THE INFLUENCE OF HAWTHORNE'S ANCESTRY, FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS, FRIENDS, AND ENVIRONMENT ON HIS WRITINGS

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PREFACE

From early childhood days Nathaniel Hawthorne has been one of my favorite authors. I think I was first and probably most attracted to him by his close resemblance in looks to my father. Also, when I was quite young, I was introduced to the fascinating stories in his Wonder Book and Tanglewood Tales. Impressions made in childhood are deeply etched; therefore Hawthorne very early became one of my favorite "story men," as I called the writers who composed such entrancing stories.

My interest was furthered in high school by the fact that The Scarlet Letter was more or less a restricted book--only seniors being allowed to read it. Restrictions usually whet the appetite. By adept maneuvering, lower classmen could usually secure the book, and I was one of those who did. Consequently, as a sophomore, I was introduced to my favorite author as a writer for adults.

However, it was not until I began to teach literature that I fully appreciated the genius in Nathaniel Hawthorne. The novel gained much when he entered its field, for truly he deserves the distinction which he has been awarded--that of raising the novel from the plane of mere entertainment to one in which goodness and evil strive for mastery and thus influence man's spiritual growth.

Hawthorne gave to literature a graceful style, effective symbols, a faithful picture of New England Puritanism, and above all the knowledge

of the human heart which distinguishes him as the first great psychologist in American literature.

This thesis is a study of Nathaniel Hawthorne's sensitivity to his ancestry, family relationships, friends, and environment. The study will show that Hawthorne was very much aware of his ancestors' good and bad traits, and that he knew he possessed more than a little of those characteristics. It will further prove that this sensitivity to his background and environment was an influence on his tales, sketches, and romances which today are considered classics. Writing as one who had actually lived in Puritanic New England, Hawthorne showed that he was conscious of sin in the world and had compassion and tolerance for that sin although he did not espouse it.

The examination of all his works not only would be too tedious but would also occupy too much space in this study. Therefore, only a selected few in which the influences are most clearly present will be discussed.

To Dr. Cecil B. Williams, my major adviser, I am deeply indebted. Also, to Dr. Hans H. Andersen, Head of the English Department at Oklahoma A. and M. College, I owe many thanks. Not only was his instruction in thesis writing valuable, but also the interest he had in my writing gave me the desire to complete the study. I wish to thank also the librarians who helped me locate needed materials, especially those at the University of Oklahoma.

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CHAPTER I

HAWTHORNE'S AWARENESS OF HIS ANCESTRY, FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS, AND ENVIRONMENT

Nathaniel Hawthorne, the man who is accused of having lived out of his time, was born an American on a very American holiday, July 4, 1804. Hawthorne lived during a very expansive period of the country's history—one including (1) the War of 1812, which gave us more independence as a young nation and a feeling of national spirit; (2) the growing new American literature, and the beginning of the cry of freedom in that literature from the old restrictions; (3) the Westward Movement and new inventions; (4) railroad and canal building which meant a spreading out; (5) steps, including the Civil War, to give rights and freedom to more people; and many others.

Hawthorne, not being able to become a part of this expansive era, found himself to be an observer rather than a participant. He himself knew that he was different, and evidence points to the fact that he sought to be like his contemporaries. He felt guilty because he could not become like them and never throughout his life became reconciled to the fact that he could not. He was cool, reserved, and skeptical by temperament, ever watchful lest he give himself to feelings for which he could find no warrant. His books came out of his mind, which even to him was a secret place, where ancient ideas lived on mysteriously in an age whose citizens were completely infatuated with new things.

In a generation that had put away Puritanism he still understood what Puritanism had been and could still be in man's imagination. In a century which dismissed the sense of sin as old-fashioned—a children's disease, Emerson called it—he made great romances out of it. Hawthorne wanted his art to be contemporary but thought that it was not. He was unaware of the fact that his great masterpiece, The Scarlet Letter, is so very contemporary that all times will need it and read it.[1]

Hawthorne was fixed from birth in his Puritan attitudes; consequently, he would have been Hawthorne regardless of where he was put down to take root. Even when he lived in the foreign countries far away from his Puritan New England, he kept the underlying mechanism of his Puritan mind. Carl Van Doren thinks The Marble Faun, which was written about Rome, Italy, to be the most Puritan of his romances.[2] He kept that integration of New England spirit and soil with which his forebears had bred and indoctrinated him. It is not to be supposed that Hawthorne believed in all the things his great Puritan ancestors, Major William Hathorne, the great Puritan preacher and Quaker and Indian fighter, and John Hathorne, the severe persecutor of the witches, did; but he did feel a great tie to them, and such feeling continued to be a powerful influence in his character as a writer. Hawthorne wrote more than local color; in his writings the subconscious minds of the early New England Hathornes were being granted a voice in the unregenerate descendant, Nathaniel. Hawthorne's writings, being

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[1]Mark Van Doren, The Best of Hawthorne (New York, 1951), pp. 3-5.

[2]Carl Van Doren, "The Flower of Puritanism," Nation, III (December 8, 1920), 649.

grave and acute, reflect the direction in which the Puritan mind worked.[3] The following passage from the introduction to The Scarlet Letter shows a mixed feeling of pride, apology, and guilt which Hawthorne felt for his ancestors, William and John Hathorne:

> The figure of that first ancestor, invested by family traditions with a dim and dusky grandeur, was present to my boyish imagination as far as I can remember. It still haunts me and induces a sort of home-feeling with the past which I scarcely claim in reference to the present phrase of the town. I seem to have a stronger claim to a residence here on account of this grave, bearded, sable-cloaked and steeple-crowned progenitor.... He had all the Puritanic traits, both good and evil. He was likewise a bitter persecutor, as witness the Quakers....[4]

Hawthorne continues in the passage to say of his ancestor John, who made himself so conspicuous in the martyrdom of the witches, that their blood may have left a stain upon him. "So deep a stain," adds Hawthorne, "that his old dry bones in the Charter Street burial-grounds must still retain it, if they have not crumpled utterly to dust."[5]

Hawthorne continues that he knows not whether these ancestors repented and begged pardon of Heaven for the cruelties they inflicted, but at all events, he takes the shame upon himself and prays that any curse incurred by them might be removed.[6] Hawthorne proceeds in the introduction to The Scarlet Letter with the following:

> Either of these stern and black-browed Puritans would have thought it quite a sufficient retribution for his sins that after so long a lapse of years the old trunk of the family tree, with so much venerable moss upon it should have borne as its topmost bough, an idler like myself. No aim that I have ever cherished would they recognize as laudable; no

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[3]Stanley T. Williams, "Nathaniel Hawthorne." Literary History of United States (New York, 1948), I, 419-430.

[4]Henry James, Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York, 1878), p. 7.

[5]Ibid., p. 8.

[6]Ibid.

success of mine, if my life beyond its domestic scope, had ever been brightened by success, would they dream otherwise than worthless, if not positively disgraceful. 'What is he?' murmurs one gray shadow of my forefathers to the other. 'A writer of story-books! What kind of a business in life, what manner of glorifying God, or being serviceable to mankind in his day and generation, may that be? Why the degenerate fellow might as well have been a fiddler!' And yet, let them scorn me as they will, strong traits of their nature have intertwined themselves with mine.[7]

There is much truth in these words. Hawthorne was morally, in an appreciable degree, a chip off the old block; he was a skeptic, a dreamer, a man of little action, and late-coming fruit of a tree which might seem to have lost its power to bloom. His ancestors had come to the new world for religious freedom--the freedom of their conscience. To Hawthorne as to them, the consciousness of sin was the most important thing in life. In Hawthorne were also, even though he was a dreamer, those qualities of rigidity and sensibility of which his black-browed ancestors would have approved.[8]

From his maternal ancestors, the Mannings, Hawthorne received even more of his sensitive temperament than he had from the Hathornes, but none of the Puritan sternness and bodily strength. The Mannings were of a New England stock almost as long established as that of the Hathornes and seemed in their own way to have been as reserved and as peculiar.[9]

How much Hawthorne was influenced as a writer by his mother and her attitude toward life in general has been a subject of various opinions. It is true that when Nathaniel's father died, his mother

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[7] Ibid., p. 9.

[8] Ibid., p. 10.

[9] Julian Hawthorne, Hawthorne and His Wife (New York, 1884), p. 36.

withdrew from society as a whole. But whether she became a complete recluse or was just inactive in society is not fully known. However, the children, Nathaniel and his two sisters, had little opportunity to associate with other children and to know much about the outside world. This encouraged the eccentricities and peculiarities with which they were already endowed, and they grew to regard themselves as apart and different. Throughout Hawthorne's life he seemed not to belong to the age in which he found himself, but his solitariness affected and stimulated his imagination. It was further nourished by the tales, related by his elders, of the War of 1812 and the Revolutionary period, and by the Indian stories and witchcraft tradition, in all of which his forefathers had had a part. His mother, in spite of her solitary disposition, was interested in her son's reading and supplied him with books on romance, poetry, and allegory which largely influenced the development of his ideals. This imaginative learning was probably very valuable to a healthy boy who was very sensitive, in that it opened an avenue and gave him a place in which to use his vague and speculative energies. If this had not been provided, his impulses might have led him in the wrong direction.[10]

The study of the influence of others on Hawthorne would be lacking indeed were the Peabody sisters of Salem omitted. Although he may not have been entirely aware of such, Elizabeth Peabody, the oldest daughter, was responsible for rescuing Hawthorne from his "chosen" seclusion. Also through her, Nathaniel met Sophia Peabody, whom he later married and who proved to be his great help and inspiration.[11]

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[10] Ibid., pp. 4-7.

[11] Louise Hall Tharp, The Peabody Sisters of Salem (Boston, 1950), pp. 113-116.

Here and there throughout Hawthorne's writings he has made mention of his old home town of Salem. He seemed to feel a tie to it, yet he did not express any great love for it. In the introduction to The Scarlet Letter he shows a mixed feeling of rancor and tenderness. Although he saw little beauty in the physical aspects of the town, he did have an intense sense of belonging to it. He seemed to feel that the spell of the continuity of his life with that of his forefathers had never been broken. However, he must have spent some dreary years there. The following criticism by Theodore Wolfe speaks of these years:

> Abutting upon the backyard of Hawthorne's birthplace, is the old Manning homestead of his maternal ancestors, the home of his own youth and middle age and the theatre of his struggles and triumphs. It is known as Number Twelve Herbert Street, and is a tall, unsightly, erratic fabric of wood, with nothing pleasing or gracious in its aspects or environment. The ugly and common place character of his surroundings here during half of his life must have been peculiarly depressing to such a sensitive temperament as Hawthorne's and doubtless accounts for his mental habits. That he had no joyous memories of this old house, his letters and journals abundantly show. Its interior has been changed...but it is not difficult to identify the haunted chamber which was Hawthorne's bedroom and study. This little dark, dreary apartment under the eaves...is one of the most interesting of all of Hawthorne's shrines. Here the magician kept his solitary vigil during the long period of his literary probation; shunning his family, declining all human sympathy and fellowship, for some time going abroad only at night; here he studied, pondered, wrote, revised, destroyed day after day as slow months went on; and here after ten years of working and waiting for the world to know him, he triumphantly recorded, 'In this dismal chamber FAME was won.' Here he wrote Twice-Told Tales and many others which were published in periodicals, and here, after his residence at the Old Manse--for it was to this Manning house that 'he always came back like the bad half-penny,' as he said,--he completed the Mosses.[12]

The preceding pages serve to show Hawthorne's awareness of his ancestry, his family, and his environment. Probably no other writer has been so powerfully molded by such influences.

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[12]Theodore Wolfe, Literary Shrines, In Library of Literary Criticism, 6 (1855-1874), p. 348.

Hawthorne's pure New England descent gave a personal character to his presentation of New England life. When he writes of the strictness of the early Puritans, the forests haunted by Indians, the magnificence of provincial days, the men high in the opinion of their towns-people, or the land steeped in witchcraft, he is expressing the stored-up experiences of his own race.

Hawthorne seemed to have a feeling that being a writer was not what his ancestors would have thought a worth-while venture. Because his ancestors had traveled the paths of statesmen, fighters, lawyers, and judges, or sea-faring, adventurous men, he felt a sense of guilt in being a mere "writer of story books." Yet possibly it was this meditative, inferior feeling which drove his thought inward and thus made it possible for him to create his characters in such vivid images that their problems of conscience and sin become our own with the result that in our hearts we also find tolerance and compassion.

CHAPTER II

ANCESTRY

How important and to what lengths do ancestors influence one's success, failure, happiness, or unhappiness? Very little as a rule because what a man is outweighs what his ancestors contribute. If a man tries to live his life respectably and honorably, is there reason to search out the weaknesses he tries to conceal? Many times one forgets that intellectual eminence can exist side by side with moral frailties or depravity; one is also prone to think that because a man does right, he has felt no temptations to do wrong. Really the beauty, pathos, and power of humanity lie in the fact that a mortal struggle goes on between two eternal forces. Character is not innate; it develops from a struggle between the desire to be good and the tendency to be evil. The strength of character is in proportion to the weight of the tendency as well as the intensity of the desire.[1]

But what does this have to do with Nathaniel Hawthorne? He evidently lived a good private moral life. However, there is not a reason to doubt that he inherited or at least possessed a full share of tendencies toward the faults and eccentricities of mankind. The scholar who digs into the life and writings of Hawthorne will soon discover that he did possess many of his ancestors' traits, that his sensitiveness to these characteristics was strong, and that his writings

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[1]Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife (New York, 1884), pp. 1-4.

show that he was profoundly influenced by this knowledge of his forefathers and the innate traits which caused him to be a chip off the old block.

William Hathorne, Nathaniel's stern, bearded, sable-cloaked Puritan ancestor, came to America in 1630, settling in Boston. He soon became an outstanding leader in the Massachusetts Colony. He was a devout Puritan dealing with the spiritual danger to the colony (the Quakers) much as he did with the physical danger, the Indians. Whipping was the well-known punishment. William Hathorne figures in New England history as having given the orders for Anne Coleman to be whipped through Salem, Boston, and Dedham. No doubt this is the woman to whom Nathaniel Hawthorne alludes in the introduction to The Scarlet Letter.[2] Also one of Hawthorne's best short stories, "The Gentle Boy," is about the persecution of the Quakers.[3] Directly from Sewell's History of the Quakers came Hawthorne's adverse judgment of Governor Endicott for the rigorous action against the Quakers.[4] Also, since William Hathorne was involved as the magistrate in the troublesome days of the Quaker persecutions, no doubt Hawthorne knew of it through tradition.[5] William Hathorne was a versatile man, for annals show that he was active in many affairs. He was a man of great eloquence, restless energy, and unusual intelligence. The chief testimony in support of Major Hathorne's claim to statesmanship and high position among his townspeople is the

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[2]Ibid., p. 10. Comparison

[3]Henry James, Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York, 1879), p. 2.

[4]G. H. Orians, "The Sources and Themes of 'The Gentle Boy,'" New England Quarterly, XIV (December, 1941), pp. 664, 665.

[5]Ibid.

letter he wrote under an assumed name to a Secretary Morris in 1666, defying the orders of the King of England.[6] The letter, which is too long to be given in this study, gives the reader an insight into the character of the old Puritan. He is polite yet audacious, subtle, and resolute; the letter shows his action to be one resorting to cunning and policy rather than open defiance, revealing a person of keen understanding of human nature and one who had a wise and comprehensive grasp of the situation existing between the Colonists and the king. Nathaniel Hawthorne, although usually a silent observer, when pressed to express opinion showed some traits of this old ancestor on standing firm in his beliefs. Strong-hearted, resolute, and witty, standing forth for the things in which he believed and in defense of his friends, Nathaniel resembled his old progenitor, William.

John Hathorne, the son of William, was much renowned in New England history through his examination and condemnation to death of certain persons accused of witchcraft. John became Assistant Judge and during this period became famously known as the "persecutor of the witches." One of the accused, according to tradition, invoked a heavy curse upon him and his family. John was not so broadminded as his father, but according to the Puritan code, he was probably more righteous. He ended a poorer man than he began. Julian Hawthorne makes note that the witch's curse had probably taken effect on the worldly property of his family.[7]

The site of the present town of Raymond, Maine, once belonged to the Hathornes, but in some unaccountable way the title deeds were lost

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[6]Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, pp. 10-13. Compare

[7]Ibid., p. 26.

and were not recovered in time to make the claim legal. Hawthorne used this idea in relation to the Pyncheons in the story The House of the Seven Gables.

Joseph, the third son of John, not caring for a sea-faring life, war, or statesmanship, became a farmer and lived a very quiet life. His son Daniel, who has the distinction of being the author's grandfather, made a name for himself in the Revolutionary War when he operated a privateer against the British. He was called "Bold Daniel." He had several children, the third son being Nathaniel, the author's father, who was a silent reserved man, severe, and of a very melancholy nature.[8] He was a sea-faring man, and at the age of thirty-three years while on a voyage, died of fever. Hawthorne himself says that his feeling of seclusion was a characteristic which he inherited from his paternal side.[9]

Even though Hawthorne was reared by the Mannings, educated by the Mannings, and was in their society constantly, he remained a Hathorne. It was to his paternal ancestors that he felt more closely akin: martial Old William; the witch-persecutor Judge John; quiet home-keeping Farmer Joseph; bold and blustering privateer, Captain Daniel; and his silent melancholy father, Nathaniel.[10] He had his mother's gentle manners, her reserve and thoughtfulness, but he was all Hathorne otherwise, in appearance, in thought, and in imagination.

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[8]Manning Hawthorne, "Parental and Family Influences on Hawthorne," Essex Institute Historical Collection, LXXVI (January, 1940), pp. 3, 4.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid., p. 12.

There was the adventurous, restless strain in him which turned him away from bookkeeper in his uncle's business, ministry, law, or any safe, respectable occupation to the uncertain one of writing. He himself said if he had not been a writer, he would have followed the sea. Be that as it may, the spirit of his ancestor William, who left the security and comforts of his English home to come to an unknown land, burned strongly enough in Nathaniel to make him turn his back upon the common existence of his maternal relatives and follow the hazardous path of literature which in those days led nobody knew where.[11]

On his maternal side, Hawthorne's ancestors were as peculiar and reserved in their own way as were the Hathornes. They, however, were not of such stern Puritan traits. They were descendants of the stout-hearted widow of Richard Manning of St. Petrox Parish, Dartmouth, who had emigrated to America in 1679. Her son Thomas produced children from his third marriage. The youngest son Richard, born in 1775, married and had nine children, one of whom was Elizabeth Clarke Manning, the mother of Nathaniel Hawthorne.[12]

Little has been written about the youth of Nathaniel Hawthorne; so imagination has filled in the gaps and attempted to make the character of the man as much a mystery as that of the boy. So little has been written about Hawthorne's father and mother and those relatives most intimate with him during childhood that it is difficult to determine just how much he was really influenced by his immediate family. Since Hawthorne was only four years old when his father died,

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[11] Ibid., p. 12.

[12] Julian Hawthorne, Hawthorne And His Wife, pp. 28-38.

and because his father as a seaman was much away from home, he could not have outwardly influenced the lad very deeply. It is to his mother that one turns in order to find many of the clues which will explain his character.[13]

Elizabeth Clarke Manning, Hawthorne's mother, evidently had been reared in a reserved environment, which was characteristic of the wealthier middle class. She had access to a wide variety of reading material and transmitted this love for reading to her children. She wisely permitted them to read any book which came into their hands. Although her education was simple and austere, she was considered well-educated for that day, and possessed a cultivated judgment. Hawthorne must have owed much to his mother. Her teachings could not fail to impress upon her children a bias for the best things in life.[14]

Critics have written much concerning the solitude of Hawthorne's mother. According to legendary belief, because of the law of seclusion which the custom of old New England forced upon her as a widow, she became a strict recluse. Legend tells that after the death of her husband, Madam Hawthorne completely withdrew from society and for more than forty years lived much to herself.[15] This greatly affected the children since they had practically no social life in the home. Already possessed of eccentricities and peculiarities, they were naturally encouraged to habits of solitude by this lack of outside

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[13]Manning Hawthorne, "Parental and Family Influence on Hawthorne," Essex Institute Historical Collection LXXVI (January, 1940), pp. 1-3.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife I (New York, 1884), pp. 4, 5.

communication. Eventually they came to regard themselves as apart or different from the world.[16]

The popular legendary belief is explained and belittled by two critics, Mark Van Doren and Manning Hawthorne. The character of the childhood letters of Nathaniel to his mother is the basis for one argument Van Doren uses against the legend that Mrs. Hawthorne shut herself away in a darkened room, not only from the Mannings but also from her own children. These letters show familiarity, humor, and a sharing of natural experiences between mother and son. Some even show impertinence. Van Doren also suggests that it could not have been a curtained recluse who planned to buy a small farm in Bridgton, Maine, in 1814, so the Hawthorne children could have a place of their own where she could take over the duty of caring for them. Because of financial reasons, she was not able to make the purchase and so remained with them at Salem.[17] Van Doren supplies further information concerning Nathaniel's early boyhood. Soon after Nathaniel's father died, his mother moved from Union Street back to the house on Herbert Street, which was already full of Mannings. Mrs. Hawthorne and her family lived upstairs and practiced the greatest economy by taking their meals by themselves. No doubt lack of money rather than grief for the death of a husband kept the Hawthornes from mingling in society.[18] Thus, certainly Van Doren presents plausible reasons for his disbelief in the legend of Mrs. Hawthorne as a voluntary recluse.

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[16] Ibid.

[17] Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York, 1949), pp. 9, 10.

[18] Ibid., p. 8.

Manning Hawthorne gives further proof that Mrs. Hawthorne did not completely seclude herself from her family. The letters of her children and those of her own reveal that until the children reached adulthood, she paid constant and close attention to their upbringing and enjoyed a more tender relationship with them than was usually customary in families of the early nineteenth century.[19] Another proof that Hawthorne's mother did not abandon her children and daily life and live alone with her grief is the fact that she managed a farm in Maine for several years, ordering fruit trees, helping with the planting, and doing many other things one finds necessary to do on a farm. She was interested in the styles of dress as her letters show; she invited her family to visit her.[20]

The legend that Elizabeth Hawthorne, Nathaniel's mother, withdrew to herself after her husband's death and became a recluse is probably due in part to Sophia Peabody Hawthorne and certainly in some measure to Elizabeth Peabody. It is true that Hawthorne's mother in later years, because of ill health, did withdraw from society, but her retirement during her children's childhood seems to have been greatly exaggerated. If their mother had withdrawn so completely during those early years and for the long period of time after her husband's death, surely Nathaniel and his sister Elizabeth would have mentioned it. Any mother who never ate with her children would surely have made an impression which they would have remembered.[21]

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[19]Manning Hawthorne, "Hawthorne's Early Years," Essex Institute Historical Collection LXXIV (January, 1938), p. 3.

[20]Manning Hawthorne, "Hawthorne Prepares for College," New England Quarterly XI (March, 1938), pp. 76, 77.

[21]Manning Hawthorne, "Parental and Family Influence on Hawthorne," Essex Institute Historical Collection LXXVI (January, 1940), pp. 3, 4.

It would seem that the one important thing Nathaniel's mother did for him was to put into his hands the needed books for reading. Because of a lameness his association with other boys was restricted. This lameness, coupled with his naturally independent spirit, caused a withdrawal into himself. Consequently he turned more and more to the books of allegory, romance, and poetry which his mother wisely put within his reach.[22] The value of such imaginative training in a boy who united a high and sensitive fancy to robust bodily powers must have been great. These imaginative journeyings provided an avenue for his vague and speculative energies which had not yet acquired the learning and experience necessary to discriminate between the real and the unreal.[23]

Hawthorne had a very deep love for his mother and was grief-stricken at her death in 1849. One of the most moving passages in all his notebook is the account of a visit to his mother's bedside two days before her death. The passage shows the deep emotion and profound grief Hawthorne felt. No doubt Hawthorne was deeply hurt and sorrowful because he had not been able to express his very deep love for his mother before she was ending her life. He admitted that since childhood there had been a sort of coldness of intercourse between them which made the discussion of deep-feeling subjects most difficult.[24] Hawthorne was writing The Scarlet Letter during his mother's sickness and at her death. In the introduction to his book The Best of Hawthorne, Mark Van Doren records that Hawthorne did not enjoy writing the book because

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[22]Ibid., p. 11.

[23]Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, pp. 6, 7.

[24]Randall Stewart, Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography (London, 1948), pp. 89, 90.

too much of himself came pouring into it although he tried to hold it back.[25] It seems probable that his mother's sickness and her death may have caused this volcanic upheaval and overflowing of feelings from the inner soul of Hawthorne into his great romance, The Scarlet Letter.

Salem did not know the Hathornes particularly well, for with their declining prosperity and lack of prestige throughout the 18th Century, they had withdrawn more and more to themselves. Their austerity of manners and their composed indifference to the interest and opinion of their Salem neighbors were reproduced in their descendant Nathaniel, the author.[26]

Miss Elizabeth Peabody, the sister-in-law of Nathaniel Hawthorne, wrote of the family of Hawthorne: "They were unsocial in their temper, and the family ran down in the course of two centuries, in fortune and manners and culture."[27] However, she goes on to say that the Mr. Hathorne of Herbert Street, whom she knew and who was probably Nathaniel's Uncle Daniel, was a gentleman.[28]

The first two American Hathornes had been very prominent people and had held important and responsible positions. With the third generation the family lapsed into obscurity from which it was not to emerge until in the person of Nathaniel, the author. He felt himself to be inferior to those two great ancestors, but at the same time he felt strong traits of their characters intertwined with his. The

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[25]Mark Van Doren, The Best of Hawthorne (New York, 1951), p. 19.

[26]Manning Hawthorne, "Parental and Family Influences on Hawthorne," p. 8.

[27]Julian Hawthorne, Hawthorne and His Wife, pp. 28-38.

[28]Ibid., p. 38.

Puritan blood ran clear. The passages found in Nathaniel's Diaries kept during his stay in Europe might well have been written,

> by the grimmest of the old Salem worthies. To him as to them, the consciousness of 'sin' was the most importunate fact of life; and if they had undertaken to write little tales, this baleful substantive, with its attendant adjective, could hardly have been more frequent in their pages than in those of their fanciful descendant.[29]

Consequently, one who searches into the deep crevices of Hawthorne's life and works will find that he did possess some of the traits of his Puritan ancestors, that he was much aware of his sensitivity to these traits, and that his writings show that he was deeply influenced by this knowledge of his ancestors. Hawthorne was deeply conscious of his mother's desires and feelings. Her intellectual foresight in putting into his hands the imaginative type of reading material at a time when his mind needed an outlet from his enforced solitude was surely a deciding influence on his literary faculties.

When some twenty years of solitary, meditative living apart from the world is added to a personality already endowed with such inherited characteristics as sternness, moodiness, solitude, gentleness, reserve, and tolerance, there is apt to result an aloofness and coldness on the surface. However, underneath this is found a really deep-thinking mind and a heart of deep-set emotional power. Such a personality was Nathaniel Hawthorne. There is little doubt that his sensitive nature, his aloofness, and his knowledge of the feeling of the human heart which show in so much of his writing came from these inherited characteristics and the meditative solitudes which his environment and associations brought him. Truly this influence helped him become the first great psychologist in American literature.

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[29]Henry James, Nathaniel Hawthorne, pp. 8-10.

CHAPTER III

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

To his family as to his ancestors Nathaniel Hawthorne felt very closely the ties which seemed to bind him. Early in life he came to depend upon his mother and the Mannings. His mother's influence has been presented in the preceding chapter. In this chapter, will be discussed the influence of his sisters, the Manning relatives, his wife Sophia, and his children.

His isolated home atmosphere with his two sisters and his mother seemed to give restfulness and dignity.[1] Consequently it is probable that this remote atmosphere was the very thing Hawthorne needed to foster his imagination and produce his fantasies.[2] Secondly, Hawthorne early in life felt drawn to the Mannings. Not only was he reared in part by them, but he was also educated through the goodness and liberality of his uncle, Robert Manning. A final important influence was that of his immediate family, consisting of his wife, Sophia, and his three children, Una, Julian, and Rose.

Hawthorne's two sisters remained important in his life--Elizabeth, two years older than Nathaniel, and Marie Louisa, who was born in the year of her father's death.[3] Hawthorne once said, "The only thing I

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[1] "Hawthorne-Man and Author," Edinburgh Review, CCIII (January), p. 213.

[2] Ibid., p. 214.

[3] Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York, 1949), p. 7.

fear is the ridicule of Elizabeth," so it would seem that Elizabeth had the greater influence upon him.[4]

Elizabeth also had great influence on Hawthorne's engagement and marriage to Sophia. His engagement was kept secret for three years. Sensing that Nathaniel and Sophia were falling in love, Elizabeth resolved to do what she could to prevent her brother's marrying. Sophia's frailty added to Elizabeth's dislike of Hawthorne's marrying at all caused her to oppose such a move on his part. Also, Elizabeth, having literary aspirations of her own, had always planned to collaborate with her brother, Nathaniel, in writing.[5] Instinctively she felt that Hawthorne's relationship with Sophia threatened her own and Nathaniel's literary plans. Consequently, she did her best to postpone the marriage. Knowing how tender and reverent Hawthorne was to his mother, Elizabeth caused him to feel that his marriage would bring much sorrow and illness to her. Thus she delayed the marriage for some time.[6] Louisa, Nathaniel's younger sister, had no creative urge or secret poetic world and no reason to become a recluse. However, because of the lack of money to buy clothes she needed or to pay for the food they ate, she was as pathetically unsure of herself as were the others.[7]

Although Elizabeth Peabody, Nathaniel's sister-in-law, has possibly exaggerated the seclusion of the Hawthornes, to her must be

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[4]Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife (New York, 1884), p. 5.

[5]Ibid., pp. 196-198.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Louise Hall Tharp, The Peabody Sisters of Salem (Boston, 1950), pp. 123-125.

given credit for much information concerning the family. From 1812 to 1820 the Hathornes were most of the time in Maine. However in 1820 they returned to Salem. It was between the years 1830 and 1836 that Elizabeth Peabody became interested in some stories appearing in the New England Magazine. She had read "The Gentle Boy" and some others written by Mr. Hawthorne. She called at the gray old Hawthorne house and found that like the Peabodys, the Hawthornes were proud of a family whose fortunes had declined. But unlike the Peabodys, they refused to do battle with the world and found it easier to live in seclusion than to make a social effort. At this time the four Hawthornes were living in seclusion even from one another. She learned from this visit that Hawthorne was the writer of the short stories and that he was the son of the legendary recluse, Madam Hawthorne.[8] This visit proved to be the opening of the door to the outside for Hawthorne. Miss Peabody invited him and his sisters to call at the Peabody house, and one year later they did. It was on a second visit to the Peabodys that Hawthorne met Sophia Peabody, who later became his wife and his inspiration.[9] Hawthorne made a few trips away from this family of three women, his mother, Elizabeth, and Louisa. "Then he would return to the strange silent home to write if he could, to be seen by no one--to go out only after dark."[10]

Evidence points to the fact that even though there was a deep love in the Hawthorne family of four, there was much reserve in regard

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[8] Ibid., pp. 113, 114.

[9] Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, pp. 178-180.

[10] Louise Hall Tharp, The Peabody Sisters of Salem, pp. 123-125.

to matters of deep feeling. Nathaniel could not bring himself to tell his mother and sisters of his approaching marriage. Finally, Sophia wrote Mrs. Hawthorne. Although Nathaniel pretended that his family were happy about it, future development between Sophia and the family proved this to be an exaggeration.[11] Elizabeth, Nathaniel's sister, was hostile toward Sophia, for she had snatched Nathaniel away from any future literary plans which she, Elizabeth, might have.[12] Further unhappy relationships between Madame Hawthorne, the sisters, and Sophia came when Nathaniel and Sophia were forced to vacate the Old Manse. Being in financial difficulties, they had no place to go but back to the old Manning house.

Evidently they were not too happy, for when they left, Nathaniel swore he would not go back.[13] However they did return to Salem in 1847 because of the illness of his mother. They found a house on Mall Street. Madame Hawthorne was later taken there to live out the remaining days of her life.[14]

This chapter would not be complete without the acknowledgment of the help the Mannings gave. Nathaniel's father had left his family in dire circumstances. Although there were Hawthornes who were better able to take care of his widow and children, Mrs. Hawthorne turned to her own family, the Mannings, for help. Most of Nathaniel's time was spent with women; yet his uncles did take much interest in him.

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[11] Ibid., pp. 131, 132.

[12] Ibid., p. 160.

[13] Ibid., p. 182.

[14] Ibid., pp. 183, 184.

William, the eldest, who managed the Salem and Boston Stage Coach Company, later employed Nathaniel as bookkeeper in his offices. Robert, a broker in Salem, was the most helpful to Nathaniel in that he had charge of his education, paid his expenses at college, and in general was the best substitute for the father Nathaniel had lost.[15]

Horatio Bridge pays tribute to Robert Manning in the following words:

> The world may bless the memory of 'Uncle Robert' that his liberality was unfaltering and that his estimate of the judicious course for his nephew's education was correct. Little though did he dream of the inestimable benefit he was bestowing upon all English-speaking people by his wise expenditure for the future author's training.[16]

Some one has said that behind every successful man there is a woman. Sophia Peabody Hawthorne's influence on Nathaniel Hawthorne's success as an author is unquestionable. Hawthorne's own admission in his letters to Sophia, her letters to her mother, words of friends, and the writings of the two children, Julian and Rose Hawthorne, give Sophia much credit for the literary success of Nathaniel Hawthorne.

One may think that relatives will present a biased or prejudiced picture. However, in discussing a reserved personality such as Nathaniel Hawthorne's, the reader must accept Julian Hawthorne's explanation. He says that his father's nature was large, vigorous, and in many respects unprecedented. At the same time his objective activity was disproportionately small. It would be impossible to give an authentic picture without the aid of such reflections and partial reproductions of himself as are presented in those nearest and dearest

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[15] Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne, pp. 8, 9.

[16] Horatio Bridge, Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York, 1893), p. 35.

to him. These would serve to humanize and define what otherwise would seem vague and obscure.[17] Of his father Julian writes that although he easily and inevitably produced an impression upon the observer, he was very difficult to know. The essence of character in a man like Hawthorne is never concretely manifested. Consequently, it cannot be dissected but rather must be studied more in the effect than in the character himself. Finally, the true revelation will be only to one who has in himself somewhat of the same mystery he seeks to fathom.[18] Granting that this is true, one is disposed to accept, to some degree, Julian's conclusions which give Sophia, his mother, much credit for his father's success as a writer. He says

> The life of a man happily married cannot fail to be influenced by the character and conduct of his wife. Especially will this be the case when the man is of a highly organized and sensitive temperament; and most of all perhaps when his professional pursuits are sedentary and imaginative rather than active and practical.[19]

Julian believes that all available evidence shows that Hawthorne was particularly susceptible to influences of this kind and that consequently his marriage to Sophia Peabody was probably the most fortunate event of his life. That he would have accomplished his success in literature without her companionship, encouragement, and sympathy is not probable.[20]

Sophia did not interfere in the actual composition of Nathaniel's works, but rather she promoted so far as possible the favorable conditions under which his inspiration should manifest itself. She nourished

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[17] Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife: A Biography, II (New York, 1884), pp. 374, 375.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, I, p. 39.

[20] Ibid.

and refreshed her husband's mind and heart much the same as food and rest refresh the body. Sophia's feminine intuition corresponded to Hawthorne's masculine insight; she felt the truth which he saw. Fortunately, he recognized and reveredthis faculty in her. Her belief in lofty and assured ideals kept him believing in his own. She renewed his courage and confidence by the touch of her gentle humor and cheerfulness, and in the warmth and light of her companionship he could not fall into the coldness and gloom of a selfish intellectual habit. Hawthorne had a tendency toward ill-foreboding and discouragement, but Sophia's unshakable hopefulness and serenity helped to drive this away. Sophia was also of much help intellectually. Being cultured, modest, and simple, learned in the arts and history, she was able to meet at all points her husband's meditative and theoretic needs. In Sophia, Hawthorne found a softened and humanized realization of his dream. To him she was always a mystery of goodness and helpfulness, and he never failed to express his deep gratitude to her.[21] Thus Hawthorne's attitude toward Sophia was natural and comprehensible, and there is no doubt that he alone knew how great was his debt to his wife.[22]

Did Providence play a part in the meeting of Nathaniel and Sophia? Was it an act of Providence that Elizabeth Peabody, Sophia's sister who was a connoisseur in the field of intellectual intercourse and in the perfect simplicity of motive and abandonment of selfish and vain

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[21] Ibid., pp. 39-41.

[22] Ibid., p. 42.

effeminateness, was able to lure Nathaniel Hawthorne forth from his hiding place under the eaves?[23]

As has been stated in a previous chapter, Elizabeth Peabody, being interested in some short stories including "The Gentle Boy" which had appeared in a magazine, called on the Hawthornes at Union Street. As a result of this, Nathaniel came to know Sophia, the lovely artist who became his guiding star to the warm contacts which he needed so much.[24] Eventually the two became engaged, but the engagement was to be a long one for several reasons. First, because of Sophia's health--she had faith that if God intended her to marry, he would make her well. Secondly, there was Nathaniel's lack of money to furnish a home. Finally, it was thought best to delay as long as possible the consternation which would be felt in Nathaniel's family when he emerged out of the quiet sojourn of shadows into the enchantingly mellowed lights of life with Sophia.[25]

At the time Hawthorne made contact with the Peabody sisters, he was facing a crisis as is shown by his writings in his journal. He felt that he had tried the experiment of seclusion long enough. He knew he was fast becoming a shadow, walking in a shadowy world and losing all sense of reality in himself or his surroundings. He felt that his seclusion had kept him from rubbing shoulders with the world and from measuring himself against the crowds.[26]

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[23] Ibid., p. 180.

[24] Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, Memories of Hawthorne (Boston, 1897), pp. 2-4.

[25] Ibid., p. 34.

[26] Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, p. 180.

About a year after his meeting Sophia, he obtained a position as measurer of coal and salt at the Boston Custom House. This position gave him the needed stimulus and appreciation and the certainty that mankind was a reality and that he himself was not just a dream. However this appointment in 1839 was not the most important event in his life, for about the same time he became engaged to Sophia Peabody.[27] The year 1839 saw the beginning of Hawthorne's love letters to Sophia, which are in themselves proof of the great influence she had upon his physical, mental, and spiritual being. The letters themselves are of great biographical and literary interest and value. They afford a revelation of Hawthorne's feeling to the external world and an even greater revealing of the inner thoughts, which in the author's own words were, "the lights and shadows...continually flitting across my inward sky."[28] The letters are richly different in mood. They communicate the serious, the playful, the fantastic, the heroic and mock-heroic, the devotional, the earthly, and the matter-of-fact.[29] Sophia was an object of both physical and spiritual love to Hawthorne. "A woman and an angel" he called her.[30]

Because the direct words of a speaker make a deeper impression, following are given excerpts from Hawthorne's letters to Sophia which prove the great value he put upon his wife's influence:

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[27] Ibid., pp. 196-198.

[28] Randall Stewart, "Letters to Sophia," Huntington Library Quarterly VII (August, 1944), p. 390.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., p. 391.

Boston, April 17, 1839....I never, till now, had a friend who could give me repose; all have disturbed me, and whether for pleasure or pain, it was still disturbance. But peace overflows from your heart into mine. Then I feel that there is a Now, and that Now must be always calm and happy, and that sorrow and evil are but phantoms that seem to flit across it.[31]

Boston, December 5. Dearest,--I wish I had the gift of making rhymes, for methinks there is poetry in my head and heart since I have been in love with you.[32]

Boston, June, 1840....Worthy of you I am not; but you will make me so, for there will be time or eternity enough for your blessed influence to work on me.[33]

Boston, October 1840....Sometimes, during my solitary life in our old Salem house, it seemed to me as if I had only life enough to know that I was alive; for I had no wife then to keep my heart warm. But, at length, you were revealed to me, in the shadow of a seclusion as deep as my own....You only have taught me that I have a heart,--you only have thrown a light deep downward and upward, into my soul. You only have revealed me to myself; for without your aid my best knowledge of myself would have been merely to know my own shadow,--to watch it flickering on the wall and mistake its fantasies for my own real actions. Do you comprehend what you have done for me?[34]

Hawthorne continues in this letter to say what a terrible thing it would have been had they not met; that he would have returned to his solitude and thus would never have created anything.[35]

Old Salem seemed to hold a foreboding hand over Hawthorne. Writing from Salem on November 27, 1840, he says:

....Whenever I return to Salem, I feel how dark my life would be without the light that you shed upon it,--how cold, without the warmth of your love. Sitting in this chamber where my youth wasted itself in vain, I can partly estimate the change that has been wrought. It seems as if the better part of me has been born since then.[36]

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[31]Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, pp. 203, 204.

[32]Ibid., p. 208.

[33]Ibid., pp. 218, 219.

[34]Ibid., p. 222.

[35]Ibid., pp. 222, 223.

[36]Ibid., p. 224.

He continues in the letter to give Sophia credit for shedding light along his path of darkness—a path he would have walked through life had not she given him the vision of light. His gratitude is summed up in his words: "When a beam of heavenly sunshine incorporates itself with a dark cloud, is not the cloud benefited more than the sunshine?"[37]

Writing from Salem on September 3, 1841, Hawthorne tells Sophia he has been out only once in the daytime since he arrived.[38] Again he protests that were it not for her he would immediately and irrecoverably relapse into his youthful way of life; that were it not for her the world would see no more of him; that he would be only a shadow of the night; that it is only she who gives him reality and makes all things real for him.[39]

Although Hawthorne felt that his lonely youth was wasted, and he never tired of thanking Sophia for rescuing him from his lonely secluded chamber, he also felt it was here that his mind and character were formed. Van Doren records a letter to Sophia in which Hawthorne wrote that after his rescue by her, he realized why he was imprisoned so many years in the lonely chamber where he could not break the viewless bolts and bars. He expresses his feeling thus:

> ...for if I had sooner made my escape into the world, I should have grown hard and rough and been covered with earthly dust and my heart would have become callous by rude encounters with the multitude.... But living in solitude till the fulness of time was come, I still kept the dew of my youth and the freshness of my heart, and had these to offer to my dove.[40]

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., p. 238.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne, pp. 190, 191.

The preceding letters were written during the period from 1839 to the marriage of Sophia and Nathaniel in 1842. Hawthorne continued to write such letters to Sophia to the end of his life. As is well known now, their future held its full proportion of joy, of sorrow, of honor, and of loss.[41]

Further proof that the Hawthornes were a happy family is given in the testimonies of those friends closely associated with them. Mr. E. S. Hooper in a note to Sophia says: "An event like your marriage with Mr. Hawthorne is like the presence of a few persons in this world, precious to me as an assurance of the good we all long for."[42]

Ada Shephard, a governess in the Hawthorne home, wrote to her fiance Clay Badger that the Hawthorne home circle was the happiest she had ever seen; that Mr. Hawthorne though reserved was noble, true, and kind; that although Mrs. Hawthorne was not a beautiful woman, he seemed completely satisfied with her; and in Miss Shephard's own words is proof of Sophia's great value to her husband: "Nay, I think he is ten times the man he might have been without her....She is able to sympathize with him in his highest aspirations and is his companion in every mood.[43]

Horatio Bridge believed there to be no question that the great writer Nathaniel Hawthorne owed much of his success to the cheerful aid and encouragement of his wife Sophia. Even when the clouds were

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Rose H. Lathrop, Memories of Hawthorne, p. 50.

[43] Randall Stewart, Nathaniel Hawthorne, A Biography (New York, 1948), pp. 190, 191.

the darkest, she brought out the sunshine of his nature, made his home a happy one, and lifted him up when he was in despair. Through her intellectual character she was able to appreciate the rare qualities in her husband and to influence his thinking and writing. Through her perseverance and looking forward, she was influential in his being able to write his masterpiece The Scarlet Letter. The world owes much to Sophia for the influence which led to Hawthorne's successful literary labors.[44]

In the letters and journals of Sophia while they lived at the Old Manse there is a glimpse of the great happiness and beautiful existence of the happy Hawthorne household. Sophia gives descriptions of their home and environment, the good times they had together, the great love they shared, and most important of all her very deep love and respect for, and her confidence in her husband. Truly the letters Sophia wrote to her mother and friends about their life together are proof of the deep understanding which could not have done otherwise than influence Hawthorne's literary career.[45]

According to Elizabeth Peabody, writing after the death of both Sophia and Nathaniel, it was Sophia who gave her husband the first natural introduction into easy relations with society. She did this in such a manner as was respectful of an individual so rare, so alive, and so reserved as was Nathaniel Hawthorne. Sophia, who was by nature social, was wise to see that Nathaniel's reserved manner had come to be a barrier against intrusion. She believed that his work for mankind

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[44]Horatio Bridge, Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York, 1893), p. 182.

[45]Rose H. Lathrop, Memories of Hawthorne, pp. 59-71.

was more important than his social activity. Consequently, she guarded his solitude in order to protect him. In this way, he by his art could minister uninterrupted, through his active studies of men in their most profound relation to one another, to the human race. She was never jealous of his study and his books; she protected him by her tact and sympathy.[46] In extracts taken from Hawthorne's journals covering the first years of marriage are found proofs that Hawthorne did appreciate and thank God for Sophia's patient understanding of his solitary disposition.[47] One evil which Sophia could not bear was that of moral sin. Those clouds from the hand of God, such as her illness, she viewed with promise of a silvery lining; but human unkindness, dishonor, and falsehood stunned her. These things seemed to have the same effect on her which the crimes of Donatella and Miriam had on Hilda in The Marble Faun. It was this characteristic in her which seemed to be her greatest charm in Hawthorne's imagination. He revered it almost to the point of doubting his own power to look upon the evils of human nature, analyze them in all their bounds, and decide whether it was really wisdom or defeat of moral sensibility. Their mutual affection was truly a moral reverence for each other without weakness.[48]

Julian Hawthorne records a fitting conclusion on Sophia--that at the time of Sophia's death, a writer in the New York Tribune said of her that the world owed to her more than anyone except Hawthorne knew.[49]

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[46]Julian Hawthorne, Hawthorne and His Wife, p. 248.

[47]Ibid., p. 289.

[48]Ibid., pp. 248, 249.

[49]Ibid.

Hawthorne's children also were influential in his development as a writer. They as children furnished material for some of his stories. Una no doubt served as the prototype for Pearl in The Scarlet Letter. Van Doren says Pearl came straight out of Hawthorne's notebooks, he having carefully observed and recorded Una at play.[50]

Both Julian and Rose by their writings have revealed much about the character and works of their author-father. Julian in Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife has discussed fully the romance of his father's career. Rose's book, Memories, contains many family letters and recollections. Mr. Lathrop, Rose's husband, gives much of the relation between the private life of Hawthorne and his works in his book, Study.[51]

The preceding discussion proves in part that Hawthorne was influenced by his close associations with the little secluded family group, consisting of his mother and two sisters, who lived much away from the trivial and everyday life of Salem. Hawthorne's imaginative power may have been the kind of plant which roots best in dark places. Had he had a closer relationship with the common everyday world, he might not have been the perfect artist of fantasy that he was.

Uncle Robert Manning's coming to his aid and making a college education available was important in that it made possible his becoming a writer.

The influence of Sophia was of the greatest importance. Not only was she his guiding star throughout their married life, but her editing of his Note-Books gave much of Hawthorne to the literary world.

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[50] Mark Van Doren, The Best of Hawthorne (New York, 1951), p. 18.

[51] "Hawthorne--Man and Author," Edinburgh Review, CCIII (January), pp. 210, 211.

CHAPTER IV

HAWTHORNE'S FRIENDS

"Forgiveness was the key to his moral nature and friendliness was at the bottom of his silent and seemingly unsocial habit."[1] Thus wrote F. B. Sanborn of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Sympathy with many various phases of human life explains much that Hawthorne favored or endured with no protest. Although his intimate friends were few, they were of a remoter variety of character and experience. Emerson once said that Hawthorne seemed to have a feminine cast of mind. Sanborn explains that since Hawthorne was a creative genius rather than imitative, Emerson must have been talking of that spiritual quality of sympathy and patience which is oftener a feminine than a masculine endowment and which Hawthorne certainly had.[2]

The little axiom, "A friend in need is a friend indeed," could appropriately and rightfully be applied to Nathaniel Hawthorne. His close friends were numbered, and he gave his confidence to a select few. He was influenced no doubt by the inherited characteristics and his early environment of seclusion and solitude which were not conducive to social life. His aloofness prevented his making friends quickly and easily. His friends and associates were either those

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[1]F. B. Sanborn, Hawthorne and His Friends: Reminiscence and Tribute (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1908), p. 82.

[2]Ibid.

upon whom he depended and looked toward for political, financial, literary, or moral support, or those who needed his help.

During his sojourn at Raymond, Maine, he formed close friendships with three boys, one of whom was William Symmes. Symmes was a mulatto and the natural son of a Massachusett's lawyer, who gave him his name but who died when Symmes was quite young. Hawthorne became acquainted with Symmes when he came to Maine as the foster son of Captain Jonathan Button, a friend of Richard Manning. Symmes later said that Hawthorne was the only white boy never to hurt his feelings because he was colored.[3]

Hawthorne's friendship with and acceptance of William Symmes was an expression of a characteristic which he possessed and around which several of his short stories are built, namely, tolerance. "The Gentle Boy," his longest short story, is based on such tolerance for the Quaker's religion.

Hawthorne's other friends came from his college days and as a result of his political and literary adventures and accomplishments.

Horatio Bridge and Franklin Pierce were his two best friends--both being college associates. Others were Jonathan Cilley and Alfred Mason, Mason being Hawthorne's first roommate in college.[4] Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was in college at the same time, but he and Nathaniel did not form a really close friendship.[5]

However, a friendship did develop later when Longfellow reviewed Hawthorne's Twice-Told Tales. Strangely enough Hawthorne was the

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[3]Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York, 1949), pp. 12-14.

[4]Ibid., p. 17.

[5]Ibid.

aggressor in seeking Longfellow's company.[6] Also, he wrote long letters to Longfellow which are intimate, full of his aspirations, his momentary periods of despair, his hopes, and his plans.[7]

As has been stated, Hawthorne's reserved nature prevented his making many friends and his peculiar individualized character made them really unnecessary. A congenital reticence debarred Hawthorne from surrounding himself with those many admirers of sensitiveness and understanding who might have helped him after he left college.[8] His college days, therefore, were an interim of tentative associations in which "a few friends were made, were indeed, grappled to his soul with hoops of steel...." His friends understood his temperament, accepted his silence, and respected his involuntary desire to remain withdrawn to himself.[9]

Jonathan Cilley, one of Hawthorne's few college mates who loved and admired him, gives in the following words that Hawthorne, to most of his associates, was an enigma: "I love Hawthorne; I admire him; but I do not know him. He lives in a mysterious world of thought and imagination which he never permits me to enter."[10]

Letters on record show that the friendship between Hawthorne and Cilley was more than casual. One letter written by Cilley to Hawthorne twelve years after college days contained a matrimonial wager which

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[6]Manning Hawthorne, "Hawthorne's Early Years," Essex Institute Historical Collection, LXXIV (January, 1938), p. 30.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., pp. 32, 33.

[9]Ibid., p. 69.

[10]Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 20.

"Hath," as Cilley called Hawthorne, had won. The letter contains much banter such as one close friend would write to another.[11]

As has been mentioned, some of Hawthorne's friends were of literary associations. His friendship with Herman Melville seems to have been of an unusual kind. Some have termed it one-sided--Melville's being very desirous of close associations and Hawthorne's holding himself aloof. However, it would seem that each stimulated the other. At the time they were Berkshire neighbors, Melville was writing his masterpiece, Moby Dick, which he dedicated to Hawthorne, and Hawthorne was working on The House of The Seven Gables. Each in turn through mutuality of interest and admiration should be credited with a great share in the production of the two great masterpieces.[12]

Harrison Hayford agrees with Mark Van Doren that the friendship between Hawthorne and Melville is one of the most famous instances in American literary history. It is possible that the love of the sea was no doubt the subject over which the two authors smoked, talked, and gained insight into the other. Even though Hawthorne was not a seaman, he was linked to the sea by his ancestors and his early writing. Nor was philosophical treatment of the sea by Melville alien to Hawthorne. Both felt that the sea was a place of meditation. Hawthorne in his story "Footprints on the Seashore" tells of how he had the habit of seeking the seashore when he felt the solitary mood upon him.[13] Melville was no doubt attracted to Hawthorne by his

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[11] Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife (New York, 1884), pp. 144, 145.

[12] Randall Stewart, Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography (New Haven, Connecticut, 1948), p. 112.

[13] Harrison Hayford, "Hawthorne, Melville, and the Sea," New England Quarterly, XIX (December, 1946), pp. 435-444.

qualities of "darkness" and "truth." At the same time, Hawthorne may have felt drawn to Melville by his interest in the sea. In one entry Hawthorne made in his notebook, the impression is given that the intimate talks between the two men concerned time, eternity, books, publishers, and all things possible and impossible.[14]

To those friends who were close Hawthorne was always affectionate. Mr. Pike, who had a remarkable depth of mind and tenderness of nature, was one such friend in old Salem. He probably knew Hawthorne more intimately than any other man. After reading The Blithedale Romance he wrote Hawthorne:

> In this book, as in The Scarlet Letter you probe deeply,--you go down among the moody silences of the heart, and open those depths whence come motives that give complexion to actions and make in men what are called states of mind; being conditions of mind which can not be removed either by our own reasoning or by the reason of others....You hit off the follies and errors of man with a quick humor,...I can not describe your humor, but I can feel and enjoy it....It is sudden bright but not flashy....It opens and shuts like heat lightning.[15]

The close intimacy between them is shown by Hawthorne's writing to Pike that the entire family would like for him to come to visit them and to stay as long as he wished.[16]

The Hillards were other close friends to whom he was most affectionate. A visit from the Hillards at the Old Manse for dinner pleased him more than would have the public's paying him homage by bowing at his door.[17] In January 1850, before Hawthorne finished The Scarlet Letter, he was having financial difficulties. George Hillard

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[14] Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne, pp. 179-182.

[15] Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife II, pp. 444-447.

[16] Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 182.

[17] Ibid.

and others who knew of these difficult times through which Hawthorne was struggling, sent him some money. Hawthorne was deeply moved and the letter he wrote in reply is an insight into his character. In the letter he says there were both a bitter and a sweet in the tears which he shed at receiving the money—sweet to have his friends' help and bitter to know he needed their help. Also he said it was something more than pride that taught that ill-success in life is really and justly a matter of shame. He ended the letter with the thought that the only way a man could retain his self-respect while availing himself of his friends' generosity was to make sure he would not need their help again. Thus, in the future, he said he would do any work, drudgery if need be, to make a living.[18]

James T. Fields was an expert book promoter who worked much to make Hawthorne a popular writer. Even though his efforts were not entirely successful, they, along with the books themselves, at least bettered his financial conditions.[19] It was Fields, a part of Ticknor and Fields Publishing Company in Boston, who came to see Hawthorne in 1849 after the death of his mother. At the time Hawthorne was ill and very discouraged. He had been working on The Scarlet Letter manuscript. Although Fields did not really know he had written anything for publication, when he started to leave, he asked Hawthorne to let him take what he had written. Hawthorne at first denied that he had any work ready. But as Fields was leaving, Hawthorne called him back, and thrusting the manuscript into his hand, he told Fields it was either

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[18]Ibid., pp. 167, 168.

[19]Randall Stewart, Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography, pp. 116, 117.

very good or very bad. It proved to be a masterpiece.[20] Ticknor and Fields issued the book in 1850, and at last Hawthorne had the right publisher. Fate had jerked him from obscurity.[21]

Hawthorne's masterpiece, The Scarlet Letter, called by some critics the perfect novel, was originally intended to be a short story. At Field's suggestion Hawthorne lengthened it into a novel.[22] As has been mentioned, The Scarlet Letter has become the most contemporary of novels.

Horatio Bridge, one of the two best friends Hawthorne had--the other being Franklin Pierce--first met Hawthorne at college through Alfred Mason. Bridge became intensely interested in Hawthorne and thus began a true friendship which lasted through life.[23] A busy life on the part of Bridge caused the two to be separated much of the time; however they kept in touch by letters. Bridge wrote in his book that he probably received more letters of a purely personal nature from Hawthorne than did any other man. However, the earlier letters he destroyed at Hawthorne's request.[24]

Extracts taken from Bridge's letters which are answers to Hawthorne's serve in some measure to show the deep despondency of Hawthorne in 1836 and 1837, the turning point in his literary career. He had lived such a secluded life that he had few real friends who

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[20]Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne, pp. 140, 141.

[21]Ibid., p. 167.

[22]Herbert Gorman, Hawthorne, a Study in Solitude (New York, 1927), pp. 81, 82.

[23]Horatio Bridge, Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York, 1893), p. 4.

[24]Ibid.

could help him, and he seemed to hesitate to search out new ones.[25] These letters of Bridge also show the great desires he had to help Hawthorne. Unknown to Hawthorne, Bridge had guaranteed Samuel Goodrich ("Peter Parley," the most popular editor and compiler of his day), against loss if he would publish Twice-Told Tales. Thus, Bridge had made the publication possible.[26]

Bridge had also at this time written an article for the Boston Post concerning Hawthorne's writings. In the article, by which he hoped to attract attention to Hawthorne's Twice-Told Tales when it was published, he lauded Hawthorne's work as possessing merit, pure and classical style, delicate and fanciful imagination, and throughout all his writings there ran the vein of sweetest poetry. He continued that perhaps no writer was so deeply imbued with the early literature of America, nor could anyone portray so well the times and manners of the Puritan.[27]

In politics Bridge was also a staunch friend to Hawthorne. He was to be indirectly responsible for Hawthorne's receiving the surveyorship at the Salem Custom House. In 1845 when Hawthorne was much vexed by political and financial difficulties, Bridge and Pierce came to see him and to discuss the position. Bridge, feeling he (Hawthorne) was not so well known as he should be in order to be appointed, invited the Hawthornes to visit in his home, the object of the visit being to introduce Hawthorne to people who could help him to obtain the position.

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[25] Ibid., pp. 68-75.

[26] Mark Van Doren, The Best of Hawthorne (New York, 1951), p. 9.

[27] Horatio Bridge, Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne, pp. 70, 71.

The invitation was accepted; Hawthorne met Senators Atherson of New Hampshire, and Fairfield of Maine; also, Senator Pierce was present. The main object of the visit was that of interesting men of influence in Hawthorne's behalf. This was attained and he was appointed surveyor the next year.[28]

Hawthorne, in his dedication to Bridge in The Snow Image, gives Bridge full credit for his literary career: "If anybody is responsible for my being an author at this day, it is yourself. I know not whence your faith came...still it was your prognostic of your friend's destiny that he was to be a writer of fiction."[29] He continued to say in the dedication how Bridge through his interposition, and unknown to Hawthorne himself, had brought him before the public by making the publication of Twice-Told Tales possible.[30] He felt that the generosity of Bridge's confidence in his work was founded on old friendship rather than cold criticism. Consequently, Hawthorne valued it the more.[31]

One of the most important of Hawthorne's friends was Franklin Pierce. He was a college classmate, and the friendship formed in college continued throughout Hawthorne's life.

In 1852 soon after Hawthorne moved to The Wayside, Pierce was nominated for the Presidency of the United States by the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore. Hawthorne upon learning of the nomination felt that he should offer to write his campaign biography.

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[28]Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne, pp. 133, 134.

[29]Horatio Bridge, Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 7.

[30]Ibid., pp. 7-9.

[31]Ibid.

He wrote Pierce to volunteer his services, although in his usual reticent and lack-of-confidence manner, he felt someone else might be better for the work. However, because of a long and trusting friendship he felt bound to offer to do the work.[32]

At the time Hawthorne decided to write the biography of Pierce, he was writing his Wonder Book. This he put aside in order to write the biography which cost him many admirers and well-wishers because of Pierce's attitude toward slavery. Pierce felt that the welfare and happiness of the Negro would be jeopardized by his emancipation.[33] The Whigs attacked the book and called it "Mr. Hawthorne's Latest Romance."[34] Nevertheless, Pierce had been his friend, and he felt that party lines were small things compared to friendship, so he went ahead and did the best he could. The writing of the biography brought to Hawthorne a preferment in Liverpool, England. At the time he wrote the book he had no such preferment in mind.[35] He almost refused the appointment when it came, but his good friend and publisher, James T. Fields, convinced him that he owed it to his family to take it. So he did,[36] and in March, 1853, he accepted the offered consulate. From Boston he sailed on July 6, 1853, with his family; with him as publisher, friend, and nurse went Ticknor.[37]

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[32] Randall Stewart, Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography, pp. 126, 127.

[33] Ibid., pp. 132, 133.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 194.

[36] Herbert Gorman, Hawthorne, A Study in Solitude, p. 108.

[37] Mark Van Doren, loc. cit., p. 199.

This was not the end of the friendship between Hawthorne and Pierce, nor was it the last time Hawthorne was to realize the close love and affection Pierce could bestow. On the tenth of March, 1860, when the Hawthornes were living in Rome, Italy, Pierce stopped on his way to Venice to see them and to get Hawthorne to accompany him. This was immediately after the serious illness of Una, Hawthorne's eldest daughter, and he could not go. Hawthorne wrote later of how much solace and help was this visit from Pierce. One has only to read his own words to realize the depths of feeling Hawthorne had for Pierce, and the sincerity of his belief in the distinction of a man few others found distinguished:

> but Pierce...has so large and kindly a heart, and is so tender and so strong, that he really did me good, and I shall always love him the better for the recollection of his ministration in these dark days... I have found him, here in Rome, the whole of my early friend and even better than I used to know him.[38]

In 1863 the publishers, Ticknor and Fields, published in book form under the title Our Old Home Hawthorne's English sketches. He had dedicated the book to Franklin Pierce, whose sympathies with the South had made him quite unpopular in the North. Many readers considered the dedication to mean that Hawthorne agreed with Pierce in his slavery ideas. However, Hawthorne had meant the dedication to be only one thing--a testimonial of friendship. This was appropriate enough since the book could not have been written had not Pierce appointed Hawthorne to the consulate and thus enabled him to visit England and write the said sketches.[39]

Fields had advised in a letter against the dedication, but Hawthorne had written to him that his long and intimate personal

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[38] Ibid., p. 224.

[39] Randall Stewart, Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography, pp. 229-233.

relations with Pierce made it proper, especially since the book would not have existed had it not been for Pierce. He added that if Pierce were so unpopular that his name would sink the book, he (Pierce) was in dire need of an old friend to stand by him. Again as in the case of Cilley in his younger days, he felt the ties of friendship draw taut. He said that if he should withdraw the dedication merely because of pecuniary profit or literary reputation, he would feel nothing but shame and remorse.[40]

Actually, the book sold better than it would have, had not such a furor been raised. Hawthorne in dedicating the book had not intended to raise such a rumpus merely to sell a book, but rather the purpose of his book was "a slight memorial of a college friendship prolonged through manhood and retaining all its vitality in our autumnal years."[41]

Hawthorne's close friends were with him to the end of his life. In March Hawthorne's family decided to send him on a trip with his old friends, Pierce and Ticknor. Tragedy in the death of Ticknor during the trip was a terrific blow to Hawthorne. Returning home, he no longer seemed able to fight the burden of isolation and depression. After the funeral of Ticknor, Hawthorne's spirits seemed to ebb rapidly. His family decided on a trip through the country-side with his old friend Pierce. While on this trip, Hawthorne died serenely in his sleep. Thus, the solitary one had quietly reached that haven where his solitude would not be disturbed.[42]

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[40]Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne, pp. 256, 257.

[41]Ibid., p. 258.

[42]Herbert Gorman, Hawthorne, A Study in Solitude, pp. 170-174.

Pierce's warm and tender regard and his profound feeling for Hawthorne is expressed in a letter written to Bridge from Massachusetts, May 21, 1864: "You will have seen with profound sorrow, the announcement of the death of the dearest and most cherished among our early friends....I need not tell you how lonely I am, and how full of sorrow."[43]

A letter written to Mr. Bridge from Sophia after her husband's death reveals how deep was the friendship of Pierce, Hawthorne, and Bridge. Sophia writes: "Those friends of my husband's whom he loved so faithfully are very precious to me. They were but few---You and General Pierce, the Chief."[44]

Thus, the concluding evidence is that Hawthorne's close friends were few. Alfred Lord Tennyson's famous words, "I am a part of all that I have met," would not be applicable to Hawthorne, as only a few men, seemingly, had any influence on him. He gave his confidence, his inward thoughts, and his desires to a select few. Hawthorne's own words have given the proof that he owed his becoming an author to the constant encouragement of Horatio Bridge and to the faith he felt Bridge had in him. Bridge proved to be the helping hand which not only led Hawthorne on into the literary field but also the one which lifted him up when he was too tired and discouraged to proceed under his own power. Franklin Pierce, the other of his two best friends, by appointing Hawthorne to the Liverpool Consulate, made possible his writing of the English sketches which he published under the title

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[43]Horatio Bridge, Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne, pp. 178, 179.

[44]Ibid., p. 196.

Our Old Home. To him Hawthorne felt a close and affectionate love. Another one of the very close associates of Hawthorne was Ticknor--his publisher, friend, and nurse. It was of him that Hawthorne said, "I feel better of mankind because of you." James T. Fields, a famous book promoter, helped Hawthorne much to become a popular writer. Not only was he one of his publishers (the other being Ticknor), but indirectly he was responsible for Hawthorne's admitting that he had written the Scarlet Letter manuscript. He also advised the lengthening of the story into a novel--the novel considered today to be the perfect one.

The loyalty of Hawthorne to those whom he chose to call friends was so steadfast that at times it seemed to reach the point called stubbornness, especially to those who did not understand his deep feelings for his friends. Consequently, when Bridge stated that loyalty was the outstanding characteristic of Hawthorne, he was not tossing flowery phrases carelessly. Throughout his life there is proof that Hawthorne was not found wanting, but rather was willing to go the "second mile" when loyalty to his friends was a factor, regardless of his personal loss.

It is true that Hawthorne's inherited solitary characteristics, his early environment of seclusion and solitude, and his self-enforced withdrawal from society for twelve years were not conducive to a life in active society. His aloofness prevented his making friends easily and readily. However, to his truly close associates to whom he gave his friendship and confidence, he was as loyal, staunch, and unshakable as the Rock of Gibraltar.

CHAPTER V

HAWTHORNE: MAN AND AUTHOR

Because Nathaniel Hawthorne's life was uneventful and secluded there is of necessity a close relationship between his life and his works. But what was this relationship? His life was conventional, morally spotless, and quiet; and he had seemingly very little interest in what went on around him. However, his writings have an agitated quality--bold, forever verging on passions he unconsciously repelled but could not forsake, and obsessed by sin. He by admission in his own words has left us little help in determining how much of Hawthorne, the man, is reflected in Hawthorne, the author. In the introduction to Mosses from an Old Manse he refuted the idea that he was hospitable enough to tell to his public all of his personal feeling. Conversely, in the introduction to The Snow-Image and Other Twice-Told Tales he admits that he uses autobiographical material because those facts were nearest at hand and were his own property.[1] Both admissions, though paradoxical, are true. A man so reserved and introverted could not be expected to admit to the world that he was baring his soul. Yet, a man who lived so withdrawn, brooded over the problems of mankind so deeply, and possessed such inherited characteristics as Puritanism, pride, and guilt, could not keep himself out of his writings. These

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[1]Arlin Turner, "Autobiographical Elements in Hawthorne's 'The Blithedale Romance,'" Studies in English, XV (1935), p. 39.

situations and characteristics had so completely saturated his mind and heart that much more of Hawthorne than he himself realized is reflected in his tales, sketches, and romances.

Hawthorne was sensitive and proud. His Puritan ancestral ties, his environment in Old Salem with the witchcraft practices and persecutions, and his eccentric family were factors and influences. One may say that he was proud of being proud. He realized that although his family had at one time been important, he was, as Henry James said, living in poverty in the backyard of the aristocracy. However, his poverty did not make him humble. Although he felt a certain degree of guilt for some of the deeds of his ancestors, he was at the same time proud of them. It was this feeling of pride, together with the circumstances of his environment, especially in the eccentric family life with his mother and sisters, that caused him to be shy and to withdraw into seclusion. Hawthorne felt that this pride was a voluntary separation; consequently, it was a sort of unpardonable sin. This seemed to be an obsession with him, and from the very first compositions to the last romances he attempted, the theme of isolation and seclusion and its penalties was with him. The guilt he felt because of his Salem seclusion is reflected in the Oberon tales-"The Devil in Manuscript," published in 1835 and "Fragments from the Journal of a Solitary Man" in 1837.[2] Both are startling revelations of the black discouragement of an unsuccessful writer, his disillusionments, and his fierce delight in burning the stories as fast as he wrote them. These two tales are usually, and properly, taken to be a self-portrayal

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[2]Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York, 1949), pp. 42, 43.

of Hawthorne. The following recorded words by Mark Van Doren sound convincing:

> I have become ambitious of a bubble, and careless of solid reputation. I am surrounding myself with shadows, which bewilder me, by aping the realities of life. They have drawn me aside from the beaten path of the world and led me into a strange sort of solitude...where nobody wishes for what I do, nor thinks nor feels as I do.[3]

And the second Oberon is no less Hawthorne himself when he says, "Merely skimming the surface of life, I know nothing, by my own experience, of its deep and warm realities."[4]

There is no doubt that Hawthorne had a desire to live more fully, that he wished to taste of life, even to violate the moral order that he might have mature experience; yet because of his heredity and environment, he was forced to be an observer of life rather than a participant. Hawthorne was surely speaking of himself when in 1837, he wrote of Peter Goldthwaite:

> His brief glimpse into the street had given him a forcible impression of the manner in which the world kept cheerful and prosperous by social pleasures and intercourse of business, while he, in seclusion, was pursuing an object that might possibly be a phantom, by a method which most people would call madness.[5]

Hawthorne was condemned to solitude not only through his inherited shy and proud nature but also through his interests. Entering literature when all the other young men of Salem were entering law or business naturally isolated him. Consequently, the fear of being snubbed by a society grew stronger as his poverty became more noticeable and his manner more reserved.[6]

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[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 26.

[6] Malcolm Cowley, "Hawthorne in Solitude," New Republic, CIX (August 2, 1948), p. 19.

Reading Hawthorne's works carefully, one is conscious of his theme--the penalty of solitude laid upon the human heart. His very first novel, Fanshawe, shows how he struck the keynote of his works--the price man pays for his separation from his fellowman. Fanshawe is the story of a fabulous student doomed to an early death because he is a "solitary being" who is disconnected from the world, who is unconcerned in its feeling, and who is not influenced by it in any of his pursuits. No doubt Van Doren is correct in his belief that there is much of Hawthorne himself in the story.[7] Hawthorne wrote Fanshawe during his early years of seclusion in Salem when he was trying desperately to "open an intercourse with the world." At that time he felt that he was only a spectator looking on life with a gnawing fear of losing his capacity for human sympathy, the lack of which he later condemned as the Unpardonable Sin. The character, Fanshawe, may well have been a picture of Hawthorne as he saw himself at that time.[8] Further proof of this feeling about his solitude in Salem is recorded in a letter he wrote to Longfellow: "I have made a captive of myself...and now I can not find the keys to let me out....There is no fate in this world so horrible as to have no share in its joy or sorrow."[9]

Turning from Fanshawe to The Dolliver Romance, his last work, the reader is again conscious of that solitude of man. He is now grown old, and of necessity isolated by old age and human frailty. Again one

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[7]Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 36.

[8]Elizabeth Chandler, "A Study of the Tales and Romances Written by Nathaniel Hawthorne Before 1853," Studies in Modern Languages, VII (1926) pp. 9-11.

[9]Irving Howe, "Hawthorne and American Fiction," American Mercury, LXVIII (March, 1949), p. 370.

sees Hawthorne himself, dissolution fallen on him. In the story in minute analysis are numerous pictures of the old apothecary—pictures of a bewildered old man walking the streets filled with people, yet feeling utterly lost and estranged in the crowd.[10] The old doctor, feeling he is out of time with the world, felt a dreary impulse to elude the people's observation.[11] In this, one is reminded of Hawthorne himself during his seclusion in Salem when he walked abroad only at night when no one could see him—also of his custom in later life of hiding in the Concord woods rather than meet a passer-by on the road.[12] In the story, Dr. Dolliver, living beside a graveyard with his great granddaughter Pansie, is certainly Hawthorne grown old. Pansie is definitely Una in 1849, and the good wife Bessie is no doubt Sophia, whom he imagines to be dead.[13] Perhaps by this time Hawthorne was concerned about Sophia's being left alone by his death. From the scattered bits of the story which he seemed never to be able to organize, one can understand the unhappiness and torture with which he drove his wits in trying to write the story while his illness was nagging him to stop.[14]

Between these novels, Fanshawe, with the story of seclusion by youthful ambition, and The Dolliver Romance, with its treatment of isolated old age, there may be found in Hawthorne's works every form

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[10] P. E. More, "The Solitude of Nathaniel Hawthorne," Shelburne Essays (Cambridge, 1904), pp. 28, 29.

[11] Ibid., p. 29.

[12] Ibid., p. 30.

[13] Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 260.

[14] Ibid., p. 241.

of solitude incident to human existence. His heart seemed to be enslaved to emotions that unconsciously dominated every faculty of his mind. No doubt he had experienced solitude in all of its phases, and he traveled through life as a man possessed.[15]

Generally speaking, he saw isolation as a result of sin and the desire for reunion the result of isolation.[16] To him isolation was a feeling of estrangement from other people or elements, whether caused by pride, guilt, shyness, or ego, because the individual feels he has violated another's code. This was the theme of The Scarlet Letter as well as many of his short stories, sketches, and other romances.[17] No doubt the obsession Hawthorne had for this was because of his feeling of guilt, which is generally attributed to his Puritan ancestry and which rises invariably from isolation, its most sinister aspect being that it separates man from ordinary life.[18] He knew the depths of solitude and isolation; he knew first-hand the penalty one pays for being proud; he knew his family's wealth had declined to the low-water mark, leaving a poverty-stricken but proud one. That these things influenced his writings is proved by the great number of stories whose characters are a reflection of the manifestation of the different kinds of pride. Some of these are: the religious pride found in Endicott and the Quakeress, Catherine; intellectual pride in Ethan Brand,

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[15] P. E. More, "The Solitude of Nathaniel Hawthorne," p. 30.

[16] John C. Gerber, "Form and Content of 'The Scarlet Letter,'" New England Quarterly, XVII (1944), p. 26.

[17] Ibid.

[18] F. O. Matthiessen, "The Isolation of Hawthorne," New Republic, LXI (January 29, 1930), pp. 281, 282.

Aylmer, and Dr. Rappaccinni; moral pride in the ruthless reformer Hollingsworth; the pride of purity found in Hilda, the snow-white innocent, who is intent on keeping her innocence; and the spiritual pride of Zenobia.[19] The foolishness of family pride, the pride of which Hawthorne had probably more than his share, is expressed symbolically in his story "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure." Peter, discovering only worthless paper money as his treasure, learns that expecting benefits from one's ancestors will prove delusive.[20]

Another characteristic which Hawthorne inherited and one which influenced his writings was that of Puritanism. Whether or not he was a Puritan, he certainly was a child of Old Puritanism. Although he broke the bonds, something stayed in his blood which caused him to revert to the Puritan Past and to what was spiritually grim, harsh, and terrible. He looked into the Past and found...dead sins and moulded garments of the soul. Puritanism to him was a dreadful memory which so clung to his mind that it obtained new life like an evil obsession there as if in truth it were still contemporary in men's hearts.[21] So much did the Past oversway the Present in Hawthorne's temperament, his outlook on life, and his inquisitive probing into the mysteries of life that his heredity may be said to be his environment. In his most concentrated and intense works his genius was deeply engaged in this inherited subject-matter--the reluctant, repellent, stubborn Puritan

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[19] Randall Stewart, Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography (New Haven, 1948), p. 256.

[20] American Note Book, "Introduction," p. 81.

[21] G. E. Woodberry, "Influence of Puritanism on Hawthorne," Harper, CVI (February, 1903), pp. 428,429.

dark-hard ore.[22] Hawthorne was a Puritan in both matter and manner, says Carl Van Doren. He rarely lifted his gaze from the human spirit in its sincerest hours.

During his experimental stage as a writer he brooded upon the problems of mankind. Van Doren believes that some old ancestral strain which Hawthorne had in his blood and which could be traced back to the Old Puritan tradition, accounts for the conception of adultery found in The Scarlet Letter--this conception being not one of civil order but rather of the immortal soul. Although all of the characters are involved with one another, each of them stands individually apart because he is concerned with a greater conflict--that being good and evil as rival elements harassing the human individual. Inexorable judgment follows on the heels of fleeting pleasures: Dimmesdale's tragedy is his defeat by evil through the temptation of cowardice and hypocrisy; Chillingworth chooses evil when he tries vengeance which belongs to a higher power; Hester emerges from her guilt through public repentance. These are all Puritan doctrines. In one respect Hawthorne is sterner than were his ancestors, for he admits into his story no hope of Providential interference. As Dimmesdale dies, his last words end all hope of such for him and Hester Prynne.[23]

Mark Van Doren thinks the source of the power for The Scarlet Letter came from the inner conflict Hawthorne felt within himself of the two worlds between which he seemed suspended. He exposed the fanaticism of one and despised the blandness of the other. The Scarlet

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[22] Ibid.

[23] Carl Van Doren, "The Flower of Puritanism," Nation, III (December 8, 1920), p. 649.

Letter is a reminder to modern man, who talks about his conscience, from where that conscience came. For Hawthorne it came from a dark world where human injustice was done, but only because man fumbled in his understanding of human life.[24] Hawthorne may have inherited his Puritan bias and strong preoccupation with the effects of sin upon men and women from the early Hathornes of Salem, the old Puritan William and the witch-judge John. He seemingly cared little for the outward world and its sin; however, as an artist he wrote always within the framework of Puritanism.[25]

Hawthorne was a descendant of the Puritans and leaned toward the Puritan view of life, but he did not tolerate such characteristics as bigotry, intolerance, and cruelty, which the Puritans at times displayed. In "The May Pole of Merry Mount" he presents Governor John Endicott as an unmitigable zealot, and calls the Puritans witches. He strikes at the intolerance of the Puritans in his earlier tale, "The Gentle Boy."[26]

Another romance which reflected Hawthorne's inherited Puritan ancestry is The Marble Faun. Carl Van Doren thinks it to be his most Puritan work in that he invented a story of sin and conscience in a setting that was amply both pagan and Catholic.[27]

The Puritan influence also appears in some of his tales. In "The Grey Champion" there is reflected the heroic respect he had for the Puritans' resistance to tyranny. "Young Goodman Brown" and

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[24]Mark Van Doren, Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 162.

[25]E. H. Davidson, Hawthorne's Last Phase (New Haven, 1949), p. 143.

[26]Randall Stewart, Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 242.

[27]Carl Van Doren, "The Flower of Puritanism," p. 650.

"The Maypole of Merry Mount" show the contrast between the stern Puritan and the man of mirth.[28]

Many critics agree that The House of the Seven Gables is Hawthorne's most characteristic romance. The story is the drama of conscience in its brooding over ancestral sins. All the characters who move in the shadows of the "Old Gabled House" are involved in one tragic idea assimilated by the author's imagination from the religious inheritance of the society about him--the idea that pride, whether worldly or unworldly, works out its penalty in the separation of the possessor from the common heart of humanity.[29] In Hawthorne's own family it had been recorded that his ancestor William had incurred a family curse from one whom he had sentenced to be hanged for witchcraft. As the family shrank from prosperity to genteel poverty, they attributed their misfortune to the witch's curse.[30] The story, of course, concerns a family overshadowed by such a curse.[31] Hawthorne used an unpleasant incident in his own life from which he selected his character, the hypocritical Judge Pyncheon. The character is a likeness of Charles Upham, a clergyman of Salem, who was responsible for Hawthorne's dismissal from the Custom House position.[32] Hawthorne used the curse in the story to symbolize the influence of the Past upon the Present. In

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[28]Elizabeth Chandler, "A Study of the Tales and Romances," p. 13.

[29]P. E. More, "Hawthorne Looking Before and After," Shelborne Essays II, pp. 181, 182.

[30]Nathaniel Hawthorne, The House of the Seven Gables, Introduction, pp. 5, 6.

[31]Henry James, Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 8.

[32]Nathaniel Hawthorne, The House of the Seven Gables, Illustration, p. 264.

1837 he had recorded in his Note Books the story of Phillip English, a victim of John Hathorne, whose son had married his persecutor's daughter.[33] He probably used this in the story.[34] Many of the incidents in the story are traceable to original happenings or situations. The "Eastern Claims" of the Pyncheons came from the true fact that the site for the town of Raymond, Maine, had once belonged to the Manning family.[35] Another is the description of Clifford's and Hepzibah's train ride which came from Hawthorne's observations on a train journey from Maine in 1850.[36]

The romance which is most autobiographical is The Blithedale Romance. Explicit proof is found in the following elements: the chief characters, including Coverdale, who is surely Hawthorne himself, the elements of the setting of the story, the incidents corresponding to those at Brook Farm.[37] Hawthorne admitted that he used the Brook Farm Community because it was the most romantic thing that had ever happened to him.[38]

Returning to the characters and their prototypes, the reader notes the following comparisons of Coverdale to Hawthorne: they occupied similar positions in the world, both being bachelors and somewhat older

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[33]Nathaniel Hawthorne, Note Books I, p. 1105.

[34]Elizabeth Chandler, "A Study of the Tales and Romances," p. 46.

[35]Ibid., p. 48.

[36]Ibid., p. 49.

[37]Arlin Turner, "Autobiographical Elements in Hawthorne's 'The Blithedale Romance,'" Studies in English, XV (1935), p. 41.

[38]Ibid., pp. 46-49.

men of letters; both felt that they were intruders into and observers of human souls; both were recluses; both felt the study of souls to be contrary to their own interests; Coverdale's opposition to Zenobia's reform ideas was much the same as Hawthorne's to Margaret Fuller's; both loved seclusion, hating and distrusting society as a whole; both were lonely even when they were with people; personal habits, such as smoking, drinking wine, calling themselves chambermaids to the cows, were the same in both men.[39] The likenesses of Zenobia to Margaret Fuller were the striking parallels in their background, their nature, and the purpose of their work. Both wrote in defense of women and both advocated women's rights. Also, Margaret Fuller was the only woman reformer with whom Hawthorne was acquainted. Thus it would seem probable he used her as the prototype of Zenobia. The little seamstress at Brook Farm was no doubt the prototype for Priscilla. They had the same backgrounds, were of the same age, and both had extremely vivacious personalities. Two incidents involving Priscilla were true events in the life at Brook Farm, that of her riding the ox and her upsetting the load of hay.[40]

Although Hawthorne was evasive in admitting prototypes, according to the Note Books he used Sophia, his wife, for the character Phoebe in The House of the Seven Gables and for Hilda in The Marble Faun.[41]

Since self-portraiture was not one of Hawthorne's most obvious habits, the reader finds few characters in his works who represent the

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[39] Ibid., pp. 42-46.

[40] Ibid., pp. 46-49.

[41] Nathaniel Hawthorne, American Note-Books, Introduction, Note 265, p. 94.

detached observer of life that Hawthorne was. The three in which there is close relationship are Coverdale in The Blithedale Romance, Kenyon in The Marble Faun, and the artist in "The Prophetic Pictures."[42] The artist looks beneath the exterior and sees the innermost soul, being neither malevolent nor benevolent toward his subjects; his heart is cold. Coverdale has the same characteristics; he feels no affection for his fellowman whom he studies. He is cold, aloof, and admits that he pries with speculative interest into peoples' impulses and passions. Kenyon hears not Miriam's secret because of his frigid detachment lest he be drawn into an intimate relation which will bring him trouble. Thus Miriam speaks truth when she says to him, "You are as cold and pitiless as your own marble."[43]

Hawthorne, himself an observer with an aversion to self-revelation, portrays these characters so as to stress their power of penetrating observation and their aloofness from their subjects.

Hawthorne himself believes that his sketches as a whole represented his more normal self better than did any of his other writings. In these he is Paul Pry, a fellow who sees but is unseen in the world. He believes in watching, not mingling in, the world. "Sunday at Home" is his best sketch.[44]

Hawthorne seemed to want the impossible in that he desired the warmth and actuality of experience without accepting the peril it might entail. His heritage caused him to see experience as tantamount to sin.

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[42] Ibid., p. 63.

[43] Ibid., Note 321, p. 62.

[44] Mark Van Doren, "Tales and Sketches," Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York, 1949), p. 92.

Although he doubted this was true, he was influenced by the idea. In his own words he wanted "to live throughout the whole range of one's faculties and sensibilities," and yet to play the part of a Paul Pry,

> hovering invisible around men and women, witnessing their deeds, searching into their hearts, borrowing brightness from their felicity and shade from their sorrow, and retaining no emotion peculiar to himself.[45]

At the close of this study of Nathaniel Hawthorne the following seem indicated: Hawthorne by both character and interests was condemned to solitude—he felt a close relationship between his estrangement from the world caused by his pride and the old Puritan religion of his ancestors which had also taught individuality and separation of souls. Because of this separation from the world he had no experiences to satisfy the desire of the inner voice; consequently, he turned to that available—the heart and the mind within himself. In this manner he found the scarlet thread of isolation and its penalties which was deeply influential in the light, color, and darkness which he put into his compositions. From the deep hidden caverns of his brooding mind and the shadowy subdued richness of his imaginative spirit came the substance from which he painted in penetrating and subtle style his "fancy pictures," as he himself called his writings. Hawthorne became the master of the secrets of a morbid, distorted, and tyrannical conscience in a world in which phantoms seemed to him to be realities.

That Hawthorne's literary life was significantly influenced by his ancestry, family relationships, friends, and environment has been proved in part in this study. Hawthorne's imagination distinguished

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[45] Phillip Rahv, "The Dark Lady of Salem," Partisan Review, VIII (September-October, 1941), p. 365.

him. It was this imaginative quality which made it possible for him to be so deeply influenced by his Puritan ancestors. He imagined what Puritanism could mean to man, and from this theme developed many of his works. His great imaginative power caused him to feel the guilt and pride of his ancestry and to use this as a theme in his writing. The environment of Old Salem, steeped in stories of witchcraft, and its forests haunted by the devil and the Indians, together with the stories of the early townsmen, stimulated his imagination. Because of his ancestors he had a sense of intensely belonging to Old Salem.

His mother, early recognizing this sensitive quality in her son, made accessible to him imaginative reading material which opened avenues into which his speculations could roam. His remote home influence with its estrangement from the everyday busy life of Salem during his literary novitiate no doubt provided a fertile ground for his fantasy. When this apprenticeship of solitude ended with his marriage to Sophia Peabody, he came under another kind of influence which was to mean much to him. Sophia became his guiding star and inspiration. His children were important in that they not only served as models for some of his children's stories, but they also in their own writings give insight into the author-father and his works.

Hawthorne's friends were few but very real and close. Without Bridge's encouragement, he might never have risen above his discouragements, reticence, and disbelief in himself. But for Franklin Pierce, Our Old Home, and possibly The Marble Faun, might not have been written.

Of course, Ticknor and Fields, his publishers, were of utmost importance, not only as publishers but also as understanding friends in time of need and trouble.

Both Longfellow, who reviewed Twice-Told Tales favorably, and Herman Melville, who reviewed The House of the Seven Gables, were literary influences. No doubt Melville and Hawthorne stimulated each other in the writing of Moby Dick and The House of the Seven Gables.

It is evident that ancestry, family relationships, friends, and environment were important influences in the literary ventures and accomplishments of Nathaniel Hawthorne, the first psychologist in American literature.

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