Footnotes

A Note on Sources

In 1949, after the death of Julian Hawthorne's second wife, Edith Garrigues Hawthorne, the numerous notebooks and unpublished manuscripts of the author passed into the hands of Mr. Albert Valliere of San Francisco. The General Library of the University of California, Berkeley, purchased a large part of this collection and has supplemented this acquisition with other purchases of manuscripts, letters, and first editions. The collection now includes eighty holograph manuscripts and typescripts, eleven journals, some three hundred letters by and to Julian Hawthorne, and memorabilia, including clippings and photographs. A small quantity of material by and about the writer's parents, Nathaniel and Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, is included. A "Register of Papers" for the Julian Hawthorne Collection (JHC) was prepared in 1958; in the footnotes following, the organization of this Register is used in identifying particular items in the collection (e.g., JHC IV).

The Berg Collection of the New York Public Library contains valuable manuscript and typescript material. There are approximately sixty letters, mostly to members of the family, a diary for 1868-69, about three hundred pages of miscellaneous fiction, half a dozen business documents, and sixty-five letters to Julian Hawthorne. Several additional Hawthorne manuscripts and letters are in the Library's Manuscript Room. A third important manuscript source is the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. There are seventeen letters by and to Julian Hawthorne, and nine manuscripts, plus much incidental information about the son in the papers of his father held by the Huntington. A fourth major repository is Yale University, which has an important notebook of 1871-72, a group of letters, and Hawthorne's India journal of 1897; this collection is summarized in the present writer's "Julian Hawthorne Papers at Yale," Yale University Library Gazette, XXXIX (October, 1964), 84-89.

Additional materials, of varying degrees of importance, are in the following libraries and collections: Boston Public Library; Brown University; Cleveland Public Library; Duke University; Essex Institute; Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio; Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Johns Hopkins University; New Hampshire Historical Society; Newberry Library; Pierpont Morgan Library; Rosenberg Public Library, Galveston, Texas; St. John's Seminary, Camarillo, California; St. Lawrence University; State College of Washington; University of California, Los Angeles; University of Michigan; University of Southern California; University of Texas; and University of Virginia. Many letters and other materials remain in the hands of private collectors.
Abbreviations


JH Julian Hawthorne

JHC Julian Hawthorne Collection, Rare Books Department, General Library of the University of California, Berkeley


Preface


3. Ibid., p. 137. In less high-flown moments Hawthorne argued the case for fiction merely as entertainment.


8. Stevenson, now James B. Duke Professor of English at Duke University, remarked in a recent letter to the present writer that "in view of the intensive research that has been done in American literature during the past quarter-century, it is amazing that Hawthorne remains uninvestigated."

9. XXI, 387.


11. Ibid., pp. 33-34.


Chapter 1


2. *NHAHW*, II, 347. Julian Hawthorne noted the coincidence of these events in his unpublished sketch "The Harvard of Our Forefathers" (JHC VII).


4. Ibid., p. 158.

6. Horatio Bridge, Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York, 1893), pp. 95, 96. Una was born March 3, 1844; this letter is dated April 1, 1844.

7. Julian Hawthorne was born at one o'clock in the morning of June 22, at the home of Mrs. Hawthorne's parents, Dr. and Mrs. Peabody, 36 West Street, Boston. Cf. Memoirs, p. 10.


9. The evils of Julian Hawthorne's Puritan heritage, which weighed upon his father so heavily, are referred to only rarely in his writings, and even then not very sincerely. An early journal notes: "No one, in the other life, is punished for hereditary evil, but for so much of hereditary evil as he has made his own by actual life" (quoted in Bassan, "Julian Hawthorne Papers at Yale"). Another reference is contained in an open letter of 1891 protesting against a violation of civil liberties. In the seventeenth century, Hawthorne wrote, "a strange disease called witchcraft, and now known as hysteria, arose in the land, and the so-called witches were by the authorities whipped, hanged, and burned [sic]; since which time their accusers, judges, and executioners have lain under the ban of history and of their fellow-men. . . . My forefathers were among those who came here two hundred and fifty years ago to enjoy the right to call their souls and bodies their own. Others of them helped to burn the witches. Out of sympathy for the first-named act, and in contrition for the other, I have written this letter, and sign my name to it" ("A Letter from Julian Hawthorne," Twentieth Century VI [February 5, 1891], 4-5).

10. AN, p. 206.


12. NHAHW, I, 310.


15. AN, pp. 194, 202.


17. AN, p. 203.

18. NHAHW, I, 324.


21. AN, p. 196.

22. Ibid., p. 213.

23. Ibid., p. 197.

24. Ibid., p. 251.

25. Ibid., p. 234.

26. Ibid., p. 207.
27. Works, X, 294.
28. AN, pp. 213-42. Also reprinted separately (New York, 1904).
29. The original of this letter, written from West Newton, Massachusetts, on February 25, 1852, is in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library. Several other childhood letters by Julian are there.
30. NHAHW, II, 12.
31. Stewart, Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 158.
32. NHAHW, II, 22.
33. Memoirs, p. 15.
34. Ibid., pp. 15-16.
35. Works, X, 152-53. The text, presently unsatisfactory, of Nathaniel Hawthorne's French and Italian Notebooks will eventually be superseded by a scholarly edition by Professor Norman Holmes Pearson.
37. Memoirs, p. 16.
41. These letters from Nathaniel Hawthorne to Sophia are reproduced by permission of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Words in brackets are my textual guesses for the occasionally indecipherable script.
42. This and the following journal entry are in the Julian Hawthorne collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library and are reproduced here by permission. Cf. Nathaniel Hawthorne's account of Lincoln in Our Old Home (Works, VII, "Pilgrimage to Old Boston").
44. JHC I:10. The letter is dated August 24, 1857.
45. NHAHW, II, 172.
47. There are "a great many references to Julian in the letters from Ada Shepard to her fiancé," according to Professor Pearson, who possesses copies of these letters. They may appear in the projected biography of Miss Shepard by her granddaughter.
49. Ibid., pp. 131-32.
50. JHC V:1. The following note appears on the first page of the book: "A study in concology [sic], in line with my doings in natural history about my 10th to 14th year. JH Calif 1933."
51. NHAHW, II, 227.
53. Ibid., p. 152. These feelings were to be almost precisely duplicated in Julian after his own lengthy encampment abroad with his family; see below, p. 142.
54. Ibid., p. 146.
55. Caroline Ticknor, *Hawthorne and His Publisher* (Boston and New York, 1913), p. 221.

56. There are glimpses of JH's Concord boyhood in the letters and journals of Emerson; see, for example, Ralph L. Rusk, ed., *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 6 vols. (New York, 1939), V, 250, 284. See also Bradford Torrey, ed., *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau*, 20 vols. (Boston and New York, 1906), VI, 60.

58. Ibid., p. 47.
60. Ibid., p. 543; cf. also pp. 518, 528, 548.

62. Ibid., p. 181. Julian also made an illumination of Tennyson's creed of the Knights of the Round Table on a sheet of vellum and presented it to his mother (*Memoirs*, p. 18). For the Concord fair in 1863 he executed an illumination of "Ring Out, Wild Bells" (Stewart, *Nathaniel Hawthorne*, p. 217). The boy also had received the benefit of training in drawing from an eminent artist in Liverpool (*NHAHW*, II, 266, and cf. above, p. 16).

63. *NHAHW*, II, 266.
64. *Memoirs*, p. 53.
65. JHC V :2, p. 22.

67. The children were deliberately used to test the effectiveness of these volumes; cf. *NHAHW*, I, 407.
69. "'Where's the Man Mountain of these Lilliputs?' cried Julian, as he looked at a small engraving of the Greeks getting into the wooden horse.— Dec' 4th—1849" (*AN*, p. 130).
71. Cf. Ticknor, *Hawthorne and His Publisher*, pp. 112, 137, 144, 161, and 184.

73. *Memoirs*, p. 50. For further details see JH's little volume, *Hawthorne Reading: An Essay* (Cleveland, 1902).
75. Ibid., p. 45.
76. *NHAHW*, II, 266.
79. JHC III.

80. Sophia Hawthorne wrote Sanborn, "We entirely disapprove of this commingling of youths and maidens at the electric age in school. I find no end of ill effect from it, and this is why I do not send Una and Rose to your school" (quoted in F. B. Sanborn, *Hawthorne and His Friends* [Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1908], p. 15).
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82. Memoirs, pp. 78, 84.

83. Quoted in Sanborn, Hawthorne and His Friends, pp. 13–14, 16.


85. Sanborn, Hawthorne and His Friends, p. 18.


87. Memoirs, p. 143. Ephraim Whitman Gurney (1829–86), a man who was to play an important role in Julian’s formative years, began his career at Harvard in 1857 as tutor in Greek and Latin, and was later professor of philosophy and of history, and first dean of the faculty under President Eliot. He was primarily a scholar, “grounded in the traditional classical training and prepared to give instruction in any subject within the range of humane learning—classics, philosophy, history, or law.” In 1868–70 he was associated anonymously with Lowell as editor of the North American Review, and he later contributed to the Nation. See Dictionary of American Biography, VIII, 57.


89. Ibid., p. 146.


93. On March 24, 1862, for example, Hawthorne wrote to his son from Washington: “I remember [your letter] had a great deal to say about ‘sparking’ the girls, together with a hint or two about your being destitute of ‘tin.’ I hope you will not get blown up in this sparking process, for one spark may kindle a great deal of gunpowder; as for tin, your mother may give you any old coffee pot she can spare.” Reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

94. NHAHW, II, 285–86. The only definite advice Nathaniel Hawthorne gave his son was to avoid the curse of authorship: see below, pp. 59, 91, and Chapter 3, Note 1.

95. “Hawthorne in Concord” (JHC VII).

96. NHAHW, II, 269–70.


100. NHAHW, II, 335.

101. Ibid., p. 346.

Chapter 2

1. An incomplete version of this letter appears in NHAHW, II, 348–49. The quoted portion is taken from an omitted fragment of the original letter, a photostat of which, dated May 20, 1864, is in JHC.

2. Pierce had called on the Hawthornes in Rome in March, 1859, and the author had commented: “There was something melancholy in his tone, when
he remarked what a stout boy Julian had grown. Poor fellow! he has neither son nor daughter to keep his heart warm" (Works, X, 492). Pierce had lost his beloved son in a railway accident shortly before his inauguration as president.


4. Pierce told Julian: "In a talk with [Hillard] after your father's death, I got the impression that both your parents were looking forward to your finishing your time at college, and that funds were available assuming that your habits were not extravagant" (Memoirs, p. 192).


7. The originals of this and the following letters to Pierce cited here are in the collection of the New Hampshire Historical Society; they are reprinted here by permission.

8. Because of his father's death the preceding May, Hawthorne did not complete his freshman year at Harvard College. Although he complains of his failure at mathematics in this letter and elsewhere, he recalled later that Professor James Mills Pierce was unusually indulgent and willing to pass him for merely attending class and "studying the problems" (Memoirs, pp. 178-79).

9. Hawthorne visited the old and sick former president near his death; see Bridge, Personal Recollections, p. 195, and Memoirs, p. 190. In his Dresden journal (November 11, 1869) Hawthorne notes that General Pierce had died and left him five hundred dollars (MS in Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations).


12. Ibid., p. 146. Rose is also quoted by her mother as saying, "If Julian went on so fast in the heavenly way, we should see an actual halo around his brows like that of the saints" (ibid., p. 137).

13. A full picture of Rose's Concord years is presented in Maynard, A Fire Was Lighted, Chapter XII. Other, less valuable studies of Rose are Katherine Burton, Sorrow Built a Bridge (New York, 1930), and James J. Walsh, Mother Alphonsa: Rose Hawthorne Lathrop (New York, 1930).


15. Maynard, A Fire Was Lighted, p. 137; similar sentiments are expressed in another letter of 1864 to Elizabeth (ibid., p. 138).


19. The original of this letter is in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg

20. This and the following extract are from a letter dated February 9, 1866, the original of which is in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.


22. Ibid., pp. 305-6.

23. Ibid., p. 306.

24. The original of this undated letter, which I have here assigned to the first few months of 1867, is in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.


26. Ibid.


28. Ibid., p. 324.

29. Ibid., p. 280.


35. Ibid., p. 182.


37. Just prior to Julian's expulsion from Harvard, Sophia had written to Lowell asking him to prepare a biography of her husband in conjunction with her editing of his notebooks. She went on: "If you consent . . . you will also help Julian in his career—: for if these journals be published now, with a biography by you, there is no doubt that when Julian graduates, there will be means to educate him for his profession, and he will owe to his father and to you a position in the world. As you are interested in Julian and know him, I speak of this. He deserves to have every legitimate facility, for he is most gifted and noble—I venture to say to so kind a friend, for I think you will not judge that I doat. Silent as Julian is, he has a gift with his pen (inherited, no doubt—) which is remarkable" (Richard Croom Beatty, *James Russell Lowell* [Nashville, 1942], p. 198; the letter is dated September 7, 1866).


40. This entry, and the succeeding quotations from the journal of 1868-69, are drawn from the manuscript in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations. In *NHAHW*, II, 315 ff., Hawthorne quotes from an ostensible "journal" of his of 1862, but he is actually quoting from his own letters home at this time, which are preserved in the same collection.

42. Information concerning the family history of the Amelungs was made available by Mr. Manning Hawthorne, Julian's grandson. Discussions of Amelung glass may be found in Helen and George S. McKearin, *Two Hundred Years of American Blown Glass* (Garden City, N.Y., 1950), p. 39; the same authors' *American Glass* (New York, 1941), pp. 100–114; and Rhea M. Knittle, *Early American Glass* (New York and London, 1927), pp. 172 ff.


44. Hawthorne wrote Charles Honce: "My very first explosions were in verse; a sonnet while I was at Harvard, in 1864 or 5, in a local newspaper-ette, anonymous and unpaid for; and two others in Putnam's Magazine... signed but insignificant" (Charles Honce, *A Julian Hawthorne Collection* [New York, 1939], p. 17). This first poem has not been identified.

45. "We remained in Dresden," Hawthorne writes in *NHAHW*, II, 353, "until the summer of 1869, when I went back to America for a visit, leaving my mother and sisters in Dresden, whither I purposed to return again before winter. Circumstances, however, prevented this..." Yet Hawthorne's Dresden journal does not break off until mid-November of that year; and since he had just begun his studies at the Realschule, it seems unlikely that he left Dresden until the following year.

46. Manning Hawthorne believes that Minne returned on a concert tour and sang before the emperor of Germany. In none of the contemporary journals and letters, however, are there any references to Minne's musical career, either before or after her marriage.

47. JHC I:10. Lathrop added to his letter a sketch of the ceremony that showed the bride's parents in attendance. In the same letter he speaks frankly of his disappointment at returning to America, a feeling that it is possible his friend shared. He writes: "This insucculent American life keeps one perpetually hungry after Europe... New York is to London as a packing box to a Gothic cathedral. Here everything is surface, no depths to dive into; there one can seclude oneself, vegetate, study, dream, do anything to any extent. ... But I hope to keep somewhat aloof from this rush, with the aid of George and Julian and a few other choice spirits." These were probably standard sentiments of genteel young Americans who had seen Europe—witness Henry James's letters.


50. Ibid., pp. 315–16.


52. Ibid., pp. 155–56.

53. For a discussion of the careers of the Lathrop brothers, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 14–16.


55. *NHAHW*, II, 358.

56. Ibid., p. 367.

57. Ibid., pp. 370–71.

58. This letter, and the following one quoted, are in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.
Chapter 3

1. *Confessions and Criticisms*, pp. 9–10. "Parental warnings" had also been issued to his sister Rose, who recalled, "I tried to bring the stimulus of great events into the Concord life by writing stories... My father hung over me, dark as a prophetic flight of birds. 'Never let me hear of your writing stories!' he exclaimed, with as near an approach to anger as I had ever seen in him. 'I forbid you to write them!'" (Memories of Hawthorne, pp. 422–23).


6. That the story was written before January 11, 1871, however, is proved by a letter from H. M. Alden of *Harper's* of that date, suggesting that "Love and Counter-Love" was too long.

7. JHC III.

8. Because of the adverse publicity attendant upon his imprisonment in 1912–13, for example, Hawthorne wrote anonymously for about two years following his release from Atlanta Penitentiary; see below, pp. 220–21.

9. JHC III; dated September 4, 1871.

10. Fourteen English novelists, including Bulwer, Dickens, and Thackeray, were represented in *Harper's* before 1885, but only four Americans: Hawthorne (*Garth*), Henry James, E. P. Roe, and Miss Woolson. See Mott, *History of American Magazines*, p. 224.

11. JHC III.

12. Though the relations between Alden and Hawthorne were always to remain cordial, Hawthorne's rejection slips from *Harper's* began to mount rapidly after the 1880's. Alden rejected various stories and poems in 1894, 1910, 1912, 1916, and 1918 (and perhaps in other years as well). In turning down Hawthorne's "God and Man at the Front" in 1918, Alden comments interestingly that the writer was "guilty" of "putting both parties to this war on the same level as to justification of motive." This correspondence is in JHC III.


18. Ibid., pp. iii-iv.
19. The remark is allied, also, to Hawthorne's theories about the origin of artistic inspiration; cf. below, pp. 175-76.
22. Hawthorne's notebook bears witness to his immersion in the works of such spectacularly varied authors as Dumas fils, Macaulay, Heine, Lowell, Swedenborg, Carlyle, DeQuincey, Emerson, Hume, Rabelais, Pythagoras, and Plato.
25. Julian's youthful rambles with his parents in England, in the course of which he visited ruined castles, forts, and churches, may have had a permanent effect on his imagination: see above, pp. 17-18, and cf. Stewart, ed., *The English Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne*, pp. 84-86, 104-5, 118, 125-26, 157-59, and passim.
26. Stevenson, "Dean of American Letters," p. 169. My rejection is made even considering Professor Stevenson's own definition of Gothic romanticism cited at the beginning of this discussion.
29. Hawthorne seems to have confused Indian and West Indies customs. In later pages of the notebook there are extensive "Notes for a Romance," drawn largely from Longworth's *A Year Among the Circassians* (1840); in these notes, as well as in several pages of speculation (planned for inclusion in a novel) about the fascinations of Salome, we may detect Hawthorne's interest—continued to the end of his life—in the exotic and the sensual.
30. Unusual, even ludicrous proper names were utilized by Hawthorne for those of his early short narratives that are deliberately fantastic. However, in such serious stories as "The Minister's Oath" and "Star and Candle," the names are quite ordinary. After 1874, this habit disappears. So far as I have discovered, Hawthorne's names carry no thematic overtones. The name "Helwyse" in one early story and in *Idolatry* appears to be filched from the elder Hawthorne's "Lady Eleanore's Mantle"; "Sophie" in *Bressant*, and other names, will be commented on below. The peculiar names in *A Fool of Nature* (1896) are chosen deliberately for the "humor" characters of that story.
31. The theme of "reenactment," which is obviously borrowed from *The House of the Seven Gables*, appears again in "The Oak-Tree's Christmas Gift" (1872), a precursor of *Kildhurm's Oak*. It is one of a limited number
of supernatural conceits in *Garth* (1877), and dominates the romance *The Golden Fleece* (1892).

32. The phenomenon of clairvoyance appears regularly in such novels as *Bressant, Dust,* and *The Professor's Sister.*

33. The story contains a scene recalling the death of Judge Pyncheon in *The House of the Seven Gables,* a similar scene was to be used in the romance *Idolatry.*


36. *Confessions and Criticisms,* p. 10. Another obvious motive was that writing novels promised a much larger income than printing occasional short stories.

37. These comments appear even earlier. In a letter to a Mr. B. written on June 15, 1892, Hawthorne writes that he is contemplating a trip from New York to Mexico to look over some mining properties. "My original profession was Engineering," he says, "and it is a pity I didn't stick to it." The original of this letter is in the Rosenberg Public Library, Galveston, Texas.

38. *Confessions and Criticisms,* p. 10. Hawthorne's first outline of characters for *Bressant* is contained in the notebook of 1871-72 at Yale University.


40. Ibid., p. 190.

41. The contrast here between "dark" and "fair" women, which Hawthorne was occasionally to use, is a conventional fictional device even among major nineteenth-century writers like Nathaniel Hawthorne and Melville: see, for example, Frederick I. Carpenter, "Puritans Preferred Blondes: The Heroines of Melville and Hawthorne," *New England Quarterly* IX (June, 1936), 253-72.

42. *Works,* I, 266-7. The theme of "cold observation" vs. "holy sympathy" persisted to the end of Nathaniel Hawthorne's life in such tales as "Ethan Brand" and the major novels; cf. *Works,* III, 494-95.

43. This artistic result is a function of his personal feelings, as his contrasting reactions to Miss Sherman and Minne Amelung in Dresden had indicated.

44. "I uniformly prefer my heroines to my heroes," Hawthorne once declared, "perhaps because I invent the former out of whole cloth, whereas the latter are often formed of shreds and patches of men I have met." Of his heroes he added: "I never raised a character to the position of hero, without recognizing in him, before I had done with him, an egregious ass." *Confessions and Criticisms,* p. 14. Hawthorne always, however, makes a man his central figure. Cf. above, p. 70.


46. The same general "changeling" situation occurs again in four other novels: *Idolatry, Fortune's Fool, Dust,* and *A Fool of Nature.*

47. *Bressant,* p. 349.

48. Peckham, born in 1849, entered Harvard at fourteen, and was in
Julian's class of 1867. He founded the first of college newspapers. After graduation he studied law in Heidelberg and was admitted to the bar in 1870. See National Cyclopedia of American Biography, I, 477-78.


50. Ibid., p. 62.

51. Ibid., p. 65.

52. This letter and all the subsequent correspondence of 1872-74 between Carter and Hawthorne quoted below are in JHC III.

53. The reference to Lathrop suggests either that Julian and George were again on speaking terms by this date, or else, more likely, that Carter did not know of the bad blood between them.

54. JHC IV.

55. There were no difficulties with King, who, on September 17, 1873, offered to print Hawthorne's new romance.

56. Entry for May 19, 1873, in JHC V:12, p. 46.

57. The original of this letter describing the children (addressed to Aunt Ebe on June 29, 1873) is in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

58. The original of this letter is in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

59. The original of this letter, dated February 25, 1873, is in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations. The "notes and reservoirs" consisted of a 200-page notebook containing plot outlines, character analyses, and the like. When Julian dabbled with the idea of suppressing his first novel, he was perhaps moved by his father's example in suppressing Fanshawe.

60. The original of this letter, dated June 29, 1873, is in the Berg Collection. Ironically enough, Julian did wear "his father's mantle"—the dark blue talma, which his mother made over into a Prince Albert coat that he wore for ten years after his father's death (Memoirs, p. 20).

61. Entry for June 22, 1873, in JHC V:2, p. 49.

62. The original of this letter, dated June 2, 1873, is in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.


64. Letter to Una dated March 19, 1873, the original of which is in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

65. Ibid. The "consideration of lucre," mentioned in a letter to Una quoted above, was already considerable to Hawthorne; compare his journal entry (June 22, 1873): "I am as comfortable at this moment in body and mind, as though I had a million. . . . And yet my whole endeavor as long as I live will be to get rich."

66. William James Morton (1845-1920) was graduated from Harvard in 1867, and from Harvard Medical School in 1872. He became an outstanding neurologist and pioneer in the use of x-rays in the treatment of skin disorders.

67. Hawthorne's list of his library in 1875 (JHC V:14) shows the presence of the complete works of Goethe, Lessing, Schiller, and Zschokke.

68. Source of the "Damon" material is an undated clipping in JHC headed: "Springfield Republican's Dresden Letter. The Younger Hawthorne: Reminiscences of His College Days—His Later Life."

69. So Hawthorne records in his notebook. However, in Confessions and Criticisms (pp. 11-12), he declares: "This unknown book was actually rewritten, in whole or in part, no less than seven times. Non sum qualis eram. For seven or eight years past I have seldom rewritten [a page]. . . . But the discipline of 'Idolatry' probably taught me how to clothe an idea in words."

70. Idolatry: A Romance (Boston, 1874), p. 6.

71. This weird name is compounded by spelling Hawthorne's wife's maiden name, Amelung, backward, and adding the romancer's last initial. This fanciful name-play is not so ludicrous as the pathetic attempt at humor in "Dr. Hiero Glyphic."

72. Idolatry, p. 211.

73. Ibid., p. 358.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid., p. 139.

76. Ibid., p. 97.

77. Ibid., p. 6.

78. Atlantic Monthly XXXIV (December, 1874), 747.

79. This and other reviews quoted in this paragraph are preserved in JHC V:15, pp. 2-35.

80. This letter, dated October, 1874, and the undated letter from Bright quoted immediately below, are in JHC III.

81. Entry dated June 6, 1874, in JHC V:2, p. 106.

82. This letter, dated January, 1876, is quoted in Bassan, "JH Papers at Yale," p. 88.

83. The original of this letter, dated July 30, 1874, is in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

84. Saxon Studies (Boston, 1876), p. iii.

85. Ibid., p. v.

86. Ibid., p. 116.

87. Ibid., p. 131.

88. Ibid., pp. 317-18.

89. Ibid., pp. 451-52.

90. George Knox, "Dissonance Abroad: Julian Hawthorne's Saxon Studies," Essex Institute Historical Collections XCVI (April, 1960), 131. Professor Knox was unable to verify this fact on a recent visit to Dresden.

92. *Nation* XVII (July 10, 1873), 27.

Chapter 4

1. *Confessions and Criticisms*, p. 16.

2. Pp. 225–26. Hawthorne did not pass the “better part” of his “third and fourth decades” in England; he was twenty-eight when he arrived, thirty-five when he left.

3. Hawthorne’s Aunt Elizabeth wrote in 1874 that “Julian means to come [to America] in the course of a few years, when he has made a little money, which he thinks he can do more easily, at present in London” (Manning Hawthorne, “Aunt Ebe: Some Letters of Elizabeth M. Hawthorne,” *New England Quarterly* XX [June, 1947], p. 227).


5. Ibid., p. 33.

6. In the fall of 1874 Una had left London to visit the Lathrops in New York.

7. JHC II:10.


9. Ibid., p. 82.

10. JHC V:3.

11. JHC V:7. Cf. above, Chapter III, n. 22. The discovery of Smollett’s *Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* had been one of the delights of Julian’s boyhood: cf. *Memoirs*, pp. 200–201. His praise in this passage for the picaresque as the “true, right form of fiction” was theoretical, merely, and was not translated into his own practice.

12. JHC II:10. These notebook entries are a perhaps unimportant duplication by the son of the father’s practice (examples of which have been given in Chapter I).

13. An obituary of Lord was contributed by Hawthorne to the *Critic* XVIII (December 10, 1892), 331–32. Dixon was memorialized in an essay in *Belgravia* XL (December, 1879), 193–97.


15. Ibid., p. 76.

16. Ibid., p. 199.

17. Ibid., p. 211.

18. Ibid., p. 71.


21. JHC III.


23. The original of this letter is in the Yale University Library.

24. An exception was the American merchant and diplomat John Welsh, who preceded Lowell at the Court of St. James’s. Hawthorne had applied to
him for a recommendation to the Russell Club, and was deeply chagrined
when Welsh refused to acknowledge even his acquaintance. He wrote Welsh
on April 18, 1878: "I conceived that your public position as American
Minister entitled me to claim from you a certain degree of social countenance,
especially in view of the fact that my father enjoyed a high reputation not
only in the literary world, but as incumbent of the Diplomatic post which he
held during 1854-7 at Liverpool: and that I, his son, have never been known
to so far outrage the laws of good breeding as to justify my being ranked
below him in the social scale." This letter is in JHC III.

26. There is a letter from White to Hawthorne, discussing Henry James
(April 22, 1878), in JHC IV.
28. Cf. below, pp. 134 and 177-78.
29. Copy of a letter dated January 15, 1879, in JHC IV. In the light of
Hawthorne's own pretensions, the letter seems lacking in tact, and one
wonders if Hawthorne was chagrined at the third of James's reasons for
undertaking the work.
31. The amity would seem to have ended, at least on James's side, by 1887,
when he commented on what he considered Hawthorne's "beastly and
blackguardly betrayal" the previous winter of James Russell Lowell: see
James* (New York, 1955), p. 83. However, the two men met briefly in
California in 1904, while James was visiting America and Hawthorne was
125-26. See also George Knox, "Reverberations and *The Reverberator*,
Essex Institute Historical Collections XCV (October, 1959), 348-54, which
further documents James's disgust at Hawthorne's "damnable doings" in the
Lowell affair and suggests Julian as the model for the unprincipled George
Flack in James's *The Reverberator*.
34. *NHAHW*, II, 373.
35. JHC I:10.
38. JHC V:5 (Journal for 1877).
41. Clippings of the following letters and newspaper comments are in
JHC V:15, pp. 182-85.
43. Ibid., p. 190.
44. *Confessions and Criticisms*, p. 29.
45. JHC V:2 (January 1, 1875).
46. Quoted in Bassan, "JH Papers at Yale," p. 87. The letter is dated
January, 1876.
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47. JHC V:5.


49. Clippings of this and the succeeding articles quoted on the “Rose of Death” controversy are in JHC V:15, pp. 81–82.

50. Such incidents as these led Hawthorne to become a strong partisan of international copyright laws upon his return to the United States. Still another quarrel of these years was caused by a timid publisher changing one of his stories before publication in order to supply a marriage: see Stevenson, “Dean of American Letters,” p. 167.


52. The fiction was occasionally published with a subtitle that identified its mode, e.g., Garth: A Novel; Miss Cadogna: A Romance; but this is not a reliable index. Bressant, for example, was published as a “Novel” in America but as a “Romance” in England; and some of the fiction has either no subtitle or the general “A Story.” Hawthorne produced no true “novel-romances” of the characteristic American type identified by Richard Chase in The American Novel and Its Tradition (Garden City, N.Y., 1957). At least one novel of this period, Two Old Boys, appeared only in serial form in the World; Hawthorne attempted unsuccessfully to have it published by Kegan Paul (JHC, uncatalogued letter). Perhaps a dozen longer tales remain to be recovered from the files of literary journals of the 1870’s.

53. Confessions and Criticisms, p. 15.


55. Ibid., p. 13. The pun implicit in the family name conveys the same idea. A hint for this device of alternating life and “death” may have been taken from the elder Hawthorne’s American Notebooks for 1835: “Follow out the fantasy of a man taking his life by instalments, instead of at one payment,—say ten years of life alternately with ten years of suspended animation” (Works, IX, p. 27).

56. Ibid., p. 125.

57. Ibid., p. 37.

58. Ibid., p. 41.

59. Ellice Quentin and Other Stories, pp. 83–84. The story was reprinted in Kildhurm's Oak (New York, 1888) and A Strange Friend (New York, 1890), and separately (New York, 1889).

60. Kildhurm's Oak bears a very close resemblance to the imaginary novel Quercus satirized by Vladimir Nabokov in Invitation to a Beheading (New York, 1960), pp. 120–22.

61. Also published as “The Pearl-Shell Necklace” (with “Prince Saroni’s Wife”) (New York, 1884).

62. The story was reprinted in 1924 as Rumpty-Dudget's Tower: A Fairy Tale, with an autobiographical preface by Hawthorne discussing the writing and publication of the stories of 1879; see below, p. 222.

63. Certain elements of plot and characterization in Garth suggest that Hawthorne may have been dabbling with the idea of constructing a fictional
biography of his father. The Bowdoin scenes, for example, deliberately recall to the reader his father's experiences there.

64. Hawthorne himself admitted that when the novel had run serially for a year or more, with no signs of abatement, "the publishers felt obliged to intimate that unless I put an end to their misery they would. Accordingly, I promptly gave Garth his quietus. The truth is, I was tired of him myself. With all his qualities and virtues, he could not help being a prig" (Confessions and Criticisms, pp. 12-13).

67. This repeats a comment found in the elder Hawthorne's "The Prophetic Pictures": "Some [of the colonials] deemed it an offence against the Mosaic law, and even a presumptuous mockery of the Creator, to bring into existence such lively images of his creatures" (Works, I, 195).

68. Garth, p. 160.
69. North American Review CXXV (September, 1877), 315.
70. Julian Hawthorne, Sebastian Strome: A Novel (London, 1879), p. 60. For this novel Hawthorne retained the skeletal plot and characters of the story "Star and Candle" (1872).

71. One of Hawthorne's reviewers speculated whether the writer had imbibed his anti-Semitism during his sojourn in Dresden. Other Jewish villains in the longer tales are General Inigo in Beatrix Randolph and the Bendibow clan in Dust. But such characters are almost stock types; compare Sim Rosedale in Edith Wharton's The House of Mirth.

72. Scribner's Monthly XIX (April, 1880), 945.
73. Confessions and Criticisms, p. 28.
74. The novel was dedicated to Edward Kemys, the animal sculptor, by whom Hawthorne was undoubtedly influenced in his descriptions of Jack's artistry.

75. Fortune's Fool (Boston, 1884), p. 193.
76. The ever-critical Nation found the novel "improbable, fantastic, queer, and disagreeable" (Nation XXXVII [November 15, 1883], 421). Hawthorne's success with Madeleine and the stage scenes is testimony to his continual fascination with the theater. He was a friend of Charlotte Cushman, Claire Kellogg, Edwin Booth, and many other late nineteenth-century actors and actresses in both London and New York.

77. Aunt Ebe declared in a letter of October, 1881, that "Julian... was obliged to go to Italy on business, so could not come with [the rest of the family]" (Manning Hawthorne, "Aunt Ebe," p. 229). See also the Critic I (November 5, 1881), 309.

78. The Kinsale experiences later found expression in the romance Noble Blood and the short story "Ken's Mystery."


Chapter 5

2. Hildegarde Hawthorne, Island Farm (New York, 1926), p. 18. Other


4. The publishing history of Hawthorne's novels, stated in terms of number of copies sold, date published, extent of second and later editions, and final disappearance from publishers' lists, is meager, to say the least. The information about *Dust* in this paragraph, for example, is a lucky find from the journal of 1883; one finds scattered bits of evidence also about *Bressant* (see Chapter 3), *American Literature* (see Chapter 6), and a few other works. Most of the surviving publishers of Hawthorne's books assert that their old records have disappeared: this is the case with Chatto and Windus, J. B. Lippincott, Scribner's, Harper, Funk and Wagnalls, Cassell, and Houghton Mifflin. The only firm able to supply sales figures (for *American Literature*) was D. C. Heath.


8. Ibid., p. 387.

9. *Nation* XXXVII (November 15, 1883), 420. The reviewer found Hawthorne and De la Ramee linked by their contempt for realism and their enthusiasm for old-fashioned romance: a passion-flower, the English romancer was quoted as saying, is just as real as a potato.

10. This tendency was remarked upon by the *Nation*, which declared: "Realism depends for its success upon the accuracy and force of the details and upon the skill with which they are grouped. Romance depends upon the subtlety of the suggestion. If Mr. Hawthorne means to be realistic, the work is too hap-hazard; if romantic, it is too crude and bald" (*Nation* XL [March 26, 1885], 266).


12. *Critic* IV (February 9, 1884), 64.


16. Curiously enough, the style of *Beatrix Randolph* was much praised: the *Dial* thought it "excellent," and the *Atlantic* found the book carefully written, with "brilliant ease" in narration. See *Dial* IV (March, 1884), 286; and *Atlantic Monthly* LIII (May, 1884), 711.


20. One must immediately contrast, however, the anti-philanthropic statements quoted at the end of this discussion of the novel.


22. *Nation* XLI (November 19, 1885), 428.
23. *Lippincott's XXXVI* (November, 1885), 532.
24. *Love—or a Name*, p. 300.
25. Ibid., pp. 300-301.
26. Julian Hawthorne, *John Parmelee's Curse* (New York, 1886), p. 120.
27. The story was also published as *Miss Cadogna: A Romance* (London, 1885). When English and American titles differ, my text employs the latter.
30. Ibid., p. 193.
31. Ibid., p. 194.
34. Ibid.; the letter is dated December 12, 1883.
35. See, however, an intelligent criticism of Julian's editorship of *Dr. Grimshawe's Secret* in *Nation* XXXVI (January 18, 1883), 66.
37. Another edited romance by Nathaniel Hawthorne was published by his son in 1890 as "Nathaniel Hawthorne's 'Elixir of Life'" (*Lippincott's*, January-April). A spirited defense of his mother's edition of Hawthorne's notebooks—and by implication, his own editing—was contained in his review, in 1932, of Randall Stewart's edition of the *AN*.
40. *NHAHW*, I, 9. That it was the unfortunate Una who had broached the topic of insanity is of course also obscured by Hawthorne's revision. For a full account of Hawthorne's revisions, see Maurice Bassan, "Julian Hawthorne Edits Aunt Ebe," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* C (October, 1964), 274-78.
41. The originals of this letter, dated November 24, 1884, and the following one quoted, dated December 13, 1884, are in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, and are reproduced here with its permission. The background of the quarrel is discussed in Randall Stewart, "'Pestiferous Gail Hamilton,' James T. Fields, and the Hawthornes," *New England Quarterly* XVII (September, 1944), 418-23.
42. *Atlantic Monthly* LV (February, 1885), 259-65.
43. JHC V:7. One of the friends was Kemys the sculptor, whose genius was to be analyzed in *Confessions and Criticisms*. Another was Hubert Thompson, whom Hawthorne had not seen since his boyhood in Rome.
44. Information concerning the "Authors' Readings" of 1885 was secured from papers in the Mark Twain Collection, General Library, Berkeley.
45. Laura Stedman and George M. Gould, eds., *Life and Letters of Edmund Clarence Stedman*, 2 vols. (New York, 1910), II, 264. The letter was written August 5, 1899, partly to solicit Hawthorne's permission to reprint his poem "Were-Wolf" in Stedman's *An American Anthology*. In the JH Papers at Yale University are two letters (of 1878 and 1892) from Hawthorne to Stedman; in the latter he declares, "You and Stoddard are the best poets now living."


48. The original of this letter, dated December 11, 1885, is in the Mark Twain Collection; the excerpt is reproduced here by permission of the Estate of Clara Clemens Samossoud (Mark Twain's daughter). The relationship between Clemens and Hawthorne is discussed in the latter's article "Mark Twain As I Knew Him," *Overland Monthly* n.s. LXXXVII (April, 1929), 111, 128.


50. Still other club memberships of this period were in the Nineteenth-Century Club and the Twilight Club. In 1893 Hawthorne joined with twenty other writers (including Lathrop and Thomas Nelson Page) to form the "Syndicate of Associated Authors." Hawthorne was also a Mason.

51. Gerard E. Jensen, *The Life and Letters of Henry Cuyler Bunner* (Durham, N.C., 1939), p. 95; Bunner's letter is dated March 16, 1884. Hawthorne's interest in the supernatural was not manifested only in his fiction and in entertainments for the delectation of his friends. His journal for October, 1885, for example (in JHC), records with considerable interest Hildegarde's experiments with automatic writing and the whole family's engaging in "table-tipping" adventures on an amateur basis, that is, without the use of professional mediums. Hawthorne was also fascinated by palmistry. In his London days, he wrote a letter to the *Daily News* (in a humorous vein, probably) outlining graphically his own experiences with the phenomenon of levitation, a letter that drew forth a rash of inquiries. Finally, the Swedenborgianism that both he and Hildegarde embraced attracted him primarily, it seems, because of its occult doctrines.

52. JHC V:16, p. 336. Hawthorne wrote a warm obituary letter about Roe to the *Critic* XIII (n.s. X) (July 28, 1888), 43-44.


54. The introduction may also be viewed as a kind repayment for Field's support in the Hawthorne-Lowell quarrel of 1886, treated below. A full discussion of the events surrounding the writing of the preface may be found in Caroline Ticknor, *Glimpses of Authors* (Boston and New York, 1922), pp. 229-31.

55. Eugene Field, *Culture's Garland* (Boston, 1887), p. viii. In a letter of June 22, 1887, the original of which is in the Huntington Library, Field thanks Hawthorne for his criticism.


61. JHC V:16, p. 14 (entry for November 9, 1883).

62. The original of this letter, dated November 28, 1885, is in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, and is reproduced here with its permission.

63. The original of this letter, dated December 24, 1885, is in the Duke University Library. The literary judgments of this letter are howlers; in the mid-1880's James, Clemens, and Howells were doing some of their finest work.

64. Confessions and Criticisms, pp. 15-16.

65. Ibid., pp. 111-12.

66. Ibid., pp. 37-38.

67. Ibid., p. 42.

68. Ibid., p. 137.

69. Ibid., p. 99.

70. Ibid., pp. 77-78.

71. Ibid., pp. 61-62.

72. Ibid., p. 63.

73. Ibid., p. 65.

74. Ibid., p. 68.

75. Ibid., p. 89.

76. Hawthorne's statements in this work were considered significant enough to be recalled seventy-five years later in an anthology of criticism of the American novel: see Louis D. Rubin, Jr., and John Rees Moore, eds., The Idea of an American Novel (New York, 1961), pp. 38-39, 66-68.

Chapter 6


2. Ibid., pp. 102-3. Hawthorne introduced carnal passion as an important element in all his novels; his romances, except for Love Is a Spirit (1896), stress instead the spirituality of love.


4. Howard Haycraft, Murder for Pleasure: The Life and Times of the Detective Story (New York and London, 1941), p. 93. Conan Doyle's first story was not, however, immediately popular, and probably did not influence the composition of the Hawthorne tales.

5. Ellery Queen, "The Detective Short Story: The First Hundred Years," in The Art of the Mystery Story, ed. Howard Haycraft (New York, 1946), pp. 486-87. In addition to the undoubtedly legitimate memoirs such as Allan Pinkerton's Thirty Years a Detective (1884), the genre included such
works as Charles Martel's *The Detective's Note-Book* (1860), Alfred Hughes's *Leaves from the Note-Book of a Chief of Police* (1864), and James McGowan's *Brought to Bay* (1878).

6. Julian Hawthorne, *Another's Crime* (New York and London, 1888), p. 3. Despite the authenticity of the skeletal plots of these stories, they can scarcely be viewed as realistic novels like *Garth* or *Dust*. The quotation cited uses the familiar technique of an avouched verisimilitude, like that in *Archibald Malmaison*, *Sinfire*, and other romances.

7. The stories were published by Cassell in the following order: *An American Penman*, *A Tragic Mystery*, and *The Great Bank Robbery* in 1887; and *Section 558*; or *The Fatal Letter* and *Another's Crime* in 1888.

8. Hawthorne had utilized this name of his eldest daughter before, in the early story "A Picturesque Transformation" (1872); and "Hildegarde" appears again as his companion in *Humors of the Fair* (1893). Of the writer's other children, only Beatrix was also so honored, in *Beatrix Randolph* (1883).


13. Ibid., p. 19.

14. In 1926 Hawthorne wrote to a Spokane correspondent about this history. "I did not write a line of it," he declares, "or was aware that it existed. Neither did I ever before hear of my alleged collaborator, the poetical colonel. I was not consulted in its making, or knew that it was projected." The original of this letter, dated November 14, 1926, is in the Washington State University Library, Pullman.


16. However, in a letter of January 15, 1892, addressed to E. C. Stedman, Hawthorne writes, "The Boston people (thank God!) are much incensed because I did not deify and canonize every one who bore the Beacon-street brand, and countersign them all 'Best.' The West and South are much more affable." Quoted in Bassan, "JH Papers at Yale," pp. 88–89. Cf. 11. 20, below.


20. Charles B. Willard, *Whitman's American Fame* (Providence, R.I., 1950), p. 131. The antipathy toward Whitman in the textbook, coupled with remarks allegedly "grossly prejudiced and unfair" in regard to the abolitionists, led some critics to accuse it of a southern bias, and to attempt to remove

23. This paragraph is based upon an account in Maynard, A Fire Was Lighted, pp. 227-28.
25. Ibid., p. 129.
26. Ibid., pp. 102-3.
28. JHC V:8.
29. P. 19.
30. “Hawthorne-Holinshed,” Critic XXV (February 1, 1896), p. 83. The published letter is dated from Jamaica, December 12, 1895; the “private letter,” dated December 14, is in the Stauffer Collection, New York Public Library. According to Island Farm (p. 165), which is not a reliable source, her father completed the story in two months. Working titles for the novel were Between Two Fires and Against Himself.
32. Ibid., p. 221.
33. The novel was not, unfortunately, widely noticed in the press. One distinctly uncomplimentary review appeared in the Dial XXI (August 16, 1896), 95.
35. Hildegarde went abroad for a year to visit friends. Meanwhile, John, the oldest son, had been named vice and deputy consul at Kingston in November, 1895, a post he held until June, 1897 (information supplied by the National Archives and Records Service). After serving in the Spanish-American War as a soldier—while his father wrote dispatches for the New York Journal—John F. B. Hawthorne entered upon a long career in journalism. His longest connection was with the New York Evening Post as reporter and editor from 1920 to 1933. He died on April 28, 1960, at Pound Ridge, N.Y., aged eighty-six.
36. Hildegarde Hawthorne, Island Farm, p. 165; and letter to Pond, January, 1896, in JHC (uncatalogued).
37. See Memoirs, pp. 291-96. At Yale University there is a forty-page diary of 1897 on which the India articles are based.
38. The first such anthology, published in 1895, was English; the first American anthology was compiled by William Patten in 1906. Other pioneer anthologists in addition to Hawthorne were J. L. French, J. W. McSpadden, and Carolyn Wells. See Haycraft, Murder for Pleasure, p. 307; and Queen, “The Detective Short Story,” p. 489.
39. Julian Hawthorne, “Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Other Friends of Fifty Years,” a manuscript in the Berg Collection that is the basis for Julian Hawthorne’s Hawthorne and His Circle.
40. A journal for the year 1899 survives in JHC (V:10), but it records primarily business transactions for that year. There are also a number of business letters for this period in the Huntington Library and elsewhere in JHC.

41. Letter to the present writer, dated May 26, 1958.

42. JHC IV; dated February 9, 1932. Information about Edith Garrigues may also be found in JHC II:8 and V:18.

43. Brief biographical treatments of Hildegard Hawthorne may be located in Who’s Who in America, XX, 1159; and in the unreliable Who’s Who among North American Authors, VIII, 455-56. Many references to her life and career appear in the letters, journals, and clippings of JHC.

44. Ralph Hancock, Fabulous Boulevard (New York, 1949), p. 95.


47. Ibid., p. 143. I have been unable to identify the first encounter between Wilshire and Hawthorne; presumably this occurred in New York in 1901. Hawthorne’s romance The Golden Fleece (1892) shows, however, a firsthand acquaintance with southern California also documented elsewhere, and it is thus possible that the two men met in California some time before 1892. Wilshire’s published work includes a collection of editorials, Socialism Inevitable (New York, 1907). In addition to the materials relating to Wilshire in Quint, Hancock, and Sinclair, further information may be found in Stewart H. Holbrook’s The Golden Age of Quackery (New York, 1959), which deals with Wilshire’s fraudulent exploitation of a “magnetic belt,” the I-ON-A-CO, in 1926, the year before his death; in Who’s Who in America, VII, 943; and in the Gaylord Wilshire papers at the Library of the University of California at Los Angeles.


53. That Julian, even late in life, seems to have missed the point of “Earth’s Holocaust” is evident from his comment about it that Nathaniel Hawthorne “turns almost playfully, the seamy side of civilization to the light, but leaves no defect or absurdity untouched” (Memoirs, pp. 214-15).

Chapter 7

1. The letters, articles, poems, and factual information in this section have been gathered from the following sources: JHC II:2, II:8, and V:18; and Loggins, The Hawthornes, pp. 328–33.

2. These newspaper comments are quoted in The Hawthornes, pp. 331–32.
3. Hawthorne ironically repeats here the substance of a passage in Wilde's *De Profundis*, which he had called "degenerate" in 1905: "[Reason] tells me that the laws under which I am convicted are wrong and unjust laws. ... I feel that not to be ashamed of having been punished is one of the first points I must attain to." By 1907, however, covering the Harry Thaw trial for the press, Hawthorne had grown more charitable. When crime is revealed, he wrote, we come to see that this universe in which we live is really a universe, and not a poliverse, and "we know that other men and women are but our own selves subjected to accidents and conditions only a little different from those which have occurred to us. By what fortuitous chance was it that you or I are not sitting in yonder prisoner's dock: that your wife or mother, or mine, is not telling her tale of grief and despair in that witness chair?" This theme recurs in *The Subterranean Brotherhood*, discussed below. Meanwhile, the Thoreauvian echoes in the letter to Bryan are also worth noting.


6. Ibid., p. xiii.

7. Ibid., p. xvii.


9. JHC IV. The later history of Morton is pathetic. Although he had been reinstated as a doctor, he became involved again with Albert Freeman, who, according to Morton's wife Ellen, took every penny from him. Morton even wrote Hawthorne in 1917: "As to the copper mine I believe it is really a big thing and the sooner he [Freeman] sends you your stock the better." Morton died in 1920.

10. This letter, and the following one quoted, are in JHC III.

11. Hawthorne had attempted to publish another volume of juvenile stories, including "Rumpty-Dudget," as early as 1902: see the letters from him to Albert B. Paine, the originals of which are in the Huntington Library.

12. The quotations in this paragraph are drawn from the memorabilia of the celebration preserved in JHC II:4.


14. The original of this letter, which was read at the celebration, is in the University of Southern California's Hamlin Garland Collection.


18. Ibid., p. 358.

19. The recollections also extend into Hawthorne's mature years as far as 1900, but these occupy only a small number of pages. In 1932 Hawthorne had put together a book titled *Giants of Old Concord*, which had been rejected by at least one publisher, Stokes.

20. *Memoirs*, p. 3. Julian was of course only a year old when Thoreau went to jail.