Notes
Notes

MARCUS CUNLIFFE

5. Hoeltje, p. 348; Hoffman, p. 201, quoting passages from The American Notebooks, ed. Randall Stewart (New Haven, 1932), p. 27. The work by Skidmore, a member of the New York Workingmen's Party, was entitled The Rights of Man to Property: being a Proposition to make it equal among the adults of the present generation; and to provide for its equal transmission to every individual of each succeeding generation, on arriving at the age of maturity (New York, 1829). An excerpt is reprinted in Joseph L. Blau (ed.), Social Theories of Jacksonian Democracy (New York, 1947), pp. 355-64.
6. See, for example, Maurice Beebe, “The Fall of the House of Pyncheon,” Nineteenth-Century Fiction, XI (June, 1956), 1-18, which maintains Hawthorne's novel has the organic shape of an ascending spiral curve.
13. The novels by Holmes are *Elsie Venner* (1861), *The Guardian Angel* (1867), and *A Mortal Antipathy* (1885). The mother of the heroine of *Elsie Venner* is bitten by a snake, and Elsie becomes a sort of serpent-woman. Holmes’s suggestion is that her venomous traits are medical rather than moral in origin, and require treatment not punishment.

As for mesmerism as a literary device, it was still in vogue in 1888; the hero of Edward Bellamy’s *Looking Backward: 2000-1887* is mesmerized so completely that he sleeps for a hundred and thirteen years.

14. See Henry Christman, *Tin Horns and Calico: An Episode in the Emergence of American Democracy* (New York, 1945), for a good account of this confusing yet highly instructive “war.” It is worth noting, as one element in the confusion, that the Democrats—Hawthorne’s party, and the party of the common man, according to their own statements—took the side of the landlords, while the supposedly aristocratic Whigs supported the Anti-Renters.

Robert C. Elliott


2. The alternative is to conclude with Frederick C. Crews, “A New Reading of The Blithedale Romance,” *American Literature*, XXIX (May, 1957), 147-70, that the book is constructed with the fiendish ingenuity of a Nabokov novel. The interpretation is interesting but will not hold up under sustained scrutiny.

3. *The Blithedale Romance* is a mine of rich themes that Hawthorne opens but does not work out. The relationship of Zenobia to Priscilla is, as Marius Bewley says, ultimately incoherent, but implies everything James was to develop so fully in the Chancellor-Tarrant relation in *The Bostonians* (*The Complex Fate* [London, 1952], p. 19).


Harry Levin


7. *French and Italian Note-Books*, p. 120.


Edward H. Davidson

3. Grimshawe, p. 56.
4. Second MS draft of "Septimius Felton," Pierpont Morgan Library, p. [40].
7. Ibid., p. 151.
8. Ibid., pp. 151, 152.
9. Ibid., p. 147.
10. Ibid., p. 173.
11. Ibid., pp. 149-51.

Hyatt H. Waggoner

1. I do not mean to imply here that Emerson's thought is wholly contained within the pat label "philosophic Idealism." Emerson had his experiential side, his pragmatic and even existential emphasis, as the way in
which some of his religious thinking anticipates Tillich should remind us. I do not find it easy to decide which is the "essential" Emerson, partly because he modified the early idealism as the years went by, partly because, as I see it, so many of the insights and feelings of the private man failed to get expressed in the public philosophy. In any case, the contrast between the two men that I am here developing is by no means absolute. It is intended to throw into relief certain aspects of Hawthorne's position, not to clarify Emerson's. As I have suggested above in discussing Hawthorne's relation to transcendentalism, Hawthorne was something of an idealist too, as his opposition to materialism suggests.

Nevertheless, after whatever qualifications may be necessary on both sides of the comparison, the two men seem to me quite different, not only in temperament, but in the emotional colorations of their thinking, and so in the final meanings for us of their visions of life. I cannot imagine Hawthorne's ever having written, as Emerson did in the 1836 essay on nature, "Therefore is Nature ever the ally of Religion... The advantage of the ideal theory over the popular faith is this, that it presents the world in precisely that view which is most desirable to the mind."

DANIEL HOFFMAN

1. In an appendix to Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry (Cambridge, 1937), Douglas Bush has listed American poems on mythical subjects. In the sixty years between 1786 and 1845, there were published but fifteen, while thirty appeared in the next two decades (pp. 577-79). In 1855 appeared both Bulfinch's Age of Fable and Longfellow's The Song of Hiawatha.


3. Hawthorne's letter to James T. Fields, quoted by G. P. Lathrop in his Introductory Note to Hawthorne's Works (Boston, 1883), IV, 10.


9. The Piccolomini, II, iv, 123-34. Although this work is a translation of Schiller's play, the speech quoted is Coleridge's own interpolation; see Coleridge's note in Complete Poetical Works, ed. E. H. Coleridge (Oxford, 1912), II, 647.


11. Motif A58O (Culture hero's [divinity's] expected return); see Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk Literature (Bloomington, 1955). Citations include references to legends of Holger, Balder, and King Arthur.

12. I have discussed the traditions of providences and wonders in Puritan writings known to Hawthorne in Form and Fable in American Fiction (New York, 1961), pp. 23-32.

13. This paragraph synopsizes the discussion of “My Kinsman, Major Molineux” in Form and Fable in American Fiction, chap. vi. See chapters vii-xi for a fuller discussion than appears in the present essay of “The May-Pole of Merry Mount,” “Young Goodman Brown,” and the three American romances.


15. That the Devil’s Compact is Hawthorne’s principal theme is argued by William Bysshe Stein in Hawthorne’s Faust (Gainesville, Fla., 1953).


**ROY HARVEY PEARCE**

1. In this and what follows, I make use of my Savages of America (Baltimore, 1953), particularly pp. 112-14 and 160-68.

2. I have studied in detail “My Kinsman, Major Molineux” and the other stories I put in this group in “Hawthorne and the Sense of the Past; or, The Immortality of Major Molineux,” ELH, XXI (1954), 319-27.

**LARZER ZIFF**


**R. W. B. LEWIS**

2. In his fine introduction to the Modern Library edition of *The Bostonians* (New York, 1956), Irving Howe makes a similar point within a somewhat different context.

**Edwin Fussell**

1. Materials for the present essay are drawn from my forthcoming book, *Frontier*, and used with permission of its publishers, the Princeton University Press.


5. "In the settlement of America we have to observe how European life entered the continent, and how America modified and developed that life and reacted on Europe. . . . The frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization."—"The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893*, p. 201. This is precisely the passionate progress of Hester Prynne: "It was as if a new birth, with stronger assimilations than the first, had converted the forest-land, still so uncongenial to every other pilgrim and wanderer, into Hester Prynne's wild and dreary, but life-long home" (chap. v).


8. See *The American Notebooks*, p. 31 (forest), p. 56 (forest, brook, and cavern), and p. 159 (Hawthorne lost in a Concord forest, trying to walk from his own house to Emerson's).

9. The correct reading of this Notebook passage was kindly supplied me by Norman Holmes Pearson.


11. The source of Hawthorne's description—but with no implications of the poetic imagination—is in *The American Notebooks*, pp. 124-25. The Notebook passage is dominated by Hawthorne's feeling of compositional frustration, and in that context the frontier metaphor was useless. Probably it came to mind when he had successfully completed *The Scarlet Letter* and was casting about for a figure to express problems solved.
12. "It was there I first got my cursed habits of solitude."—Quoted in James T. Fields, *Yesterdays with Authors* (Boston, 1871), p. 113.

**Edwin H. Cady**


10. Alexander Japp.


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17. Ibid., p. 106.
18. Ibid., p. 115.

36. Some sense of the mere scope of Hawthorne commentary, 1864-1900, may be had from the facts that there are, not counting reviews, miscellaneous (mere reminiscence, evidences of the personality cult, poems, plays, opera, etc.) or passing mention (illuminating as such asides may be), at least twenty-seven substantial and significant magazine articles, ten books, and distinct parts of perhaps twenty more volumes devoted to Hawthorne during the period. The whole body of materials is being studied by Everett Hatch, to whom, for bibliographical assistance and for the benefit of his judgment regarding some of the ideas here presented, I am cordially grateful.

ROGER ASSELINEAU

2. See Arlin Turner, "Hawthorne's Literary Borrowings," PMLA, LI (June, 1936), 545.
4. Ibid., p. 211.
5. Passages from the French and Italian Note-Books (Boston, 1872), I, 232.
7. See above, note 2.

10. French and Italian Note-Books, II, 276. Mme de Staël, on the contrary, altogether failed to interest him. When he saw Coppet, he noted: "... Coppet, where Madame de Staël or her father, or both, were either born or resided or died, I know not which, and care very little."—Ibid., p. 274.


15. Henry James, op cit., p. 162.


19. The Snow-Image, and Other Twice-Told Tales (Boston, 1852), p. 205.


21. See also this passage: "When our forefathers left the old home, they pulled up many of their roots, but trailed along with them others, which were never snapt asunder by the tug of such a lengthening distance, nor have been torn out of the original soil by the violence of subsequent struggles, nor severed by the edge of the sword."—Our Old Home (Boston, 1863), p. 23.

22. English Notebooks, p. 270.

23. Our Old Home, pp. 23, 22.

24. When about to leave England for Italy, Hawthorne entrusted his young English friend, Henry Bright, with the keeping of his manuscript notebooks and told him that, if not claimed sooner, they should be published by the end of the century. "By that time, probably," he wrote Bright, "England will be a minor republic, under the protection of the United States" (Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife [Boston, 1884], II, 168).

25. Our Old Home, p. 70. In the same passage Hawthorne even exclaimed with an enthusiasm and optimism quite unusual with him, but nonetheless typically American: "... Let us welcome whatever change may come,—change of place, social customs, political institutions, modes of worship,—trust-
ing that, if all present things shall vanish, they will but make room for better systems, and for a higher type of man to clothe his life in them, and to fling them off in turn.”


27. “An American seldom feels quite as if he were at home among the English people. If he do so, he has ceased to be an American.”—Our Old Home, p. 75.


29. French and Italian Note-Books, I, 4-5. For her part, Miss Shepard, the American governess of his children, noted: “Mr. Hawthorne pretends that he can’t speak French, although I am sure he knows it very well; and he follows me around, when we stop at the stations or custom-house, to make me talk for him. He says he shall be dumb all the time that he is on the continent.”—Norman Holmes Pearson, op. cit., p. 748.


31. The Marble Faun, chap. xvii, p. 182.


33. Ibid., p. 12.

34. Ibid., p. 45.

35. Ibid., p. 9.

36. In a notebook kept in the Library of the University of California at Berkeley.


38. Ibid., p. 180.


40. Ibid., p. 227. See also the following passage: “The Italians appear to possess none of that emulative pride which we see in our New England villages, where every householder, according to his taste and means, endeavors to make his homestead an ornament to the grassy and elm-shadowed wayside” (p. 340).

41. Ibid., p. 227.


43. Ibid., p. 134.

44. Mrs. Hawthorne noted: “. . . A native idiosyncrasy, which always made me feel that ‘the New Jerusalem’ . . . ‘where shall in no wise enter anything that defileth . . .’ would alone satisfy him, or rather alone not give him actual pain.”—Ibid., p. 123.

45. Norman Holmes Pearson even points out that Hawthorne quotes Byron in his notebooks only when Murray does so and provides him with the text of the quotations (op. cit., p. 825).
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46. *The Marble Faun*, chap. xiv, p. 149. See also chap. xv, p. 162; and *French and Italian Note-Books*, I, 179.


49. "The spell being broken, it was now only that old tract of pleasure-ground, close by the people's gate of Rome—a tract where the crimes and calamities of ages, the many battles, blood recklessly poured out, and deaths of myriads, have corrupted all the soil, creating an influence that makes the air deadly to human lungs."—*Ibid.*, chap. x, pp. 111-12.

Hawthorne's daughter, Una, nearly died of a fever while in Rome.


59. *Ibid.*, chap. xxxviii, pp. 392-93. See also the passage at the end of chap. xlv (p. 473) where Jesuits are described as "eager propagandists who prowl about for souls, as cats to catch a mouse."

60. See, for instance, the beginning of chap. xxviii entitled "Altars and Incense" in *The Marble Faun* and also: "... The exceeding ingenuity of the system stamps it as the contrivance of man, or some worse author. . . ."—*Ibid.*, xl, p. 419.


63. Concluding words of chap. xxxix entitled "The World's Cathedral."


67. In a way Hawthorne's stay in Europe was a Puritan's holiday. Contrary to what one might have expected, he was extremely fond of French wines; and at one point in his *English Notebooks*, he discusses the comparative merits of Clos Vougeot and Chambertin with the authority of a true connoisseur (p. 316; see also *French and Italian Note-Books*, I, 25).
has always been the best antidote to Puritanism. In this respect, it is to be noted that England became Puritan only after she lost her hold on the Continent, and wine ceased to be drunk in the British Isles. Chaucer was a drinker of claret and composed the *Canterbury Tales* under its influence. The tone of English literature changed completely after England was cut off from Bordeaux. A new era began with Lord Methuen's treaty with Portugal in 1703. It placed English literature under the direct influence of port wine for over a century.

Hawthorne also made the discovery that on the Continent people ignored the Sabbath and enjoyed themselves very nicely and without rowdiness. He seems to have approved of this custom, for he wrote in his notebook: "Sunday with these people [the Italians] is like any other feast-day, and consecrated to cheerful enjoyment . . . they have no need to intensify the Sabbath except by making it gladden the other days."—French and Italian Note-Books, II, 186. What a difference from Sunday in New England, or even England, in those days. In England, Hawthorne had bought a copy of *Renshaw's Diary and Almanac for 1858* (see James D. Hart, "Hawthorne's Italian Diary," *American Literature*, XXXIV [January, 1963], 562). Each pair of facing pages was divided into six days only. Nothing was supposed to happen on Sunday.

In Rome, during the Carnival, Hawthorne admired the natural restraint of the people: "... He would admire a people who can so freely let loose their mirthful propensities, while muzzling those fiercer ones that tend to mischief. Everybody seemed lawless; nobody was rude. If any reveller overstepped the mark, it was sure to be no Roman, but an Englishman or an American."—*The Marble Faun*, chap. xlviii, p. 499.


69. French and Italian Note-Books, II, 162.

70. The Marble Faun, chap. xv, pp. 159-60.


73. "... C'est l'écrivain le plus américain que l'Amérique ait produit depuis Emerson." "Il y a dans ces écrits quelque chose de malsain qu'on ne distingue pas d'abord, mais qui, à la longue, finit par agir sur vous comme un poison très faible et très lent."—Emile Montégut, "Un roman socialiste en Amérique," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, XVI (December 1, 1852), 811, 816.

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75. The first translation by Emile Forgues, under the title of *La Maison aux sept pignons*, had six editions with Hachette from 1865 to 1886. The second translation by Marie Canavaggia appeared for the first time in 1945.


79. See note 74.


82. Chretien, *op. cit.*, p. 3.


85. For the history of the reception of Hawthorne’s works in Italy, see Camillia Zauli-Naldi, “La Fortuna di Hawthorne in Italia,” *Studi americani* (1960), pp. 183-201 (a critical bibliography).

86. See Agostino Lombardo, *La Ricerca del vero* (Rome, 1961), p. 27.


88. “Il suo metodo consiste appunto nel rivelarci a poco a poco, con accorte reticenze, il mistero del carattere, finché esso spicca sullo sfondo della
tenebra."—Federico Olivero, "Nathaniel Hawthorne," Nuova antologia, July 1, 1913, p. 43.

89. "... Un scrittore legato a un metodo analitico e introspettivo che in qualche momento si direbbe joyciano..."—Quoted by Camillia Zauli-Naldi, op. cit., p. 193.

90. "Tutta l'opera hawthorniana si può invero considerare anche come uno studio, che più profondo e commosso e efficace non potrebbe essere, dell'umana solitudine."—Agostino Lombardo, op. cit., p. 164.

91. "La stirpe degli Hawthorne e dei Melville, infaticati e misantropici scrutatori dei segreti del cuore e dei dilemmi della vita morale."—Cesare Pavese, La Letteratura americana e altri saggi (Turin, 1951), p. 60.

92. In Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss, ed. Wolfgang Stammlet, III (Berlin, 1957), 146-205. Horst Oppel is of the same opinion: "On the whole, Nathaniel Hawthorne seems to have exercised no influence on any poet or writer, though he represents classical American fiction and two of his masterpieces, The Scarlet Letter and The House of the Seven Gables, were translated remarkably early (1851)." ("Überhaupt keinen Einfluss auf Dichter und Schriftsteller scheint Nathaniel Hawthorne ausgeübt zu haben, obwohl er zur klassischen amerikanischen Erzählkunst gehört und zwei seiner Meisterwerke, The Scarlet Letter und The House of the Seven Gables, erstaunlich früh [1851] übersetzt wurden.")—Paul Merker and Wolfgang Stammlet (eds.), Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte, I, 55-56.

I am indebted for my information concerning the impact of Hawthorne in Germany to Professor Hans-Joachim Lang, of the University of Tubingen, and to Professor Hans Galinsky, of the University of Mainz, and his two assistants, Dr. Klaus Lubbers and Dr. Walter Rahn. The subject has never been thoroughly explored.


MATTHEW J. BRUCCOLI

2. *Catalogue of First Editions of American Authors ...* by Leon & Brother (New York, 1885), and *The Longfellow Collector's Hand-Book* (New York, 1885). It is possible to move the date of the inception of American first-edition collecting back to 1875, the year when the *Index to American Poetry and Plays in the Collection of C. Fiske Harris* (Providence, 1875) was published—see Roger E. Stoddard's "C. Fiske Harris, Collector of American Poetry and Plays," PBSA, LVII (First Quarter, 1963), 14-32.

3. Cambridge, 1893.

4. November 23, 1894; Bangs.

5. April 13, 1897; Libbie. March 12, 1900; Bangs.


14. January 30, 1901; Bangs. The catalogue appears to have also been published as a book. Arnold's eight authors were Hawthorne, Bryant, Emerson, Holmes, Longfellow, Lowell, Thoreau, and Whittier.

15. *A Record of First Editions ... Collected by William Harris Arnold* (New York, 1901).


18. "List of Books, etc. by and relating to Nathaniel Hawthorne," VIII (July, 1904), 312-22.

19. VIII (August, 1904), 109-16.

20. February, 1904; Libbie.

21. March 1, 1904; Anderson 274.

22. January 30, 1908; Anderson 626.


25. February 26, 1917; Anderson 1280.

27. *A Bibliography of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Boston, 1905).


29. February 16, 1909; Anderson 725; and November 4, 1909; Anderson 777. Chamberlain’s other authors were Bryant, Emerson, Holmes, Irving, Longfellow, Poe, Thoreau, and Whittier.

30. November 16, 1909; Anderson 782; and November 22, 1909; Anderson 784. Maier’s other authors were Bryant, Emerson, Holmes, Irving, Aldrich, Field, and Howells.


34. April 28, 1924; American Art. The priced catalogue was published as a bound book by the American Art Association in 1924. Wakeman’s other authors were Bryant, Emerson, Holmes, Longfellow, Lowell, Poe, Thoreau, and Whittier.


36. A considerable quantity of great Hawthorne material—inscribed copies, letters, and manuscripts—was peddled by Julian Hawthorne during his various financial crises.

37. Howe’s library was purchased for the New York Public Library by Albert A. Berg in 1940. Some of Howe’s books were exhibited in 1937 at the Lockwood Memorial Library of the University of Buffalo—*A Catalogue of an Exhibition of . . . Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Buffalo, 1937).

38. Something must be said about the Hawthorne activities of America’s greatest bookseller. Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach does not seem to have handled a great deal of Hawthorne, but he did sell some superb things. Hearst bought the manuscript of “A London Suburb” and a Dickens manuscript for $400. Owen D. Young got a bargain when he bought 146 letters from Hawthorne to Ticknor for $3,600, even though the letters had been published (*Letters of Hawthorne to William D. Ticknor* [2 vols.; Newark, 1910]). The manuscript of *Tanglewood Tales*—the only substantial manuscript still in private hands—was sold to Adrian Van Sinderen for $28,750.


40. November 19, 1931; American Art—Anderson 3927.

41. January 23, 1945; Parke-Bernet 627.

42. March 22, 1960; Parke-Bernet 1961.

43. November 6, 1963; Parke-Bernet 2222. On January 28, 1964—after this article had been set in type—nineteen important Hawthorne items were sold at the Ribal sale (Parke-Bernet 2250) for a total of $5,860. The twenty-page manuscript of “Lichfield and Uttoxeter” brought $4,250. A
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four-page letter from Sophia Hawthorne to Louisa Hawthorne, with Hawthorne's postscripts, brought $375; a lot consisting of first editions of The Marble Faun and Transformation, with a two-and-a-half page Hawthorne letter to Bennoch about the book, brought $275. A Wilder Celestial Rail-Road was sold for $180.


45. Parkman D. Howe, "Contemporary Collectors XXXVI," The Book Collector, XII (Winter, 1963), 467-75.

FREDSON BOWERS

1. The version in the Ohio State leaf is itself an expansion and revision of an excised subordinate clause "though seemly and delightful in a" that comprises the whole parenthesis.

2. Although the early leaf is unnumbered, oddly, there is no sign that it belongs only to some part and not to the whole of an earlier version. But, of course, the evidence is insufficient for anything other than speculation.


5. This letter is bound in with the manuscript of the romance in the Pierpont Morgan Library.


7. Hawthorne to Ticknor, January 26, February 10, 1860, MSS, Berg Collection (New York Public Library); and Hawthorne to Smith & Elder, February 23, 1860, MS in the collection of Mrs. Reginald Smith.


9. For example, concerning The Scarlet Letter Hawthorne wrote to Fields on January 15, 1850, "The proof-sheets will need to be revised by the author. I write such an infernal hand that this is absolutely indispensable"; and again to Fields on January 27, 1851, "I intend to put the House of the Seven Gables into the express-man's hands to-day. . . . I deem it indispensable that the proof-sheets should be sent me for correction. . . . My autography is sometimes villainously blind; and it is odd enough that
whenever the printers do mistake a word, it is just the very jewel of a
word, worth all the rest of the Dictionary"—Hawthorne-Fields Letter Book,
MS, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

LIONEL TRILLING

2. Ibid., p. 59.
3. Ibid., p. 59.
4. Ibid., p. 56.
5. Ibid., p. 60.
6. Ibid., p. 57.
7. Ibid., p. 58.
8. Ibid., p. 60.
9. Ibid., p. 61.
10. Agnes McNeill Donohue, A Casebook on the Hawthorne Question
11. Preface to Twice-Told Tales.
12. V. L. Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought (1930), II,
    443.
15. Preface to Twice-Told Tales.
16. Ibid.
17. James, Hawthorne, p. 61.
    149.
20. Ibid., p. 66.
21. James, Hawthorne, p. 44.
22. The Marble Faun, chap. ii.
23. James, Hawthorne, p. 115.
24. Hawthorne's Doctor Grimshawe's Secret, ed. Edward H. Davidson
    p. 343.
    38-39.