpose on such an occasion. Though, however, we are now informed that there *are* minds so penetrated with the spirit of chivalry that they cannot regard a woman as an adversary, we should not advise the band of "heroic philanthropists" censured in the Courier & Enquirer for seeking to protect themselves behind the veil and parasol of this mistaken Clorinda, to regard them as secure panoply, the impossibility of assailing a female writer being expressed in the following passage:
>
> "Of course, no reply will be made to that very modest lady who so foolishly, and with so much vanity, suffered herself to be thrust forward in an argument for which she herself admits, 'she has neither skill nor patience.' Indeed, although this most amiable representative of the school of 'love and philanthropy' and of the 'spiritual insight' seems quite at home in such very common language as 'monstrous,' 'detestable,' 'horrible,' 'demoniac,' 'diabolic,' &c. yet she should know that the proper discussion of the question so rashly ventured upon, requires something more than this; and that it is indeed quite a different matter from doing up the slop literature of The Tribune, or writing unmeaning rhapsodies on the unutterable ideas of Ole Bull, or repeating the cant and drivel of the Harbinger about Dante and Beethoven, or praising the chaste 'creations' of that most chaste and 'spiritual' creature, George Sand."
>
> Here we find our old acquaintance, the word "drivel" in no less impressive connection than when the "drivelings of depravity in malefactors" were denounced.

First of all, this is typical of Mathew's debate style. Numerous examples could be given, including a similar print debate signed with the star in the Feb. 14, 1857 Portland "Transcript" (seven years after Fuller's death), in which he defends his extremely critical review of Julia Ward Howe's "Words for the Hour" against someone signing with a printer's dagger. Here, he has already put us on notice by citing two possible scenarios (the first being correct): "whether man meets man, or man meets woman." But near the end of this first paragraph, before he quotes his opposition, he refers to "this mistaken Clorinda." "Clorinda" is a character from the poem "Jerusalem Delivered" by Torquato Tasso—a female warrior whom the character Tancred refuses to fight, having fallen in love with her. But the phrase "mistaken Clorinda" can have two meanings: 1) that the "Clorinda" herself was mistaken (the obvious meaning), or; 2) *that it was a mistake to assume the "star" is a "Clorinda," i.e., a woman, in the first place*. This would be typical of Mathew's secret literary modus operandi, when leaving clues for posterity concerning his authorship.

There are two major issues we must focus on, in order to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that Mathew, not Fuller, was the real author of all but a handful of the more substantial "star"-signed reviews and essays in the "Tribune." The first concerns telltale clues found in the pieces, themselves; and the second concerns Fuller's relationship to the editor, Horace Greeley. We must then factor into the equation that Fuller brazenly claimed this body of work for herself as of July 1846, by including a number of them in her compilation, "Papers on Literature and Art."

Regarding the first type of evidence, there is a problem. When discerning Mathew's work from other plagiarists who are not specifically touted as Transcendentalists or mystics, it is only necessary to demonstrate an understanding of real spirituality in the disputed works. For example, the authentic esoteric references one sees in "A Christmas Carol" cannot have been written by Charles Dickens, because he was ignorant of such matters and conceived of the "Carol" as a "ghost story." However, Fuller is supposed to be of this same persuasion. She is *supposed* to be a mystic, and she is *supposed* to be a social reformer. It so happens that this is mostly for show, while Mathew is the "real deal." But we cannot confirm his authorship of these reviews and essays merely on that basis.

The most reliable way to determine that Mathew, not Fuller, was writing these pieces, is to discover in them brief *personal* references which are masculine rather than feminine; or which contain anecdotes consistent with Mathew's childhood, but which are *inconsistent* with Fuller's. And buried within the more than 200 pieces signed with a star in this paper, there *are* a handful of such references. Not many—but really speaking, it only takes one, and we have several.

We will now proceed to examine some of the most compelling examples. In the August 30, 1845 edition of the "Tribune," the "star" reports on a newly-launched steamship, the Great Britain. Not only did he go aboard her at dockside there in New York City, but he was *invited to tour the engine room* (here poetically referred to as the "heart and lungs" of the ship). In 1845, this would be extremely unlikely for a woman, even an adventurous one like Fuller. When I queried an online group of enthusiasts in maritime history, they suggested that the only reason a woman would be invited into an engine room, in the 1840's, would be for sexual interest. (If their response was sexist, still, it probably reflected, however dimly, what a woman would have faced in 1845.) Still, this is just barely possible, so we will continue to an even stronger clue.

The Feb. 5, 1845 edition contains a "star"-signed review of "A Child's Friend." It must first be explained that when Mathew drew examples from his own life, in his public writing, he would sometimes introduce a red herring into the description to avoid detection. I have concluded that he was engaged in dangerous under cover work for the cause of abolition, and he had direct connections with members of the Underground Railroad. He dared not risk his enemies identifying him as the writer. Therefore, from time to time he would slip in a reference which supposedly had him attending a school he never attended; or witnessing an event he would have been too young to have seen. The entire piece would not be replete with these deliberate errors—there might only be one, strategically placed. This would nip any growing suspicions in the bud. We see such an instance, here. The following *cannot* be Margaret Fuller, if we take it literally—the only logical choice is between Mathew Franklin Whittier pulling one of his little literary tricks, and the editor, Horace Greeley:

> O that winter! freezing, snow-laden winter, which slowly ushered in our eighth birth-day.—There, in the lonely farm-house, the day's work done, and the bright wood fire a' in a low, we were permitted to slide back the panel of the cupboard in the wall; most fascinating object still in our eyes, with which no stateliest alcoved library can vie; and there saw, neatly ranged on its two shelves, *not*, praised be our natal star! Peter Parley nor "A history of the good little boy that never took any thing that did not belong to him;" but—the "Spectator," "Telemachus," "Goldsmith's Animated Nature" and the "Iliad."
>
> Forms of gods and heroes more distinctly seen and with eyes of nearer love then than now!—Our true Uncle, Sir Roger de Coverley, and ye fair realms of Nature's history whose pictures we tormented all grown persons to illustrate with more knowledge—still more, how we bless the chance that gave to us your great realities which life has daily helped us—helps us still, to interpret, instead of thin and baseless fictions that would, all this time, have hampered us although only with cobwebs.

Margaret Fuller is immediately eliminated from consideration, because her birthday was on May 23, 1810. Furthermore, while she is said to have visited her grandmother in the country on holidays, she is unlikely to have been required to do a "day's work" there. This is clearly a child growing up in a rural family of modest means, not a privileged child from the city visiting her grandmother for Christmas.

Mathew Franklin Whittier was born on July 18, 1812; while Horace Greeley was born on Feb. 3, 1811. Going solely by the birthday reference, therefore, Greeley is the obvious choice. So far, we have established, at the very least, that Margaret Fuller did *not* write all the reviews. But Greeley had his hands full running the paper. An editor of a major New York publication, especially a daily, would always delegate the book reviews—which are hardly the most important column—to someone else. And this is a review of a children's book. If the editor *were* to make an exception, and write a book review, it seems extremely unlikely he would choose *this* one. Greeley tells us, in his memoirs, that he could not even find time to write a review of Longfellow's poems, no less of a children's book:

> Even the severest of her critiques,—that on Longfellow's Poems,—for which an impulse in personal pique has been alleged, I happen with certainty to know had no such origin. When I first handed her the book to review, she excused herself, assigning the wide divergence of her views of Poetry from those of the author and his school, as her reason. She thus induced me to attempt the task of reviewing it myself. But day after day sped by, and I could find no hour that was not absolutely required for the performance of some duty that *would not* be put off, nor turned over to another. At length I carried the book back to her in utter despair of ever finding an hour in which even to look through it; and, at my renewed and earnest request, she reluctantly undertook its discussion. The statement of these facts is but an act of justice to her memory.

One might well wonder exactly how Mathew was able to get this anecdotal proof that Fuller could not be the author of this particular review, past her watchful eye as his editor. The likely answer is that Feb. 5, 1845 is precisely the day that the "Tribune" office burned to the ground, in the early morning hours. If all the reviews on file had perished in the flames, but Greeley was adamant about publishing an edition of the paper that day, Mathew would have had to write a new review on the spot. This, he was fully capable of doing, even if it was the first thing he grabbed off his shelf—a children's book. But in this case, there may not have been time for Fuller to read it over. This was Mathew's golden opportunity—for once, he could insert a tell-tale sign into the review, that she would not catch and delete. Note that despite the account matching Greeley's February birthday, he is effectively eliminated from consideration as the author, because he would have been far too busy reclaiming his newspaper from the flames to write a review of a children's book.

Incidentally, this excerpt brings up an interesting point. If Greeley fully believed that Fuller eventually did write this review series—which by style, was evidently written by Mathew—then *Greeley, himself, was not privy to the arrangement*. It would suggest that Fuller had contracted with Mathew privately, to ghost write the series for her—which might explain why she felt so free to modify these pieces, above and beyond her role as the literary editor of the paper. And if Mathew were unavailable for some reason, it would also explain the delay.

On page 177 of Greeley's autobiography, "Recollections of a Busy Life," he states:

> We have seen that the first impressions made by Margaret, even on those who soon learned to admire her the most, were not favorable; and it was decidedly so in my case. A sufferer myself, and at times scarcely able to ride to and from the office, I yet did a day's work each day, regardless of nerves or moods; but she had no such capacity for incessant labor. If quantity only were considered, I could easily write ten columns to her one: indeed, she would only write at all when in the vein; and her headaches and other infirmities often precluded all labor for days. Meantime, perhaps, the interest of the theme had evaporated, or the book to be reviewed had the bloom brushed from its cheek by some rival journal.

Just in terms of sheer logistics, how could Fuller *possibly* have written the complex reviews and essays which often appeared several times per week in the "Tribune," many of which required extensive reading and research? And for the matter of that, how could Greeley *believe* she had done so? I think he could not—thus, something is very wrong with this picture, which suggests that Greeley is simply excising Mathew Franklin Whittier from the picture entirely, being fully aware of his authorship of most of this material. If *that* is the correct interpretation, then Greeley's cryptic remark, "I happen with certainty to know had no such origin..." takes on a hidden meaning. In other words, not only does he personally know that Fuller had no such criticism about Longfellow, but he knows she actually didn't write the review at all—and that the only way to resolve the situation was to get Mathew to write it. Note that Greeley concludes the account saying that Fuller "reluctantly undertook its *discussion*." He does *not* say that she *wrote* the review.

Really-speaking, this review is not as critical as Greeley paints it in his memoirs. Mathew was, actually, *defending* Longfellow against Poe's charge of deliberate plagiarism. After first

distancing himself from the unthinking adulation attached to Longfellow, Mathew suggests that, being an academician, Longfellow wrote primarily from what he had read, rather than from his own inner inspiration—and that in such a case, unconsciously drawing from this or that source is inevitable:

> Mr. Longfellow has been accused of plagiarism. We have been surprised that any one should have been anxious to fasten special charges of this kind upon him, when we had supposed it so obvious that the greater part of his mental stores were derived from the works of others. He has no style of his own growing out of his own experiences and observations of nature. Nature with him, whether human or external, is always seen through the windows of literature. There are in his poems sweet and tender passages descriptive of his personal feelings, but very few showing him as an observer, at first hand, of the passions within, or the landscape without.

Returning to the Feb. 5 review, and setting aside the issue of whether Greeley would have had time to write this review of a children's book, it now comes down to a minute comparison of Mathew's childhood versus Greeley's. They were both raised on rural farms, and they were both precocious readers; so this isn't a simple matter. But without going into all the details here, this description matches Mathew's childhood more closely than it does Greeley's. Mathew has mentioned some of the works on the family bookshelf elsewhere in his writing; he has also given the same opinion as is expressed in this article, that children's literature should not talk down to children. And, he himself wrote a novel for boys in 1863, following the same principles. In my opinion, he may also have been the ghost writer for two juvenile novels published around this same time by Charles Burdett in New York City: "Never Too Late" and "Lilla Hart: A Tale of New York." But the most telling difference, is that young Greeley borrowed books and took them down to the cellar to read them; whereas in Mathew's house, they were enshrined, as it were, in a cabinet, and probably not treated quite so casually. Greeley looked forward most to the arrival of the local newspaper, but there is no mention of that, here. In general, it seems that the child's *veneration of books*, as described in this passage, is a far better fit for Mathew's personality and his upbringing than for Greeley's childhood.

There are many other nuances which arise in a close examination of these reviews and essays, including, as mentioned, that Fuller appears to have felt free to insert her own paragraphs into Mathew's columns, further muddying the waters. But the most glaring discrepancy is that by all accounts (some kinder than others) Fuller was an intellectual snob—a prima donna. Any person in this psychological state cannot, *by definition*, express the deep spirituality and sincere compassion which is found throughout this body of work. It is a total mis-match *psychologically and spiritually*, whether Fuller considered herself a Transcendentalist or not. This would be increasingly apparent to anyone who had studied Mathew's extensive legacy in the depth that I have. Note, for example, the expression of devotion used in the passage inserted as a graphic, above: "fellow students of the Divine will." Although Fuller may have given lip-service to such sentiments from time-to-time, more deeply sincere assertions of this nature are found throughout Mathew's essays and editorials.

There is one piece of evidence which indicates that whether or not Mathew identified with the Transcendentalist movement, at least some of his colleagues perceived him in this way. In 1846,

Mathew wrote frequently for the Boston "Chronotype," a radical anti-slavery paper edited by a personal friend and colleague of both the Whittier brothers, Elizur Wright. In the October 28, 1846 edition of the Boston "Odd Fellow"—which, as we will see, Mathew *also* wrote for (including with the "star")—appears an ostensibly humorous poem, reprinted from the "Chronotype," entitled "The Bullfrog's Serenade." Signed "Anony-Mouse," it is clearly written in Mathew's trademark style. However, unless I miss my mark, it *also* carries a secret message to the Underground Railroad. The poem reads:

The night was warm, the pool was still,
No sound was heard from lake or rill,
Save when upon a log decayed,
A bullfrog croaked his serenade.

Wake frogress of my love awake,
  And listen to my song,
The heron roosts far from the lake,
The pickerel their rest do take,
  The water weeds among.

The Sun has put his bonfire out,
  The daylight's hardly seen,
Then frogress poke thy lovely snout
  Above the waters green.

For lonely I am sitting here,
  Upon a rotten log,
O cast away all slavish fear,
And for a moment sweetly cheer
  The sight of thy bull-frog.

O hop with me to other pools,
  Where we may live and love,
And where do dwell no human fools,
  Those two legged things above.

From the Chronotype.]

NIBBLINGS FROM OTHER PEOPLE'S CHEESE.

THE BULLFROG'S SERENADE.

BY ANONY-MOUSE.

THE night was warm, the pool was still,
No sound was heard from lake or rill,
Save when upon a log decayed,
A bullfrog croaked his serenade.

Wake frogess of my love awake,
And listen to my song,
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And where do dwell no human fools,
Those two legged things above.

N. B. The author of the above is unknown, but is presumed to be a Transcendentalist.

Mathew never used one single word frivolously. If it *seems* superfluous, it is probably code. Here, we have the phrase, "slavish fear." Given that this has been reprinted from an anti-slavery paper, we are now on-notice that the poem very likely has something to do with slavery. So what is the call to action? "O hop with me to other pools,/Where we may live and love." If I interpret this correctly, it's an instruction to take the fleeing slaves via the swamp route.

But what concerns us specifically, here, is the "Nota Bene," or postscript, which has been added at the bottom—either by the editor of the "Chronotype," or by the editor of the "Odd Fellow":

> N.B. The author of the above is unknown, but is presumed to be a Transcendentalist.

That is intended to appear ludicrous, given the camp nature of the poem. But one of these editors, or perhaps both, know that Mathew is the author; and one of them thinks of him as a "Transcendentalist." Wright was skeptical of certain elements of religion, and in later life became an atheist—in *his* eyes, Mathew's mysticism would be generally classed as "Transcendentalism." But he may also have been aware of Mathew's personal contacts with key figures in that movement, which would be enough to group him among them.

Mathew's expressed dislike for Margaret Fuller

There are two instances, in Mathew's writing, wherein he expresses his extreme personal dislike of Margaret Fuller—one put very tactfully, the other quite blatant in a full-blown satire. Both of these were written in the years after Fuller's death. Mathew rarely, if ever, disparaged anyone in print unless they had betrayed him. Even then, he generally tried to be fair-minded about it, as he did in his many oblique references to Edgar Allan Poe. But his view of Fuller seems to be even more unequivocally damning, despite the fact that Poe had committed the ultimate offense of stealing "The Raven" from him. In an unsigned book review in the Nov. 15, 1851 "Carpet-Bag"—at a time when Mathew was contributing heavily to this newspaper—is a review of "Glances at Europe; in a series of Letters from Great Britain, France, Italy, Switzerland, &c., during the summer of 1851," by Horace Greeley. Mathew is even-handed toward Greeley, who had, after all, refused to take his part in disputes with Fuller, who may have refused to back him up against Poe, and who had permitted Fuller to continue claiming and using his own pseudonym when she wrote from Europe. But look at this veiled mention of Fuller:

> The facilities which steam has afforded for rapid communication with Europe have this evil to balance their many good results: they have sent people to Europe from the United States, who are hardly fit to stay at home, and therefore altogether unfit to go abroad. We should, however, have no right to say aught of their movements were they silent on the subject; but when they coolly sit down and write a book of travels, and maliciously, and at the instigation of the (printer's) devil, publish the same, they render themselves liable to severe punishment, but generally escape through the insignificance of themselves and their works. Europe has had some precious specimens of the universal Yankee nation, since the time for getting across the herring-pond has been abbreviated one-half; and the press has groaned, otherwise than metaphorically, over the fruits of their travel, or rather *travail*. We might name some of these works, but regard for the memory of the dead, and respect for the feelings of surviving relatives and friends, bids us be charitable, and we forbear.

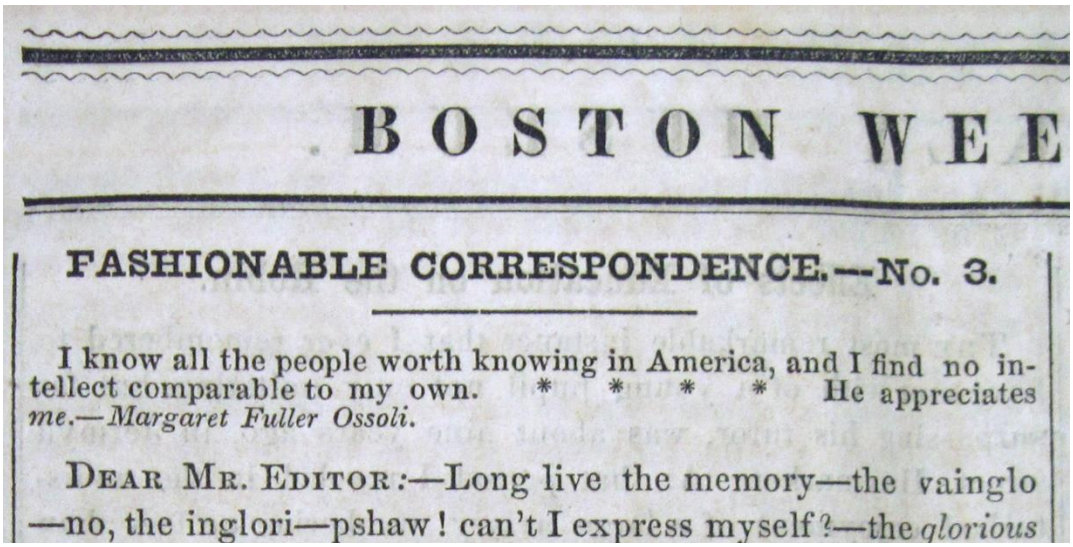
Mathew goes on to make it clear that he does not include Greeley in this category—but it is quite obvious to whom he *is* referring. Fuller, her husband and young son had perished in a tragic shipwreck just off the coast of Fire Island, while on their return voyage to New York from Europe, on July 19, 1850. He can mean no-one else, in which case he is effectively saying that she was "hardly fit to stay at home, and therefore altogether unfit to go abroad." Even here we find his penchant for satire, as we have seen in his 1829 "star"-signed essay for the Boston "Courier."

The second example appears in the third and final number of a satirical series lampooning a phony intellectual named "Sally Sage." It is certain, given a precise style match and knowing that Mathew was a heavy contributor to this paper, that this is his pen. The background context appears to be that such a woman had recently taken him for a ride. Here he portrays her as a great admirer of Margaret Fuller, being one of those who exalt Fuller's imagined position in heaven after her passing. We will not attempt to interpret all of the references, except to point out that wearing a crown of mandrakes symbolizes that Fuller had a long list of men she felt she had conquered. "Mutual Admiration Society" is another of Mathew's favorite satirical phrases. "Sally Sage" writes to the editor in the May 22, 1852 Boston "Weekly Museum":

> Dear Mr. Editor:—Long live the memory—the vaingl—no, the inglori—pshaw! can't I express myself?—the *glorious* woman, I mean, who authored these words! Long live in heaven the incomparable Margaret, who was brave and bold enough to say and write and act on earth whatever her own terse mind dictated!
>
> I worship her, I dream of her daily and nightly, ever since I have read those three sweetest of all sweet volumes of her biography. Last night I saw her in glory, in the highest degree of the highest sphere, surrounded by a group of kindred spirits—all forming a grand Mutual Admiration Society, and she, *the* Margaret, was President thereof. In my vision, she was clothed in a pair of brazen breeches, with a sceptre in her left hand, one end of which was in the device of a sharp stick, designed to chastise all the simples whom she dignified by the name of jackasses; the other and uppermost end beseemed to me a trowel with which she used to lay soft soap on to the faces of the compounds whom she had stuffed out into "old Bottoms in lions' skins." Upon her brow was a crown of mandrakes.

But it is at the head of this article where we find the most interesting clue. Mathew often quoted serious poetry or prose in his satirical works; and if he wanted to convey a secret message, he might embed that message not directly in the quoted portion, but in the *original context* of that portion. In other words, you had to look up the source to get the hidden meaning. Here, he opens as follows:

> I know all the people worth knowing in America, and I find no intellect comparable to my own. * * * * He appreciates *me*.—*Margaret Fuller Ossoli.*



BOSTON WEE

FASHIONABLE CORRESPONDENCE.—No. 3.

I know all the people worth knowing in America, and I find no intellect comparable to my own. * * * * He appreciates me.—*Margaret Fuller Ossoli.*

DEAR MR. EDITOR:—Long live the memory—the vainglo—no, the inglori—pshaw! can't I express myself?—the *glorious*

The quote derives from the posthumous "Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli," Vol. I page 234, and this portion was written by Ralph Waldo Emerson. So presumably, this is the *most favorable* treatment she could be expected to receive. But Mathew is leaving out a large section of the quote—what, exactly, has he omitted?

This quote is taken from a passage headed "Self-Esteem," which reads:

> Margaret at first astonished and repelled us by a complacency that seemed the most assured since the days of Scaliger. She spoke, in the quietest manner, of the girls she had formed, the young men who owed everything to her, the fine companions she had long ago exhausted. In the coolest way, she said to her friends, 'I now know 'all the people worth knowing in America,' and I find no 'intellect comparable with my own.' In vain, on one occasion, I professed my reverence for a youth of genius, and my curiosity in his future,—'O no, she was intimate 'with his mind,' and I 'spoiled him, by overrating him.' Meantime, we knew that she neither had seen, nor would see, his subtle superiorities.

SELF-ESTEEM.

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Note that this assessment would have included Emerson, himself, which is perhaps why he found it so amusing. But the remainder of the quote, after the series of asterisks, picks up *two pages later*, at the top of page 236:

> It is certain that Margaret occasionally let slip, with all the innocence imaginable, some phrase betraying the presence of a rather mountainous ME, in a way to surprise those who knew her good sense. She could say, as if she were stating a scientific fact, in enumerating the merits of somebody, 'He appreciates *me*.'

236 VISITS TO CONCORD.

It is certain that Margaret occasionally let slip, with all the innocence imaginable, some phrase betraying the presence of a rather mountainous ME, in a way to surprise those who knew her good sense. She could say, as if she were stating a scientific fact, in enumerating the merits of somebody, 'He appreciates *me*.' There

There is only one reason that Mathew would span two pages in a quote—something he appears to have done only this once—and that is if the latter portion were somehow directly tied to the former. In the first, Fuller is dismissing the talents of a "youth of genius"; in the second, she "enumerates the merits" of "somebody," by asserting, "He appreciates *me*." That means that

whoever the young genius is, she imagined she was his superior. But if we follow it through to its logical conclusion, it would *also* mean that Ralph Waldo Emerson knew Mathew personally, and admired him as a philosopher. Emerson was attempting to bring him up as an example of someone actually superior to her in intellect, but she brushed it aside contemptuously. The quote being found at the head of Mathew's "Sally Sage" letter, together with the method used in spanning the quote with asterisks, essentially demands this interpretation. If it were otherwise, he wouldn't have gone to the trouble. In other words, *this is personal*. It means that when Fuller was the literary editor of the "Tribune," and Mathew was a mere freelancer, she imagined that *she* was the literary genius, while he was her intellectual inferior—even though their mutual friend, Ralph Waldo Emerson—perhaps during the period when Mathew was writing for "The Dial"—had tried to tell her otherwise. (If Mathew wrote for "The Dial" in 1841, as I will shortly suggest, he would have been 28 years old at the time.)

Keep in mind that Mathew probably never expected anyone to decipher this coded message—and that, in fact, no-one ever did. It is only because I am his reincarnation, that I could ferret out the meaning, knowing how Mathew *felt*, and how he would have needed to express it *even if no-one else ever figured it out*.

Now, we turn briefly to Fuller's relationship with Horace Greeley, the editor of the New York "Tribune." Reading a little (not much is required) between the lines, it seems that Greeley's *wife*, the former Mary Cheney, was a strong admirer of Fuller, inasmuch as Fuller was a prominent female intellectual and an early feminist. It was Mary who prevailed upon her husband to invite Fuller to live with them; and not wanting to rock the boat, Greeley agreed. Once Fuller arrived, she took over; and in order to keep the peace, Greeley offered her the position of literary editor on the paper. However, by his own description, we know that her output was "a tenth" of his, that she was often indisposed, and that she only wrote when she felt like it on topics which interested her. But the star-signed column typically appeared several times per week, and sometimes daily. On the week of March 10, 1845, for example, there is one star-signed article on Monday, three on Wednesday, and another on Friday. Of these, the edition of the 10th features a fairly extensive review of a "Concert by the German Society"; the 12th contains a translated letter from a German newspaper and two brief book reviews; and the 14th offers a lengthy commentary on "Translations from the German." Similarly, the month of May, 1845 contains star-signed articles on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 9th, 10th, 12th (3), 14th, and so-on. (There is an indication in Abby's story entitled "Mary Mahony" that—to the extent her character is based on herself—she was especially capable in German translation, and thus is likely to have tutored Mathew on the same subject.)

There are 238 star-signed articles from the Fall of 1844 until the summer of 1846, when Fuller left for Europe. If Greeley's description of her is accurate (and if anything it would be toned down, rather than exaggerated), *it is impossible that she could have written all of those articles*, many of which evince a great deal of thought and research. In fact, the only logical possibility is that either Greeley wrote at least half of them himself—which is very unlikely for a busy editor—or that he *hired a freelancer*. And this is precisely what I believe he did.

The situation becomes even more absurd when one examines Fuller's private correspondence. In Vol. 4 of "The Letters of Margaret Fuller," edited by Robert N. Hudspeth, one finds that for

several months in 1845 she was writing reams of letters to her love interest, James Nathan. One gets the impression she was writing as much to Nathan, as Mathew was writing "star"-signed pieces for the "Tribune." Given Greeley's characterization, it's impossible she could have been writing both. Moreover, the style evinced in this series of correspondence with Nathan is far from a match, in my opinion, with that seen in the "star"-signed material. By my lights—and I have studied Eastern philosophy for 50 years as I revise this paper, in February of 2023—she was no philosopher, at all. There is no depth or substance—she is writing for drama, show and appearance. In other words, from what I see in this correspondence, she may have been the best-read person in America at that time, as has been said of her, but if so she didn't understand what she was reading.

Case in point, we see, in her letter to Nathan of August 12, 1845, an indication of just how free she felt to revise work he has sent to her for publication in the "Tribune":

> I have kept 6 copies for you. They did not need copying; and needed but little retouching which I easily gave to your M.S. *Pan* is literally *the All*; it is the Universal Spirit best known in the solitudes of Nature. As this did not correspond with what you wished to express, I substituted the *Oreads and Dryads*. These are nymphs representing the first the lights and shadows that play upon hills and open fields,—the second the secret recesses of the woods; the trees and fountains. There is no God who stands *both* for free nature and agriculture and these nymphs represent the aspect of a cultivated country, interspersed with woods.

I will put my 50 years of esoteric studies on the line and state that this is sheer and utter nonsense. Pan, the ancient god with the horns and hooves, is conceived by no-one who has any depth of understanding to represent "the All," or the Universal Spirit. Furthermore, she is capitalizing the word "God" when she means "god."

In short, she's faking it.

Feminists love to cite Margaret Fuller as the first female overseas correspondent. A careful study of her letters, however, indicates that she had been planing the trip to Europe for several months, and that she had only promised to work for the "Tribune" until September of 1846. Furthermore, she had trouble scraping together enough cash for the journey, indicating that she was not being put on salary as the paper's foreign correspondent; or if she was, it certainly wasn't going to pay her way. She evidently went to Europe for her own reasons, but while there, she continued falsely assume ownership of the "star" signature.

Mathew signing with his middle initial

In July, a month before Margaret Fuller left for Europe, Mathew worked for a few months in New Orleans covering the arraignment hearings (the lowliest job at a newspaper) for the "Daily Delta." That year, he signed all of these reports with his middle initial, "F." He made of them real literature, just as he had done in 1834/35 for Asa Greene's New York "Transcript" (not to be confused with the Portland "Transcript"). The example below was reprinted in the Nov. 25, 1846 "Odd Fellow." Here, Mathew has written the life story of one of the women who came through

the court system by way of encouraging social reform, just as Abby would have wished him to do.

capacities were appreciated. She has now the whole charge of highly important interests for another in this city, and still in the full freshness of English beauty. She is quietly gathering a little store to return to the scenes of life's earliest joys, to walk the mountain path—to look again at the glen, which she will soon be enabled to do, unless—

There's a dream of the heart
And a dream of the mind,
Sweet soothing to impart
With new love intertwin'd! F.

NOTE.—The husband, wife and daughter are from real life—names concealed—shadowing incidents following "a state of war," which should interest our sympathies, when we have a

Mathew even took the opportunity to write a tribute to Abby, in verse, for this same newspaper. Apparently, he had read the second in a series of poems entitled "Shadows" by Lord Houghton (Richard Monckton Milnes—Mathew mistakenly names him "R.M. Milner"), whose romantic life and marriage were unhappy. In answer, Mathew has penned a brief but impassioned tribute to the domestic bliss he had experienced with Abby for a few short years:[1]

I had a home!—a home by content blest—
    Where sorrow found relief,
And virtue was an ever welcome guest,
    To soothe the wounds of grief!
A cottage, with jewels of light divine,
    And hearts, as morning beam—
Where affection had built a holy shrine--
    It was not all a dream!

I had a home!—would wake the aching heart
    To feel the purest joy—
"A temple of chaste love--a place apart"
    From time or world's annoy--

A sunlight scene of life, where all things good
And truthfully did seem—
O'er all, *the lov'd*, a minist'ring angel, stood—
It was not all a dream! F.

By a letter of Sept. 13, 1845, Fuller writes to James Nathan: "I have had a most lovely letter from my loved brother Eugene. Brighter prospects seem dawning on him. He is now to be co-editor of a very good paper in N.O. and in part proprietor, by and by, when he wishes." Other sources, including an obituary, indicate that Eugene Fuller was associated with the Press in New Orleans, and in particular with the "Picayune," for some years. Inasmuch as the "Daily Delta" was lauched the month after this letter was written, in October of 1845, it seems plausible that Eugene was on the ground floor of that enterprise in an editorial capacity. Thus, Mathew may have arranged to take a reporter's position with the "Delta" through his contact with Fuller's brother, Eugene. The possibility which immediately arises that "F." signing in the 1846 "Delta" could have been Eugene, himself, is unlikely on three counts. First and foremost, all this material is both exceptional, and precisely in Mathew's style. Secondly, if "F." in "The Dial" had been Margaret Fuller, her younger brother would not have presumed to use that same signature a few years later, on the "Delta." And thirdly, if Eugene did in fact take a position in management with the "Delta," he is very unlikely to have been regularly reporting on arraignment hearings.

Against this indication by Margaret Fuller that Eugene may have started in management in the newspaper industry, there is a brief mention in "The Northern-born Community of New Orelans in the 1850s," by William W. Chenajult and Robert C. Reinders, that "Eugene Fuller, Margaret Fuller's brother and a native of Massachusets, was a 'Commercial reporter and telegraphic agent,' according to his obituary."

The first use of the "star" in the "Tribune" was not by Fuller

Mathew had already begun writing as the "star" for the "Odd Fellow" in Boston (being a member of that organization), as early as May of 1846; and for the Portland "Transcript" as early as January. In the Jan. 10, 1846 edition of the "Transcript," he offers a poem in consolation for someone who had lost his wife, entitled "The Two Bridals," suggesting that the late wife was now the bride of Christ (an interpretation Mathew would wrestle with); and in the following edition of Jan. 17, appears Mathew's star-signed tribute to Abby, entitled "To A Bright Lady," reprinted—as it says—from the "New Mirror." That is the New York paper which went by the name of the "Evening Mirror" during this period. I have not been able to find the original printing of the poem in the "New Mirror" (an earlier incarnation), nor in the "Evening Mirror." But clearly, Mathew was the author, as a great many of its details match the historical Abby Poyen Whittier. Mathew continued to sign as the "star" for "The Odd Fellow," sometimes using it for reviews, as for example a report on the Boston theatre in the Sept. 23, 1846 edition.

It so happens that there is a letter to the editor, signed with a single asterisk, in the Nov. 23, 1844 edition of the "Tribune," dated Nov. 13th. It is a letter of political commentary, written to the editor from Buffalo, New York. Here, the star is not printed in a larger type size, as it will be for the reviews. The letter is a liberal protest of "Nativism," which was the movement to discourage immigrants and new citizens from voting—i.e., "Nativism" meant that only established, "native"

Americans should vote. Mathew, at this time in his life, was heavily involved in politics; whereas, so far as I am aware, Fuller was not. She was *liberal*, and she was an advocate for women's rights, but based on a perusal of her correspondence, she does not seem to have been heavily involved in the political intricacies of the country, per se. In the month of November, Fuller was in Fishkill, New York—about 340 miles east-southeast of Buffalo. Therefore, it is extremely unlikely that she was the "star"-signing writer of this letter.

Neither can it be Mathew, however, because the Dec. 20, 1844 "star"-signed review of a concert given by Norwegian violinist Ole Bull indicates it took place on the 18th. The letter writer signing with a "star" in the Nov. 23, 1844 edition was an occasional contributor to the Buffalo "Daily Gazette." In the Dec. 20 edition of that newspaper, he writes of having attended the "ball of Company B, City Guards," on that same evening, the 18th! Furthermore, it is not even clear, from my brief investigation of railroad history, that there was rail service between Buffalo and New York City at this time. Therefore, these must be two different writers.

Clearly, the star-signing writer in the "Tribune" had a personal connection to the Transcendentalists—there is even one of the star-signed articles which drops the hint that the author had visited on more than one occasion with Nathanial Hawthorne—but Mathew, as the younger brother of poet John Greenleaf Whittier, did in fact have such connections. Thus, it is no more or less indicative of Fuller, than it is of Mathew. In other words, this is *not* a clue in Fuller's favor—as a research clue, this one is a draw.

Pieces in the "Tribune" written in Mathew's typical style, which style was not typical for Fuller

In the July 24, 1845 edition of the "Tribune," appears an unsigned humorous sketch entitled "How a Tailor Collected a Debt. A True Story." By style, this story, which describes how a Quaker offered to fight a tailor who had stiffed him for the price of a coat, is almost certainly Mathew Franklin Whittier's work. Mathew wrote from real life, and while he had been raised Quaker, he was not opposed to violence in a noble cause. The reference to a policeman as a "functionary" in this story, would also be typical of Mathew's comical use of grand words in a humorous context. Because this piece is unsigned, it doesn't prove Mathew's use of the "star" in the "Tribune," but at least it strongly suggests that Mathew was living in New York City and writing for that paper.

However, the March 31, 1846 edition contains stronger evidence—a "star"-signed story entitled "What Fits a Man to be a Voter? Is it to be White Within, or White Without?" Here we have an allegory of a group of planters who dispute whether or not to plant butternuts, which have a "rough, black coat." Mathew was a deeply-committed abolitionist; but as with so many of these comparisons, Fuller, also, is taken to have championed that cause. Here, however, it is the *style* which sets them apart. Mathew wrote in this style many times over the course of his literary career. So far as I am aware, Fuller did not. A comparison between the opening of this story, and the opening of two earlier productions by Mathew, will suffice for the purposes of this paper:

What Fits a Man to be a Voter? Is it to be White Within, or White Without?

The country had been denuded of its forests, and men cried—“Come! we must plant anew, or there will be no shade for the homes of our children, or fuel for their hearths. Let us find the best kernels for a new growth.”

And a basket of butternuts was offered.

But the planters rejected it with disgust. “What a black, rough coat it has,” said they; “it is entirely unfit for the dishes on a nobleman’s table, nor have we ever seen it in such places. It must have a greasy, offensive kernel; nor can fine trees grow up from such a nut.”

“Friends,” said one of the planters, “this decision may be rash. The chestnut has not a handsome outside; it is long encased in troublesome burrs, and, when disengaged, is almost as black as these nuts you despise. Yet from it grow trees of lofty stature, graceful form and long life. Its kernel is white and has furnished food to the most poetic and splendid nations of the older world.”

Chronicles of New-England.

[The work thus entitled and called, is a Folio Manuscript, containing some hundred pages, none of which hath hitherto been published.]

CHAPTER IX.
1. Now it came to pass, after that the king of Old England had sent forth a decree, that his provinces in New-England, and his other provinces in America, should be taxed without their own consent.
2. (Howbeit the king himself was not to blame in this matter; but his ministers;)
3. And after that he had sent over the great sea, that lieth between Old and New England, many publicans and sinners and fleets and armies to gather the taxes, thus levied, by force;
4. And after a bold, long and bloody resistance of the people of the provinces against the hirelings of the king;
5. And the king and his ministers had agreed, that the people of the provinces should be as the other nations of the earth, and do what seemed right in their own eyes;
6. Then the people of the new nation, thus born in a day, did assemble and choose rulers from among themselves, and governors from the midst of them.

[“New-England Galaxy,” June 2, 1826, unsigned]

The Course of Time. An Allegory.

I had been drinking Champagne. My sleep was uneasy. I began to dream. Methought I was awakened out of a quiet and profound slumber, by a loud rumbling as if of heavy wagons, driven furiously along a paved road, mixed with a brisk rattle, as of light

> carriages, joined with a clattering of hoofs, and a trampling of feet, intermingled, now and then, with sounds somewhat more definite, as of trumpets bellowing, fiddles screeching, men shouting, women crying, drums, bassoons, jewsharps, clarionets, and hand organs.
>
> This odd combination of sounds seemed, at first, to strike upon my ear, as if from a great distance; but, growing louder and louder, it soon roused me from my slumbers. I sprang upon my feet, and began to look about me. Methought it was broad daylight; and as I looked around, I perceived that I had been sleeping by the side of a dusty, wide, well-traveled highway, leading to, I knew not what, great metropolis. This road was roughly paved with stones of all dimensions; its surface was very uneven; and it was full of holes and ruts innumerable. I found myself standing at the foot of a high pillar, or rather obelisk, which was placed close by the road-side, and towered far above my head, serving, as I conjectured, among other purposes, as a landmark, or mile-stone. At any rate, it had emblazoned upon it, in large golden letters, EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND THIRTY-TWO, which, from some reason or other--but what I can scarcely tell--seemed to me to contain some reference to the length of the road.
>
> ["New-England Magazine," Dec. 1832, signed with a "star"]

Comparing Margaret Fuller and Mathew Franklin Whittier's Attitudes Toward Paranormal Phenomena

In most areas of conviction and attitude, it is difficult to discern between Fuller and M.F. Whittier, precisely because Fuller played the role of a spiritual intellectual so well—having been raised to it, by her father, from childhood. This is why I have zeroed in on minute clues, in the star-signed works, which betray the writer's masculine gender, or indicate some other detail unlikely for Fuller. However, there is an area in which one can find a strong contrast, and that is their respective attitudes towards the paranormal. It so happens that Fuller mentions, in her book, "Summer on the Lakes," that she had read a German book by one Dr. Justinus Kerner, entitled "The Seeress of Prevorst—Revelations concerning the inward life of man, and the projection of a world of spirits into ours, communicated by Justinus Kerner." In her commentary, she imagines a dialogue between herself (whom she names "Free Hope"), and three friends, named "Old Church," "Good Sense," and "Self-Poise." Here, she cleverly skirts the line between professional open-mindedness, and skepticism. But one thing is certain—she resorts to poetic language, rather than revealing herself to be a strong advocate for scientifically proving the reality of such phenomena. This will be important when we compare her approach to the subject with Mathew's. To give a brief example, speaking as "Free Hope," she writes:

> Who sees the meaning of the flower uprooted in the ploughed field? The ploughman who does not look beyond its boundaries and does not raise his eyes from the ground? No—but the poet who sees that field in its relations with the universe, and looks oftener to the sky than on the ground. Only the dreamer shall understand realities, though, in truth, his dreaming must not be out of proportion to his waking![2]

Sadly, she would not live to read “The Windhover” by Gerard Manley Hopkins, who was born the year that “Summer on the Lakes” was published. But the gist of her philosophy as regards the paranormal, is that it’s all hogwash, but in a world comprised of all types, dreamers have their place.

Now before we compare this with M.F. Whittier’s attitude toward the same subject—and, in fact, the *same work*—let us see some other examples. There are many, but we will choose three—Mathew’s report of the Portland (Maine) Spiritualist Association, of which organization he was an officer; a letter to his brother, John Greenleaf Whittier; and a report of scientific investigation into physical mediumship, which includes Mathew’s signature as one of the investigating committee members.

We will include the report, which is found in the July 26, 1856 edition of the Portland “Transcript,” because it is signed with Mathew’s life-long secret signature, a “star.” Entitled “Spiritualism in Portland,” the author gives the Association’s purpose as follows:

> During the winter of 1855, about one year and a half ago, a few individuals, perhaps twenty or thirty, having from personal experience become somewhat interested in this subject, and wishing to continue their investigations under more favorable circumstances, associated themselves together, under the name and style of the “Association for the Investigation of Spiritualism,” under whose care and protection were delivered all the public lectures on the subject for one year, and for which purpose alone, was raised and expended during that time, over seven hundred dollars.

While in personal correspondence to his brother, dated Feb. 19, 1857, Mathew writes:

> Spiritualism continues on the increase in this city. There are two meetings every Sunday. One at "Piano Forte Hall" on Federal St. and the other at the rooms of the “Mechanic’s Institute.” At the latter the attendance will average about 400. The officiating clergymen at this house are J.G. Woodman Pres-t York Cumberland Railway. S.B. Beckett one of the correspondents of the Advertiser. Mr. [Blu---?] & myself. I have preached 4 “sarmints” this winter. Once from the text “There are more things in Heaven & Earth—Horatio—than your philosophy has dreamed of.” and at another time my text was “What good will it do? Will it pay?”

Finally, in the Sept. 23, 1855 “Transcript,” appears an unsigned report (likely written by Mathew), which describes the scientific investigation of a series of local seances, by a committee selected from the Association. The report describes a number of physical manifestations, and each of the committee members signs by way of attesting that he personally observed those manifestations. Among the eleven signers, is “M.F. Whittier.”

It is proper to add that clairvoyant mediums present, belonging in this city, and above suspicion, state that they saw spirit hands play the instruments, and one saw the spirit of an elderly man playing the double bass, which by her description was identified as the former owner of the instrument.

S. B. BECKETT, JEREMIAH DOW, J. S. PALMER, JAMES FURBISH, S. THORP, J. K. KING, N. A. FOSTER, M. F. WHITTIER, ELLIOT F. CLARK, ENOCH CARLETON, E. W. LOCKE.*

*I was present but two evenings, and consequently

The following is an excerpt from the report, to which the signers attested:

> That a bass drum, snare drum, melodeon, tamborine, triangle, double bass viol, accordeon and guitar were played upon loudly and distinctly, while the hands of the medium were held by one of the Committee.—That several of the instruments were taken up and carried over our heads, when they had been so arranged as to make it absolutely impossible for any person to move them, without detection,—that the medium was taken up in her chair and placed upon the table without--as the committee fully believe—the intervention of mortal hands,—(that spirit lights were exhibited on the wall, and in several places, in the absence of all other lights); that the guitar was placed upon the head of a member of the committee and in that position had familiar tunes played upon it, while the hands of the medium were on the hands of another member of the committee; that the melodeon while placed against a wide table separating it from the medium, was inflated and played upon, the person nearest it having his hands and feet held by members of the committee.

Whether the reader of this paper is a believer or a skeptic, this hard-nosed, scientific approach is a far cry from Fuller's oblivious farmer and dreamy poet! Now let us see which the star-signing writer in the "Tribune" seems to most resemble.

It so happens that a star-signed review featuring an English translation of "The Seeress of Prevorst," appears in the July 23, 1845 edition of the "Tribune." Although Bean and Myerson seem to make much of the fact that "Fuller had used *The Seeress of Prevorst* extensively in her *Summer on the Lakes*,"[3] I will now demonstrate, unequivocally, that the star-signing author takes M.F. Whittier's passionate scientific view, rather than Margaret Fuller's poetic, noncommittal, open-minded one.

First of all, the author quotes the translator's own preface, saying that he/she would be unable to improve upon it. That preface is written by 19th-century paranormal investigator "Mrs. Crowe," this being Catherine Crowe, author of "The Night Side of Nature; Or Ghosts and Ghost Seers." Mathew excerpted a portion of *that* book, anonymously, in the Nov. 30, 1850 edition of the Boston "Weekly Museum."[4] The quotation he chose specifically concerns persons who have re-established communication—and an active relationship—with their late spouses. This was something that Mathew, himself, appears to have been engaged in at this time (the evidence supporting it includes several of his poems depicting spirit visitation dreams).

All of which is to say, we are dealing with someone who is thoroughly convinced of the reality of paranormal phenomena, and who is actively attempting to promote this view to anyone who will listen. And that approach is clearly reflected in his choice of an excerpt from Mrs. Crowe's introduction to "The Seeress of Prevorst":

> I apprehend that many of the extraordinary phenomena recorded by Kerner will not find very general credence with English readers; but to the believers in clairvoyance, the book will have a deep interest—whilst, to the larger class, who are not yet prepared to yield faith to its wonders, I should imagine that the facts would still be considered well worthy of attention both in a physiological and a psychological point of view. I say *facts*; because I cannot conceive the possibility of any candid mind doubting the greatest number of them, after reading the book; or of such an one entertaining a suspicion of imposture, on the part either of physician or patient. Indeed, Kerner's well-known character ought to exempt him from such an imputation from any quarter; and, for my own part, I reject with horror the idea that in a suffering creature, who lived ever on the verge of the grave, so much apparent innocence and piety should have been but the cloak to so useless and cruel a deception.

This is not a studied neutrality—it is, rather, both rigorous and persuasive in tone. And let us be clear—this is not a mere treatise on hypnosis, which subject Fuller, herself, explored. These "facts" include instances of levitation.

The "star"-signing author goes on to give his or her own views:

> The sincerity and good faith of Dr. Kerner in this affair, has never, we believe, been impugned, even by the most determined sceptic. He is well known in Germany as an exceedingly sensible, amiable, and religious man; and is a lyric poet of considerable eminence. The point of attack, for those who seek one, must be his sagacity; but except the assailant were one who had had the same opportunities for observation and investigation that he had, the gratuitous imputation of credulity should be, at least, cautiously received. At the same time, although I confess I should be very sorry myself to be one of the many who, I am aware, will receive these alleged facts with contempt and derision, I do not deny that the question, whether the apparitions were subjective or objective—projections of the nervous system, or actually external appearances—is one which can only, if ever, be definitively answered by the exhibition of repeated phenomena of the same description. Even Kerner himself, however ultimately convinced, seems long to have doubted; whilst he freely admits the impossibility of absolute conviction on the part of those who have never had any ocular testimony that such appearances are permitted.

This star-signed review, which Bean and Myerson have assumed was written by Fuller merely because she, herself, had previously read the book and treated it with patronizing pseudo-open-mindedness, is extremely unlikely to have been written by her—while it fits hand-in-glove with what we have seen of M.F. Whittier's approach to the paranormal. In short, what Bean & Myerson casually take as evidence that Fuller wrote this star-signed review, we must now take, upon deeper inspection, as clear evidence that she did *not*.

There exists one more clue bearing on this question, in Fuller's correspondence. On the same date that the "star"-signed review was published, July 22, 1845, Fuller writes to James Nathan:

> It gratifies me deeply you feel so to "Summer on the Lakes" for that is just a piece out of my common summer life...

This precludes the possibility that she had radically *changed her views* on this subject since writing about it in "Summer on the Lakes" two years earlier. Had she done so, having just recently written this review, she would have had to add a caveat in her letter to Nathan.

Evidence for Mathew expressing feminist views

Some may assume that the "star"-signed pieces in the New York "Tribune" were obviously written by Margaret Fuller, because of the feminist ideology expressed in several of them. In one or two instances, this could be because Fuller, herself, stepped in and inserted her own paragraphs, or even wrote an entire essay. However, in most cases, it is simply a reflection of Mathew's own convictions. His views were slightly different than Fullers'. He did not wish to see women become like men, or for them to take man's place in the social scheme of things. However, he had before him the shining example of his young tutor, child prodigy Abby Poyen, who had received a full European-style, tutored education. Although he knew that Abby was exceptionally bright, he nonetheless felt that all American women deserved a higher education. Typically, however, young ladies in American households which could afford to educate their daughters, chiefly prepared them for marriage, neglecting their well-rounded intellectual development.

In the weekly "Philadelphia Album and Ladies' Literary Portfolio," a literary newspaper, appear a series of asterisk-signed editorials from July 30, 1831 to November 15, 1831. This is a period when Mathew was editing the New York "Constellation" under the owner and editor-in-chief, Asa Greene. However, he was simultaneously pursuing a mercantile career, and either was working for, or had established a partnership in, a trading company. If his work took him between New York and Philadelphia on a regular basis, he would have had ample time and opportunity to write for both papers. Certainly, there is evidence that he was prolific enough to have generated these relatively short humorous and philosophical pieces which appear—in precisely the same style—in both papers. All it would take is for the editor of the "Album" to have invited Mathew to submit a regular editorial column. Thus, we see that some editions within this time-frame have two or three "star"-signed editorials; and then, there may be one or two pieces which are unsigned (presumably, by the editor, himself). There are a number of clues indicating that this is, indeed, Mathew Franklin Whittier writing the star-signed editorials. For

one thing, in the July 30, 1831 edition is a book review of "The Merchant's Law Book." Mathew passionately urges merchants *not* to rely on this book in lieu of professional legal advice.

But in the Aug. 27, 1831 edition, appears an equally-passionate essay entitled "Female Education." Here, he strongly advocates the *full* education of American girls:

> Could we grave it with a point of steel, in deep wounds upon every neglecting parent's heart—could we write it upon the walls of every parlour, in letters of living fire—could we teach the playful lightning to case in form of letters along the black thunder cloud, we would have it written in terms so palpable that none could shut it from their view—educate your daughters. At the present period of advancement in refinement, there is no subject calculated more strongly to elicit the regret of the philanthropist, than the neglect which is displayed in the tuition of the female sex; and when we consider the important station which woman occupies in her career of life, how shall we account for this wanton carelessness. When we consider the influence of the mother in training the susceptibilities and directing the inclinations of the infant mind, how shall we account for the negligence which impairs the ability and tends to the total disqualification of the parent for the important and binding duties which devolves upon her. Yet, unaccountable as it may appear, such is the lamentable fact, that scarcely one female out a hundred is to be found, possessed of that mental cultivation, and those habits of literary application, which will enable her to direct the infant mind in a proper channel, and to instill into it an early ambition in the pursuits of science.

Note that when one distills down the essence of this argument, one finds that the writer wishes to educate young women so that when they become mothers, they will influence the minds of their sons in a salutary way, and hence improve society. This is not *quite* the feminine perspective. It is, once again, based on Mathew's experience with his brilliant young tutor and future wife, Abby. A close scrutiny of the star-signed works in the "Tribune" will yield a similar distinction—that where the writer champions the cause of women, this is a progressive man expressing his advocacy for the opposite sex, as he does for other groups oppressed by society; it is not, as has been assumed, a woman advocating for her own sex. (Again, the exception is where Fuller herself intervenes in her capacity as the literary editor—chiefly where she wishes to exalt a female author because she is female, where Mathew might not have been inclined to so highly praise her literary prowess.)

Margaret Fuller's first published work is said to have appeared in the Nov. 1834 "North American Review." She would not privately claim the "star" signature in correspondence until 1844, and in any case, this cannot be her, in the Philadelphia "Album" in August of 1831.

Margaret Fuller's contribution to the "star" series

Before examining Fuller's private correspondence, I had tentatively concluded that she wrote only a handful of "star"-signed pieces toward the end, after Mathew had left for New Orleans (with some of them having been perhaps left on file by Mathew). However, from her correspondence, which I accessed later, it seems likely that she would, in fact, write the brief, cursory reviews—the ones with one or two paragraphs. In almost all cases, however, I conclude

that those of greater length, requiring more work and deeper thought, were written by Mathew Franklin Whittier. Again, there may have been one or two exceptions where a female writer was concerned, whom Fuller felt especially motivated to praise and promote.

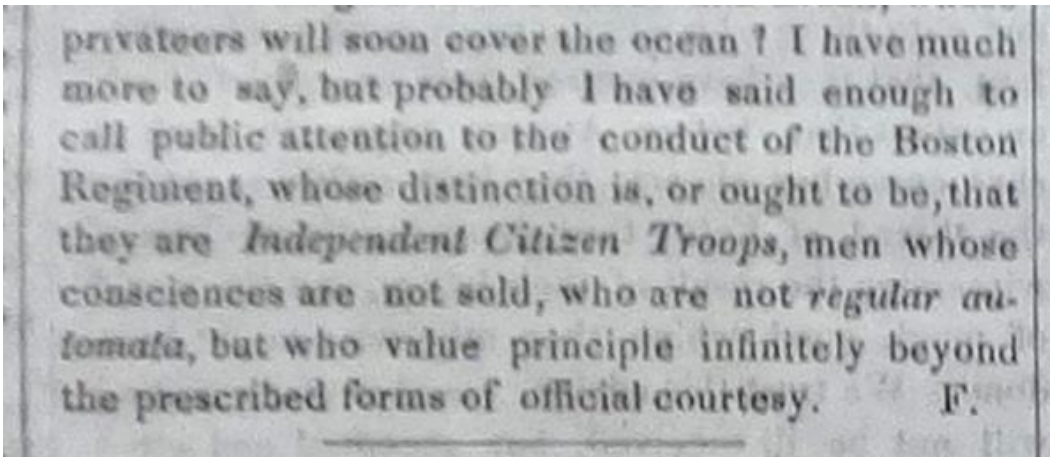
Mathew signing as "F." in "The Dial"

There are many other clues which could be offered supporting the conclusion that Mathew Franklin Whittier, not Margaret Fuller, was the real author of the star-signed reviews and essays in the New York "Tribune." However, the most crucial points in this case are: 1) that Fuller could not possibly have written them, because she did not have the spirituality or philosophical depth to write them; 2) that she could not possibly have written the bulk of them, because by her editor's own admission, she never wrote in the sheer quantity that we see in the "Tribune," and 3) that for several months, she appears to have spent most of her time and energy writing to the man she was in love with, James Nathan. The pro-Fuller argument for the first, is circular. She is assumed to be a deep thinker, primarily because of the star-signed reviews and essays. There is the matter of her earlier writing for "The Dial"—but my research indicates that while she was indeed the editor of that Transcendentalist publication, its "F."-signing writer was *also* Mathew Franklin Whittier! He signed using his middle initial, just as he did after he left the "Tribune," writing for the "Daily Delta." This is not mere speculation—in the Sept, 8, 1845 star-signed review on "Festus: A Poem" by Philip James Bailey, the author states:

> The book is a precious, even a sacred book, and we could say more of it, had we not years ago vented our enthusiasm when it was in first full flow.

Mathew signed "F.W." on one occasion in the 1837 "News and Courier," and several times as "Franklin, Jr." in the 1832-33 Boston magazine, "The Essayist." He also signed as "F." on at least four occasions in 1847, and once in 1848, in the radical Boston "Chronotype." In the example below, found in the June 25, 1847 edition, he concludes a strong letter of protest against the imperialistic Mexican-American War as follows:

> I have much more to say, but probably I have said enough to call public attention to the conduct of the Boston Regiment, whose distinction is, or ought to be, that they are *Independent Citizen Troops*, men whose consciences are not sold, who are not *regular automata*, but who value principle infinitely beyond the prescribed forms of official courtesy. F.


privateers will soon cover the ocean ? I have much more to say, but probably I have said enough to call public attention to the conduct of the Boston Regiment, whose distinction is, or ought to be, that they are *Independent Citizen Troops*, men whose consciences are not sold, who are not *regular automata*, but who value principle infinitely beyond the prescribed forms of official courtesy. F.

Perhaps more significant, however, was a discovery I made late in this research. As we have briefly touched upon earlier, in the 1839 Portland "Transcript"—a paper that Mathew would contribute to at least until 1879—he was signing with variations of his "star" signature, as well as with an "F." Mathew and Abby moved to Portland by mid-October of that year. From January 1st to April 20th, I definitely identified six poems bearing this signature as Mathew's work. Five of the usual length for newspapers appear in the Jan. 26, Feb. 9, March 23, April 13 and April 20 editions, respectively. However, the fourth, entitled "Extract from a Poem on Ambition," is lengthy enough to be serialized in the March 2nd, 9th and 16th editions (and even then it has been truncated). It is written precisely in Mathew's style, expresses his convictions (as, for example, condemning imperialistic warfare and slavery), and contains his typical metaphysical references, such as he would have learnt from Abby. It is not unlike some of the poems that he would soon review for "The Dial," and this is only a little more than a year from the launch of that publication.

Meg McGavern Murray, in "Margaret Fuller, Wandering Pilgrim," tells us that Margaret Fuller reviewed "Festus" in "The Dial." However, that review, which begins on page 231 of the October 1841 edition, is signed "F.," which could stand either for "Fuller" or for "Franklin." Other "F."-signed works in "The Dial" are *also* consistent with Mathew's style. So either this proves that Fuller wrote the column in the "Tribune," or it proves that Mathew wrote the pieces in "The Dial." But with all of the evidence taken together, it clearly indicates that Mathew also wrote for "The Dial."

Margaret Fuller was writing unsigned material for "The Dial," which was the normal protocol for an editor. Scholars have assumed—without good cause—that she *also* saw fit to sign some of her work with her last initial. This in itself is implausible, making the conclusions offered here all the more likely. Furthermore, a deep study comparing these F.-signed articles with what was happening in Mathew's life at the time (Abby died on March 27, 1841) suggests that Mathew's output was very light during the time we would assume he was unable to write much—and relatively less inspired than his usual, precisely when we would expect that effect.

The article which leads out the first edition of July, 1840, immediately after Ralph Waldo Emerson's introduction, is entitled "A Short Essay on Critics," signed "F." It is exceptionally well-written, and typical of Mathew's best essay work. Around this time, Abby would have

returned from several months' convalescence (perhaps in her father's native Guadeloupe), giving birth to their second child, Sarah. Things were looking up, and Mathew was in good literary form. He would have written this essay as the introduction for his new assignment as the book reviewer for the publication. He was given the task of writing book reviews, because—as the little brother of John Greenleaf Whittier—he was considered a very minor figure among the Transcendentalists. However, he made of it exceptional literature. In fact, this essay was given such a prominent placement, because it was intrinsically that good. However, in a short letter to a long-time friend, Almira P. Barlow (Hudspeth places a question mark after the name, indicating that there is some question about the recipient), Fuller once again adds an afterthought in her last sentence:

> The introduction is by Mr Emerson; pieces on critics, and the Allston gallery, by me.

As indicated, this very first edition of "The Dial," the first article, "A Short Essay on Critics," is signed "F." But the second article Fuller claims authorship of, "A Record of Impressions Produced by the Exhibition of Mr. Allston's Pictures in the Summer of 1839," is *unsigned*. It concludes with two short poems, signed with the small capital letters "J." and "O.," respectively—but the article itself bears no signature.

It was the standard convention of the time that an editor not sign his or her own contributions, though some editors broke with tradition, signing their work. However, they abided by one convention or the other—they didn't *mix* them! And, this situation continues throught Fuller's two-year tenure as editor. Some pieces are signed "F.," while some remain unsigned. Her claim when writing to Almira Barlow notwithstanding, there are only two explanations: 1) she was a very sloppy editor, or 2) she was lying, puffing up her importance to a friend in order to increase her esteem in their eyes.

By October, when the second number of "The Dial" was published, the symptoms of Abby's consumption (tuberculosis) may have returned, and winter was fast approaching. Not surprisingly, there are no "F."-signed articles in this edition, at all (and if Fuller was the "F.," we would expect them). The third edition was published in January of 1841. By this time the couple would have been fighting the bitter Portland winter in what was probably a drafty apartment, in "Whittier's Hotel" (the American House Hotel). Abby may have been seriously ill, Mathew's stove business was struggling, and they had a five-month-old child to care for. Nonetheless, his contribution for this edition, "Menzel's View of Goethe," is certainly competent, and not unlike his reviews found in other publications (including, but not limited to, the New York "Tribune").

The fourth edition of Vol. I came out in April of 1841—the month following Abby's death. The "F."-signed contribution for this volume, entitled "A Dialogue. Poet, Critic." is both clever and competent, but is uncharacteristically short, being only three pages long. It reads suspiciously like another dialogue that Mathew had written for "The Essayist," signing "Franklin, Jr.," in January of 1833. Quite possibly it was actually taken from his portfolio of unpublished work, having been written several years earlier.

In those "F."-signed reviews which appear in "The Dial" after Abby's death, beginning with Vol. II, No. 1 in July of 1841, the subject matter strikes me as thinly-veiled therapeutic journaling,

and is heavily influenced by Mathew's personal struggles. His introduction to "Goethe" reads like a complaint against his neglecting brother; the review of "Festus" suggests that he was so burdened with grief that he couldn't write, and had to resort to the literary device of bringing his very writer's block into his introduction. Even then, he is only able to proceed by imagining that Abby is by his side, helping him as she once did. He gives himself the name "Laurie," and calls her "Aglauron," writing the entire review as a dialogue. In this way we see that the articles, themselves, precisely reflect Mathew's private life.

As regards these character names, I would expect them to carry a deep private significance. Abby died, officially from "consumption," two weeks after the death of their eight-month-old daughter, Sarah. Several clues suggest that Abby may have stopped eating, effectively committing suicide. In this regard, the July 25, 1845 "star"-signed report concerning "The Indians in Paris" may have been chosen by Mathew specifically because it reflected what had transpired in his own life, with Abby:

> The last four days of her life, the Little Wolf did not appear in the exhibition room of Mr. Catlin; he did not quit for an instant his wife, but watched her night and day, serving her with all the zeal and love, and refusing any person to aid him. He received the last wishes of his wife. She desired him to thank the physicians for their care for one so unhappy, and to say she was now about to become a happy mother, since the Great Spirit would reunite her with her four children. She gave orders in what dress to inter her body, and asked that they would leave upon her neck a medallion of the Virgin, *mother of the Great Spirit of the Christians*. The interpreter, hearing her say this, went for a priest, who, not arriving before her death, recited over the corpse the prayers of the Catholic church.

It happens that in ancient Greek mythology—which Abby had taught Mathew while she was tutoring him—Aglaurus, or Aglauros, was an Athenian princess who is variously said to have committed suicide by jumping into the sea, or throwing herself off the Acropolis. In some of these versions, Aglauros did so out of insanity; in at least one, however, for noble motives. Mathew speaks of this period in 1852, when he happens to see a mural depicting a statue which reminds him of Abby shortly before her death:

> In one side scene, withdrawn from sight,
> The "Nymph of Lurleibergh" is sitting,
> I think you'll find her on the right,
> She holds a lute, and not her knitting,
> And in her wild, dejected air
> I seemed to read a fixed despair,
> That blinded me to all the glare
> Of pomp and pride that glistened there.

Therefore, I have several triangulated clues causing me to believe that "Aglauron" represented Abby, not long after she had let herself go in unbearable grief for her infant daughter; while "Laurie" referred to Mathew, himself. The name "Laurie" would represent a laurel, though why Mathew would conceive of himself this way escapes me, unless perhaps it had been one of

Abby's pet names for him. (Mathew was obviously wracked with survivor's guilt for many years.)

Incidentally, Fuller waxes eloquent—and highly indignant—in responding to her publisher's request that the "Festus" review be omitted from her upcoming compilation, "Papers on Literature and Art." But to me her protestations sound contrived, and ring hollow. She darkly hints, at the close of the letter, that if not obeyed she will pull the plug entirely, but she must have been bluffing because that review did not, in fact, appear in the final printed version. *If* she had not, in fact, written the review on "Festus," the following reveals just how deeply hypocritcal she really was:

> Now you well know that I write nothing which might not offend the so-called religious public. I am too incapable of understanding their godless fears and unhappy scepticism to have much idea of what would offend them. But there are probably sentences in every piece, perhaps on every page, which, when the books are once published, will lead to censure.
> * * *
> But I hope it is clearly understood that in those I *do* publish, I shall not alter a line or a word on such accounts. They will stand precisely as they were originally written and if you think Mr Wiley will not be content to take the consequences you had better stop the transaction now.

Margaret Fuller, herself, is neither sincerely spiritual nor religious. She has no right to summarily condemn the "so-called religious public" from her perspective as a false prophet. The phrase "godless fears," being rendered as it is here in lower case, technically means "without fears of the gods." This is not the only instance in which Fuller has inadvertently betrayed her atheism—elsewhere she has rendered "Gods," plural, with the capital initial. "Unhappy scepticism" is projection. The objections of religious people are not "scepticism," at all. This is one of many instances in which Fuller is sloppy with her terminology. It sounds superficially like what she intends, but if one drills down into it, one finds it slightly off-target, or even meaningless. But the worst of all this is her claim to the work. This is no righteous indignation expressed by an author in defense of her own writing—this is sheer willful defiance by a plagiarist attempting to falsely establish her own legacy for posterity.

While there may be no "smoking guns" in the relative handful of "F."-signed articles in "The Dial," all we need to show in this publication is that Mathew's authorship is plausible—which we have certainly done. That's because we have much stronger evidence for his authorship of the star-signed work in the "Tribune"—and that author has clearly inferred that he or she wrote the review of "Festus" in "The Dial." If we had that claim and traced it back to "The Dial," finding that these F.-signed works were entirely inconsistent with Mathew's authorship, we would have reason to question his authorship in the "Tribune." But the evidence has gone the other way. The F.-signed work in "The Dial" is entirely consistent with Mathew's authorship, and therefore we must say that *both* are confirmed for his pen. Then, there is the comparison of this body of work with Mathew's reviews both before and after, which adds further weight to these conclusions. And finally, those earlier works were written in 1831-33 with the *identical pseudonym,* i.e., a "star"—both in the Philadelphia "Album," and in "The Essayist"; while later works by Mathew

were signed both with the “star,” and with his middle initial, “F.” When we add this evidence into the mix, the case is very strong, indeed.

And that really need not surprise us. The explanation is very simple: Mathew wrote all of the “F.”-signed pieces in “The Dial,” and almost all of the more substantive “star”-signed pieces in the “Tribune”; but Fuller falsely claimed the work. Such a scenario is entirely consistent with Fuller’s personality as it comes to us by the descriptions of people like Horace Greeley and Ralph Waldo Emerson (“He appreciates *me*”), and as revealed in her personal correspondence. It is also consistent with Mathew Franklin Whittier’s insistence upon anonymity, even when someone else was garnering fame with his own productions. In short, this was the perfect storm for the situation we see today, in which Fuller is mistakenly given credit for this entire body of work.

Footnotes:

1) The back-story, connecting Milner’s series about an unhappy marriage and (presumably) an unconsummated affair, with Mathew’s response, is that in 1846 Mathew was, himself, in an unhappy, arranged second marriage. Not being able to live with his second wife, he spent most of his time working in New York City and, during the summer, in New Orleans. So reading of Milner’s similar experience, he is saying that the difference between himself and Milner is that he once *did* have an ideal marriage, i.e., with Abby.

2) Fuller, S.M., “Summer on the Lakes, in 1843,” 1844, pg. 127.

3) Bean, Judith Mattson and Myerson, Joel, “Margaret Fuller: Critic,” 2000. The “star”-signed review of July 23, 1845 is included in the CD that accompanies the book as c163, but not in those selections which comprise the printed volume.

4) Crowe, Catherine, “The Night Side of Nature, or Ghosts and Ghost Seers,” 1848, pg. 292.