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THE ROLE OF FOLKLORE IN  
HAWTHORNE'S LITERARY  
NATIONALISM.

The University of North Carolina  
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THE ROLE OF FOLKLORE IN HAWTHORNE'S  
LITERARY NATIONALISM

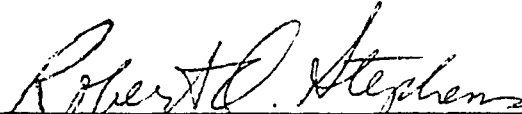
by

Robert Lamar Bland

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Approved by

  
Dissertation Adviser

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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Although Hawthorne's use of folklore material has been previously studied, no attempt has been made prior to this study to relate that usage to Hawthorne's attempt to establish himself as an American writer. The central contention of this study is that Hawthorne used folklore to establish himself as a literary nationalist, one who used indigenous resources to write literature peculiarly appropriate to the American culture.

Hawthorne used seven types of folklore in his short fiction: legends, märchen, oral tradition, folkloric characters, folklore motifs, folkloric themes, and witchcraft and the supernatural. An examination of the changes which occur in the way these materials are used from 1825 to 1850 indicates that Hawthorne wrote primarily as a literary nationalist until the publication of Twice-Told Tales.

A survey of the milieu of literary nationalism during Hawthorne's time shows ten writers who probably affected Hawthorne's practice by using one or more of the same types of folklore in developing a native literature. They were James Kirke Paulding, William Cullen Bryant, John Neal, Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, William Austin, John Greenleaf Whittier, Catherine M. Sedgwick, Sara Josepha Hale, and William Leete Stone. Hawthorne knew all of these writers either personally, by their literary reputation, or because, like him, they published in the New England Magazine, The Token, or the Democratic Review. In addition, several literary critics writing in the North American Review--William

Tudor, J. G. Palfrey and W. C. Gardiner--were influential by encouraging American writers to use the American past in fiction.

Using the evidence that Hawthorne changed his folklore usage in various ways during his apprenticeship and pointing out direct influences from literary nationalists where it is demonstrable, this study shows how Hawthorne struggled to identify himself as a nationalistic writer during the decade from the late 1820's to the late 1830's. There are two dimensions to his literary nationalism: (1) the use of folklore resources to implement themes about the continuance of the nation's past into the present, (2) the attempt to show the surface peculiarities of the nation's culture. The first dimension is most apparent in "Provincial Tales," his planned volume of stories from the late 1820's, which he was unable to publish, partially because it lacked the patriotic themes the decade favored. His next planned volume, "The Story Teller," gives evidence of a changed nationalistic intention, with Hawthorne concentrating on showing the panoramic present of the American culture through the use of American scenery, character types, and folkloric narratives. Although each of the ten writers and several critics may have been influential in minor ways, the major influences came from Irving, Neal, Hale, and Paulding. Hawthorne achieved public recognition as a literary nationalist with Twice-Told Tales (1837 and 1842), where he offered a blend of the two nationalistic emphases in his earlier work. Thereafter his themes become less national, more universal, and his work shows less folklore usage. Twice in his later career, however, when he published The Snow Image and when he was writing Septimius Felton, Hawthorne returned to folklore resources, in apparent recognition they had served him well. Such

resources influenced his romances. His use of legends and oral tradition helped shape his theory of romance, characters like Chillingworth and Westervelt show the influence of the wizard character type, and the folkloric theme of the influence of the past is evident until The House of the Seven Gables.

## Acknowledgments

I wish to thank the members of my advisory committee, who are identified on the preceding page, for their comments which helped to improve this paper. Special thanks are due Robert O. Stephens, with whom I discussed most of the ideas I express here.

The staff at Jackson Library cheerfully secured materials which were not available to me in Greensboro.

Linda Bland was supportive throughout my work: she cared enough to type several copies of the manuscript.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
APPROVAL PAGE . . . . .	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS . . . . .	iii
 CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
II. HAWTHORNE'S USE OF FOLKLORE. . . . .	4
Legends. . . . .	8
Märchen. . . . .	20
Oral Tradition . . . . .	28
Folkloric Characters . . . . .	33
Folklore Motifs. . . . .	44
Folkloric Themes . . . . .	50
Witchcraft and the Supernatural. . . . .	58
III. FOLKLORE IN THE LITERARY NATIONALISM MILIEU. . . . .	70
Nationalistic Criticism and Literature from 1815 to 1830. . . . .	75
James Kirke Paulding . . . . .	79
William Cullen Bryant. . . . .	89
John Neal. . . . .	97
Washington Irving. . . . .	104
James Fenimore Cooper. . . . .	111
William Austin . . . . .	117
Nationalistic Criticism and Literature from 1830 to 1837. . . . .	120
John Greenleaf Whittier. . . . .	125
Catherine M. Sedgwick. . . . .	130
Sara Josepha Hale. . . . .	133
William L. Stone . . . . .	137
<u>The Token</u> . . . . .	140
Nationalistic Criticism and Literature After 1837. . . . .	144
IV. HAWTHORNE'S LITERARY NATIONALISM . . . . .	149
"Seven Tales of My Native Land". . . . .	150
"Provincial Tales" . . . . .	153
"The Story Teller" . . . . .	165
<u>Twice-Told Tales</u> . . . . .	174

CHAPTER	Page
<u>Grandfather's Chair</u> . . . . .	.183
<u>Mosses From an Old Manse</u> . . . . .	.184
<u>"Old Time Legends" and <u>The Snow Image</u></u> . . . . .	.188
The Romances. . . . .	.191
V. CONCLUSION. . . . .	.200
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	.205

## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

A few short years after American independence had been won, the question most troubling creative writers was how to achieve literary independence from Europe. With their originality threatened by the strong traditions of Gothicism and the sentimental romance from abroad, and with their own first efforts criticized or ridiculed by English writers and skeptics at home, American writers searched for native material to create a national literature. Indigenous folklore was an invaluable resource they found, providing the best writers, including Nathaniel Hawthorne, with a means of achieving nationalism and greatness.

Hawthorne is not commonly thought to have been active in the drive to write a national literature; most scholarship treats him chiefly as the first American writer to explore man's interior motivations and conflicts. Yet a substantial amount of scholarship exists indicating Hawthorne's interest in American folklore, raising the question previously not discussed and central to this paper of the relationship between his interest in folklore and his desire to become known as an American writer, to write a literature using American resources. The folklore Hawthorne uses is of seven types, each of which is discussed at greater length in Chapter 2 of this paper: legends, märchen, oral tradition, folkloric characters, folklore motifs, folkloric themes, and witchcraft and the supernatural.

By examining Hawthorne's use of this folklore throughout the period when he was struggling to become known to the American public, from 1825 to 1840 primarily, one finds evidence that he used folklore in an attempt to write a literature having national significance, in response to the calls of prominent critics and authors for a national literature. When one examines each type of folklore usage in chronological development, certain shifts in its function become apparent, indicating changes, adjustments, and new directions in Hawthorne's rationale for writing. Generally, folklore closely related to the American setting and to American cultural history is prevalent until the late 1830's, but after recognition as an American writer came to him in Twice-Told Tales, Hawthorne became more interested in universal rather than national themes.

Additional support for viewing Hawthorne as a nationalist is evident when one relates his work to that of other literary nationalists of his time. In the nationalist milieu, discussed in Chapter 3 of this paper, various writers urged the use of folklore to develop a national literature and frequently used folklore in their own work. Hawthorne knew all of these writers--James Kirke Paulding, William Cullen Bryant, John Neal, Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, William Austin, John Greenleaf Whittier, Catherine M. Sedgwick, Sara Josepha Hale, and William L. Stone--some of them personally, some by the reputation of their work, and some because they published in the same periodicals that he did, the New England Magazine, The Token, and the Democratic Review. It can be shown that Hawthorne was occasionally influenced by particular nationalistic work of these writers; for example, the work



of Paulding and Neal influenced the shape of Twice-Told Tales and "The Story Teller," respectively. Collectively these ten writers comprise the nationalist milieu which was dominant in the 1820's and early 1830's when Hawthorne was struggling to establish his artistic identity, exerting an influence that prompted him to use folklore similarly.

Hawthorne was most prone to use folklore to assert national themes in his early work during the time when the nationalistic milieu was influential. By placing his folklore usage in the larger context of his several planned collections of tales, which is done in Chapter 4 of this paper, not only are the nationalistic intentions of individual works better understood but his larger strategy for becoming known as an American writer can be seen. His first three planned volumes of tales--"Seven Tales of My Native Land," "Provincial Tales," and "The Story Teller"-- were not published as separate collections, but evidence of his plans for these books indicates he shifted his strategy as he moved from one volume to the next, modifying his nationalistic intentions to enhance his chances of reaching the reading public. He achieved the success he sought with the publication of Twice-Told Tales in 1837 and 1842, in volumes containing the varied national emphases he had developed in his previous work, and much of the nationalistic emphasis is accomplished through the use of folklore. After Twice-Told Tales Hawthorne turned to themes which were more universal than national, but he seemed to recognize he had gained much from the use of native materials in the work of his apprenticeship. In later years he used folklore less and was less nationalistic, but the success he achieved then was partially due to the early folkloristic and nationalistic influences described in the following pages.

## CHAPTER II

## HAWTHORNE'S USE OF FOLKLORE

Before he knew what literary nationalism was, Hawthorne experienced folklore. Both of his parents came from old New England families, and he became well acquainted with New England history and tradition. During the time before he went to Bowdoin College, he heard many stories from his mother, his aunt, and his grandmother about haunted houses and eccentric people in Salem.<sup>1</sup> Julian Hawthorne speaks of the family influences which

affected and stimulated [Nathaniel's] imagination, which was . . . nourished by the tales of the War of 1812 and of the Revolution related to him by his elders, and by the traditions of the witchcraft period.<sup>2</sup>

Another source of folklore materials for young Hawthorne was the wharfs of Salem, where he spent much time listening to sailors' tales of the sea.<sup>3</sup>

When Hawthorne went to Bowdoin College in 1821, he heard there folk information about Maine. He had been previously exposed to folk traditions of this area because his mother's family came from Maine,

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<sup>1</sup>Manning Hawthorne, "Hawthorne's Early Years," Essex Institute Historical Collections, 74 (1938) 9.

<sup>2</sup>Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1885), I, 6.

<sup>3</sup>See the chapter "Hawthorne's Grounding in Folklore: The Biographical and Literary Evidence" in Charles S. Adams, "The Dimensions of Folklore in the Writing of Nathaniel Hawthorne," Dissertation University of Indiana 1973, pp. 84ff.

and from as early as 1813 Mrs. Hawthorne had taken the children to Raymond for vacations and visits.<sup>4</sup> In a diary of his early years Hawthorne writes of spending much time with the men of Raymond and with his uncle Richard Manning, hearing Indian legends and tales of diabolical Indian powwows.<sup>5</sup> At Bowdoin, two main influences were his classmate Horatio Bridge and Reverend Thomas Coggeswell Upham, a professor who came to the college in Hawthorne's senior year. Bridge reports periodic visits to a fortune teller who read them prophecies from tea leaves.<sup>6</sup> It seems likely that there were more episodes of this type than Bridge recalls to mind. Reverend Upham came to the college too late to have lengthy personal contact with Hawthorne, but we know that he encouraged his students to take an interest in locale. An indication of the sort of thing Upham thought was worth preserving is the account of the avalanche which destroyed the Willey family at Crawford Notch, New Hampshire, an account not published until 1843 but a true indication of what Upham's interests were.<sup>7</sup> It is likely Upham made Hawthorne aware very early of the literary possibilities inherent in these materials of the countryside.

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<sup>4</sup>Rachel Elizabeth Stanfield Van Pelt, "Folklore in the Tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne," Dissertation University of Illinois 1962, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup>Samuel T. Pickard, Hawthorne's First Diary (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1897). There is some doubt as to whether the diary is authentic, but the details themselves seem credible. See Adams' discussion of the Diary, pp. 86ff.

<sup>6</sup>Horatio Bridge, Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1893), p. 14.

<sup>7</sup>Thomas Coggeswell Upham, Fireside Poetical Readings, Illustrative of American Scenery, Rural Life and Historical Incidents (Boston: D. S. King, 1843).

By the time Hawthorne returned to Salem for his long period of literary apprenticeship from 1825 to 1837, he had received a thorough grounding in New England folk materials from his family and college acquaintances. There is ample indication that he continued to nourish these interests by reading folklore.<sup>8</sup> Charles Adams writes:

The evidence of his reading suggests a deliberate immersion in written equivalent of oral traditions, in periodicals that collected and published authentic oral reports of Indian captivities, legends of place, memorats, local traditions, folk say and place names.<sup>9</sup>

During this period Hawthorne kept no record of what he was reading or thinking, but the American Notebooks of the later periods of his life show that by 1837 he had developed a tendency to record expressions and anecdotes of the people, often written down verbatim, or close to the style of the narrator.<sup>10</sup> In a letter to Samuel Goodrich in the early thirties regarding material he hoped to publish in The Token, Hawthorne refers to the lasting interest he has had in folklore:

You will see that one of the stories is founded upon the superstitions of this part of the country. I do not know that such an attempt has hitherto been made, but, as I have thrown away much time in listening to such traditions, I could not help trying to put them into some shape.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>See Adams, whose account is the most thorough to date in establishing the particularities of Hawthorne's education in folklore.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>11</sup>Quoted in Nelson Adkins, "The Early Projected Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne," Papers of the Bibliographic Society of America, 39 (1945), 129.

In looking back over this long twelve-year period of Hawthorne's life, Charles Adams reaches the general conclusion that

Hawthorne's writing, reading, and experience of this apprenticeship period are a piece, and document his initially naive attempts to incorporate the materials and atmosphere of oral traditions into the stuff of his early fiction.<sup>12</sup>

The American Notebooks, which Hawthorne kept from 1837 to 1853, give ample indication that his interest in folklore continued throughout the period of his early writing. During this time Hawthorne was to make innumerable contacts with the New England folk culture, and the Notebooks are a veritable index to the types of traditional materials Hawthorne was interested in; there are

traditions of place, witches and wizards, superstitions and beliefs, folk say, local customs, character types, lore related to the dead, place names, local legends, tales of ghosts and haunts, and family traditions.<sup>13</sup>

One frequently finds a folkloric item in the Notebooks which influenced a story Hawthorne wrote between 1837 and 1848; for example, the legends about proud Mrs. Knox of Thomaston, Maine, influenced "Lady Eleanor's Mantle."

The tales and sketches Hawthorne wrote from 1824 to 1848 reveal the extent to which his interest in folklore affected his writing, showing him using narrative structures of folklore, character types, folkloric motifs and themes, and witchcraft and the supernatural. The folk elements also indicate the course of his literary nationalism,

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<sup>12</sup>Adams, p. 121.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 185.

strongly evident in the 1820's and 1830's, and waning through indecisiveness in the 1840's and 1850's. To understand the full course of Hawthorne's literary nationalism, it is necessary to know how folklore contributed to his artistry and how his use of folklore changed with his intentions as a writer. The following pages explain Hawthorne's use of seven types of folklore which helped him become an American writer.

### Legends

Perhaps the single most influential type of folklore for Hawthorne was the legend. Early in his career he wrote stories based on American legends, and he continued to use these native materials well into the late 1840's. He first used legendary material in "Roger Malvin's Burial," written in 1828 or 1829.<sup>14</sup> As his central characters Reuben Bourne and Roger Malvin return home from Lovell's Fight, Hawthorne anticipates that what happens to them may sound familiar to his readers:

Some of the incidents contained in the following pages will be recognized, notwithstanding the substitution of fictitious names, by such as have heard, from old men's lips, the fate of the few combatants who were in a condition to retreat after Lovell's Fight.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Elizabeth Chandler, A Study of the Sources of the Tales and Romances Written by Nathaniel Hawthorne Before 1853, Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, 7 (July 1926). Throughout my study I use Miss Chandler's dating of the order of composition of Hawthorne's tales and sketches unless indicated otherwise.

<sup>15</sup>Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Roger Malvin's Burial," Mosses From an Old Manse, edited by George Parsons Lathrop. Riverside edition of Hawthorne's Works (Cambridge, Mass., 1883), II, 381. Hereafter referred to as Riverside edition, II.

Charles Adams claims that it is finally impossible to say what Hawthorne's sources were for the details of Lovewell's Fight (Hawthorne calls it Lovell's Fight), but he argues that a major source could have been Reverend Upham.<sup>16</sup> Upham's review of Collections, Topographical, Historical, and Biographical, relating Principally to New Hampshire, a collection of New Hampshire material edited by John Farmer and others in the early 1820's, appeared in the North American Review in 1824, and in it Upham says:

The story of Lovewell's Fight is one of the nursery tales of New Hampshire; there is hardly a person that lives in the eastern and northern part of the state, but has heard the incident of that fearful encounter repeated from infancy.<sup>17</sup>

Hawthorne could have heard the legend orally or from two written sources: the Farmer Collections (1824) Upham reviewed or Reverend Thomas Symmes's Historical Memoirs of the Late Fight at Piggwacket (1822).<sup>18</sup>

At about the same time, Hawthorne wrote "The Gray Champion," also largely based on legendary material. A legendary belief current in America was that the three regicide judges who had condemned Charles I to death--Edward Whalley, William Goffe, and John Dixwell--had fled to Hadley, Massachusetts, at the Restoration to escape execution. One of them, Goffe, came out of hiding to help defend the

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<sup>16</sup>Adams, pp. 126-7.

<sup>17</sup>"Review of Collections, Topographical, Historical, and Biographical, relating Principally to New Hampshire," North American Review, 18 (1824), 35.

<sup>18</sup>See G. Harrison Orians, "The Source of Hawthorne's 'Roger Malvin's Burial'," American Literature, 10 (November 1938), 313-18.

village from Indian attack in 1675. He became known as "the angel of Hadley," and the legend about him was used six times in fiction before Hawthorne's story.<sup>19</sup> Hawthorne has the regicide appear as an old man to help the people repel the tyranny of Governor Edmund Andros in Boston in 1689. A legendary figure in the tale, he admits being one of the regicides ("I have staid the march of a king himself, ere now");<sup>20</sup> he comes from a secret place (perhaps the grave) to assist the people ("I am here, Sir Governor, because the cry of an oppressed people hath disturbed me in my secret place. . . . It was vouchsafed me to appear once again on earth, in the good cause of his Saints" p. 16); and after he leaves, he will reappear as New England needs support against tyranny ("When eighty years had passed, he walked once more in King Street. Five years later, in the twilight of an April morning, he stood on the green, beside the meeting-house, at Lexington, where now the obelisk of granite, with a slab of slate inlaid, commemorates the first fallen of the Revolution" pp. 17-18). While Hawthorne could have heard the Angel of Hadley legend from Puritan histories, he may have been inspired by folklore stories where a former distinguished leader returned to help his people in a time of crisis.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>G. Harrison Orians, "The Angel of Hadley in Fiction: A Study of the Sources of Hawthorne's 'The Gray Champion'," American Literature, 4 (1932), 257-69.

<sup>20</sup>Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Gray Champion," Twice-Told Tales, edited by William Charvat, Roy Harvey Pearce, Claude M. Simpson, and others. The Centenary edition of Hawthorne's Works (Ohio State University Press, 1974), IX, 16. Hereafter referred to as Centenary edition, IX.

<sup>21</sup>Adams, p. 129.



While on vacation at Ethan Crawford's Inn in the White Mountains of New Hampshire in September of 1832, Hawthorne could have heard the legend of the Willey family and the Indian legend of the carbuncle, material which he would use in "The Ambitious Guest" and "The Great Carbuncle," respectively.<sup>22</sup> The story of the Willey family is an American place legend, originating at Crawford's Notch in the White Mountains and telling how that family was killed by avalanche. The setting Hawthorne gives his story is faithful to the legend. He makes the location very specific:

This family were situated in the Notch of the White Hills, where the wind was sharp throughout the year, and pitilessly cold in the winter--giving their cottage all its fresh inclemency, before it descended on the valley of the Saco. They dwelt in a cold spot and a dangerous one; for a mountain towered above their heads, so steep, that the stones would often rumble down its sides, and startle them at midnight.<sup>23</sup>

After the family in his story are buried by the rockslide, Hawthorne calls the Willey legend to mind: "Who has not heard their name? The story has been told far and wide, and will forever be a legend of these mountains" (p. 333).

The Indian legend of the carbuncle is called by one critic one of the most widespread of New England legends.<sup>24</sup> It had been printed in James Sullivan's The History of the District of Maine in 1795, and

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., pp. 252, 261-2, 325-6.

<sup>23</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 324.

<sup>24</sup>Ray B. Browne, "The Oft-Told Twice-Told Tales: Their Folklore Motifs," Southern Folklore Quarterly, 22 (June 1958), 78.

it continued to exist in oral form after it was printed. Sullivan writes of the early colonial legend:

There was an early expectation of finding a gem, of immense size and value on the mountain: it was conjectured, and is yet believed by some that a carbuncle is suspended from a rock, over a pond of water there. While many in the early days of the country's settlement believed this report, each one was afraid that his neighbor should become the unfortunate proprietor of the prize, by right of prior possession. To prevent this, credit was given to the tale of the natives, that the place was guarded by an evil spirit, who troubled the waters, and raised a dark mist, on the approach of human footsteps: this idea was necessary to those of avaricious credulity, who attempted in vain to obtain the prize, and were in hopes of a more fortunate adventure.<sup>25</sup>

Hawthorne indicates he knew Sullivan's History in a note on the first page of the story and has his characters responding in much the way Sullivan mentions.

In the first half of 1835 Hawthorne wrote "The Minister's Black Veil," based on a Maine legend. In a note at the beginning of the story, Hawthorne indicates that the model for Parson Hooper was a Maine clergyman named Joseph Moody, who

made himself remarkable by the same eccentricity that is here related of the Reverend Mr. Hooper. In his case, however, the symbol had a different import. In early life he had accidentally killed a beloved friend; and from that day till the hour of his own death, he hid his face from men.<sup>26</sup>

Hawthorne does not say in his note where he got the story, and scholars who have tried to trace his source disagree over whether it was written or oral. Edward Dawson located a birth date for Moody in the historical material he examined (and verified his residence in York, Maine), but

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<sup>25</sup>Quoted in Neal Frank Doubleday, Hawthorne's Early Tales: A Critical Study (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972), p. 146 n.

<sup>26</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 37n.

since that was all the information he could find, he thinks Hawthorne had the tale from oral tradition.<sup>27</sup>

For the stories previously mentioned, Hawthorne had access to legends in oral tradition or to written sources which recorded oral legend, but in the stories in The Legends of the Province House, his access to oral tradition by either method cannot be demonstrated. Hawthorne suggests in at least two of the stories, "Howe's Masquerade" and "Edward Randolph's Portrait," that an oral tradition circulated the legend, and it seems likely that this was the case even though it has not been determined where Hawthorne came into contact with them. In "Howe's Masquerade" the story of the funeral procession of the dead during Howe's last party is told by Mr. Thomas Waite, who, the narrator says, "professed to have received it at one or two removes, from an eye-witness; but this derivation, together with the lapse of time, must have afforded opportunities for many variations of the narrative."<sup>28</sup> The story Waite tells is "pleasant gossip . . . between memory and tradition" (p. 243). As the tale continues to be passed down through time, it becomes enlarged as a legend, Waite says.

Superstition, among other legends of this mansion, repeats the wondrous tale that, on the anniversary night of Britain's discomfiture, the ghosts of the ancient governors of Massachusetts still glide through the portal of the Province House (p. 254).

When the narrator returns to the Province House in "Edward Randolph's Portrait," he hopes to snatch "from oblivion some else unheard-of fact

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<sup>27</sup>Edward Dawson, "Hawthorne's Knowledge and Use of New England History," Dissertation Vanderbilt University 1937, pp. 203-08. Cited in Adams, pp. 338-39.

<sup>28</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 243.

of history" (p.256), and the story Bela Tiffany tells him is "as correct a version of the fact as the reader would be likely to obtain from any other source" (p.258). The sources for what Hawthorne develops as legendary oral transmission are very obscure and may in fact predate the Revolutionary setting of the two tales. Inspiration for the ghostly parade in "Howe's Masquerade" may have come from a passage in Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana, and Indian legends where statues come to life to help their worshippers may have influenced "Edward Randolph's Portrait."<sup>29</sup>

For "Lady Eleanor's Mantle," the last of the three Legends of the Province House which have true legendary dimension, critics have been more successful in isolating source material. The germ for the story is the notes Hawthorne took on the Knox family house near Thomaston, Maine, which he saw in August of 1837. Hawthorne wrote:

The house and its vicinity, and the whole tract covered by Knox's patent may be taken as an illustration of what must be the result of American schemes of aristocracy. It is not forty years, since this house was built, and Knox was in his glory; but now the house is all in decay, while, within a stones [*sic*] throw of it, is a street of neat, smart, white edifices of one and two stories, occupied chiefly by mechanics.<sup>30</sup>

Eleanor Rochcliffe is thought to be patterned after the proud wife of General Knox, whom Hawthorne describes in the Notebooks as "a woman of violent passions, fond of gallants, and so proud an aristocrat, that,

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<sup>29</sup>Without giving details, Charles Adams cites Dawson (p. 336) for the Mather reference. Ray Browne mentions the Indian legends on p. 83 of his article.

<sup>30</sup>Nathaniel Hawthorne, The American Notebooks, edited by Claude M. Simpson. The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne (Ohio State University Press, 1972), VIII, 67. Hereafter referred to as Centenary edition, VIII.

as long as she lived, she would never enter any house in Thomaston except her own" (p. 67). In addition to the Knox material, American Indian legends of proud beauties, pestilence and death have been cited as sources for Hawthorne's story.<sup>31</sup>

After writing The Legends of the Province House in 1838, Hawthorne did not again use American legends as a basis for stories until the late 1840's. In "The Great Stone Face" he used an Indian place legend. Ernest's mother tells him the story about how the greatest and noblest of men will come to their village. The story was

a story that her own mother had told to her, when she herself was younger than little Ernest; a story, not of things that were past, but of what was yet to come; a story, nevertheless, so very old, that even the Indians, who formerly inhabited this valley, had heard it from their forefathers, to whom, as they affirmed, it had been murmured by the mountain streams and whispered by the wind among the tree tops.<sup>32</sup>

It seems likely that Hawthorne heard this legend as early as his trip to the White Mountains in 1832, but the idea of using the legend to both entertain and instruct children did not come to Hawthorne until his happy parenthood in the late 1840's.

In three stories, the first written around the end of 1835, Hawthorne made a slightly different use of legends than in those stories previously discussed. In "The Man of Adamant," "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure," and "Ethan Brand" there is little indication

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<sup>31</sup>Browne, p. 84.

<sup>32</sup>Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Great Stone Face," The Snow-Image and Uncollected Tales, edited by William Charvat, Roy Harvey Pearce, Claude M. Simpson, and others. The Centenary Edition of Hawthorne's Works (Ohio State University Press, 1974), XI, 28. Hereafter referred to as Centenary edition, XI.

these stories were inspired by an American legend. But these stories take place in an American setting, and the characters within them respond to a legend as if it were historically rooted in their environment.

In "The Man of Adamant" American location is evident but never made very particular. Richard Digby lived in "the old times of religious gloom and intolerance" and was "the gloomiest and most intolerant of a stern brotherhood."<sup>33</sup> He is visited by Mary Goffe, who offers him a last chance to leave the isolation brought about by religious fanaticism. Digby refuses her offer of companionship and remains in his cave, continuing to drink the water which turns him, from the heart outward, into a marble statue. He is remembered by succeeding generations but the particularities of the story are gradually lost. What remains is

only a marvellous legend, which grew wilder from one generation to another, as the children told it to their grandchildren, and they to their posterity, till few believed that there had ever been a cavern or a statue, where now they saw but a grassy patch on the shadowy hill-side. Yet, grown people avoid the spot, nor do children play there (p. 169).

"Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure," which has some affinity with other American legends of buried treasure, shows Hawthorne using legends within a story to motivate a character's action. Peter Goldthwaite is obsessed with the desire to locate a treasure which family legend tells him his great-granduncle buried on the family property. Various stories have grown up surrounding the treasure: (1) it had been amassed by alchemy; (2) it had been conjured out of other people's pockets through wizardry;

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<sup>33</sup>Centenary edition, XI, 161.

(3) it was gained through the help of the devil who gave the elder Mr. Goldthwaite access to the provincial treasury.<sup>34</sup> Hawthorne's purpose is to express his theme of spiritual destruction through self-imposed isolation, and the legendary material is used to depict a character's spiritual condition.

The setting in "Ethan Brand" is much more specific than in "The Man of Adamant": the action occurs under the shadow of Old Graylock in the lime-making area where "there are many . . . lime-kilns . . . for the purpose of burning the white marble which composes a large part of the substance of the hills."<sup>35</sup> Brand, like Digby, is legendary in his own time. Bartram recalls the stories about Brand:

Ethan Brand, it was said, had conversed with Satan himself, in the lurid blaze of this very kiln. . . . According to this tale, before Ethan Brand departed on his search, he had been accustomed to evoke a fiend from the hot furnace of the lime-kiln, night after night, in order to confer with him about the Unpardonable Sin (p. 89).

So far as is known there is no historical figure who inspired such stories as these believed by the mountain people about Brand.

Hawthorne's occasional interest in creating legends where there were none historically is further evident in "Drowne's Wooden Image," a tale not included in the same category as those above because it seems to involve transplanting a European legend into an American situation. The original for the character of Drowne is Pygmalion, described in Ovid as a sculptor who fell in love with an ivory statue he had made. Drowne

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<sup>34</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 388.

<sup>35</sup>Centenary edition, XI, 84.

is described by Copley in the story as "a modern Pygmalion in the person of a Yankee mechanic."<sup>36</sup> Hawthorne's setting is Boston "in the good old times" (p. 347), and the woodcarver Drowne is a distinctly American craftsman: "He was the first American who is known to have attempted . . . that art in which we can now reckon so many names already distinguished, or rising to distinction" (p. 348). Drowne's feat of turning the wooden mass into a living woman becomes a legend in his time. The narrator says:

The town was now astounded by an event, the narrative of which has formed itself into one of the most singular legends that are yet to be met with in the traditional chimney corners of the New England metropolis, where old men and women sit dreaming of the past, and wag their heads at the dreamers of the present and the future (p. 357).

Hawthorne knew two New England craftsmen whose superior work could have inspired his story. The first was Deacon Shem Drowne, coppersmith and prominent citizen of Boston in the eighteenth century, who became Drowne in the story; the other was Joseph True, a woodcarver of Salem and contemporary of Hawthorne. Neal Frank Doubleday says that True was really more like Drowne in the story than the real Drowne was, but Hawthorne chose to use the first as "a way of helping to make an ancient story at home in eighteenth-century Boston."<sup>37</sup>

Two final stories show Hawthorne's interest in legends, "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" and "The Maypole of Merry Mount," although neither is based on legend, and neither, ultimately, is based on history.

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<sup>36</sup>Riverside edition, II, 353.

<sup>37</sup>Doubleday, p. 188.



"The Maypole of Merry Mount" comes the closest to being historical, but G. Harrison Orians says that "the Merry-Mount of the tale is not the Merry-Mount of history, nor do its characters from the Golden Age bear much resemblance to the adventurers and irresponsible traders of the real Wollaston settlement."<sup>38</sup> Hawthorne's concern in each story was to deal with a moment of transition that had significance for the whole American culture, and he felt the best way to do this was to give the events a more heightened significance than history might reveal or sanction. Hawthorne learned, in the words of Daniel Hoffman, to "mingle the imaginary with the actual American past so that folk traditions have the appearance of history, and history gains the heightened grandeur of legend."<sup>39</sup>

Hawthorne's use of legends in his short fiction begins in late 1828 and continues until 1848 with four phases apparent. In late 1828 when he was feeling the influence of the literary nationalism milieu strongly, he uses them in stories where his primary interest is some aspect of American social or cultural history; "The Gray Champion," "My Kinsman, Major Molineux," and "The Maypole of Merry Mount" illustrate this usage. From 1832 through 1835, frustrated with his failure to publish a volume of stories bearing his own name, he became interested in psychological themes, and especially in "The Minister's Black Veil," "The Man of Adamant," and "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure" legendary

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<sup>38</sup>G. Harrison Orians, "Hawthorne and 'The Maypole of Merry Mount'," Modern Language Notes, 53 (March 1938), 165.

<sup>39</sup>"'The Maypole of Merry Mount' and the Folklore of Love," Form and Fable in American Fiction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 126.

material helped Hawthorne implement the theme of self-destruction through separation from humanity. In 1838, with successful recognition as a national writer having been gained in Twice-Told Tales, Hawthorne again connects legends with political matters in the Legends of the Province House, but his interest in working this connection involves only these four stories. The fourth period begins around 1844 and extends to 1848, at a time when Hawthorne was questioning whether his turn in the early 1840's away from national resources had been a wise move. The three stories involved--"Drowne's Wooden Image," "Ethan Brand," and "The Great Stone Face"--show varying emphases. "Ethan Brand" is like the stories from the 1835 period in its use of legendary material for psychological theme, but when he connects legends with themes related to the artist ("Drowne's Wooden Image") and to children ("The Great Stone Face"), Hawthorne's interest is a new one.

#### Märchen

A second type of folk narrative influencing Hawthorne's nationalism was the märchen, sometimes popularly referred to as the fairy tale, but which in fact does not usually have fairy apparatus. Stith Thompson says the major characteristics of märchen are (1) that they take place in a relatively unspecific setting, (2) that they are filled with episodes that are miraculous or marvelous, and (3) that they have a happy ending.<sup>40</sup> Thompson says märchen should be thought of as "household tales" more than as "fairy tales."

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<sup>40</sup>The Folktale (New York: The Dryden Press, 1946), pp. 7-8.

Hawthorne wrote approximately ten stories which either in part or rather fully illustrate his familiarity with the Old World *märchen* tradition. The first tale to show the characteristics is "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe," written in the winter of 1832. A central figure in the story is Domenicus Pike, a pedlar of tobacco, who hears a report of the death of Mr. Higginbotham of Kimballtown. When he relays the story later that day at a tavern, a fellow-drinker tells him that he has had a drink with Higginbotham that morning, twelve hours after he was supposedly dead. The next morning Pike hears the story of Higginbotham's death from a second man, only to have the claim disputed again by a lawyer on a stage. Without realizing it, Pike has spoken with two of three men who have conspired to rob and murder Higginbotham. Pike decides to go to Kimballtown to find out for himself what the truth is, and he gets there in time to stop Higginbotham's murder by the third conspirator, who had the nerve to attempt the planned crime. Because Pike saved his life, Higginbotham sanctions his suit of his pretty school-mistress niece and later gives his property to the children of their marriage. Hawthorne's story clearly illustrates two of the characteristics of *märchen* Thompson lists: there are unusual happenings--though Higginbotham is never killed one is led to wonder with Pike about the possibility of ghosts--and there is a happy ending. Further, one can argue, as Rachel Van Pelt has done, that the details which identify the setting as New England (the Yankee pedlar Pike and the town of Kimballtown, for example) are intended to show Hawthorne's belief that *märchen* could be written in the New World as well as in Europe, rather than indicating the tale is not *märchen*.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Van Pelt, p. 243.

Occasionally Hawthorne would start writing a tale having märchen characteristics only to decide he wanted a moralized ending more than a pure illustration of the märchen form. "David Swan," written in late 1835 or early 1836, is an example. Swan, on his way to Boston to work in his uncle's grocery store, stops and falls asleep by the roadside. Several people pass by, including a merchant who had lost his own son and considers claiming Swan, a pretty girl who finds him handsome, and two thieves who consider robbing him but stop short of doing so. For the tale to end as märchen ordinarily would, Swan would need to respond to the girl who found him handsome and be claimed as a son by the merchant, but he sleeps through the episodes without interruption. Hawthorne frames this tale with a moral which he writes the tale to illustrate: "Does it not argue a superintending Providence, that, while viewless and unexpected events thrust themselves continually athwart our path, there should still be regularity enough, in mortal life?"<sup>42</sup>

"Mrs. Bullfrog," a tale written about the same time as "David Swan" and published together with it in The Token for 1837, has gone unnoticed as a märchen by folklore critics of Hawthorne.<sup>43</sup> Yet it fully illustrates the characteristics of the form. It lacks specificity in location and detail, which Hawthorne accomplished by using Thomas Bullfrog as narrator. Bullfrog is an effeminate dry-goods merchant who tells of his marriage with a woman he judges to be of good character

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<sup>42</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 190.

<sup>43</sup>The critic who gives most attention to the märchen group of Hawthorne's tales is Miss Van Pelt in Chapter 4 of her dissertation, "The Aura of Folklore." But she does not include "Mrs. Bullfrog."

and demeanor. After the ceremony changes occur in her which Bullfrog can only accept as miraculous. She drinks cherry brandy, and when the stage wrecks on their way home from the wedding, she bloodies the nose of the reckless driver. She turns out to be bald and toothless. Bullfrog also finds out that she is the woman he has read about in the newspaper who sued a previous husband for breach of promise. These changes remind Bullfrog of a miraculous character he once read about--"I recollected the tale of a fairy, who half the time was a beautiful woman and half the time a hideous monster. Had I taken that very fairy to be the wife of my bosom?"<sup>44</sup> The story has a happy ending, however, when Mrs. Bullfrog gives her husband the \$5,000 she won from her breach of promise suit against her first husband. As he does in "David Swan," Hawthorne again includes a moral, although "Mrs. Bullfrog" would be successful as a story without it. It is a moral about marriage: "Ascertain that the match is fundamentally a good one, and then take it for granted that all minor objections, should there be such, will vanish, if you let them alone" (p. 149).

In "The Three-Fold Destiny," which Hawthorne wrote a year or so later than "David Swan" and "Mrs. Bullfrog," Hawthorne indicates directly his interest in blending märchen characteristics with a New England environment. In the beginning paragraph he says he has previously been interested in combining "the spirit and mechanism of the faery legend . . . with the characters and manners of familiar life."<sup>45</sup> In this tale too,

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<sup>44</sup>Riverside edition, II, 155.

<sup>45</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 472.

"a subdued tinge of the wild and wonderful is thrown over a sketch of New England personages and scenery" (p. 472). The tale illustrates perhaps better than any other Hawthorne märchen the characteristics of the miraculous. Ralph Cranfill, who has travelled the world for ten years, returns to New England. He believes he is destined for three things, each to be confirmed by a sign: (1) to be happy in love with one who is wearing a jewel in the shape of a heart; (2) to find buried treasure at a place where a hand points downward and reads Effode-- Latin for "dig"; and (3) to achieve great power after he is called to greatness by men who will write in the air with a rod. The three marvels occur in Cranfill's hometown: he sees the hand pointing to the base of a tree in his mother's yard; he is called to be the instructor of the village school by Squire Hawkwood, who flourishes a silver-topped cane; and he meets Faith Egerton, his child-hood sweetheart, wearing a quartz heart he had given her when he left to travel the world. Cranfill achieves his destiny and is happy, providing the moral:

Would all, who cherish such wild wishes, but look around them,  
they would oftenest find their sphere of duty, of prosperity,  
and happiness, within those precincts, and in that station  
where Providence itself has cast their lot (p. 482).

Several times during the decade from 1838 to 1848, Hawthorne wrote stories which reveal his awareness of märchen elements or which show märchen forms. "The Lily's Quest," which he wrote in the fall of 1838, begins with the familiar "once upon a time" opening common to märchen, but the events which make up the story do not lead into a natural happy ending. Adam Forrester and Liliás Fay try numerous times to build their Temple of Delight, only to find repeatedly that melancholy

cannot be kept from the scene. When Lillias Fay dies where the structure is finally raised, Adam moralizes the significance of their quest in an ending which Hawthorne struggles to make positive: "On a Grave be the site of our Temple; and now our happiness is for Eternity."<sup>46</sup> The characteristics which associate "Egotism, Or the Bosom Serpent" with the *märchen* form are a happy ending and incredible marvels. Roderick Elliston has undergone a terrible transformation since pride and contempt began to dominate his personality. He undulates when he walks, looks greenish and pale, and speaks with a hiss. Only after his estranged wife tells him he must forget himself by thinking of others does he understand how to avoid his egotism. When his behavior changes, observers think they see the snake within him glide into a fountain. While both tales illustrate one or two characteristics of *märchen*, neither is as clear an example of the form as "The Three-Fold Destiny."

"The Antique Ring" and "The Great Stone Face" show Hawthorne blending *märchen* and legend characteristics. The first tale focuses on a writer whose lover asks him to write a story about an old ring he has given her. Edward Caryl had written much previously; his writing was greatly affected by the literary tastes of the time. The legend he writes about the ring tells how it was once given by Queen Elizabeth to the ill-fated Earl of Essex. When Essex asked that the ring be used to help him get out of prison, an unfaithful woman fails to carry the ring to Elizabeth as Essex requested, and the ring becomes tainted. Before the ring is suitable to give to a lover as a sign of love and

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 450.

loyalty, it must be purified. Caryl has the ring brought to America and dropped into the collection box of a New England church. The story has a happy ending when Clara Pemberton responds warmly to the legend Caryl has fashioned. The miracle which occurs is partially the story of how the ring is purified of its associations of treachery and hate, and partially the story of how Caryl writes a legend with Old World and New World connections. Later, in "The Great Stone Face" Hawthorne again mixes märchen and legend characteristics. The legend which the Indians had told for so long miraculously comes true as Ernest, the young boy in the story, matures. The ending is a happy one since Ernest develops into the wise, loving and benign man the legend has prophesied. But this story is atypical of the märchen form by being so closely related to a particular location.

Hawthorne's impending parenthood was likely responsible for the last way he uses the märchen form, to write stories which have particular appeal for children. An early example of this tendency is "Little Daffydowndilly," written in the late spring of 1843. Little Daffydowndilly runs away from school one day because he finds Mr. Toil there, a man whose demeanor frightens him. He becomes increasingly frightened as Mr. Toil continues to show up in places where he had not expected to find him. But he is calmed by realizing that there is toil in everything, and familiarity with toil makes work less disagreeable. "Little Daffydowndilly" shows Hawthorne using the märchen form to provide children with insights about experience. In "The Snow-Image" Hawthorne seems to forget about children in his concern to conclude the story criticizing the philanthropists of his day. "The Snow-Image" starts out like a



child's story, with Violet and Peony so desirous of having a playmate that their snowman comes to life. Rachel Van Pelt points out that there are two märchen motifs inherent in this part of the story: the Pygmalion motif where the inanimate created being comes to life, and the motif that desire can accomplish miracles.<sup>47</sup> The children's happiness is broken when Mr. Lindsay comes home and, believing the snow image is only a neighbor's child, requires them all to come inside to avoid the chill. The snow image melts, and Hawthorne's happy ending becomes instead an admonition for would-be philanthropists :

It behoves [sic] men, and especially men of benevolence, to consider well what they are about, and before acting on their philanthropic purposes, to be quite sure that they comprehend the nature and all the relations of the business at hand.<sup>48</sup>

Hawthorne's interest in using the märchen form appears to have three phases, two of which overlap. Beginning in 1832 and continuing intermittently until 1842, he has nationalistic intentions, showing particular interest in writing märchen having American locations which would provide folk comedy or entertainment. Four stories illustrate this purpose: "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe" in 1832, "Mrs. Bullfrog" in late 1835, "The Three-Fold Destiny" in 1837, and "The Antique Ring" in 1842. During the same time Hawthorne wrote märchen which had no nationalistic dimension, stories which simply made moralized observations about life. "David Swan" and "The Lily's Quest" illustrate this tendency. In a later phase, not evident until 1843 and continuing into 1848,

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<sup>47</sup>Van Pelt, p. 238.

<sup>48</sup>Centenary edition, XI, 25.

Hawthorne became interested in directing märchen to a children's audience. Particularly "Little Daffydowndilly" and "The Great Stone Face" illustrate perceptions and moral values children would profit by knowing.

### Oral Tradition

In addition to using two particular types of folklore structures in numerous tales, the legend and the märchen, Hawthorne extensively used oral tradition, not in itself a third type of folkloric structure but capable of helping shape the other two and of being used independently of them. Hawthorne shows an interest in oral tradition throughout his career and frequently uses oral tradition to frame a narrative.

Charles Adams writes: "Many of Hawthorne's tales, and all of his published romances, are preceded by either a preface or a preface-like frame which establishes a legendary context for the narrative which follows."<sup>49</sup>

Adams feels that Hawthorne's use of oral tradition provides a key for understanding the major methodology in Hawthorne's writing, his concern for dealing with the less tangible realities of life in a concrete setting which encouraged belief.<sup>50</sup> Hawthorne was concerned, Adams says, with using a setting that his readers would find familiar, but which ~~would not prohibit~~ him from transcending the situation with his meaning.

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<sup>49</sup> Adams, p. 53.

<sup>50</sup> Adams' discussion of the important connection between oral tradition and Hawthorne's methodology is in two parts of his dissertation: (1) Part I, Section V; and (2) Part III, pp. 301ff.

He writes:

As an American writer attempting to establish a native literature in hitherto relatively uncharted territory, he needed to establish a recognizable context within which neither he nor his audience would become lost. But at the same time the map must be compatible with his imagination and afford him the opportunity to explore a new world without unduly constricting either his range or the possibilities of discovery.<sup>51</sup>

Using oral tradition afforded Hawthorne a way of accomplishing his dual concern.

The two pieces of fiction which best picture Hawthorne's awareness of oral tradition are "An Old Woman's Tale," written in 1825, and "The Village Uncle," written in the fall of 1833; they show Hawthorne was interested in oral tradition early in his career. Both stories picture a traditional story-teller in a traditional setting. In the first, the old woman lives in Hawthorne's birth-house and is aged with a mind "filled up with homely and natural incidents, the gradual accretions of a long course of years."<sup>52</sup> Her narratives "possessed an excellence attributable neither to herself, nor to any single individual" (p. 241). Her tales are usually about the Connecticut River Valley, and Hawthorne fills the sketch with one of her stories, left unfinished as many of them probably were in real life. His interest is clearly in sketching the story-teller in her traditional setting, rather than in developing thematic possibilities in her tales. A similar purpose is evident in "The Village Uncle," but this story invites interpretation more than "An Old Woman's Tale." The narrator

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., pp. 301-2.

<sup>52</sup>Centenary edition, XI, 241.

begins by telling what he remembers about his youth in a seaport town. Most vivid in his recollection is his Uncle Parker, who in Mr. Bartlett's store told stories from his perch on a mackerel barrel and looked like "a shipmate of the Flying Dutchman."<sup>53</sup> The narrator recalls the scene:

Even now, I seem to see the group of fishermen, with that old salt in the midst. One fellow on the counter, a second bestrides an oil barrel, a third lolls at his length on a parcel of new cod lines, and another has planted the tarry seat of his trousers on a heap of salt (p. 315).

The narrator is himself old now and has replaced his uncle as the Uncle Parker of the village. He recalls the stories of his youth, including "when an Indian history, or tale of shipwreck, was sold by a pedlar or wandering subscription man, to someone in the village, and read through its owner's nose to a slumbrous auditory" (p. 317). He is now "a spinner of long yarns" who recalls "many a forgotten usage, and traditions ancient in my youth, and early adventures of myself or others." (p. 319). Telling of the past and its relationship to the present is the way the present Uncle Parker establishes his identity.

Hawthorne suggests that each of the four Legends of the Province House circulated as oral tradition, and Charles Adams finds an indication of Hawthorne's creative methodology in the function of the oral tradition in these tales. Since the oral tradition functions in basically the same way in all four stories, the references to it in "Howe's Masquerade" will be adequate to illustrate Hawthorne's methodology. There the narrator refers to the material he heard from Mr. Waite:

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<sup>53</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 314.

It gratified me to discover, that, between memory and tradition, the old gentleman was really possessed of some very pleasant gossip about the Province House. The portion of his talk which chiefly interested me was the outline of the following legend. He professed to have received it at one or two removes from an eye-witness; but this derivation, together with the lapse of time, must have afforded opportunities for many variations of the narrative; so that despairing of literal, and absolute truth, I have not scrupled to make such further changes as seemed conducive to the reader's profit and delight.<sup>54</sup>

Using oral tradition gave Hawthorne a number of options, as the passage above suggests: he was free to depart from reality if he wished to do so, and he could direct attention to whatever point was important.

Oral tradition afforded him a way to develop ambiguity also, since he could either question the tradition, change it, or assert it as true.<sup>55</sup>

In "Edward Randolph's Portrait" an object in the past, the portrait, invites interpretation. Hawthorne says it is "left up to tradition and fable and conjecture to say what had once been there portrayed" (p.258). In this situation one finds an analogy to the situation Hawthorne was in when he creatively used oral tradition.<sup>56</sup>

In at least four other stories prior to the romances, Hawthorne uses oral tradition, and in all these cases oral tradition enhanced the

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<sup>54</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 243. . The passage in "Edward Randolph's Portrait" which suggests oral tradition occurs when the narrator says Bela Tiffany's story of what happened is "as correct a version of the fact as the reader would be likely to obtain from any other source" (p.258). The story told by the old loyalist, "Old Esther Dudley," is handed down by the narrator with the admission that it "may have undergone some slight, or perchance more than slight metamorphosis, in its transmission to the reader through the medium of a thoroughgoing democrat" (p.291).

<sup>55</sup>See Adams, p.309.

<sup>56</sup>The idea is stated in Adams, p.308.

legendary dimension of the story. In "The Wedding Knell," written in the middle 1830's, Hawthorne tells of the wedding of Mr. Ellenwood and Mrs. Dabney, an elderly couple whose marriage ceremony looks more like a funeral. Hawthorne says he heard the story from his grandmother, who witnessed the events when she was a young girl in New York. She knew through rumor something of Ellenwood's eccentricities even before his strange behavior at his wedding.

In truth, there were so many anomalies in his character, and though shrinking with diseased sensibility from public notice, it had been his fatality so often to become the topic of the day, by some wild eccentricity of conduct, that people searched his lineage for an hereditary taint of insanity.<sup>57</sup>

In "The Man of Adamant" references to oral tradition serve a similar purpose of giving authenticity to the story. After Richard Digby has hardened into stone, the men of the area wall up his cave and overlay it with sod. Now the only thing remaining to authenticate the moral is the oral legend. There is

only a marvellous legend, which grew wilder from one generation to another, as the children told it to their grandchildren, and they to their posterity, till few believed that there had ever been a cavern or a statue, where now they saw but a grassy patch on the shadowy hillside. Yet grown people avoid the spot, nor do children play there.<sup>58</sup>

In "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure" oral tradition serves to motivate the protagonist as well as to give the entire story folkloric dimension. Rumors circulate about Goldthwaite's ancestor who had presumably left a buried treasure. The reports

were various, as to the nature of his fortunate speculation; one intimating, that the ancient Peter had made the gold by

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<sup>57</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 28.

<sup>58</sup>Centenary edition, XI, 169.

alchemy [sic]; another, that he had conjured it out of people's pockets by the black art; and a third, still more unaccountable, that the devil had given him free access to the old provincial treasury.<sup>59</sup>

And in "The Great Stone Face," written some ten years later than the three stories just mentioned, the legend which provides the background for the story of Ernest's development had its origin in oral tradition.

These stories indicate that Hawthorne was interested in oral tradition throughout the period of his literary apprenticeship, beginning with those pieces when he simply wanted to sketch the environment in which the process of oral tradition occurred. In the mid-1830's Hawthorne found that the process of oral tradition suggested thematic possibilities on the relationship between the past and the present, a theme which he made nationalistic early in his career by exploring its political significance. In the later years of his apprenticeship, the late 1840's, he tended to use oral tradition rather incidentally while achieving other purposes.

#### Folkloric Characters

It is ironic that one of the types of American folklore in which Hawthorne showed perhaps the earliest promise was the one which he exhausted most quickly, American character types. The materials in which folkloric character types appear cluster in the four or five-year period from 1828 to 1833, and thereafter no folk type who appears in the short prose has significant thematic dimension.

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<sup>59</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 388.

Perhaps more than anyone else, Constance Rourke is responsible for helping contemporary folklore readers know exactly what our American folk character types are. She says there are three basic types: the Yankee, who has a large variety of characteristics, some of them contradictory, clustering around him; the backwoodsman or frontiersman, and the Negro minstrel.<sup>60</sup> The Yankee grew out of the American Revolution and started out being a brother Jonathan to his British kin. He is a rural figure, often found in isolation, and capable of performing just about any occupation that the situation demands. He is often an itinerant pedlar. His rural background makes him uncouth and naive, but because his mind is sharp he fares well. Although he is naturally good, he is capable of being corrupted into a sly schemer. The frontiersman, Rourke says, is a product of the War of 1812. He is loud, boastful and strong, and exhibits in a more exaggerated way the self-reliant cockiness of the Yankee. Since the Negro minstrel type does not appear in Hawthorne's writing, it is not discussed here.

Hawthorne's interest in folklore led him to observe various character types in New England. Daniel Hoffman remarks that Yankees appear frequently in the American Notebooks:

Yankee characters wander in and out of the notebooks as Hawthorne describes 'a dry jester, a sharp shrewd Yankee with a Yankee's license of honesty'; the 'wild, ruined, and desperate talk' of a one-armed soap-maker; and a

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<sup>60</sup>American Humor (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1931). She devotes her first three chapters to a discussion of these three figures. My summary comments about the Yankee and the frontiersman are extracted from the discussion in her first two chapters.



jolly blacksmith whose 'conversation has much strong, unlettered sense, imbued with humor, as everybody's talk is, in New England.'<sup>61</sup>

Hawthorne knew the type earlier than 1837, because the principal character in both "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" (written in 1828 or 1829) and "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe" (1832) was a Yankee. Robin in "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" is a Yankee naif. Several times in the story Robin is referred to as "shrewd," but he is, in Hoffman's words, "shrewd only by his own report."<sup>62</sup> Hoffman remarks that he consistently "accepts the most simplistic rationalizations of the most baffling and ominous experiences"<sup>63</sup> without seeing the full ramifications of the experience. When he sees the man with the red and black face, who is centrally involved in the punishment of Molineux, he is puzzled. But he quickly and naively responds to the situation. Hawthorne writes:

A few moments were consumed in philosophical speculations upon the species of man who had just left him; but having settled this point shrewdly, rationally, and satisfactorily, he was compelled to look elsewhere for his amusements.<sup>64</sup>

The experience Robin undergoes, without comprehending it, is "a cultural-political experience of archetypal significance to our national identity."<sup>65</sup>

Hawthorne used the figure of the Yankee naif to stress that the country

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<sup>61</sup>Hoffman, p. 101. Hoffman specifies the pages where these passages are located in Nathaniel Hawthorne, The American Notebooks, edited by Randall Stewart (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932): pp. 47, 45, 36-8, 257-60.

<sup>62</sup>Hoffman, p. 119.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>64</sup>Centenary edition, XI, 220-21.

<sup>65</sup>Hoffman, p. 117.

could hardly understand the experience, specifically the ambiguous responsibilities, which self-determination brought. In "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe" Domenicus Pike is a Yankee pedlar whose main characteristics are his curiosity, his talkativeness, and his resourcefulness. Pike loves to spread the news he has heard of Higginbotham's death and doesn't mind embellishing the story with details.

He did not hesitate to introduce the story at every tavern and country-store along the road, expending a whole bunch of Spanish-wrappers among at least twenty horrified audiences. He found himself invariably the first bearer of the intelligence, and was so pestered with questions, that he could not avoid filling up the outline, till it became quite a respectable narrative.<sup>66</sup>

Even though Pike must endure the humiliation of having his story refuted, his character traits pay off for him handsomely in the end. Because of Pike's curiosity Higginbotham is saved from murder, and Pike is rewarded ultimately with a bride and an estate. In this story the Yankee personality is the center for the action, giving the story much folkloric comedy. Hawthorne may have used the Yankee type in his character of Holgrave in The House of the Seven Gables. Hoffman sees that novel concerned with the emergence of nineteenth century New England cultural characteristics from Puritan backgrounds, pointing to Holgrave's transformation into a New England Yankee as a major way Hawthorne accomplishes his theme.

The frontiersman figure attracted Hawthorne's attention but he was developed only in the sketches. In the biographical sketch of

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<sup>66</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 108.

Sir William Phips in the Salem Gazette in 1830, the colonial governor knows a frontiersman who comes to the village occasionally. Hawthorne describes him as he arrives one day,

a man clad in a hunting-shirt and Indian stockings, and armed with a long gun. His feet have been wet with the waters of many an inland lake and stream; and the leaves and twigs of the tangled wilderness are intertwined with his garments: on his head he wears a trophy which we would not venture to record without good evidence of the fact-- a wig made of the long and straight black hair of his slain savage enemies.<sup>67</sup>

At about the same time, when he made his trip west to Niagara, Hawthorne probably saw frontiersmen. In his sketch "Rochester" he describes one near that frontier town:

He carried a rifle on his shoulder and a powder-horn across his breast, and appeared to stare about him with confused wonder, as if, while he was listening to the wind among the forest boughs, the hum and bustle of an instantaneous city had surrounded him.<sup>68</sup>

Though he was aware of them at about the same time he used the Yankee, Hawthorne never used frontiersmen in his fiction.

Hawthorne was considerably more interested in a third character type from folklore, the story-teller or yarn-spinner. This type is different from the Yankee and the frontiersman in not being uniquely American. The type existed previously in European folklore as the Munchausen. Hawthorne's best illustration is in "The Village Uncle," where the character functions in ways described previously. The new Uncle Parker told stories about the sea and the people in the area of

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<sup>67</sup>Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Sir William Phips," Tales, Sketches and Other Papers, edited by George Parsons Lathrop. Riverside edition of Hawthorne's works (Cambridge, Mass., 1883), XII, 231.

<sup>68</sup>Centenary edition, XI, 303-4.

Swampscott, Massachusetts. He knew sailors who "knew the wind by its scent and the wave by its taste, and could have steered blind-folded to any port between Boston and Mount Desert."<sup>69</sup> He told of Cape Cod villains who led mariners aground by tying lanterns to horses' tails on shore. He knew a story about the time the sea overflowed the village and the body of a young bridegroom floated ashore at the very house where his bride-to-be lived. Uncle Parker also knew the legend of a crazy maiden who talked with angels, possessed the gift of prophecy, exhorted everyone to repentance, and foretold the arrival of flood or earthquake. Hawthorne was particularly interested in the raconteur folk type in the early thirties and by 1832 had planned an entire volume of sketches and tales which would derive its unity from "a travelling story-teller, whose shiftings of fortune were to form the interludes and links between the separate stories."<sup>70</sup> The book, to be called The Story Teller, was never published as a unit, although pieces were published individually, including two which appeared bearing that name in the New England Magazine.

In addition to the folk types just discussed, Hawthorne was aware of individual folklore characters who had connections with the American scene. There is little indication that he ever tried to develop significant themes around these characters. On his trip to Niagara he heard stories about Sam Patch, the legendary jumping figure of early nineteenth century America. When he saw the Genesee Falls near

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<sup>69</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 320.

<sup>70</sup>G. P. Lathrop, A Study of Hawthorne (New York: A.M.S. Press, 1969), Originally published in 1876, pp. 173-74.

Rochester, Hawthorne thought of Patch's leap across the falls and was moved to thoughts of earthly fame, a subject which interested him since his long period of enforced reading and writing had brought him little recognition. Patch suggests a moral to Hawthorne:

Why do we call him a madman or a fool, when he has left his memory around the falls of Genesee, more permanently than if the letters of his name had been hewn into the forehead of the precipice? Was the leaper of cataracts more mad or foolish than other men who threw away life, or misspend it in pursuit of empty fame, and seldom so triumphantly as he?<sup>71</sup>

Such musing tells us something of Hawthorne's emotional state at this time but it does not suggest he had a creative idea for a story. In 1824 William Austin published "Peter Rugg, the Missing Man" in the New England Galaxy, and the story quickly circulated to make Rugg seem an authentic American folk character. Rugg and his daughter were travellers forever on their way to Boston and never able to get there. They were seen by a number of people in the New England countryside who knew they were coming when their horses sensed them before they were seen, or when storms came immediately after they left with their new directions to Boston. Hawthorne has Peter Rugg as the doorkeeper in "A Virtuoso's Collection":

He wore an old-fashioned greatcoat, much faded. . . . His visage was remarkably wind-flushed, sunburnt, and weather-worn, and had a most unquiet, nervous, and apprehensive expression. It seemed as if this man had some all-important object in view, some point of deepest interest to be decided, some momentous question to ask might he but hope for a reply.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>Centenary edition, XI, 302.

<sup>72</sup>Riverside edition, II, 537.

But Rugg remains throughout Hawthorne's fiction as another artifact in the virtuoso's collection, suggestive and intriguing but undeveloped.

There were other folklore individuals not uniquely associated with America whom Hawthorne knew of and used or referred to in published material. He mentions the Flying Dutchman in "The Canal Boat," a sketch from the Niagara trip in 1829. He sees an old scow pass on the canal and imagines it navigated by the Flying Dutchman--"Perhaps it was that celebrated personage himself whom I imperfectly distinguished at the helm."<sup>73</sup> The narrator in "The Village Uncle" recalls that when old Uncle Parker told stories from his perch on a mackerel barrel he looked like "a shipmate of the Flying Dutchman."<sup>74</sup> The Dutchman is again mentioned briefly in "A Virtuoso's Collection," but in none of these instances is much use made of him. The Wandering Jew, a second individual from international folklore, appears in Hawthorne's fiction exclusively after 1840. Hawthorne makes little substantial use of him, although he found the character intriguing. In "A Virtuoso's Collection" the Wandering Jew collects the materials in the museum, but they occupy Hawthorne's interest more than the collector. The Jew comes to the party held by the Man of Fancy in "A Select Party," but his presence is no more consequential than that of the other creatures of the imagination who are there, all of whom prove to be inferior to creatures the Man of Fancy had seen in nature. Hawthorne apparently felt in 1845 that the character would still be useful to him, for he wrote in his notebook the

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 493.

<sup>74</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 314.

idea of using

a discussion between two or more persons on the manner in which the Wandering Jew has spent his life. One period, perhaps, in wild carnal debauchery; then trying, over and over again, to grasp domestic happiness; then a soldier; then a statesman--at last, realizing some truth.<sup>75</sup>

The Jew appears again in "Ethan Brand," where he has the most important role Hawthorne gave him in the short prose. He is one of the crowd who comes to see Brand after his return from seeking the Unpardonable Sin, and he recognizes Brand as one afflicted much as he is. Hawthorne used the Jew best as a subordinate character to heighten the impression of Brand's doomed isolation.

A third character from international folklore whom Hawthorne was interested in was the Faust figure, but Hawthorne's use of this character and the Faustian theme is so indirect that special problems of interpretation exist.<sup>76</sup> William B. Stein points out that Goethe's Faust was

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<sup>75</sup>Centenary edition, VIII, 271.

<sup>76</sup>The book which treats this subject thoroughly is William Bysshe Stein, Hawthorne's Faust: A Study of the Devil Archetype (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1968), originally published in 1953 by the University of Florida Press. Stein traces Faustian situations and themes throughout Hawthorne's work, finding there a major unifying thread to all Hawthorne's work. At times he has done so without taking into account events in Hawthorne's life which influenced his literature more than the Faust archetype did. Stein's method results in some strained readings of particular works, of which "Young Goodman Brown" is an example. It makes sense to refer to the baptism in the forest as symbolizing a pact Brown makes with the Devil whereby Brown becomes preoccupied with man's evil to the exclusion of seeing the good. But to give the story as much Faustian overlay as the tradition allows gets Stein into some superfluous abstractions. Stein says of the story: "Its chief characters are neither Young Goodman Brown nor his wife Faith; rather they are the symbolic creatures of Brown's distorted moral conscience. Suspicion and distrust are their unrevealed names, and their genealogical ancestor is evil. . . . In no other place in his writings does Hawthorne so clearly delineate the Mephistopheles who shared sovereignty with God in the Puritan religion" (p. 61).

translated into English in 1808 and became known to American readers in 1820.<sup>77</sup> Hawthorne could well have heard of Faust from Margaret Fuller, who praised it enthusiastically, or from Longfellow, whom Hawthorne was getting to know particularly well in 1838.<sup>78</sup> Even though Hawthorne seldom refers to Faust in his published prose fiction or in the American notebooks, Stein feels the Faust character or the Faustian situation shaped Hawthorne's fiction throughout his apprenticeship period.<sup>79</sup> The period of greatest influence was that between the publication of Twice-Told Tales and Mosses from an Old Manse, and the stories which show Faustian protagonists best are "The Birthmark," "Rappaccini's Daughter," "The Artist of the Beautiful," "Drowne's Wooden Image," and "Ethan Brand." Stein thinks the protagonists from these stories are "five Fausts" who "symbolize in one way or another the limitations of contemporary civilization."<sup>80</sup> Aylmer and Rappaccini are spiritually

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Also, the Faust character, more than any of the other characters mentioned in this part of my study, exists in a large mythic context, and one cannot be sure the Faust tradition is responsible for some of the situations in Hawthorne's work which Stein calls archetypally Faustian. Two reviewers of Stein's book suggest this criticism. Leon Howard says in his review in Nineteenth Century Fiction, 8 (March 1954), 320, that "the Devil walked abroad in the land along many paths other than that of the traditional Faust story," and Roy Harvey Pearce suggests that writers using archetypes may use them unconsciously as well as consciously ("a writer would not so much use a myth as be used by it," Modern Language Notes, 71 (January 1956), 63).

<sup>77</sup>Stein, p. 23.

<sup>78</sup>Stein says Longfellow was the most thorough Faust scholar of the day. See p. 27 of his book.

<sup>79</sup>The tradition had its climactic influence on The Scarlet Letter, Stein says, which he refers to as "The New England Faust." Stein traces patterns in the subsequent romances also.

<sup>80</sup>Stein, p. 87. The characterizations in the next sentence come passim from Chapter VII, "Five Fausts."



destroyed by the values of nineteenth century science; Warland and Drowne are Fausts who show "the predicament of the creative mind in a materialistic and utilitarian society"; and Brand's intellectual quests starve his emotional life much as the Transcendentalists' devotion to mystical insight impoverished their social relationships. Stein finds Faustian figures throughout Hawthorne's romances as well.

In addition to his interest in American folk types, individual American folk characters, and some international folklore characters whom he placed in an American setting, Hawthorne at one brief period in his life was concerned with sectional characteristics of Americans. In the 1820's and 30's a number of writers, including John Neal, Catherine Maria Sedgwick and Sara Josepha Hale, described manners and personality traits of people from various regions of the country in an effort to broaden the nation's sense of identity. Hawthorne may have had the notion of doing something similar with sectional types whom he saw on his trip to Niagara. In "The Canal Boat" he criticizes an Englishman who appears to be taking notes for a book about Americans:

I presumed we were all to figure in a future volume of travels. . . . He would hold up an imaginary mirror, wherein our reflected faces would appear ugly and ridiculous, yet still retain an undeniable likeness to the originals. Then with more sweeping malice, he would make these caricatures the representatives of great classes of my countrymen.<sup>81</sup>

But Hawthorne takes just as careful notes as his Englishman, observing a Virginia schoolmaster, a Massachusetts farmer, and a Detroit merchant, the last of whom is "a worshipper of Mammon at noonday . . . here is the

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<sup>81</sup>Riverside edition, II, 489.

American."<sup>82</sup> If he had intentions of working at length with sectional characteristics of people, his intentions did not last long. Such an interest is less apparent in "The Seven Vagabonds" a year later, and it may be evident in 1832 in "Passages from a Relinquished Work" where he speaks of setting

air-drawn pictures . . . in frames perhaps more valuable than the pictures themselves, since they will be embossed with groups of characteristic figures, amid the lake and mountain scenery, the villages and fertile hills of our native land.<sup>83</sup>

But after that his interests shifted away.

Hawthorne's interest in folkloric characters shows basically two patterns. From 1828 to 1833 he was especially interested in characters indigenous to America. Although he makes extensive use of only the Yankee, he briefly sketched other American individuals, character types, and sectional types during this time. His interest in international folklore characters is strongest about a decade later, beginning in the early 1840's after he has been recognized as a nationalistic American writer, and the Faust type is the most predominantly used of these. In general, his interest in folklore characters was not as sustained or creative as his interest in legends and oral tradition.

#### Folklore Motifs

In addition to the folklore previously discussed, Hawthorne made great use of traditional motifs of folklore. Charles Adams writes that "Hawthorne carried a storehouse of traditional motifs both in his head

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., p. 490.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 461.

and in his notes for use when the occasion seemed appropriate."<sup>84</sup> Rachel Van Pelt has categorized the more evident of these recurring motifs and finds at least eleven of them listed in the Stith Thompson Motif-Index of Folk Literature. The index lists international motifs, and Van Pelt does not attempt to distinguish motifs peculiarly American from those which are international. Those identified include (1) mythological motifs involving the characters of classical myth; (2) magic objects such as mirrors, portraits, plants, elixirs, magic stones, etc.; (3) the dead, or the use of ghosts and revenants; (4) marvels, including the transformational motif; (5) falling into an ogre's power; (6) riddles; (7) deceptions; (8) the reversal of fortune, which involves the idea of humbled pride; (9) ordaining the future, evident in the use of vows and oaths, prophecies, and curses; (10) chance and fate; and (11) unnatural cruelty.<sup>85</sup> Both Van Pelt and Adams agree that there is little consistency or pattern in Hawthorne's use of these motifs. Van Pelt writes that they serve various purposes in the short fiction, from merely setting atmosphere to illustrating a moral concept.<sup>86</sup> Adams observes that Hawthorne used the same motif to different purposes as the context varied.<sup>87</sup>

The truth of Adams' and Van Pelt's claim is evident when one examines Hawthorne's use of the motif of the dead. Van Pelt feels that the dead were generally used by Hawthorne to assert the past's influence

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<sup>84</sup>Adams, p. 323.

<sup>85</sup>Van Pelt's discussion of these motifs is in Chapter 3 of her dissertation, "Use of Folklore Motifs," pp. 141-231. Her primary interest is to identify and categorize these motifs according to the Stith-Thompson index.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., pp. 230-1.

<sup>87</sup>Adams, p. 323.

on the present.<sup>88</sup> Taken collectively, Hawthorne's stories support this generalization. In a statement late in his career, Hawthorne suggests he has concluded that ghosts mean the continuation of the past into the present more than they mean shrouded spirits. Writing about New England ghosts in his review of John Greenleaf Whittier's The Supernaturalism of New England, he observes, "Our ghost throws aside even his shroud, puts on the coat and breeches of the times, and takes up the flesh-and-blood business of life, at the very point where he dropt it at his decease."<sup>89</sup> But this general concern is not always evident in individual stories where ghosts appear.

Hawthorne's first use of ghosts is in "An Old Woman's Tale," written before June 1825. The central character is an old woman who lived in Hawthorne's birthhouse and who knew many tales about the Connecticut River Valley, a place made extraordinary in her stories by the fact that at periodic intervals its inhabitants were subjected to an hour's slumber, all simultaneously. In one of her stories she recalls a young couple from the past named David and Esther, who have a dream together about past people and times of their village. They see an old lady trying to dig at a spot of ground, but the couple fail to learn what is buried there because they abruptly awake. In this case the characters from the past, the ghosts, are unclear in function because the tale is unfinished. Hawthorne's primary concern as a young writer seemed to be to evoke a setting in the past.

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<sup>88</sup>Van Pelt, p. 172.

<sup>89</sup>Quoted in John Greenleaf Whittier, The Supernaturalism of New England, edited by Edward Wagenknecht (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), p. 131. The work was originally published in 1847.

In the next story using ghosts, Hawthorne's purpose is well defined. In "The Gray Champion," written in 1828-29, Hawthorne uses a familiar international folklore motif of the dead patriot continuing to care for his country after death. The gray champion returns from "a secret place" to assist the people; the oppressor's drum had "summoned him from the grave."<sup>90</sup> The land especially needs a political champion because "New England groaned under the actual pressure of heavier wrongs, than those threatened ones which brought on the Revolution" (p. 9). The ghost appears and will reappear whenever there is a challenge to self-government in New England--

Should domestic tyranny oppress us, or the invader's step pollute our soil, still may the Gray Champion come; for he is the type of New England's hereditary spirit; and his shadowy march, on the eve of danger, must ever be the pledge, that New England's sons will vindicate their ancestry (p. 18).

The last lines of his story make clear Hawthorne's major intention to use the ghost as a symbol for the spirit of American resistance to tyranny.

In two Hawthorne materials from 1834, ghosts are important. Hawthorne demonstrates broad knowledge of ghostlore in "Graves and Goblins." Several types of ghosts are characterized in the sketch, including the ghost of a patriot returning to inquire about the current condition of his country, ghosts tormented by jealousy, and ghosts with guilty consciences. But Hawthorne's sketch is primarily a fantasy, having a dead narrator comment on his fellow corpses in the cemetery. In "The White Old Maid" ("The Old Maid in the Winding

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<sup>90</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 16, 15.

Sheet"), an enigmatic story composed the same year, two women rivals, one of whom is very proud, meet at the funeral of a young man and agree to meet at a later time to evaluate the life of the proud woman during the intervening period. Edith promises she and the deceased will grant forgiveness to the proud woman if she suffers sufficiently in later life. When time for the second meeting occurs, they are both found dead, and the ghost of the young man returns to see that justice has prevailed and that the proud have been humbled. Van Pelt thinks Hawthorne wrote the story simply to entertain his contemporaries with a ghost story.<sup>91</sup>

In "Howe's Masquerade," as in "The Gray Champion," the ghost material is put into an explicit political context. Lord Howe, the last of the royal colonial governors, gives a masquerade ball to hide the danger posed by the siege which the revolutionary army is laying against Boston. Ghosts appear when a funeral march of people comes down the staircase of the Province House. Included in the parade are the ghosts of the Puritan governors who from the beginning spoke against English tyranny. There are also many whose authority the colonists had opposed through the years: Edmund Andros, Sir William Phips, and Governors Dudley, Shute, Burnet, Belcher and Gage. Colonel Joliffe offers his interpretation of the significance of the ghostly parade:

The empire of Britain in this ancient province, is at its last gasp tonight; almost while I speak, it is a dead corpse; and, methinks the shadows of the old governors are fit mourners at its funeral.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup>Van Pelt, p. 177.

<sup>92</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 254.

As time passes, the legend grows that this ghostly train reappears on the night which commemorates the end of English domination in the colonies, and Howe joins the train--

On the anniversary night of Britain's discomfiture, the ghosts of the ancient governors of Massachusetts still glide through the portal of the Province House. And, last of all, comes a figure shrouded in a military cloak, tossing his clenched hands into the air, and stamping his iron-shod boot upon the broad free-stone steps with a semblance of feverish despair, but without the sound of a foot-tramp (p.254).

Critics agree that the ghost train which the legend refers to is central to the political emphasis in the story, but Hawthorne's theme may not be chauvinistic.<sup>93</sup>

In "The Christmas Banquet," written in late 1843, ghosts appear, but Hawthorne has little interest in emphasizing their status as ghosts, choosing rather to emphasize the moral message in the story. A melancholy man of wealth provides money to give an annual Christmas banquet for the ten most miserable people he can find, but he uses the banquet to keep them miserable. Strange people arrive, whom Hawthorne must have brought there from Gothic sources. A man with an ulcerated heart comes one year, and a later guest has a blood-stain in his heart. Figures from past history come, who must therefore be ghosts. Hawthorne writes:

The exiled noble of the French Revolution, and the broken soldier of the Empire, were alike represented at the table. Fallen monarchs, wandering about the earth, have found places at that forlorn and miserable feast.<sup>94</sup>

The focal character of Gervayse Hastings comes to every banquet and

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<sup>93</sup>See Julian Smith, "Hawthorne's Legends of the Province House," Nineteenth Century Fiction, 24 (June 1969), 32-4.

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Riverside edition, II, 338.

appears to be a most unlikely person to be invited because he is outwardly successful. But Hastings' problem is that he cannot feel, he lacks earnestness; Hawthorne suggests that such a condition is the most spiritually damaging of all. Other people who come to the party as ghosts simply provide an ironic contrast with Hastings. Although they appear outwardly to be in worse condition, they heighten our awareness of his inward rot.

These stories indicate that Hawthorne used the dead for varying purposes in his short fiction. In "The Gray Champion" and "Howe's Masquerade," ghosts suggest the nationalistic theme of the past influencing the present. But in other stories the nationalistic function is less evident. In "An Old Woman's Tale" and "The White Old Maid" Hawthorne uses ghosts as merely incidental agents to locate action in the past and to produce a sensational plot, respectively. In "The Christmas Banquet" characters transcend time in order to come to the banquet but are not important for their identity as ghosts.

#### Folkloric Themes

Hawthorne used folkloric themes in much the same way as he used folklore motifs, for different ends in different stories, some to more serious purpose than others. Since there is no index of folklore themes comparable to the Stith-Thompson index of folklore motifs, identification of their use is a bit less precise. Van Pelt and Adams identify primarily four themes in Hawthorne's fiction which frequently appear in folk literature: (1) the theme of pride bringing a downfall; (2) the theme of fate (or what will be, will be); (3) the theme of the downfall



of tyrants; and (4) the theme of the influence of the past on the present. Hawthorne uses the first two sparingly; for example, the only story in which the fate theme is used is "The Ambitious Guest." The theme of the downfall of tyrants occurs in primarily four stories: "The Gray Champion," "Endicott and the Red Cross," "Howe's Masquerade," and "Edward Randolph's Portrait." But Hawthorne's theme of the past affecting the present is much more pervasive and is considered by Adams to be his most extensive folklore theme.

In practically the first short fiction he wrote, "Alice Doane's Appeal" in late 1824 or early 1825, Hawthorne declared his interest in the past. In an authorial frame to the story, he declares that Americans are not sufficiently aware of the past: "We are not a people of legend and tradition. . . . We are a people of the present and have no heartfelt interest in the olden time."<sup>95</sup> That should be changed, Hawthorne thinks, and in this sketch he is particularly interested in familiarizing his readers with the witchcraft delusions of seventeenth century Salem because the tendencies which brought witchcraft persecutions about are still present in human nature. Hawthorne recommends building a memorial to those tendencies, just as Americans have commemorated nobler acts of service to their past. He writes at the conclusion of the sketch:

We build the memorial column on the height which our fathers made sacred with their blood, poured out in a holy cause. And here in dark, funereal stone, should rise another monument, sadly commemorative of the errors of an earlier race, and not to be cast down, while the human heart has one infirmity that may result in crimes (p. 280).

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<sup>95</sup>Centenary edition, XI, 267.

The past is important to the present because it shows consistency of human behavior.

In "The Gray Champion" and "The Maypole of Merry Mount," written about 1828-29, Hawthorne moves closer to saying that the past influences the present. In both stories he is concerned with how this can be seen in American cultural history. In "The Gray Champion," the influence of the past on the present is symbolized in the champion of the past who appears to help his people in time of need. The spirit of the people, which he symbolizes, will continue to affect American history:

Should domestic tyranny oppress us, or the invader's ship pollute our soil, still may the Gray Champion come; for he is the type of New England's hereditary spirit; and his shadowy march, on the eve of danger, must ever be the pledge, that New England's sons will vindicate their ancestry.<sup>96</sup>

In "The Maypole of Merry Mount" Endicott's cutting the maypole down symbolizes the establishment of a cultural system of values which will affect future generations. Hawthorne emphasizes the confrontation of forces in the story:

The future complexion of New England was involved in this important quarrel. Should the grisly saints establish their jurisdiction over the gay sinners, then would their spirits darken all the clime, and make it a land of clouded visages, of hard toil, of sermon and psalm, forever. But should the banner-staff of Merry Mount be fortunate, sunshine would break upon the hills, and flowers would beautify the forests, and late posterity do homage to the May-Pole.<sup>97</sup>

Cutting the May-Pole is "a deed of prophecy" (p. 66); it foretells the cultural values which predominate in ages to come.

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<sup>96</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 18.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., p. 62.

From the early thirties until 1837 Hawthorne was less concerned with how cultural history showed the theme of the past. Instead characters like Uncle Parker in "The Village Uncle" and Peter Goldthwaite in "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure," unconnected with American cultural history, show how the past has greatly influenced them. In both cases oral tradition is the element of the past which influences who they become or what their welfare is in the present. The stories told by the earlier Uncle Parker and the identity he had in the village shape the identity of the present Uncle Parker in that story, and the legends about old Goldthwaite's buried treasure drive Peter Goldthwaite into his desolation. Hawthorne's convictions about the influence of tradition are also shown in "The Prophetic Pictures," a story which deals largely with the writer as subject (though the main character is a painter in the story). This story is also central for showing Hawthorne's attitudes about "the past" in fiction. The story is about a young painter, famous for his ability to paint essentials as well as externals, who is asked to paint a wedding portrait for Elinor and Walter Ludlow. We are told about the painter's previous career; he had been born and educated in England, but had come to America "to feast his eyes on visible images, that were noble and picturesque, yet had never been transferred to canvass."<sup>98</sup> His artistic growth reflects the growth of young Hawthorne as writer in America in the early thirties. The painter is strongly interested in the external environment, which he planned to use as "a frame work for the delineations of the human form and face,

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<sup>98</sup>Ibid., p. 168.

instinct with thought, passion, or suffering" (p.178). He travels the New England countryside, "to see the silver cascade of the Crystal Hills, and to look over the vast round of cloud and forest, from the summit of New England's loftiest mountains" (p.177). But what he sees in the new world are old truths, "the worn-out heart of the old earth . . . revealed to him under a new form" (p.178). He understands how the past fuses with the present to become timeless. Hawthorne sums up his insight in these lines about the artist-writer:

Thou snatchest back the fleeing moments of History. With thee, there is no Past; for, at thy touch, all that is great becomes forever present. . . . Oh, potent Art! [which] bringest the faintly revealed Past to stand in that narrow strip of sunlight, which we call Now (p.179).

In this story Hawthorne probes the function of the past to the visionary writer.

Beginning in the winter of 1837 and for somewhat over a year Hawthorne returned to the claims of the past in the context of cultural history. This is evident in "Endicott and the Red Cross" and at least three of the Legends of the Province House. Hawthorne's interpretation of Endicott's cutting the cross from the red banner of the Puritan leaders is reminiscent of similar statements in "The Gray Champion" and "The Maypole of Merry Mount." He says,

With a cry of triumph, the people gave their sanction to one of the boldest exploits which our history records. And, for ever honored be the name of Endicott! We look back through the mist of ages, and recognize, in the rending of the Red Cross from New England's banner, the first omen of that deliverance which our fathers consummated, after the bones of the stern Puritans had lain more than a century in the dust.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>99</sup>Ibid., p.441.

Endicott's action forecasts future actions to protect freedom of conscience in America.

In the Legends of the Province House the theme of the past influencing the present is most explicit in "Edward Randolph's Portrait," although it also appears in "Howe's Masquerade" and "Old Esther Dudley." Edward Randolph, first occupant of the Province House, was responsible for repealing the first provincial charter, which had granted near-democratic privileges. He was not liked by the people, but nonetheless an enigmatic, ambiguous portrait said to be of him was hung in the Province House. In the story Bela Tiffany tells, a later governor must deal with a similar question of the rights of the citizenry. Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson must decide whether royal troops can be garrisoned among the people when there is threat of revolution. He decides against the people, saying "The rebuke of a king is more to be dreaded than the clamor of a wild, misguided multitude" and "The King is my master, and England is my country! Upheld by their armed strength, I set my foot upon the rubble, and defy them."<sup>100</sup> At this point the features of the portrait of Randolph become meaningful and reflect "the expression of . . . a wretch detected in some hideous guilt, and exposed to the bitter hatred, and laughter, and withering scorn of a vast surrounding multitude" (p. 267). The lesson of the past had not been learned, as Hutchinson was to live to be held accountable for the blood spilled in the Boston Massacre. In "Howe's Masquerade" the train of ghosts from the past predicts the end of British rule in America, and Howe must join the train

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., pp. 263, 266.

even though he recoils at the discovery of himself at the end of the train. The prophecy from the past comes true; now when the train is seen, Howe is there, clenching his fists and stamping his feet in despair. In "Old Esther Dudley" the theme is less obvious. Old Esther Dudley becomes the symbol of a past influence which is ending, a representative of "an age gone by, with its manners, opinions, faith, and feelings all fallen into oblivion or scorn--of what had once been reality, but was now merely a vision of faded magnificence."<sup>101</sup> When Hancock arrives to take over the Province House, he emphasizes the differences between the two generations:

You are a symbol of the past. And I, and these around me--we represent a new race of men, no longer living in the past, scarcely in the present--but projecting our lives forward into the future. Ceasing to model ourselves on ancestral superstitions, it is our faith and principle to press onward, onward! (p. 301).

But critics have noted the excessive patriotism in Hancock's speech and have wondered how seriously Hawthorne intended Hancock to be taken. Julian Smith observes that in Grandfather's Chair (1841) Hawthorne indicates Hancock's own tendencies were very aristocratic, and Smith argues that Hawthorne consistently pictured Hancock as naive (like Robin in "My Kinsman, Major Molineux"), unable to see that the change in authority will bring guilt and responsibility as well as independence.<sup>102</sup> If one agrees there is a tinge of satire to Hancock's portrait, then the theme about the past applies to this story.

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<sup>101</sup>Ibid., p. 294.

<sup>102</sup>"Hawthorne's Legends of the Province House," pp. 42-3.

Hawthorne's final use of this theme in his short fiction is in two stories from 1848, "The Great Stone Face" and "Main Street." In "The Great Stone Face" the legend about the face on the mountain originated in Indian folklore. When Ernest grows up to fulfill the prophecy of the legend, like the village Uncle and Peter Goldthwaite, his identity is shaped by the traditional lore of the past. In "Main Street" the past's influence on later times is treated in terms of socio-cultural influence, a theme which Hawthorne was especially interested in in the late 1820's and again around 1838. Hawthorne presents an individual with an apparatus like a puppet show which he uses to flash scenes from the past before the audience. The scenes are intended to show "the march of time" and mostly come from the Puritan past to illustrate how a particular type of behavior has been transmitted to succeeding generations. Hawthorne speaks of the Puritan gloominess which has been passed down:

Such a life was sinister to the intellect, and sinister to the heart; especially when one generation had bequeathed its religious gloom, and the counterfeit of its religious ardor to the next. . . . Nor, it may be, have we even yet thrown off all the unfavorable influences which, among many good ones, were bequeathed to us by our Puritan forefathers.<sup>103</sup>

Hawthorne's one special interest in this story, as in "The Maypole of Merry Mount," is to lament the relative absence of joy in later generations of the Puritan-dominated culture. He saw that the Puritans "wove their web of life with hardly a single thread of rose-color or gold" (p. 78).

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<sup>103</sup>Centenary edition, XI, 67-8.

Hawthorne's main folkloric theme, the theme of the past's influence on subsequent times, received varied treatment. At the beginning of his career in "Alice Doane's Appeal" he shows the past revealing characteristics of human nature which recur throughout history. In his nationalism of the late 1820's, he showed how cultural characteristics of Americans derived from their past experience. In the mid-thirties, becoming more aware of folk traditions around him and wanting to help develop a national literary tradition by preserving them in fiction, Hawthorne wrote "The Village Uncle" and "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure," stories which suggest universal truths as well. In 1838 he explored again how actions from the political past of the country affected the shape and conditions of America at a later time. In the final stage of his interest in this theme, two stories of 1848 show emphases which had appeared earlier, the influence of the past through traditional lore and through the transmission of cultural characteristics.

#### Witchcraft and the Supernatural

Hawthorne's use of witchcraft and the supernatural extended throughout his career as a fiction writer, appearing in his romances, but prior to that in his short fiction. There are three types of supernatural material: witchcraft, wizard lore, and devil lore.

At the beginning of his literary career Hawthorne was interested in witchcraft material, and he used devil lore and wizard material as his career developed. Although the amount of fiction in which he uses witchcraft lore is rather small, it extends throughout his career. The sources for his awareness of New England witchcraft were probably the



Mathers. Hawthorne read Increase Mather's Remarkable Providences (1684) and Cases of Conscience Concerning Evil Spirits (1694), and Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana (1702), all three of which were rich in witch lore. But the precise influence which these materials had on the fiction is hard to determine, as Rachel Van Pelt points out:

How much of the witchcraft lore in [the Mathers'] books was used by Hawthorne we do not know, for Hawthorne had read widely on the subject, and many of [the Mathers'] citations were well known concepts of witch behavior according to European tradition.<sup>104</sup>

Hawthorne wrote two items before June 1825 which have witchcraft settings, "Alice Doane's Appeal" and "The Hollow of the Three Hills." In the latter an old crone is sought out by a young woman who longs to hear of relatives she had deserted. The old crone weaves a spell and gives her three visions: of her bereft parents, of a husband driven to madness by her unfaithfulness, and of her infant child whom she left to die. At the end of the third spell the young woman dies, claimed by the crone in her "sweet hour's sport."<sup>105</sup> That the old woman is indeed a witch is evident in her great age; she is so old "that even the space since she began to decay must have exceeded the ordinary term of human existence" (p.199). Although the young woman's past is such as to invite moralizing, Hawthorne focuses on the older woman practicing witchcraft.

In "Alice Doane's Appeal," Hawthorne places witchcraft in a historical New England setting. In the narrative inside the frame,

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<sup>104</sup>Van Pelt, pp.21-22.

<sup>105</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 204.

Leonard Doane and his sister Alice consult a wizard, "a small, gray, withered man, with fiendish ingenuity in devising evil, and superhuman power to execute it,"<sup>106</sup> in order to determine the degree of Alice's guilt or innocence in an affair with Walter Brome, recently killed by Leonard. They learned that the wizard has been the motivating force behind the entire action and that Walter Brome was Leonard's twin-brother. But Hawthorne is just as much interested in the outside frame of this story as he is in the events of the narrative. Events such as he has narrated are an important part of the cultural fabric of his country's history. He notes with displeasure that many people do not know of the witchcraft delusions of seventeenth century Salem--

Till a year or two since, this portion of our history had been very imperfectly written, and, as we are not a people of legend or tradition, it was not every citizen of our ancient town that could tell, within half a century, so much as the date of the witchcraft delusion. (p. 267).

Unhappy with the literary tastes of the 1820's which have not allowed easy circulation of stories about witchcraft, he finds it unfortunate,

that a narrative which had good authority in our ancient superstitions and would have brought even a church deacon to Gallows Hill, in old witch times, should now be considered too grotesque and extravagant, for timid maids to tremble at (p. 278).

Hawthorne used witchcraft stories to focus on important traditional elements of New England culture.

His continuing interest in witchcraft materials, evident in "Young Goodman Brown," written around 1828-29, produces innovations in both the type of witchcraft material used and the purpose to which it

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<sup>106</sup>Centenary edition, XI, 270.

is put. The witch characters of Goody Cloyse, Goody Cory, and Martha Carrier are based on three figures brought to trial as witches in Salem in 1692. The sabbat in the forest, new in Hawthorne fiction, is probably a cross between New England traditional sabbats which were rather grim, and European traditional sabbats which were orgies of dancing, feasting, and debauchery.<sup>107</sup> Hawthorne also shows here a devil figure for the first time in his fiction. Van Pelt points out that Hawthorne has various types of devils in his stories and describes this type as simply the ruler of the kingdom of evil who is out to damn souls.<sup>108</sup> His supernatural characteristics, identified as devil characteristics in the Stith Thompson Motif-Index of Folk Literature, are that he is an extraordinarily sophisticated man with knowledge and cunning to snare victims; he has a staff which comes alive, he can fly, and he has a withering touch.<sup>109</sup> But Hawthorne's purpose here is not solely to create an atmosphere of witchcraft, as appears to be the case in "The Hollow of the Three Hills" and "Alice Doane's Appeal." He is interested in the effects of these kinds of beliefs. Charles Adams says this tale is about witchcraft as a subject, and Hawthorne is

interested in the psychological implications of [the] folk knowledge, the effect that a literal belief in human intercourse with the Power of Evil can have on a well-intentioned young man who has recently avowed fidelity to his faith.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup>Van Pelt, p. 85.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., pp. 51ff.

<sup>110</sup>Adams, p. 295.

It seems equally perceptive to point out that Hawthorne's concern is to show the effect of the Calvinist experience in New England.<sup>111</sup> Brown is a seventeenth century Calvinist who believes in a world full of the devil and his agents, and the complementary sense of sin in that world view was to shape the subsequent cultural and spiritual history of New England.

"Young Goodman Brown" is an early culmination of Hawthorne's use of witchcraft, and after that time throughout the 1830's Hawthorne searched for new ways to use supernatural elements. Four stories written between 1834 and 1837 show his experimentation: "The Devil in Manuscript," "The Prophetic Pictures," "Doctor Heidegger's Experiment," and "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure." In two of the stories devil lore is involved, and in the other two wizard lore is important. "The Devil in Manuscript" is primarily of interest for what it shows about Hawthorne's state of mind in the mid-thirties as a result of his failure to gain the attention he wanted from publishers, but more importantly it shows the Faustian concept of the devil which Hawthorne was to use extensively later on. Oberon in the story is unsuccessful in publishing his materials until he gives them to the fiend of the fire, and then they are scattered as sparks throughout the village. Presumably their "publication" will bring about more of the devil's curse of solitude for the writer. In "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure" devil lore is also involved tangentially. One of the legends motivating Goldthwaite's action is the story that the elder Goldthwaite had gained his fortune with the access the devil gave him to

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<sup>111</sup>This point is well developed by Q. D. Leavis in "Hawthorne as Poet," Sewanee Review, 59 (Spring 1951), 197-98.

the provincial treasury. When the younger Peter Goldthwaite is seen at the end of the story with his house in a shambles, in possession of a chest full of Revolutionary currency and scrip, the view suggested is of the devil as roguish artificer. Such a view of the devil is new for Hawthorne, more in keeping with what Miss Van Pelt calls "the classical devil, who, far from inspiring terror, was often regarded with familiarity and affection."<sup>112</sup> Hawthorne did not use this type of devil again.

The two stories involving wizard lore show experimentation and development. Prior to the mid-1830's Hawthorne had used wizards only as male witches. In "The Prophetic Pictures" the wizard appears as a prophetic painter, who is said to be almost a wizard for his ability to paint not only pictures but also the heart and mind, and the story line shows that he presumably foresaw future enmity between the Ludlows. The narrative about the Ludlows, however, is less important than the wizard-like figure, representing the artist who sees the relationship between present location and permanent truths. In "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment" the wizard figure takes the shape of the magician and alchemist popular in the pseudo-scientific literature of the day.<sup>113</sup> This type of wizard figure is associated with such lore as a

ponderous folio volume, bound in black leather, with massive silver clasps. There were no letters on the back, and nobody could tell the title of the book. But it was well known to be a book of magic; and once, when a chambermaid had lifted it, merely to brush away the dust, the skeleton had rattled

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<sup>112</sup>Van Pelt, p. 63.

<sup>113</sup>Van Pelt discusses this influence passim between pages 113 and 123 of her dissertation.

in its closet, the picture of the young lady had stepped one foot upon the floor, and several ghostly faces had peeped forth from the mirror; while the brazen head of Hippocrates frowned, and said--"Forbear".<sup>114</sup>

In this story Hawthorne's moral point does not center entirely upon the character of Heidegger; the people who want to drink his elixir are just as important. But the wizard figure Heidegger illustrates was an adumbration of a type Hawthorne was to write about a number of times in the early 1840's. Of the two figures he experimented with in the mid-1830's, the devil and the wizard, the latter was to be the most often used thereafter.

During the next period of Hawthorne's interest in the supernatural, 1842-1844, he was almost exclusively interested in the wizard figure. In "The Celestial Railroad" the devil appears as a smooth-mannered, gentlemanly devil, who Miss Van Pelt says is very much in the New England literary tradition.<sup>115</sup> Mr. Smooth-it-Away acts as guide, interpreter and apologist for contemporary liberalism to the pilgrim-narrator on his journey to the Celestial City. At the end of the journey he deceives the narrator, leaving him outside the borders of the Celestial City, and revealing himself as devil when "a smoke-wreath issued from his mouth and nostrils, while a twinkle of lurid flame darted out of either eye, proving indubitably that his heart was all of a red blaze."<sup>116</sup> Hawthorne's purpose in "The Celestial Railroad" is to satirize tendencies of his day which ignored the central problem of man's depravity, and the devil figure used here helps focus attention on the problem of a deceptive theology.

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<sup>114</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 229.

<sup>115</sup>Van Pelt, p. 60.

<sup>116</sup>Riverside edition, II, 234.

Hawthorne used the wizard figure more extensively in this period, however, in such stories as "The Birthmark" and "Rappaccini's Daughter." In both stories one can see the resemblance of the protagonist to Dr. Heidegger of "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment"; the two protagonists, like Dr. Heidegger, are influenced by the magician alchemist figure of the popular pseudo-scientific literature of the day.<sup>117</sup> Aylmer in "The Birthmark" has books of alchemy and a laboratory with a great furnace. Both Aylmer and Rappaccini seek elixirs which contain the secret of life. In both cases Hawthorne explores the moral problems posed by those who refused to accept the natural universe as they found it, and Stein convincingly argues that Hawthorne probably had nineteenth century scientific values in mind for criticism in these stories.<sup>118</sup> A third story from this period with a wizard-like figure, though he is different from the type previously discussed, is "Drowne's Wooden Image." Drowne carves a figurehead which some thought came to life, and his talents may transcend those of the mere mortal. Hawthorne uses Drowne in much the same way as he used the painter in "The Prophetic Pictures," as a vehicle for exploring issues related to the artist. But from 1842-44 the wizard figure is used primarily when Hawthorne explores the morality of contemporary nineteenth century values.

In the last period of Hawthorne's use of witchcraft and the supernatural in his short fiction, the late 1840's, he turns away from the

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<sup>117</sup>The ultimate sources for these figures are English and German Gothic romance materials. See Jane Lundblad, Nathaniel Hawthorne and the Tradition of Gothic Romance, Upsala University Essays and Studies on American Language and Literature, #4 (Upsala, Sweden, 1946).

<sup>118</sup>Hawthorne's Faust, p. 148.

wizard figure and the themes it had inspired and again uses the devil and witchcraft. The story involving witchcraft, "Feathertop: A Moralized Legend," reveals what Miss Van Pelt calls "a typically New England witch . . . a spiteful, querulous crone whose outbursts of ill feeling are tempered by bitter chuckles and, occasionally, by convulsions of laughter."<sup>119</sup> She is Mother Rigby, who brings a scarecrow to life and sends him out into the world to pass for a gentleman. The secret of his life is his pipe, and he passes himself off convincingly as a human being until Polly Gookin sees his patchwork body and rejects him. Unable to cope with rejection by the outside world, Feathertop runs home to Mother Rigby and asks to be a scarecrow no more. Hawthorne wrote a satire on the manners of gentlemen here, but the condescending tone of the story may indicate his primary intention was to write a witchcraft story for children, to complement the other types of children's stories he was writing in the 1840's.

He seems to have had a more serious moral purpose in mind when he returned to the devil motif in "Ethan Brand." In this story a Faustian devil is implied, much like the one in "The Devil in Manuscript." The Faustian situation in "Ethan Brand" is evident when one sees the German Jew as the devil come to claim Brand's soul in exchange for having granted him knowledge of the unpardonable sin. Brand's suicide in the lime-kiln is his payment of the contract he had with the devil. Brand's spiritual condition is clearly the important center of the story, and the Faustian devil-compact is effective (as it was in "The Devil in Manuscript") in suggesting the dangers of isolation the protagonist brings on himself.

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<sup>119</sup>Van Pelt, p. 90.



Hawthorne's interest in witchcraft and related supernatural materials continued throughout the period from 1825 to 1848 and its usefulness grew in his fiction. In the 1820's his primary concern was nationalistic, to establish witchcraft as an important part of the American tradition and to assess its impact on American values. In the 1830's, in stories foreshadowing his later turn away from the nationalism issue to the study of the psyche, he moved from witchcraft to using devil lore and wizard material to represent horrible states of alienation and to probe the issue of the writer's responsibilities. There are two periods of his interest in supernatural material in the 1840's. In the early 1840's wizard material predominates and is used to explore the morality of contemporary nineteenth century values. Aylmer in "The Birthmark," whose commitment to perfectionism costs him greatly, can be directly tied in with the values of nineteenth century science. In the late 1840's Hawthorne returned to his earlier interests in witchcraft and devil material, experimenting with the former by attempting a witchcraft story for children, and returning to develop more fully the earlier theme of the diabolic nature of alienation from humanity.

Hawthorne's writing reveals folklore usage from his earliest work in 1824-25 throughout his short fiction, and this study shows how Hawthorne used it to fulfill his objectives as a literary nationalist. In the stories of his earliest period he uses witchcraft, ghosts, the theme of the influence of the past, and oral tradition. This folklore, with the exception of oral tradition, continues to appear in the fiction written between 1828-29, a period of great nationalistic activity for Hawthorne.

In addition, legends and character types appeared for the first time in his work in 1828-29. Folklore appears with greater frequency in the fiction of the 1830's as Hawthorne struggled to make his nationalistic work acceptable for publication. During the years from 1832 to 1838 his fiction reveals each of the seven categories of material described in this chapter. Legends are evident from 1832 to 1835, with märchen making their first appearance. Oral tradition and the theme of the influence of the past are responsible for several successful stories written then, while ghosts and witchcraft material are used less often. A culmination of folklore usage occurs in the Legends of the Province House in 1838, which were written first for publication in the nationalistic Democratic Review and later included in the most nationalistic volume Hawthorne published (Twice-Told Tales). In the Legends Hawthorne combines legends, oral tradition, ghosts, and the theme of the past. Generally during 1832-38 he experimented a great deal with folklore usage, achieving success in some areas and discovering dead ends in others. After the Legends of the Province House, with his literary nationalism publicly recognized, he used it less. From 1842 to 1844 only the Faustian character type and the wizard figure appear to any extent, with the traditions influencing these figures more archetypal and Gothic, respectively, than folkloric. The period after 1844 until 1848 shows Hawthorne returning to five of the seven categories of material he had previously used: legends, märchen, oral tradition, witchcraft and the supernatural, and the theme of the influence of the past. While this period shows a returning interest in folklore, caused by Hawthorne's erroneous belief that material published in Mosses from An Old Manse was inferior in quality

and lacking in realism, it also gives supporting evidence that the main growth in Hawthorne's knowledge and use of it had ended by late 1838. When he turned to longer fiction, he used witchcraft in The Scarlet Letter, but after 1850 his published work shows diminishing folklore usage.

This paper shows in a later chapter how Hawthorne's use of folklore reveals the extent of his nationalistic intentions in his several planned collections of tales. During the years from 1815 to 1850, numerous writers Hawthorne probably read used folk material to write literature which was uniquely American. Responding to the practice of these contemporaries (outlined in Chapter 3) and using the folklore described above, Hawthorne wrote as a literary nationalist in much of his short prose fiction.

## CHAPTER III

## FOLKLORE IN THE LITERARY NATIONALISM MILIEU

American independence from Britain sharpened an issue creative minds found almost as crucial as political sovereignty, how to achieve literary independence. In early statements on the importance of a national literature in prefaces to poems, plays, and collections of essays, people such as Philip Freneau, the Connecticut Wits, and Royall Tyler advocated originality in literary productions.<sup>1</sup> But the period of ten years prior to the War of 1812 was what Robert E. Spiller calls the psychological low point for American literary nationalism. A major reason was the prevailing esthetic doctrine of the time, Spiller thinks. The new nation was still very much under the influence of the "common sense" philosophy of Lord Kames and Hugh Blair, English thinkers who emphasized "virtue, propriety, and universal standards of taste."<sup>2</sup> Generally Americans were intellectually and culturally on the defensive.

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<sup>1</sup>For good coverage of the origins of American literary nationalism see: William B. Cairns, "On the Development of American Literature from 1815 to 1833," Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin--Philology and Literature Series, I, number 1 (March 1898), 1-87. Harry Hayden Clark, "Nationalism in American Literature," University of Toronto Quarterly, 2 (July 1933), 492-519; G. Harrison Orians, "The Romance Ferment After Waverley," American Literature, 3 (January 1932), 408-31; Robert E. Spiller, The American Literary Revolution: 1783-1837 (New York: New York University Press, 1967); and Benjamin T. Spencer, The Quest for Nationality: An American Literary Campaign (Syracuse University Press, 1957).

<sup>2</sup>Spiller, p. 4.

Several things happened after the War of 1812 to encourage the growth of literary nationalism. A stronger sense of political nationalism emerged as a result of the triumph of the American navy over the British, magazines devoted to criticism were founded, the ideas of the Scottish philosopher Archibald Alison connecting thought patterns with local environment suggested literary value in American locale, and a literary war between British and American critics developed in the 1820's and 30's bred by books published by English travellers and Sydney Smith's question "Who reads an American book?"<sup>3</sup> Because literary critics were chiefly responsible for these developments, it is important to indicate more specifically how their criticism arose.

The periodicals which helped to bring about nationalistic literature began publication shortly after 1812 and flourished in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.<sup>4</sup> From the beginning a major topic of discussion was the question of intellectual dependence on England. Opinion was divided in these early years, and generally it broke along political lines. Those periodicals with Federalist sentiments encouraged dependence on English standards, as is illustrated in the comments of an early critic in the North American Review: American letters "must wait

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<sup>3</sup>This summation is made by Spencer, p. 74. For a discussion of the new critical theory see Robert E. Streeter, "Association Psychology and Literary Nationalism in the North American Review, 1815-1825," American Literature, 17 (November 1945), 243-54. For the Sydney Smith criticism see Robert E. Spiller, "The Verdict of Sydney Smith," American Literature, 1 (March 1929), 3-13.

<sup>4</sup>For a discussion of the periodicals in these cities see W. B. Cairns, pp. 35-60, and William Charvat, The Origins of American Critical Thought: 1810-1835 (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1961), pp. 164-205.

for all improvements from abroad, acquire a literary tone from the mother country . . . and wait for a decision on its merits or demerits, from the higher authorities of London."<sup>5</sup> More liberal periodicals published by Democratic interests frequently contained articles encouraging immediate intellectual independence. For example, in an article from the Port-Folio for January, 1816, one critic writes:

We are yet without a name distinguished in letters. But this reproach must also pass away. In forming their style and manner, let our writers emulate the ambition, diligence and zeal that have so eminently characterized our gentlemen of the sword, and the object for which they contend must be inevitably attained. Many years cannot run their course, till our country shall have become as renowned in literature, as she is in arms.<sup>6</sup>

Argument would frequently go back and forth in the same magazine. In the North American Review, the most influential periodical from 1815 to 1830, Federalist articles were frequently countered by Democratic articles, especially during its first five years from 1815-1820 when it championed national literature most vigorously.

In addition to the debate going on in America, criticism from England had a bearing on the development of American literature. After the war ended, numerous English travellers to the new nation returned to England to write criticisms of American institutions and people. These books brought angry reaction from American writers, who usually replied through periodicals of the day. The best known example of this "paper warfare" was the reaction to Sydney Smith's criticism of American culture

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<sup>5</sup>North American Review, I (1815), 312-13. Quoted in John McCloskey, "The Campaign of Periodicals After the War of 1812 for National American Literature," PMLA, 50 (March 1935), 262.

<sup>6</sup>Port-Folio, 1 (January 1816), 76. The article is quoted in McCloskey, p. 264.

in a review he wrote for the Edinburgh Review in January 1820. Reviewing Adam Seybert's Statistical Annals of the United States, Smith wrote his classic attack:

The Americans are a brave, industrious, and acute people; but they have hitherto given no indications of genius, and made no approaches to the heroic, either in their morality or character. They are but a recent offset indeed from England; and should make it their chief boast, for many generations to come, that they are sprung from the same race with Bacon and Shakespeare and Newton. . . . In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book? Or goes to an American play? Or looks at an American picture or statue?<sup>7</sup>

Replies to Smith's charges went on for fully a quarter century, typified by John Neal's defense of American writers in Blackwood's Magazine from September 1824 to February 1825.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to the "paper war" between American and British critics and the dialogue between American critics over literary independence, an equally important development for the growth of national literature was a major change in psychological theory. Associationist psychology, which laid great stress on the relationship between patterns of thinking and physical environment, was introduced in America shortly after the War of 1812. Gradually its principles were incorporated into aesthetic theory, providing a new basis for argument about national literature. Some critics such as William Tudor, W. H. Gardiner, and William Cullen Bryant, argued that the American mind was used to certain

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<sup>7</sup>Smith's comments are reprinted in Spiller's "Verdict of Sydney Smith," p. 6.

<sup>8</sup>There were five essays in the "American Writers" series: 1 (September 1824), 304-11; 2 (October 1824), 415-28; 3 (November 1824), 560-71; 4 (January 1825), 48-67; 5 (February 1825), 186-206.

patterns of thought and certain geographical associations which made indigenous literature more compelling than English literature to an American reader. Others, including Walter Channing, Edward T. Channing, Jared Sparks, and George Bancroft, argued that while a close connection existed between ideas and environment, unfortunately America lacked an environment sufficiently rich for nourishment and the American reader should turn to other literatures to avoid under-nourishment.<sup>9</sup> Associationist psychology helped keep the debate over national literature alive.

An equally important influence on the rise of indigenous literature was a growing interest in folklore. Although critics have recognized for some time that folklore is associated with the rise of literary nationalism,<sup>10</sup> a concentrated effort to assemble the criticism and the fictional material showing the extent of interest in folklore during the two decades of highest literary nationalistic sentiment has been lacking. Since the era of literary nationalism was the time when Hawthorne used folklore most extensively, and since his use of folklore reveals the extensive presence, if not particularly overt, of a literary nationalism on his part, it is important to note the extent of interest in folklore during the literary nationalist ferment from 1812 to 1837. What his nationalistic contemporaries were doing in literature had an impact on Hawthorne's work, and a close correlation of Hawthorne's practice and that of his contemporaries becomes significant for an understanding of his use of folklore.

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<sup>9</sup>See Streeter's "Association Psychology and Literary Nationalism," pp. 247-253, for elaboration of their arguments.

<sup>10</sup>See Richard M. Dorson, American Folklore and the Historian (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971). Chapter 5--"The Question of Folklore in A New Nation"--is especially pertinent.



## Nationalistic Criticism and Literature

from 1815 to 1830

Numerous critical statements made in prominent places by literary nationalists during the period 1815-1830 emphasized using folklore materials in the new literature. Three such statements were made in the North American Review during the early years when it was most nationalistic.<sup>11</sup> Hawthorne may have known of each of these since the periodical was famous, his instructors at Bowdoin would have known of it, and during his later period of study at Salem he checked out several volumes of it from the Salem Athenaeum.<sup>12</sup> The first article was William Tudor's "An address Delivered to the Phi Beta Kappa Society," in which Tudor recommends that American writers use Indian materials in literature. He especially singles out Indian legends, such as the one about an Indian with supernatural power over the winds, who lived under a rock in Lake Champlain and took revenge on those who failed to offer him propitiations.<sup>13</sup> A second critic argues for use of materials of the American past, especially Indian stories and Puritan history, and seems particularly aware of the possibilities of legendary lore. J. G. Palfrey reviews Yamoyden, a Tale of the Wars of King Philip and praises its joint authors, J. W.

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<sup>11</sup>For an annotated survey of the nationalistic criticism in the North American Review see Harry Hayden Clark, "Literary Criticism in the North American Review, 1815-1835," Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, 32 (1940), 299-350.

<sup>12</sup>See Marian Kesselring, "Hawthorne's Reading, 1828-50," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, 53, Number 4 (April 1949), 188.

<sup>13</sup>North American Review, 2 (November 1815), 13-32.

Eastburn and R. C. Sands, for their use of Indian superstitions and lore:

The distinguishing beauty which we remark in this poem is the very happy use which the writers have made of their reading in the antiquities of the Indians. Whatever in their customs or superstitions fell within the scope of the plot, is seized on with an admirable tact, and made available for the purposes of poetry. . . . The occasional illustrations—drawn with a singular felicity and copiousness from the habits and legends of the natives, the natural history of the country, and similar local sources,—have a force of a peculiar sort in appearing to belong to the scene and time.<sup>14</sup>

The areas of Puritan history which Palfrey singles out for emphasis include those with legendary associations; he mentions Endicott, and Goffe and Whaley (the regicide judges) as characters worthy of treatment in narrative. In a passage prophetic of Hawthorne, he says a first-rate writer will use these Puritan and Indian materials: "Whoever in this country attains the rank of a first-rate writer of fiction, we venture to predict will lay his scene here."<sup>15</sup> It seems highly probable that Hawthorne knew of this review.

The third article from the North American Review emphasizing folk-lore in a nationalistic context is W. C. Gardiner's review of Cooper's The Spy. Like Palfrey, Gardiner stresses the past which is available to an American writer. He thinks there are three useful eras: the Indian Wars, the times just succeeding the first settlement, and the revolution.<sup>16</sup> He also emphasizes a new kind of folklore to be explored in fiction, American character types. He finds the country possessed of a great variety of character types: "In no one country on the face of the globe

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<sup>14</sup>North American Review, 12 (April 1821), 477-8.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 484.

<sup>16</sup>North American Review, 15 (July 1822), 255.

can there be found a greater variety of specific character, than is at this moment developed in the United States of America."<sup>17</sup> He mentions the Indian, the Virginia aristocrat, the merchant of the East, and gives special emphasis to the Yankee pedlar and the frontiersman. He asks:

Is the Connecticut pedlar, who travels over mountain and moor by the side of his little red wagon and half-starved pony, to the utmost bounds of civilization, vending his "notions" at the very ends of the earth, the same animal with the long shaggy boatman "clear from Kentuck," who wafts him on his way over the Mississippi, or the Ohio? . . . Is there no bold peculiarity in the white savage who roams over the remote hunting tracts of the West?<sup>18</sup>

Gardiner then approved Cooper's novel because he had developed a native American character type in a key period of America's past.

Hawthorne could have also heard folklore emphasized by literary nationalists at Bowdoin College, where Henry Wadsworth Longfellow gave the oration at Hawthorne's graduation. Although Longfellow was to moderate his position on the use of indigenous material in later life, in 1825 he saw it as a key to developing a national literature which was yet young. Presently, Longfellow said,

we can boast of nothing farther than a first beginning of a national literature: a literature associated and linked in with the grand and beautiful scenery of our country—with our institutions, our manners, our customs, in a word, with all that has helped to form whatever there is peculiar to us and to the land in which we live.<sup>19</sup>

But in time to come the lore of the land, especially its legends, will be preserved in fiction, says Longfellow:

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 252.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>"Our Native Writers," A graduation oration at Bowdoin College, 1825. Reprinted in Spiller, American Literary Revolution, p. 388.

We are thus thrown upon ourselves: and thus shall our native hills become renowned in song, like those of Greece and Italy. Every rock shall become a chronicle of storied allusions: and the tomb of the Indian prophet be as hallowed as the sepulchres of ancient kings, or the damp vault and perpetual lamp of the Saracen monarch.<sup>20</sup>

By the time he heard this address, Hawthorne had been exposed to criticism by literary nationalists which emphasized using the American past, including her legends and her people.

In addition to these critical statements by nationalists on using American folklore in fiction, Hawthorne could have known the work of six American writers, most of them famous, who used folklore materials in their writing from 1814 to 1830. As noted earlier, during this time Hawthorne used a variety of folklore: legends, märchen, oral tradition, character types, folklore motifs, folklore themes and the supernatural. This same folklore material appears in the collective work of these six writers. The writers were Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, William Cullen Bryant, John Neal, James Kirke Paulding, and William Austin. Of this group, Paulding, Bryant, and Neal published essays advocating literary nationalism in addition to using folklore materials in their fiction. A review of their individual arguments demonstrates the several ways in which use of such materials was opened to Hawthorne's consideration.

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 389.

## James Kirke Paulding

One of the earliest and most vociferous of the literary nationalists was James Kirke Paulding.<sup>21</sup> Although there is no indication in Hawthorne's own writing that he knew Paulding's work until the early 1830's, it is unlikely that Hawthorne was ignorant of who he was or what ideas he held. We know that Hawthorne was an avid reader while at Bowdoin--Horatio Bridge says he devoted "much time to miscellaneous reading"<sup>22</sup>--and that he read voluminously during his twelve-year period of apprenticeship at Salem. Such a prominent spokesman for nationalism could hardly have escaped his attention.

In his criticism Paulding seemed particularly concerned to discuss the effect of the romance tradition on American letters. He felt that the tradition tended to inhibit development of truly original work and that it encouraged writers to dabble in materials which were not indigenous. In his essay on "National Literature" he says:

Fairies, giants and goblins are not indigenous here, and with the exception of a few witches that were soon exterminated, our worthy ancestors brought over with them not a single specimen of Gothic or Grecian mythology.<sup>23</sup>

These materials, specified elsewhere in the essay as "superstition, the

<sup>21</sup>For a full treatment of Paulding's literary nationalism see J. Mishell George, "James Kirke Paulding, A Literary Nationalist," M.A. Thesis George Washington University, 1941.

<sup>22</sup>Horatio Bridge, Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1893), p. 33.

<sup>23</sup>"National Literature," reprinted in Spiller, American Literary Revolution, p. 383. Originally published in Salmagundi, second series, August 19, 1820.

agency of ghosts, fairies, goblins, and all that antiquated machinery" were not necessary "to excite our wonder or interest our feelings."<sup>24</sup>

Originality needed to be encouraged to change this dependence on the romance tradition, and Paulding often spoke out for originality, though in rather vague terms. In a preface to The Backwoodsman, a long poem published in 1818, he says he wrote the poem to "indicate to the youthful writers of his native country, the rich poetic resources with which it abounds, as well as to call their attention home."<sup>25</sup> In the essay on "National Literature" in 1820 he writes:

We have cherished a habit of looking to other nations for examples of every kind. . . . We have imitated where we might often have excelled; we have overlooked our own rich resources, and sponged upon the exhausted treasury of our impoverished neighbors; we were born rich, and yet have all our lives subsisted by borrowing.<sup>26</sup>

As late as 1834 he was making the same call:

Give us something new--something characteristic of . . . your country . . . , and I don't care what it is. I am somewhat tired of licentious love ditties, border legends, affected sorrows, and grumbling misanthropy. I want to see something wholesome, natural, and national.<sup>27</sup>

In his own fiction Paulding was to turn frequently to folklore as a source for the originality he encouraged. Paradoxically what he objected to in the romance tradition as folkloric was acceptable as long

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 382.

<sup>25</sup>Quoted in W. T. Conklin, "Paulding's Prose Treatment of Types and Frontier Life Before Cooper," University of Texas Studies in English, 19 (1939), 171n.

<sup>26</sup>Spiller, American Literary Revolution, p. 384.

<sup>27</sup>James Kirke Paulding, "Letter to T. W. White," Southern Literary Messenger, I (August 1834), 1.

as it came from the traditions of his own land. He uses six of the seven categories of folklore found in Hawthorne's work: character types, devil lore, ghost lore, legends, märchen, and oral tradition.

Indigenous American character types were the earliest manifestation of folklore in Paulding's fiction, though they largely disappear after 1830. They first appear in Letters from the South, a travel book published in 1817. In the book appeared what one critic calls the first ring-tailed roarer in American fiction.<sup>28</sup> The ring-tailed roarer was a frontiersman characterized by brash confidence. Paulding shows two--a batteauxman and a wagoner--fighting in his narrative. The batteauxman neighs like a horse, pulls at the waistband of his trousers, and drinks. The wagoner flaps his hands against his hips, crows like a cock, and brags he has the finest horse and rifle around. They scuffle, and the wagoner loses "three of his grinders" and gains "divers black and bloody bruises."<sup>29</sup> In 1818 Paulding published The Backwoodsman, a long poem devoted to telling the story of the people who pushed back the frontiers of the new land. Although the backwoodsman is not as colorful a figure here as he is in Letters from the South, Paulding's central interest is still the man whom he once described as belonging "to this continent, and to no other. He is an original. . . . He is the genius of the new world."<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>See Floyd C. Watkins, "James Kirke Paulding's Early Ring-Tailed Roarer," Southern Folklore Quarterly, 15 (September 1951), 183-7.

<sup>29</sup>I have paraphrased the passage which is quoted entirely in Watkins, p. 184.

<sup>30</sup>Quoted in W. I. Paulding, The Literary Life of James K. Paulding (New York, 1867), p. 342.

The backwoods frontiersman appears again in Paulding's play The Lion of the West (1830), where he uses him for explicit nationalistic ends. He is Colonel Nimrod Wildfire, who visits a pretentious aunt and uncle (ironically named Freeman) in New York. The Freemans' English house guest who wants to reform American manners, Mrs. Amelia Wollope, is a thinly disguised caricature of Mrs. Frances Trollope, crusading English critic of American life who lived in America in the late 1820's. Wildfire's frontier traits are emphasized as he clashes with genteel society. He brags:

I can jump higher--squat lower--dive deeper--stay longer  
under and come out drier! There's no back out in my breed--  
I go the whole hog. I've got the prettiest sister, fastest  
horse, and ugliest dog in the deestriect.<sup>31</sup>

He tells about a fight he had with a Mississippi boatman, which resembles the fight between the batteauxman and the wagoner in Letters From the South. He is distinctly American; he whistles "Yankee Doodle." At the end of the play Mrs. Wollope has failed to change his manners and returns to England to write a book about the American national character. After she leaves, Freeman closes the play with a speech which both anticipates her book and carries Paulding's nationalistic theme: Americans deserve to be evaluated fairly. Freeman says:

We ask but to be looked at like other people, not with the  
eye of prejudice or interest, but of candor. We have our  
evil with our good, but we feel that there are affinities  
between the Briton and American which should quench the  
petty fires of dissension and establish on the basis of  
their mutual freedom the glorious altar of fraternity.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>James Kirke Paulding, The Lion of the West. Revised by John Augustus Stone and William Bayle Bernard. Edited by James N. Tidwell (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954), p. 27.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 62.



Paulding was attracted to witch, devil, and ghost lore also, largely as that lore was related to Dutch customs and legends of old New York. Perhaps his most famous story is a devil story, "Cobus Yerks," published in the Atlantic Souvenir for 1828. In this story the devil takes the shape of a dog. Cobus Yerks is a Tom O'Shanter type who loves to fritter away time drinking at the local tavern. One night in 1793 he hears Timothy Canty tell that a neighbor's black bulldog that had died came back to life and howled like the devil. On the way home that night Yerks wrecks his wagon and tells those who find him the next morning that he was attacked by the devil dog. He was followed home, he said, by a pair of saucer eyes and a shape with breath like brimstone. The dog jumped in, took the reins from him and ran the wagon into a tree. The story eventually became legendary around Buttermilk Hill, the area of shore opposite New York.<sup>33</sup>

His most famous witch story is "The Origin of the Baker's Dozen," which originally appeared January 1, 1831, in the New York Mirror.<sup>34</sup> It tells what happens to Boss Boomptie, a Dutch baker in 1655, after he refused to give an old hag thirteen New Years' cookies for her money instead of a dozen. The woman is described much like Hawthorne's crones; she was

a little ugly old thing of a woman, with a sharp chin,  
resting on a crooked black stick, which had been burned  
in the fire and then polished; two high sharp cheek bones;

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<sup>33</sup>"Cobus Yerks" was republished in The Book of Saint Nicholas (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1836), a book of Paulding stories which he attributed to the fictitious Dominie Nicholas Aegidius Oudenarde.

<sup>34</sup>Also republished in The Book of Saint Nicholas.

two sharp black eyes; skinny lips, and a most diabolical pair of leather spectacles on a nose ten times sharper than her chin.<sup>35</sup>

She bewitches his bakery and his family--money dances in his till, his chimney is torn down brickbat by brickbat, his children feel pins in their backs, and his wife talks in tongues. Eventually Boomptie breaks her spell by giving her thirteen cookies, and this is said to be the origin of the baker's dozen. Paulding attempts to tack nationalistic associations on the story by having the witch say at the end:

The spell is broken, and henceforward a dozen is thirteen, and thirteen is a dozen! There shall be thirteen New Year cookies to the dozen, as a type of the thirteen mighty states that are to arise out of the ruins of the government of faderland [sic] (p.166).

Using ghost lore in his stories also, Paulding seemed especially attracted to the "explained" ghost story, a story popular in his time where apparent ghosts were accounted for by a natural explanation of facts. Paulding wrote two such stories which were well circulated: "The Little Dutch Sentinel of the Manhadoes," appearing in the Atlantic Souvenir for 1827, and "The Ghost," in the New York Mirror of October 17, 1829, and in the Atlantic Souvenir for 1830.<sup>36</sup> The first has a setting in oral tradition; the narrator claims to have heard the story from his grandfather. The story is about Jan Sol, a Dutch soldier who often was a sentinel on Manhattan in the early 1670's. Sol begins to see strange things while he stands guard: five hundred Indians in a ghost canoe, and a recurrent giant shadow with wings, and eyes and teeth like fire.

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., pp.150-51.

<sup>36</sup>Both were republished in The Book of Saint Nicholas.

He reports the sight to the city officials, who turn out at midnight to see the spectre. The giant ghost appears as Sol has described it but is discovered to be a suitor of the governor's daughter, who has crawled over the city wall in line with a windmill behind the wall. "The Ghost" has a marine setting. William Morgan, a sailor with strange trance-like behavior aboard a U. S. frigate in the Mediterranean, jumps overboard, is presumed dead, and then returns periodically as a wet, cadaverous figure stealing food. He is met by a mess-mate in Gibraltar and is seen periodically in various places. What is apparently a ghost story is finally explained when the ship captain meets Morgan years later in backwoods Tennessee. Morgan tells him he had developed his abilities to relax while afloat and could stay on the sea for long intervals. The captain responds to Morgan's disclosures by saying that he has "spoiled one of the best-authenticated ghost stories of the age."<sup>37</sup>

It seems unlikely, however, that Hawthorne was affected by Paulding's stories involving devils and witches. The significant point is not that of possible borrowings by Hawthorne from Paulding but that Paulding was characteristic of writers in the literary nationalist milieu in using folklore to develop his native literature. It does seem possible, however, that Hawthorne was influenced by stories like "The Ghost" when he wrote "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe" in early 1832. "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe," in addition to its other dimensions, explains what otherwise appears to be ghost-like behavior on Higginbotham's part. Hawthorne could have known of Paulding in the late 1820's through the Atlantic

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 191.

Souvenir, the first and one of the best known annuals of this time. By 1830 the annuals had become very popular and would have been accessible to Hawthorne.<sup>38</sup>

It seems likely, however, that a Paulding influence existed in the mid-1830's when Hawthorne became interested in märchen. Although Paulding did not write märchen per se, he wrote fairy stories, which have often, if erroneously, been associated with the type. In Hawthorne's märchen there is occasional reference to fairy activity.

Paulding's interest in fairy tales began early, but his main work in the vein did not begin until 1835. He had early complained that there was no fairy lore in America, and by 1835 he seemed determined to supply what was missing. In "The Magic Spinning Wheel" for The Token, 1836, he argues against the notion that fairies have no place in America:

Most especially is it denied that the fairies, elves, brownies, and others of the little caitiffs that whilome played such doughty pranks with rural swains and lovelorn lasses, exist, or ever did exist in this new world. Such a heresy has no foundation in nature or probability.<sup>39</sup>

As usual Paulding used his folklore for a nationalistic point; fairies came to the New World for political reasons, he explains.

Like the Puritans and Quakers, they emigrated to the New World, that they might with the more freedom enjoy the liberty of speech, and the privilege of practising their old accustomed gambols, in the boundless solitudes of nature. . . . There is not a sequestered nook, or rocky glen, or woody moonlight shade, or rural paradise upon the margin of the murmuring stream, but is peopled with these pigmy enchanters. (p. 130).

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<sup>38</sup>See "The Annuals and Gift Books" in Fred Lewis Pattee, The First Century of American Literature: 1770-1870 (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935), pp. 380-95.

<sup>39</sup>The Token and Atlantic Souvenir. Edited by S. G. Goodrich. (Boston: Charles Bowen, 1836), p. 129.

Paulding's story also uses a fairy to make a point about domestic life. The main part of the narrative is about how Ethelinde Pangburn suffers from being ignored by her suitor Pliny Allbeit. One day while she is crying into the waters of the Green River, a water fairy appears, "slowly rising from the bottom of the river, on the back of a beautiful speckled trout" (p. 140). She gives Ethelinde a beech spinning wheel and tells her to spin all the flax in the village. When Ethelinde has done this, Pliny becomes her suitor. The fairy helps Ethelinde and the readers of the story see that industry is a vital part of woman's virtue.

Following this story's appearance in The Token for 1836, Hawthorne, who had contributed to The Token since 1831, published two stories with märchen characteristics in The Token for 1837, "David Swan" and "Mrs. Bullfrog." Especially in "Mrs. Bullfrog" there are intriguing parallels with "The Magic Spinning Wheel." In spite of a crude realism different from that found in the Paulding story, "Mrs. Bullfrog" tells of a marriage successfully gained, and carries a domestic theme about marriage. A year or so later, in either December 1837 or January 1838, Hawthorne wrote "The Three-Fold Destiny," his most nearly perfect märchen. He was concerned, he said, to combine "the spirit and mechanism of the fairy legend . . . with the characters and manners of familiar life."<sup>40</sup> Here too are parallels with "The Magic Spinning Wheel"--a long-suffering village maiden is accepted by the man of her choice, and the theme defines personal identity and happiness in terms of domestic virtues. The evidence is ample that Paulding's work inspired Hawthorne to write American märchen.

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<sup>40</sup>Twice-Told Tales, edited by William Charvat, Roy Harvey Pearce, Claude M. Simpson, and others. The Centenary edition of Hawthorne's Works (Ohio State University Press, 1974), IX, 472.

Paulding continued to write fairy stories, publishing a collection of them called A Gift From Fairyland in 1838. His interests in this volume are similar to those in "The Magic Spinning Wheel," to provide entertainment on domestic themes, but most significantly to enrich American culture. Overt national biases emerge again in "Florella, or the Fairy of the Rainbow" and "The Fairy Experiment." The former tells of a fairy princess who happily trades her royalty for the freedom and duties of the new world, and "The Fairy Experiment" describes the benign rule of a fairy democracy in the new world.<sup>41</sup> There is some indication that Hawthorne knew of this book, although the connections are more tenuous than is the case with "The Magic Spinning Wheel." Hawthorne wrote Longfellow on March 21, 1838, about a book of fairy tales they were thinking of writing together:

I was sorry that you did not come to dinner on Saturday, for I wanted to have a talk with you about that book of Fairy Tales which you spoke of. I think it is a good idea, and am well inclined to do my part toward the execution of it.<sup>42</sup>

If A Gift From Fairy Land was a gift book, which its alternate title "A Christmas Gift from Fairy Land" suggests, it may have been published in December of 1837 for presentation for the year 1838. If Hawthorne knew of it then, it may have had a bearing on his plans with Longfellow. If he knew of it after the spring of 1838, it may have nurtured his interest in accommodating the *märchen* form to children's literature in the 1840's.

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<sup>41</sup>A Gift From Fairy Land (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1838). "Florella, or the Fairy of the Rainbow" is the first story in the book; "The Fairy Experiment," the last.

<sup>42</sup>Quoted in Lawrence Thompson, Young Longfellow: 1807-43 (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1938), p. 403.

Between 1814 and 1830 Paulding showed interest in folkloric character types, witchcraft, ghost lore, legends and oral tradition, and a short time later in fairy tales which are quasi-märchen. Although he was more extensively interested in folklore than were most men of his time, his interest was also typical of a number of literary nationalists of his time.

#### William Cullen Bryant

William Cullen Bryant also emphasized using folk materials to advance nationalism from 1815 to 1830. As with Paulding, it is difficult to say how well Hawthorne knew Bryant's writings during this time, but Bryant's renown was great enough for Hawthorne to have known him by reputation. Bryant's name frequently appeared in the North American Review, and Hawthorne occasionally read issues of that magazine in the Salem Athenaeum.<sup>43</sup>

Like Paulding, Bryant was interested in seeing American writers become more original, and he felt that neo-classical and romance traditions from Europe had helped shackle the American imagination. In a passage reminiscent of Paulding's remarks in "National Literature," Bryant says that traditions associated with romance have produced inferior literature. He writes:

With respect to later superstitions, traces of which linger yet in many districts of the civilized world—such as the belief in witchcraft, astrology, the agency of foul spirits in the affairs of men, in ghosts, fairies, water-sprites,

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<sup>43</sup>Kesselring verifies six different volumes checked out for Hawthorne between 1828 and 1837 (See Footnote 12). Other volumes could have been read in the library.

and goblins of the wood and the mine--I would observe that the ages which gave birth to this fantastic brood are not those which have produced the noblest specimens of poetry.<sup>44</sup>

Bryant wanted a first-rate literature in America, and he felt that American writers must use native materials and traditions in their work to achieve originality. But after American writers have established a tradition with native materials, Bryant feels--and he is almost contradictory here --they may then draw on traditions of other cultures for use in American literature:

With respect to the paucity of national traditions, it will be time to complain of it when all those of which we are possessed are exhausted. Besides, as I have already shown, it is the privilege of poets, when they suppose themselves in need of materials, to seek them in other countries.<sup>45</sup>

As long as tradition is used creatively, non-American sources are permissible:

It is especially the privilege of an age which has no engrossing superstitions of its own, to make use in its poetry of those of past ages; to levy contributions from the credulity of all time, and thus to diversify indefinitely the situations in which its human agents are placed.<sup>46</sup>

Bryant felt that fortunately there was an ample amount of material in America to prevent one from having to seek traditions abroad, and folklore was a major resource. The main area which Bryant specifically mentions in his criticism is character types. In his review of Catherine Sedgwick's Redwood in the North American Review in 1825, Bryant mentions how rich a field for fiction native American character types are. He

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<sup>44</sup>William Cullen Bryant, "On Poetry in its Relation to Our Age and Country," The third of four lectures delivered at the New York Athenaeum in April 1826. Prose Writings of William Cullen Bryant, edited by Parke Godwin. Vol.1 (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1964), 30.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p.33.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., pp.30-1.



liked Redwood because Sedgwick pointed the way to the field:

We look upon the specimen before us as a conclusive argument, that the writers of works of fiction, of which the scene is laid in familiar and domestic life, have a rich and varied field before them in the United States. Indeed, the opinion on this subject, which, till lately, prevailed pretty extensively among us, that works of this kind, descriptive of the manners of our countrymen, could not succeed, never seemed to us to rest on a very solid foundation.<sup>47</sup>

Bryant was affected by the associationist theory of the age and felt that only an American writer would truly capture the variations in national character:

It is he that must show how the infinite diversities of human character are yet further varied, by causes that exist in our own country, exhibit our peculiar modes of thinking and action, and mark the effect of these upon individual fortunes and happiness.<sup>48</sup>

Books by foreign travellers would prove inadequate because their observations

would rest only upon the more general and obvious traits of our national character, a thousand delicate shades of manner would escape [their] notice, many interesting peculiarities would never come to [their] knowledge, and many more [they] would misapprehend.<sup>49</sup>

The field needed to be developed, for there is an "infinite variety of forms of character, which spring up under the institutions of our country."<sup>50</sup>

In his own fictional work Bryant found more areas of folklore useful than just character types. Although his main medium was poetry, Bryant also wrote prose fiction from 1825 to the early 1830's in which he used some of the indigenous resources he had referred to in his criticism.

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<sup>47</sup> North American Review, 20 (April 1825), 248.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 250.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 253.

Like Paulding, Bryant published his prose fiction in periodicals, and when annuals became popular in the late 1820's, he contributed stories to them. His main annual outlet was The Talisman, which, like the Atlantic Souvenir, was one of the best known annuals of the time. If Hawthorne could have known Paulding's work in the Atlantic Souvenir, he could have known Bryant's work through The Talisman.<sup>51</sup> For establishing the milieu which influenced Hawthorne's practice, it seems more important to examine Bryant's prose fiction than his poetry. He duplicated in prose fiction tendencies of his early poetry, using oral tradition, legends, character types and the supernatural. The categories often overlap in the same story.

Bryant's interest in legends was strong by 1828 when he published two place legends in The Talisman. "The Cascade of Melsingah" contains an Indian legend connected with a waterfall "on the east bank of the Hudson, a little below the mouth of its tributary Matoavoan, about sixty miles from New York, at the foot of the northernmost ridge of the

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<sup>51</sup> Although one cannot verify that Hawthorne read The Talisman, it seems likely that he could have known its contents either directly because of the growing popularity of annuals or through re-publication. John Greenleaf Whittier comments in 1830 about re-publication of annual material: "Before the 'Merry Christmas' comes, their contents are copied and recopied all over the Union. Every thing that is good in them is dressed up for the public in every variety of type, from Pica to Minion, and published in every paper in the country, from the village hebdomadal to the city daily—from the 'Memphremagog Intelligencer' and 'Quampeagan Republican,' even to the 'New York Mirror' and 'Philadelphia Album.'" Quoted in Whittier on Writers and Writing: The Uncollected Critical Writings of John Greenleaf Whittier, edited by E. H. Cady and Harry Hayden Clark (Syracuse University Press, 1950), pp. 58-9.

Highlands."<sup>52</sup> The story tells of a young Mohegan warrior in the seventeenth century who kills a warrior of one of the northern tribes in a dispute over territorial hunting rights. He is captured by the opposing tribe and as he is awaiting execution he is befriended and helped to escape by an Indian maiden of that tribe. They flee to the cascade of Melsingah where he impersonates the spirit of the waterfall whenever enemies come too close. They live there successfully until finally peace is established between the Five Nations and they can restore their ties with their respective families. Bryant presents the legend as one of many which enrich the Hudson River area, including later legends about the American Revolution.

"The Legend of the Devil's Pulpit," in the same issue of The Talisman, is also a story located in a particular geographical place, across the river from New York, and interest focuses on a precipice some twenty or thirty feet high, crowned with a thick square of projecting stone which resembles a pulpit cushion. After the events of the story the rock is split with a permanent fissure. The story connected with the stone concerns Matthew Oakes and has witchcraft details. Oakes, the son of the clerk of Trinity Church, Wall Street, around 1760, was thought to be engaged in devil worship at the site across the Hudson. A group of citizens headed by a skeptical Scots physician named McGrath go over one night to check out the rumors and find an assemblage of people and animals listening to the devil. He is a little figure in a cocked hat,

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<sup>52</sup>William Cullen Bryant, "The Cascade of Melsingah," Miscellanies, edited by G. C. Verplanck, W. C. Bryant, and Robert C. Sands (New York: Elam Bliss, 1833), I, 198. The story first appeared in The Talisman for 1828.

with short skinny legs in black silk stockings which "terminated in two stumpy, hoof-like, clubbed knobs, cased in a pair of black velvet-bags."<sup>53</sup> The band of people is dispersed, and McGrath takes over the pulpit to lecture the people about avarice. He claims the devil had come "to stuff nonsense into the heads of my poor people of New York, and teach them, before their time comes, how to lie, and cheat, and have lotteries and banks, and to . . . smuggle."<sup>54</sup> McGrath ends his remarks by pointing out that the vices of this crowd forecast similar evil tendencies in their children, the future New York citizenry.

Although Bryant used Indian legends and legends of the Hudson River, which were never popular with Hawthorne, his stories could have helped Hawthorne see how to use legends in fiction. The Talisman for 1828 was available at the time Hawthorne began using legends in his own fiction, in late 1828 or early 1829 according to Chandler's dating of his tales.<sup>55</sup> A story like "The Legend of the Devil's Pulpit" is also important for its account of a devil's gathering in the woods. Chandler dates the composition of "Young Goodman Brown" as late 1828 or early 1829, and although there are tremendous differences in the two stories (Hawthorne's devil is more insidious, and the effect on Brown is much more profound than what happened to Oakes), there are also similarities.

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<sup>53</sup>This story appeared in the same way as "The Cascade of Melsingah" described above. My quotation is from Miscellanies, I, 278.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 280.

<sup>55</sup>Except where I indicate otherwise I adopt the dating of Hawthorne's material established by Elizabeth Chandler in A Study of the Sources of the Tales and Romances Written by Nathaniel Hawthorne Before 1853, Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, 7 (July 1926).

In addition to the parallel between the two situations--the services in the woods--both stories also make cultural comments: Bryant criticizes mercantilism, and Hawthorne, Puritan theology's impact on the mind.

Bryant turned to oral tradition as well as to Indian legends in his attempt to produce indigenous fiction. One of his earliest uses of oral tradition is in "A Border Tradition," first published in 1826 in the United States Review and Literary Gazette. The story is told by a narrator claiming to have heard it from his grandmother Geshie, who promoted a love suit between her brother and a young woman of the village. When the brother had become inattentive, Geshie intervened by dressing up as a spectre and chastising him for losing interest. The trick was especially effective because the area was a breeding place for ghostlore. The oral narrative Geshie tells is one of many attached to this location.

Bryant's two stories about legends are also closely connected with oral tradition. "The Cascade of Melsingah" contains a story "so old that I fear it is not more than half true. Such as it is, I give it, gathered from the lips of the aged inhabitants of the neighborhood, with whom the tradition was going to the grave."<sup>56</sup> "The Legend of the Devil's Pulpit" is "a well-known, but unrecorded tale of the olden time."<sup>57</sup> Bryant was later to publish a story called a narrative of personal adventure told by an eighty-year-old frontiersman named LeMaire who had experienced the events of the story in his youth.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Miscellanies, I, 203.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 232.

<sup>58</sup>The story appears in Tales of Glauber Spa (New York: J. and J. Harper, 1832).

On at least one occasion Bryant used the folklore of character types. In "A Border Tradition," involving both oral tradition and legendry, Bryant describes various types of people who have participated in the history of the area. The wedding which Geshie promotes will join the son of the New England Yankee Jedidiah Williams and the daughter of the Dutchman Jacob Suydam. While Bryant does not elaborate on their characters, he does describe a black man kept by the Suydam family. A minstrel, he was one of "the merry, sleek-faced blacks, that jabbered Dutch and ate sour crout in his kitchen," and he could "play tolerably on the fiddle."<sup>59</sup> Moreover he danced:

He executed the double shuffle with incredible dexterity, drummed with his heels on the floor till you would have thought the drumming an accompaniment to the fiddle, and threw the joints of his limbs into the most gracefully acute angles that can be imagined.<sup>60</sup>

The blend of several folk elements in "A Border Tradition" illustrates a pattern of composition characteristic of Bryant's prose tales. A place legend known in oral tradition also contains devil lore, as in "The Legend of the Devil's Pulpit," and a new world romance contains apparent spectres and minstrels, as in "A Border Tradition." Bryant's primary purpose is to write a story with American origins, and various folklore elements are used to achieve that objective.

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<sup>59</sup> William Cullen Bryant: Representative Selections, edited by Tremain McDowell (New York: American Book Company, 1935), p. 228.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 229.

## John Neal

Of the three literary nationalists who wrote both criticism and fiction, John Neal is the most outspoken advocate of literary nationalism whom we can verify Hawthorne had read. When Hawthorne was a student at Bowdoin he knew about Neal, for Neal was already a prominent man of letters from Maine. We know that Hawthorne read what Neal had published by that time. On November 17, 1836, his Bowdoin classmate Jonathan Cilley wrote Hawthorne about the book Hawthorne was preparing to publish: "What sort of a book have you written, Hath? I hope and pray it is nothing like the damned ranting stuff of John Neal, which you, while at Brunswick, relished so highly."<sup>61</sup> In his own "P.'s Correspondence," Hawthorne refers to Neal as "that wild fellow . . . who almost turned my boyish brain with his romances."<sup>62</sup> Hawthorne knew Neal as a nationalistic critic also. From September 1824 until February 1825, Neal wrote a series of articles on American letters in Blackwood's Magazine, and we know that Hawthorne checked those volumes out of the Salem Athenaeum in May and June of 1827.<sup>63</sup>

What Neal said on the literary nationalism issue remained constant throughout his career. Like Paulding and Bryant, Neal felt that American writers had been influenced too greatly by European traditions. In the

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<sup>61</sup>Quoted in Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1885), I, 145.

<sup>62</sup>Mosses From An Old Manse, edited by George Parsons Lathrop. Riverside edition of Hawthorne's Works (Cambridge, Mass., 1883), II, 426. Hereafter referred to as Riverside edition, II.

<sup>63</sup>Kesselring, p. 175.

preface to The Down-Easters, he makes his most sweeping indictment of the lack of originality among American writers: We have, he says,

cottages and sky-larks in our country; pheasants and nightingales, first families, youth of a "gentle blood," and a virtuous peasantry; moss-grown churches, curfews and ivy-mantled towers; with a plenty of hard-hearted fathers, runaway matches-- . . . Anything and everything in short which goes to the ground-work of a third-rate English or Scotch novel, and nothing--absolutely nothing--whereby a stranger would be able to distinguish an American story from any other, or to obtain a glimpse of our peculiar institutions, or of the state of society here, if I except a short story or two by Flint--or myself--in our baby-house annuals-- here and there a passage of Miss Ledgwick [sic, Sedgwick], a portion of Paulding's rough, honest and powerful, though sometimes rather ill-natured portraitures, the earlier efforts of Cooper--and I wish I might say, of Brown and Irving but even they are not examples; their books are not American, though they themselves are.<sup>64</sup>

Neal's solution to the problem was exactly what had been urged by Paulding and Bryant: writers should use the resources of their own country. Neal speaks of these resources metaphorically in the preface to Rachel Dyer:

There are abundant and hidden sources of fertility in their own beautiful brave earth, waiting only to be broken up; and barren places to all outward appearance, in the northern, as well as the southern Americas--yet teeming below with bright soil--where the plough-share that is driven through them with a strong arm, will come out laden with rich mineral and followed by running water.<sup>65</sup>

In a different passage in the same book, Neal is more specific about what these resources are: they are folkloric. Neal singles out character types, particularly the Yankee and the Indian:

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<sup>64</sup>The Down-Easters (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1833), pp. V-VI.

<sup>65</sup>John Neal, Rachel Dyer: A North American Story (Gainesville, Florida: Scholar's Facsimiles and Reprints, 1964), Facsimile of the 1828 edition, p. XVI.



Not so much as one true Yankee is to be found in any of our native books: hardly so much as one true Yankee phrase. Not so much as one true Indian, though you hardly take up a story on either side of the water now, without finding a red-man stowed away in it; and what sort of a red-man? Why one that uniformly talks the best English the author is capable of-- more than half the time out-Ossianing Ossian.<sup>66</sup>

But character type was not the only folkloric resource, as Neal was to demonstrate in his fiction. Witchcraft, a verifiable part of American history, was also available.

Neal had used American character types in his fiction before he wrote the passage in Rachel Dyer in 1828. His main interest in character types extended from around 1823 to 1833. He shows much interest in the Yankee character in Brother Jonathan, published in 1825. Brother Jonathan is a sprawling, flawed novel in the tradition of the sentimental romance. It is basically the story of how Walter Harwood establishes his identity as the son of Jonathan Peters and is reunited with the woman he loves, Edith Cummin. Neal places this action prior to the start of the American Revolution; the novel opens a year before the Battle of Lexington and centers on the conflict between the British and colonists in New York in 1776. Leading political figures of the time appear: Washington, Franklin, Nathan Hale, and General Howe. But Neal also tries to establish a congeries of traits that typify the New England or Yankee character. He emphasizes these traits primarily in the character of Jonathan Peters, the central figure in volume I of the novel. Peters is a strange, enigmatic figure; he appears alone and not much is known about him. He is strongly anti-British and thinks of himself as a new breed. In a political discussion early in the book he says: "We are a new people; we have

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. XV.

no fathers; no progenitors; we are disinherited; banished; cut off by our fathers."<sup>67</sup> Peters is argumentative and has "a suspicious--cool, keen, cyphering, thrifty temper; with little or no heart."<sup>68</sup> He has accumulated much information, but not much wisdom--"Jonathan Peters . . . was an American; one of that singular people who know a little, and but a little, of everything."<sup>69</sup> Neal's purpose is to show as much as he can about national character in the figure of the Yankee Peters, and the traits he emphasizes are those referred to by Constance Rourke in her description of the folkloric Yankee. The American is a rebel, possessed of a quick but unsophisticated mind, experienced in various activities, and capable of moral corruption.

Neal continued to be interested in the Yankee figure, becoming increasingly aware of small differences between various types of Yankees. In The Down-Easters (1833) Neal uses half the book to sketch various American character types and notes different Yankee personalities. One is named Gage, an old-fashioned Yankee with a high opinion of his own moral courage. Another Yankee is educated, cold, supercilious and stiff.<sup>70</sup> Neal also sketches a Yankee pedlar, who speaks in dialect as he attempts to sell his wares:

Nobody talks faster 'an I do now, do they marm? fuss chap too for yeller-fever, an moths, and lip-salve, and bedbugs--try a leetle on't mister, (to the youth in moustachios) or maybe

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<sup>67</sup> John Neal, Brother Jonathan (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1825), I, 71.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-13.

<sup>70</sup> The Down-Easters, pp. 26ff.

you'd like a box or yer own . . . ; only a quarter dollar a box at retail, or two dollars a dozen box in all, and take your pay in most any thing marm.<sup>71</sup>

In The Down-Easters Neal sketches regional character types with little thematic purpose.

Neal was also very much interested in the Indian as native character. He speaks of the Indian in Brother Jonathan as "the man of America--the original North American . . . whose chastity, steadiness, bravery, truth and self-denial, taken together, have no parallel in the biography of nations."<sup>72</sup> He introduces the character of Bald Eagle in the novel in an effort to present a realistic portrait of an Indian. Bald Eagle does not have a major role in the novel, however, and Neal was to lament in a later work that the Indian character had never really been developed. In "Otter-Bag, The Oneida Chief," published in The Token in 1829, he complains that still "no faithful portrait of the North American savage is to be had,"<sup>73</sup> and presumably he indicates some dissatisfaction with Bald Eagle in this statement also. Neal's purpose in "Otter-Bag" is to correct the impression that Indians were invariably hostile to American settlers, and he tells how Otter-Bag was faithful to the Americans at Valley Forge. But except for leaving the impression that the Indian is not an unprincipled savage, Neal is unable to develop the Indian character extensively in his fiction.

Neal is more successful in treating the frontiersman, characterized in these lines from the novel Errata, Or the Works of Will (1823): "Do

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>72</sup> Brother Jonathan, II, 1-2.

<sup>73</sup> The Token, edited by N. P. Willis (Boston: S. G. Goodrich, 1829), p. 228.

you know what I am? Steamboat! run agin me, run agin a snag . . . jam up . . . got the best jack knife, prettiest sister, best wife, run faster, jump higher, and whip any man in all Kentuck, by Gaud."<sup>74</sup> In "David Whicher," a story published in The Token for 1832, Neal emphasizes the resourcefulness of the frontiersman. David Whicher was a basketmaker who lived near where the Kenebeck and Androscoggin meet in Maine. One day he is captured by four Indians as he fells an ash. When he determines they mean to harm him, he distracts them by showing them how to weave baskets out of bark. He finally escapes when he cleverly traps their hands in the split ash, leaving them to die of starvation. But Neal's Whicher is resourceful in other ways as well, because it is his story from oral tradition that we hear, and he finishes the tale with a tall-tale flourish. When David Whicher returns to the scene twelve months later, the skeletons are dancing as they still try to free their hands. The frontiersman is also included as a type in The Down-Easters. A young man from Tennessee is briefly sketched as a "good-natured, handsome, savage-looking fellow; and at the worst only a rougher, and I believe in my heart, a better sort of Yankee, with more manliness and straightforwardness than our people have now."<sup>75</sup>

Although it does not seem likely that Hawthorne was affected by Neal's use of the frontiersman and the Indian, the case for influence is stronger with the Yankee. Hawthorne's first use of the Yankee was in "My

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<sup>74</sup>Quoted in Benjamin Lease, That Wild Fellow John Neal and the American Literary Revolution (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 104.

<sup>75</sup>The Down-Easters, p. 71.

Kinsman, Major Molineux" which he wrote in 1828/29. By that time Hawthorne could have known of Neal's remarks about the Yankee in the preface to Rachel Dyer and, more importantly, could have read Brother Jonathan. In spite of great differences between Robin and Jonathan Peters, Hawthorne may have found a methodology in Brother Jonathan which he used, the technique of associating Yankee behavior with national characteristics.

Like Hawthorne, Neal also used witchcraft in fiction, especially in Rachel Dyer (1828). The center of interest in the book is George Burroughs, a Puritan minister who is convinced that witchcraft executions are unjust. He attempts to defend Martha Cory against witchcraft charges in Salem in 1692. He argues that she is entitled to representation by counsel, should be presumed innocent until judged by the evidence, and must be accused by witnesses. But Martha Cory is hanged, and his efforts bring the charge of witchcraft against him. People testify that he pursued them in different shapes, could become invisible at will, took them to a witches' sacrament, appeared to them as a little black man, and asked them to write their names in a book in exchange for kingdoms. He too is convicted and executed. He dies defending the constitutional liberties which witchcraft practices have threatened.

Considering Hawthorne's early interest in witchcraft and his knowledge of Neal's work, it seems likely he would have known Rachel Dyer. In his stories in the mid 1820's, Hawthorne's primary concern had been to establish the environment of witchcraft and place it in America's history. But with "Young Goodman Brown" (1828/29) his interest in the problem of witchcraft became more sociological, and that change in

emphasis could have been affected by Neal's book. There is a great deal of difference between Goodman Brown and George Burroughs, but both are destroyed by a witchcraft environment--one because he accepts it and the other because he rejects it. In both cases witchcraft practices are used to emphasize destructive cultural tendencies of early New England society.

In addition to Paulding, Bryant, and Neal, Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, and William Austin used folklore in writing indigenous literature from 1815 to 1830. None of the latter three expressed the aggressive literary nationalism of the former three; in fact Irving and Cooper were largely convinced that America could not supply adequate materials for writers. But their work shows they used American folklore anyway.

#### Washington Irving

Robert Spiller thinks that Irving said less and did more about American literary nationalism than any other writer of his time.<sup>76</sup> By 1825 Irving had published three different books containing folklore materials: The Sketch Book, 1819-20; Bracebridge Hall, 1822; and Tales of a Traveller, 1824. Hawthorne knew these books. He checked out Volume I of Tales of a Traveller from the Salem Athenaeum on February 1, 1832,<sup>77</sup> and in later years he referred to The Sketch Book. He applauds the

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<sup>76</sup>Spiller, American Literary Revolution, p. 377.

<sup>77</sup>Kesselring, p. 184.

artistic quality of The Sketch Book in "A Book of Autographs" (1844), and he refers to the headless horseman in the Custom House introduction to The Scarlet Letter.<sup>78</sup> Hawthorne did not know Irving personally during Irving's years of fame. Yet in a letter he wrote to Hawthorne after receiving a complimentary copy of The House of the Seven Gables, Irving says he hopes "that we may have many occasions hereafter of cultivating the friendly intercourse which you have so frankly initiated."<sup>79</sup> Although critics generally feel that there was a substantial Irving influence on Hawthorne especially during Hawthorne's early years,<sup>80</sup> little has been noted of Irving's influence on Hawthorne to use folkloric materials. Like Paulding, whom he inspired, Irving used practically all the categories of folklore noticeable in Hawthorne's work.

Irving's primary interest was in legends, and he felt there were many which needed preserving in the New World.<sup>81</sup> Cultural change

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<sup>78</sup>"A Book of Autographs," The Snow-Image and Uncollected Tales, edited by William Charvat, Roy Harvey Pearce, Claude M. Simpson, and others. The Centenary edition of Hawthorne's Works (Ohio State University Press, 1974), XI, 375; The Scarlet Letter, edited by William Charvat, Roy Harvey Pearce, Claude M. Simpson, and others. The Centenary edition of Hawthorne's Works (Ohio State University Press, 1962), I, 42-3.

<sup>79</sup>Quoted in Nathaniel Hawthorne and his Wife, I, 440.

<sup>80</sup>For similarities in their handling of sketches see Fred Lewis Pattee, The Development of the American Short Story (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1923), pp. 99-100, and William L. Hedges, Washington Irving: An American Study, 1802-32 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), pp. 147ff. For similar estranged heroes see Hedges, pp. 162ff.

<sup>81</sup>In his zeal for developing American tradition, Irving was not careful to separate European legends from American legends. See H. A. Pochmann, "Irving's German Sources in The Sketch Book," Studies in Philology, 27 (July 1930), 477-507, and Charles G. Zug, "The Construction of 'The Devil and Tom Walker': A Study of Irving's Later Use of Folklore," New York Folklore Quarterly, 24 (1968) 243-60. For Irving's folklore generally, see Sara P. Rodes, "Washington Irving's Use of Traditional Folklore," Southern Folklore Quarterly, 19 (1955), 143-53.

threatened their preservation. In the well known passage from "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" he observes, "Local tales and superstitions thrive best in these sheltered, long-settled retreats; but are trampled under foot by the shifting throng that forms the population of most of our country places."<sup>82</sup> In three stories part of Irving's purpose is to preserve what he presents as indigenous legends. In "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" the story of Ichabod Crane and the headless horseman is meant to be added to the lore already in existence in the Hudson River area. Irving writes that people had seen the horseman before Crane came there, "authentic historians of those parts, who have been careful in collecting and collating the floating facts concerning this spectre."<sup>83</sup> What happens to Crane makes the area "more than ever an [area] of superstitious awe" (p. 331). "Dolph Heyliger," a story in Bracebridge Hall (1822), has a framed portion where Irving records legends of the ghost ships of the Hudson River. One particular ship appears in stormy weather, passes unaffected through cannon fire, and is manned by a crew dressed in Flemish clothes. It was thought by the characters in the story to herald the end of Dutch domination in the colonies since it came before the English conquest of New York. The events of "The Devil and Tom Walker" are legendary to the inhabitants of the Boston area. Walker was thought to have sold his soul to the Devil in exchange for Captain Kidd's buried treasure. When his wife tries to intervene, a "most authentic old story" says that she was never seen again, and the only things found were her

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<sup>82</sup>Washington Irving, "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon (A. L. Burt, n.d.), p. 323.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 305.



heart and liver tied in an apron at the old fort. Irving also records as legendary the villagers' belief that Tom buried his horse upside down so he could flee the Devil in death. Walker is eventually claimed in a flash of lightning, and the fort where this happened is now haunted by a figure on horseback in morning-gown and white cap.

In addition to suggesting that these indigenous legends need to be preserved, Irving also shows an awareness that legends can be used for structural purposes in stories. The earlier lore of the area is helpful in setting the environment where Ichabod Crane and Brom Bones clash. Brom Bones gets his idea for scaring Crane from the stories which circulate about the horseman. The occasion for the clash is the night of Van Tassel's party when many "wild and wonderful legends" are told, and the bridge where the pumpkin is hurled is an area predisposed to legendry. Here the British spy Major André was captured, and the stream "has ever since been considered a haunted stream, and fearful are the feelings of a school-boy who has to pass it alone after dark."<sup>84</sup> In "The Devil and Tom Walker" Tom makes his pact with the devil because legends have told him the devil presided over the burial of Captain Kidd's treasure. Irving's practice in using legends to motivate characters or to predispose action is important. Hawthorne could have found inspiration for "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure" in "The Devil and Tom Walker," and legends which affect the present illustrate the theme of the influence of the past.

Irving also used folklore character types in his fiction. Ichabod Crane and Brom Bones represent the Yankee and the backwoodsman,

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<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 327.

respectively.<sup>85</sup> Crane is an opportunistic jack-of-all-trades whose strategy with Katrina Van Tassel backfires and sends him in pursuit of a new career. Bones depends on brute force and aggressive confidence to defeat his opponent, as well as capitalizing on Crane's belief in local legend; one critic calls him "a Catskill Mike Fink, a ring-tailed roarer from Kinderhook."<sup>86</sup> The events of the story dramatize a pervasive theme of American letters, the triumph of the yokel over the city slicker.<sup>87</sup> Critics have also seen implications of national character in "Rip Van Winkle," even though Rip is not a folklore type like Crane and Bones. To one reader he shows that national "yearning for escape from work and responsibility which is exemplified by a host of gadgets and the daydream dramas of contemporary popular culture."<sup>88</sup> In "The Devil and Tom Walker," Tom can be seen as an acquisitive New England Yankee, but he is also Faustian. The sign of the contract he has made with the devil is a black, burned fingerprint on his forehead. After his success as a Boston usurer, he is called to account in a thunder-storm which also destroys all his possessions. Here Irving has no particular concern with national theme, but that interest often accompanied his portrayal of character types.

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<sup>85</sup>See Daniel G. Hoffman, "Irving's Use of American Folklore in 'The Legend of Sleepy Hollow'," PMLA 68 (June 1953), 425-35.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., p. 430.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., pp. 432-3.

<sup>88</sup>Hoffman's wording (p. 435) of the position stated by Louis Lefevre in "Paul Bunyan and Rip Van Winkle," Yale Review, 36 (Autumn 1946), 66-76. See also Terence Martin, "Rip, Ichabod, and the American Imagination," American Literature, 31(May 1959), 137-59, and Philip Young, "Fallen from Time: The Mythic Rip Van Winkle," Kenyon Review, 22 (Autumn 1960), 547-73.

Witchcraft and ghost lore are also part of Irving's attempt to write original national literature. His principal use of witchcraft was depiction of the devil in "The Devil and Tom Walker."<sup>89</sup> The devil appears to Tom in the heart of the forest as a black man with red eyes. From the beginning he shows his power over men. Nearby trees have the names of dead men carved into them, and the devil uses these trees for firewood. After he tells Tom where Kidd's treasure is buried in exchange for Tom's soul, he sinks into the ground, leaving a black fingerprint burned into Tom's forehead as a mark of their compact. The devil shows his power again in the story, once when he keeps Tom's wife from interfering with their agreement, and again when he claims Tom's soul. On the first occasion there are signs of struggle between the devil and Tom's wife; under the tree where she died are cloven hoof-prints and handfuls of black hair. Tom is claimed by a thunderbolt which also destroys the possessions he has accumulated with the devil's help. But in spite of this violence, Irving's story does not moralize about the dangers of sin and the devil. It is essentially a comic story and bears little resemblance to "Young Goodman Brown." Even the Faustian relationship is not treated as seriously as in Hawthorne's stories with Faustian motifs. The Hawthorne story it is most like is "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure," where the desire to get rich produces aberrant behavior with comic results.

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For a discussion of Irving's devil lore see Zug's article and James J. Lynch, "The Devil in the Writings of Irving, Hawthorne, and Poe," New York Folklore Quarterly, 8 (Summer 1952), 111-31.

Irving's two ghost stories are "Woolfert Webber" in Tales of a Traveller and "Dolph Heyliger" in Bracebridge Hall. In "Woolfert Webber" the ghost lore is associated with the legend of Captain Kidd's buried treasure.<sup>90</sup> "Woolfert Webber" is one of several stories (including "The Devil and Tom Walker") about early Manhattan told by members of a fishing party. Webber has a daughter eligible for marriage but he needs money to help promote the suit of her lover. One day at the local tavern a man who is apparently the ghost of Captain Kidd appears, lugging a great sea-chest and paying his bills in unfamiliar coin. Webber is so overwrought by the need for money that he begins searching for the buried treasure the ghost figure has called to mind. He consults with Dr. Knipperhausen, a Faust-like necromancer, who instructs him in the rituals for locating buried treasure and shows him how to use a divining rod. Webber goes to a location where he again sees the ghost of Kidd, and starts the ritual. He uses fire and drugs to ward off guardian spirits and reads words of conjuration from a German text. But Webber finds no money, and his health begins to decline. Eventually his fortunes turn when a corporation develops the property he owns, making him a rich landlord. Except for the happy ending and Irving's failure to probe Webber's mental conflict more thoroughly, the story reminds one of Hawthorne's "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure."

In "Dolph Heyliger" Irving's ghost material appears to come directly from romance tradition; there is no mention of Kidd lore. Dr. Knipperhausen appears briefly as the landlord of a haunted house which

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<sup>90</sup>For Irving's use of Kidd material see Chapter 8 in Willard Hallam Bonner, Pirate Laureate: The Life and Legends of Captain Kidd (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1947).

he lets to Dolph Heyliger. Heyliger is repeatedly disturbed by a Flemish spectre, and rumors abound that Heyliger guards the house with pistols loaded with silver bullets and talks to a headless spectre. Dolph dreams of taking passage up the Hudson in a boat captained by a black-haired man blind in one eye and lame in one leg. He eventually does that when he meets Antony Vander Heyden, the man he has dreamed about, and follows him to Albany where he falls in love with his daughter. While he is at Heyden's in Albany, he becomes aware that a portrait in his room resembles the nightly visitor he had in Knipperhausen's house. The ghost is that of Killian Vander Spiegel, an ancestor of both Dolph and Heyden who died without revealing the hiding place of his money. The figure in the portrait descends from the wall to lead Heyliger outside to a well. Heyliger returns to Manhattan, finds the ghost's money in a well, marries Heyden's daughter and becomes a distinguished citizen. Although "Dolph Heyliger" contains less folklore material than "Woolfert Webber," the story could have attracted Hawthorne because of its ghost portrait motif, which he used in "The Prophetic Pictures," "Edward Randolph's Portrait," and The House of the Seven Gables.

James Fenimore Cooper

If Irving was the great silent leader in the campaign for literary nationalism, Cooper was its most recalcitrant and apologetic. He repeatedly denied that American materials were sufficient for a national literature. In his preface to the third edition of The Spy he said: "All that glow, which can be given to a tale, through the aid of obscure legends, artificial distinctions, and images connected with the

association of ideas, is not attainable in this land of facts."<sup>91</sup> His most negative views on the subject are in Notions of the Americans (1828) where his criticism of America is evident even though he speaks through the persona of a visiting Englishman:

There are no annals for the historian; no follies beyond the most vulgar and commonplace for the satirist; no manners for the dramatist; no obscure fictions for the writer of romance; no cross and hardy offences against decorum for the moralist; nor any of the rich artificial auxiliaries of poetry.<sup>92</sup>

Character types hold little potential: "No doubt, traits of character that are a little peculiar, without, however, being either very poetical, or very rich, are to be found in remote districts; but they are rare, and not always happy exceptions."<sup>93</sup> Cooper encourages writers to avoid the temptation to draw on American life for inspiration:

There is a certain interest in the novelty of the subject [American life], which is not without its charm. I think, however, it will be found that they [writers of fiction in America] have all been successful, or the reverse, just as they have drawn warily, or freely, on the distinctive habits of their own country.<sup>94</sup>

Hawthorne similarly complained later of "the difficulty of writing a Romance about a country where there is no shadow, no antiquity, no

<sup>91</sup>James Fenimore Cooper, The Spy (New York: Wiley and Halstead, 1822), p. viii.

<sup>92</sup>Notions of the Americans, Picked up by a Travelling Bachelor, edited with an introduction by Robert E. Spiller (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1963), II, 108.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., p. 111.

mystery, no picturesque and gloomy wrong, nor anything, but a commonplace prosperity in broad and simple daylight."<sup>95</sup>

But Cooper, like Hawthorne, used American folklore extensively. He first used character types, showing a Yankee in The Spy (1821).<sup>96</sup> Harvey Birch may well have been conceived from oral tradition; he has many characteristics of the folkloric Yankee whom Constance Rourke describes. He is uneducated but shrewd. He is a loner, with more affinity for nature than society. People do not know his origins, and he has differing identities to the various people he deals with. Although he remains a mysterious figure through most of the novel, Birch was for Cooper by the end of the novel a praiseworthy example of the Yankee as true American. General Washington says to him:

You have I trusted more than all; I early saw in you a regard to truth and principle, that, I am pleased to say, has never deceived me--you alone know my secret agents in the city, and on your fidelity depend, not only their fortunes, but their lives.<sup>97</sup>

When they separate, Washington foresees that "Providence destines this country to some great and glorious fate . . . when I witness the patriotism that pervades the bosoms of her lowest citizens."<sup>98</sup> But as

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<sup>95</sup> Nathaniel Hawthorne, Preface to The Marble Faun, edited by William Charvat, Roy Harvey Pearce, Claude M. Simpson, and others. The Centenary edition of Hawthorne's Works (Ohio State University Press, 1968), IV, 3.

<sup>96</sup> For discussion of the Yankee in Cooper's work see Warren S. Walker, James Fenimore Cooper: An Introduction and Interpretation (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1963), pp. 104-108, and Kay Seymour House, Cooper's Americans (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1965), Chapters 5 and 8.

<sup>97</sup> James Fenimore Cooper, The Spy. The Mohawk edition of Cooper's Works (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, n.d.), VI, 418.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p. 421.

Cooper continued to write, the Yankee became a negative character. After 1833, as Cooper became disaffected with American society, the Yankee became increasingly symbolic of all the defects American society could produce. He is shown as a hypocrite, miser, false friend, schemer, unscrupulous opportunist, demagogue and rabid enthusiast in such Yankee characters as Steadfast Dodge and Aristabulus Bragg in Homeward Bound and Home as Found, Joel Strides in Wyandotté, Jason and Seneca Newcome in the anti-rent Littlepage trilogy, and Deacon Pratt in the Sea Lions.<sup>99</sup>

The folkloric frontiersman influenced Cooper's most famous character, Natty Bumppo.<sup>100</sup> After 1815 a Daniel Boone cult developed which kept the frontiersman character before the public eye. Occasional exploits of Boone became the actions of Leatherstocking; for example in Chapters X and XII of The Last of the Mohicans, Bumppo's actions are based on Boone's rescue of Betsy and Fanny Callaway and Jemima Boone, his daughter, from the Cherokees.<sup>101</sup> Also Bumppo's anti-social attitudes in the Leatherstocking tales of the 1820's parallel those of Boone, who is reported to have said "I had not been two years at that licks before a d---d Yankee came, and settled down within a hundred miles of me."<sup>102</sup> When Cooper returned to Leatherstocking in the early 1840's, other frontiersmen had become known, like Tom Quick, Tim Murphy, Nat Foster, and

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<sup>99</sup>Walker, p. 111.

<sup>100</sup> See Walker, pp. 39ff; John M. Vlach, "Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking as Folk Hero," New York Folklore Quarterly, 27 (December 1971), 323-38; and Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land (New York: Vintage Books, 1950) Chapter 6.

<sup>101</sup>Smith, p. 64.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid., p. 58.



Nick Stoner, Indian fighters of New York state.<sup>103</sup> Davy Crockett, publicly known in the 1830's for his incredible shooting and for being a man of nature serving civilized society, also influenced depictions of the later Leatherstocking.<sup>104</sup>

Although Cooper's Yankees and frontiersmen do not seem likely to have influenced Hawthorne's character types, Cooper's use of legend, particularly the Angel of Hadley legend, probably did. In 1825 Cooper planned a series of novels based on American political history to be called "Legends of the Thirteen Republics," but he wrote only Lionel Lincoln. Then he turned from political legends to the legends of the land. He describes these legends in the following passage from The Wept of Wish-Ton-Wish (1829):

Histories of combat with beasts of prey, and of massacres by roving and lawless Indians, were the moving legends of the border. Thrones might be subverted and kingdoms lost and won in distant Europe, and less would be said of the events by those who dwell in these woods, than of one scene of peculiar and striking forest incident that called for the exercise of the stout courage and the keen intelligence of a settler. Such a tale passed from mouth to mouth, with the eagerness of powerful personal interest, and many were already transmitted from parent to child, in the form of tradition, until, as in more artificial communities graver improbabilities creep into the doubtful pages of history, exaggeration became too closely blended with truth, ever again to be separated.<sup>105</sup>

In the novel he uses two such legends, one an Indian captivity narrative supplied to him by "Rev. J. R. C. of \_\_\_\_\_, Penn.," and the legend of

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<sup>103</sup> Walker, p. 40.

<sup>104</sup> Vlach, pp. 328-31.

<sup>105</sup> The Wept of Wish-Ton-Wish. The Mohawk edition of Cooper's Works (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, n.d.), XXII, 39.

the regicide judges.<sup>106</sup> The novel has three narrative focal points: the captivity narrative of a white woman wedded to an Indian warrior, the account of the breakdown of Indian power in the new world balanced against the perseverance of the Puritans, and the legend of the Angel of Hadley. Mark Heathcote has led his family into the Connecticut River Valley frontier for a new attempt at spiritual community. In a time of Indian warfare, the regicide figure appears to help the Puritan community survive an Indian attack. He is shrouded in mystery, called only "Submission" by the Heathcotes until he tells them late in the novel that he helped take the head of Charles I. While he does not have the overt political symbolism in Cooper's work that he does in "The Gray Champion," Submission as an old man come from seclusion to lead the people existed as a model for Hawthorne's characterization.

Cooper also knew the sea lore of the New World, particularly the Captain Kidd legends and legends of the Flying Dutchman on the Hudson.<sup>107</sup> He said in the 1850 preface to the Red Rover that Kidd lore was practically the only indigenous material American writers had available:

The history of this country has very little to aid the writer of fiction, whether the scene be laid on land or on the water. With the exception of the well-known, though meagre incidents connected with the career of Kidd, indeed, it would be very difficult to turn to a single nautical occurrence on this part of the continent in the hope of conferring on a work of the imagination any portion of that peculiar charm which is derived from facts clouded a little by time.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> For the legend of the regicide judges see Chapter 2, pp. 9-10 of this dissertation, and Orians' article in footnote 19 of Chapter 2.

<sup>107</sup> See Chapter 9--"Leatherstocking Kidd"--of Bonner's Pirate Laureate: The Life and Legends of Captain Kidd.

<sup>108</sup> The Red Rover. The Mohawk edition of Cooper's Works (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, n.d.), VIII, v.

In The Water Witch (1830) he used both Kidd lore and Flying Dutchman material. Alderman Van Beverout is a Dutch gentleman in the second decade of the eighteenth century who does business with "The Skimmer of the Seas," a legendary outlaw of the seas. The Skimmer operates aboard the Water Witch with a patroness who can cause the ship to disappear when it is near capture, a feature of the plot which Cooper probably borrowed from the Flying Dutchman legend. The Skimmer is connected with Kidd by characters in the novel, although Cooper does not intend him to represent Kidd. He is mysterious, strong-willed and mild-mannered, but most ardently patriotic. In the face of English laws that prohibit trade with any nation but England, he favors breaking the law, showing that Cooper's main interest in the Kidd legend was to see in it the early colonial spirit of independence that disregarded English law.<sup>109</sup> Hawthorne's Gray Champion and Endicott are similar characters, each given authorial praise at the end of their respective stories for their resistance to English tyranny, just as Birch is praised by Washington and the Skimmer by Beverout.<sup>110</sup>

#### William Austin

William Austin (1778-1841), Harvard Law School graduate and Charlestown, Massachusetts, citizen known for his political nationalism,

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<sup>109</sup> Bonner, p. 175.

<sup>110</sup> Bonner (p. 174) quotes the following speech by Beverout justifying the Skimmer's activity: "What sin is there in pushing commerce a step beyond the limits of the law? These English are a nation of monopolists; and they make no scruple of tying us of the colonies hand and foot, heart and soul, with their acts of Parliament, saying 'With us shalt thou trade, or not at all.'"

spoke in the Massachusetts legislature in favor of a Declaration of War against Great Britain in June 1812, and was a major force in the drive in 1825 to erect the Bunker Hill Monument.<sup>111</sup> Although his political activity drained his literary energy, Austin published short fictional prose from time to time which shows the effect of the literary nationalist movement. He was especially interested in New World legends, evident in "Peter Rugg, The Missing Man" and "The Man with the Cloaks: A Vermont Legend."

Published in the New England Galaxy in September 1824, and continued with supplements in September 1826, and January 1827, "Peter Rugg" was one of the most circulated stories of the day. The nineteenth century historian Thomas Wentworth Higginson testifies that it was reprinted in other papers and books, and read more than any other newspaper material he could recall.<sup>112</sup> Rugg is a cross between Rip Van Winkle and the Wandering Jew, set in a New England landscape. He and his daughter have been travelling toward Boston for at least twenty years, but the Boston they search for has changed so much they will never locate it. Travellers in the country know when Rugg is nearby because storms accompany him. Horses can sense him even when he is not visible to the eye. He exemplifies to one twentieth century critic the national experience, the break with the past and the restless movement thereafter, though Austin does

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<sup>111</sup>Walter Austin, editor, William Austin: The Creator of Peter Rugg (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1925), pp. 80, 114. Austin reprints the stories discussed here.

<sup>112</sup>Thomas W. Higginson, "A Precursor of Hawthorne," The Independent, 40 (March 1888), 385-6. Austin reprints Higginson's article on pp. 121-26.

not state such a theme.<sup>113</sup> Hawthorne knew Rugg's character, whom he describes in "A Virtuoso's Collection":

His visage was remarkably wind-flushed, sunburnt, and weather-worn, and had a most unquiet, nervous, and apprehensive expression. It seemed as if this man had some all-important objective in view, some point of deepest interest to be decided, some momentous question to ask, might he but hope for a reply.<sup>114</sup>

Although he never used Rugg for thematic purposes, Hawthorne could have seen the connection between Rugg's behavior and the national experience, a connection he develops in various characters of the "Provincial Tales."

Austin says his later story, "The Man with the Cloaks: A Vermont Legend" (1836), is also a legend of the New World, but here too Austin creates more legend than he records. The story of John Grindall is supposedly the source for the saying "good as old Grindall," still in use west of the Green Mountains.<sup>115</sup> But there is too much of the marvellous in the story for it to be historical. In the story, Grindall has once turned down a beggar's request for a cloak, and since that time he cannot stay warm though he wears hundreds of cloaks. A physician called in thinks his cold heart is ossifying into an icicle. The turning point is reached at the end of a year; now wearing 365 cloaks, Grindall is offered a second chance to share his clothes with the needy. This time he gives one away and feels his heart warm up. He continues to be generous, becoming known for his "warm heart." It

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<sup>113</sup> Neal Frank Doubleday, Hawthorne's Early Tales, A Critical Study (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972), p. 51.

<sup>114</sup> Riverside edition, II, 537.

<sup>115</sup> Austin, p. 287.

seems likely Hawthorne was influenced by this story also. It appeared in the American Monthly Magazine in January 1836, the first issue published after that magazine absorbed the New England Magazine.<sup>116</sup> Hawthorne had contributed to the December 1835 issue of the New England Magazine and printed "Old Ticonderoga" in the February 1836 issue of the American Monthly Magazine. Hawthorne would have noticed the märchen characteristics of the story: Grindall hatches chickens under his cloaks, his heart may have been transformed into hard ice and back to warmth again, and the story has a moralized, happy ending. But the transformation motif inherent in the legend may have been the most influential part of the story, affecting Hawthorne's conception of "The Man of Adamant." Chandler dates the composition of Hawthorne's story in the fall of 1835 or winter of 1836, making influence arguable. Like Grindall, Hawthorne's Digby is isolated by his refusal to deal with humanity, his heart becomes ossified (the same word is used), and the result, less favorable to Digby than to Grindall, is a legend which outlives the man.

#### Nationalistic Criticism and Literature

From 1830 to 1837

From 1830 to 1837 critics and writers remained interested in producing national literature which voices of the earlier decade and a half had championed, but with less enthusiasm and less singleness of purpose. The main periodicals of the time were not as highly politicized, and

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<sup>116</sup>For the fusion of the two magazines under Park Benjamin's leadership, see Merle M. Hoover, Park Benjamin: Poet and Editor (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), Chapter 4.

there was less overt patriotism in the literature. Folkloric items still appeared in the early thirties, but more and more they appeared in the domestic sentimental tradition. Because Hawthorne began publishing in periodicals in the 1830's, making some effort to fit his material with the recognized interests of the magazines, it is important to explain what their editorial policies were regarding nationalistic items. Those policies, part way removed from the political purposes of the literary nationalists of the 1820's, are illustrated in the New England Magazine, one of the leading periodicals of the early thirties.

Although the New England Magazine was cautiously optimistic about the future of American letters, its editors felt that American writers should be measured against British standards of success or against the standards of Irving, still the most important American writer, who by no means renounced European resources. In a review (December 1831) of Samuel L. Knapp's Lectures on American Literature, an editor sees a new age coming when America will have writers equal to those of European countries. But America is not yet there. Discussing how relations between England and America were gradually improving, a writer in April 1832 cautiously says England is becoming more objective in evaluating American literature.<sup>117</sup> But these two remarks stop far short of the challenging exhortations of John Neal. Appearing as one of a series of literary portraits of famous contemporary American writers, an article

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<sup>117</sup> New England Magazine, 1 (December 1831), 479-80. "England and America," II (April 1832), 302-6. Since most of the material in the magazine was printed without signature, it is difficult to know which editors wrote which reviews.

in November 1831 praises Bryant as a nature poet.<sup>118</sup> Frequently, emerging writers who emphasized American location or American history were praised for also showing moral virtue.<sup>119</sup> Park Benjamin, one editor of the magazine in 1834, in a comment representative of the position generally taken by the magazine's editors, desired above all else to see "American literature written in sincerity and in truth."<sup>120</sup>

What the magazine editors routinely published is also indicative of their rather casual attitude toward literary nationalism. With editorial practices copied from Blackwood's Magazine, they stressed informality and strove to reach a popular audience, publishing travel sketches, familiar essays, and biographies of United States politicians. As folklore materials had popular interest, in their judgment, they published two essays in 1833 dealing with customs and beliefs of New England. In "New England Superstitions," W. B. O. Peabody argued that science and religion had helped to dispel superstition, which he found rather repugnant. But historically New England had been afflicted with three kinds of superstition--witchcraft, ghostlore, and fortune-telling--which still grasped the minds of people in the country less receptive to the liberating effects of science and religion. Later that year Whittier argued in rebuttal that Peabody had shown neither a thorough knowledge of New

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<sup>118</sup>"Literary Portrait #2--Bryant," New England Magazine, 1 (November 1831), 399.

<sup>119</sup>See the reviews of Mrs. Sigourney's Sketches in 7 (July 1834), 81-2, and Eliza Leslie's Pencil Sketches, or Outlines of Character and Manners, 5 (July 1833), 70-3.

<sup>120</sup>Hoover, p. 199.



England folklore nor the proper sympathetic attitude toward it. Whittier felt American writers should try to preserve native folklore.<sup>121</sup>

While editors of the magazine accepted fictional material which used folklore, they did not go out of their way to solicit it or treat folklore as a great reserve for maturing American writers. In January 1832 they published "Z"'s "A Legend of Christmas Eve," a humorous story from oral tradition heard by the narrator in his boyhood as "a fireside tale . . . of a long winter evening."<sup>122</sup> It tells of an attempt to recover Kidd's treasure now guarded by ghosts and a spectre ship. When the diggers reach the treasure, the story ends with "a low rumbling beneath their feet, and the ponderous mass [passing] slowly from under them as the spectral boat gradually melted into the moonlight" (p. 64). The open ending and the title indicate the story was accepted because it cautioned against greed, supplying a Christmas theme more important than its genuine folklore embellishments. Another story indicating the editors' bias is "Powow Hill: A Legend of Essex County."<sup>123</sup> Although the story contains Indian legendry and the well recognized Yankee character type, the editors could have attached equal importance to its love theme. Malachi was

a genuine Yankee, of the class called "enterprizing." Need I say more? It were almost tautology to add that he had tried his hand at all the handicrafts and headcrafts that mortal ingenuity had devised in this land of scheming. He had ploughed and hoed; coasted to Passamaquoddy; fished on

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<sup>121</sup>Peabody's essay is in Volume 4 (February 1833), 139-53; Whittier's (signed J. G. W.) is in 5 (July 1833), 26-31.

<sup>122</sup><sub>2</sub> (January 1832), 62.

<sup>123</sup>New England Magazine, 2(May 1832), 416-21.

the Grand Bank; peddled wooden ware and peppermint water around the country; invented a washing machine; carried a live alligator about for a show--two cents to ninepence a sight, "according as he could light o'chaps;" and got to be a captain in the militia (p. 417).

On the night before his wedding to Dolly, Malachi goes to Powow Hill where, according to legend, Indian spirits hold spring gatherings. He is almost married off to Pigwackitiokapog, a wealthy fat squaw, before his Yankee resourcefulness prompts him to use his pocket Bible to break the powerful spell of the spirits. He returns home to marry Dolly and live in a land never again troubled by Indian spirits.

Yet the New England Magazine also accepted stories in which folklore materials were quietly ridiculed. "The Phantom Ship" appeared in August 1832 almost as if in anticipation of Peabody's skeptical essay on superstition later that year.<sup>124</sup> With tongue in cheek the author tells of a party who go picnicking on an island steeped in

the old tradition of the pirates, who were known to have resorted to this island, and buried their treasures among the sand. Their ghosts had ever since haunted the shore, and had been seen by too many credible persons to leave a doubt as to the truth of the story (p. 124).

One member of the party thinks he has found the treasure with the aid of a ghost ship, but he has dug up Indian bones and clam shells instead. The real "Indian bones and clam shells" were sometimes more important to New England Magazine editors than "spectres" of folk tradition; history and contemporary reality were more significant than fanciful productions of oral report.

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<sup>124</sup><sub>3</sub> (August 1832), 122-7.

## John Greenleaf Whittier

The movement away from a vigorous literary nationalism is seen as clearly in the work of Whittier as it is in the middle 1830's as a whole. Whittier began writing when the country still felt the sting of Sydney Smith's questions, and became, defensively, a literary nationalist. His earliest claims are chauvinistic:

The insulting query of "Who reads an American book?" has been made by the very periodicals, whose pages have since been adorned with the writings of American authors. Our country is yet in her infancy, but, young as she is, her obligations to Britain, have been amply redeemed, by the genius of her citizens.<sup>125</sup>

He is eager to point out that America has resources for her young writers:

It has often been said that the New World is deficient in the elements of poetry and romance. . . . On the contrary, New England is full of Romance. . . . The great forest which our fathers penetrated--the red men--their struggle and their disappearance--the Powwow and the War-dance--the savage in-road and the English sally--the tale of superstition, and the scenes of witchcraft,--all these are rich materials of poetry.<sup>126</sup>

Folkloric materials were available, including legends, which Whittier helped preserve in Legends of New England (1831) while lamenting he had

but partially explored [the field]. New England is rich in traditionary lore--a thousand associations of superstition and manly daring and romantic adventure, are connected with her green hills and her pleasant rivers.<sup>127</sup>

In his article on "New England Superstitions" in the New England Magazine, he lists seven categories of superstition available to writers, including

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<sup>125</sup>"American Genius," Whittier on Writers and Writing, p. 24. The article was originally published in the Philadelphia Album, April 8, 1829.

<sup>126</sup>"Introduction to The Literary Remains of John G. C. Brainard" (Summer 1832). Reprinted in Whittier on Writers, p. 93.

<sup>127</sup>Legends of New England (Gainesville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1965), p. I.

witchcraft, ghost lore, fortune telling, and preternatural phenomena, saying he wishes writers "could be induced to embody and illustrate such passages of superstition, as may be considered in any degree peculiar to the New World."<sup>128</sup> But after 1832 Whittier became less interested in the cause of a national literature and more interested in such social and humanitarian causes as the anti-slavery movement. When his primary interest turned again to folklore in the 1850's, he was more interested in the universal truth to be seen through the particular than nationalistic implications of the folklore item itself.<sup>129</sup> His later position is reflected in The Supernaturalism of New England (1847), where he writes about superstition:

I am aware that there are graver aspects of the subject than any I have presented, and which are entitled to serious enquiry. For the Supernaturalism of New England and of all other countries is but the exaggeration and distortion of actual fact--a great truth underlies it. . . . What is remorse, but the spectre of an evil deed tormenting the guilty one, and following him whithersoever he goes? And what is the fiend himself, but the evil which all men see in others and feel in themselves--a monstrous embodiment of the terrible idea of sin?<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>128</sup>5 (July 1833), 26ff.

<sup>129</sup> For Whittier's changing interests see Clark, "Nationalism in American Literature," pp. 509-11, and John B. Pickard, John Greenleaf Whittier: An Introduction and Interpretation (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1961), pp. 47ff.

Folklore in Whittier's work is discussed in Richard M. Dorson, Jonathan Draws the Long Bow (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946), pp. 204-14, and in George Gibson Carey, "Folklore in the Writings of John Greenleaf Whittier," Dissertation Indiana University 1966. Carey has also published "J. G. Whittier and Folklore: The Search for a Traditional American Past," New York Folklore Quarterly, 27 (March 1971), 113-29, and "Whittier's Place in New England Folklore" in Memorabilia of John Greenleaf Whittier, edited by John B. Pickard (Hartford: The Emerson Society, 1968), pp. 46-53.

<sup>130</sup> The Supernaturalism of New England, edited by Edward Wagenknecht (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), pp. 114-15.

Because Whittier's interest in folklore was less intense from the mid-1830's to around 1850, the most important work Hawthorne could have known by Whittier during his own developing period was The Legends of New England. He was to review The Supernaturalism of New England in 1847, which he evaluated equivocally, and he remarked later in a letter to William D. Ticknor he had "no high opinion either of his [Whittier's] poetry or prose."<sup>131</sup> What Hawthorne would have liked about The Legends of New England was the kind of material Whittier was interested in-- legends coming from oral tradition, witchcraft stories, and ghost lore. He would have viewed the book as something analogous to a writer's notebook since the materials were often unstructured and unpolished.

Whittier clearly identifies oral sources for much of his material in The Legends of New England. He heard some of the stories from people he met while travelling in neighboring states. In "A Night Among the Wolves" he tells about a young woman who was eaten alive by wolves as she returned home from a quilting party, and it is a story from

oral tradition, which is as well authenticated as anything of the kind may well be. It is one of a series of strange legends of encounters with the wild beasts of a new country which have descended to us from our hardy fore-fathers, and which are still preserved in the memories of their children.<sup>132</sup>

"The Powwow" describes the New England fireside, the site of much oral transmission, where the old women of the neighborhood

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<sup>131</sup>Letter to Ticknor on September 30, 1854. Quoted in American Notebooks, Centenary edition, VIII, 657. Hawthorne's review of The Supernaturalism of New England is reprinted in Wagenknecht, pp. 130-33. Hawthorne could have read Whittier's "Mogg Megone" in the March and April 1835 issues of the New England Magazine, and "Pentucket" was in the Democratic Review in April 1838. Hawthorne regularly contributed to these magazines at this time.

<sup>132</sup>Legends, p. 111.

gathered together every evening around some large, old-fashioned fire-place, where, with ghostly countenances whitening in the dim firelight, the marvellous legends which had been accumulating for more than half a century in the wild woods of the new country, were related one after another, with hushed voices and tremulous gestures (p. 80).

Legends transmitted this way were various, as Whittier's book illustrates. He includes an animal legend from Salmon River, Connecticut, about a black fox supposed to bewitch young men. "The Rattlesnake Hunter" and "The Human Sacrifice" would have attracted Hawthorne's attention. In the former a first person narrator tells of an Ethan Brand-like solitary, known among the Green Hills as the Rattlesnake Hunter, whose wife lost her life when she kept him from being charmed by a rattlesnake's eyes. He has since wandered the hills alone in personal vengeance against the snakes, which he considers servants of the Fallen Angel. An Indian legend connected with the rumbling hills around East Haddam, Connecticut, is the source for "The Human Sacrifice." Here, a young woman is saved from her Indian captors by noises from the hills, which they interpret as the voice of her protector directing her release.

Because he was aware of Puritan history in New England, Whittier includes witchcraft material. "The Weird Gathering" describes a witches' meeting remarkably similar to that in "Young Goodman Brown," one held in a secluded glen and attended by both the worst hags and humans.<sup>133</sup> A young woman requests vengeance on a young man, agreeing to give up her soul for this favor. As she makes the request her maiden features change: "The warm tinge from her cheek withdrew, / And one dark spot of

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<sup>133</sup>Hawthorne's story had probably already been written. (See Chandler's dating.)

blood-red hue/ Burned on her forehead fair" (p. 22). She invokes the curse that the man be perpetually haunted with views of the dead and the bewitched, and he is plagued with this curse until death. Whittier includes another story, "The Haunted House," to reflect a more modern attitude toward witchcraft. Reminiscent of the "explained ghost" tale, what here appears to be witchcraft is explained by natural means. Alice Knight intervenes in her son's unsuccessful love suit with Mary McOrne, apparently cursing her house with witchcraft. Footsteps sound, chains rattle, doors open, and furniture dances. Gilbert Knight comes to protect Mary and discovers his mother has bribed the servants to make the noises. Although his discovery of her secret causes the mother's death, Gilbert's marrying Mary anyway suggests that there is a residual truth in the love.

Although Whittier also knew New England's rich tradition of ghost stories, he hardly tapped it in his first book. Apparently "The Haunted House" was intended to illustrate the type; he digresses at one point, for example, to comment that "there is scarcely a town or village in New England which has not, at some period or other of its history, had one or more of these ill-fated mansions" (p. 64). In "The Spectre Ship," where a ghost crew sails into Salem harbor in a ship lighted by phantom glare, he indicates that stories of marine ghosts were also in New England tradition.

Women writers provide additional evidence of what happened to folklore during the 1830's. They responded to the call to write national literature in the early 1820's, but they were not widely known until the era of the annuals began in the late 1820's. From the beginning their

writing was greatly influenced by the sentimental romance tradition which encouraged faithfulness, chastity, and constancy in women characters. Folklore provided these writers a way of establishing national or regional location, but virtues were consistently emphasized more than location. This pattern of subordinating folklore to moralizing is evident in the work of Catherine M. Sedgwick and Sara Josepha Hale, the two most famous women writers of their day.

#### Catherine M. Sedgwick

Catherine M. Sedgwick became known when she published A New England Tale in 1822, but achieved popularity with Redwood, her first novel, in 1824. Although that novel is greatly influenced by the sentimental tradition, it was acclaimed by Bryant for its degree of realism in presenting peculiarities of local citizenry.<sup>134</sup> What Bryant observed in Sedgwick's method was a basic tension which would reappear in her work, a deliberately wrought blend of romance and realism. She comments on her method in "Mary Dyre," a story about Quaker dissenters published in 1831:

We have passed by [romantic] themes, to present a character in its true and natural light, as it stands on the historic page, without the graces of fiction, or any of those aids, by which the romance writer composes his picture--exaggerating beauties, placing them in bright lights, and omitting or gracefully shading defects.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> See the Bryant review in the North American Review, 20 (April 1825), 245-72.

<sup>135</sup> Published in The Token: A Christmas and New Year's Present (Boston: Gray and Bowen, 1831), p. 295.



When history was not available, careful scrutiny of her environment led her to folkloric items to establish realism, leading Hawthorne to agree with the opinion of the times that she was "our most truthful novelist [in sketching] the scenery and life of Berkshire."<sup>136</sup>

Sedgwick tentatively reached toward folklore in A New England Tale (1822), a story written in "an humble effort to add something to the scanty stock of native American literature."<sup>137</sup> It almost missed being what Sedgwick hoped it would be, however, because she was so heavily influenced by the sentimental romance. The protagonist is a young woman who must fend off an unworthy suitor before she finally marries a Quaker gentleman, previously her benefactor. Characters in the story exhibiting feminine virtues of innocence, purity, and religious faith are eventually rewarded, while drinkers, gamblers, thieves and children born out of wedlock meet the fates they deserve in poetic justice. Her commitment to the strong sense of poetic justice encouraged by sentimental romance literature almost undermined her originality, yet Sedgwick introduces two characters with some individuality, though they are not fully developed: Crazy Bet, a village eccentric suspected of being a witch, and storekeeper Wheeler, a "dealer in notions" recognizable as a Yankee pedlar. Sedgwick went no further in using folklore in Redwood (1824), the novel which brought her fame, but she exploited a popular interest

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<sup>136</sup> Nathaniel Hawthorne, A Wonder Book and Tanglewood Tales, edited by Roy Harvey Pearce, Claude M. Simpson and others. The Centenary edition of Hawthorne's Works (Ohio State University Press, 1972), VII, 169.

<sup>137</sup> Catherine M. Sedgwick, Preface to the First Edition, A New England Tale and Miscellanies (New York: George Putnam and Company, 1852), p. 9.

in sectional characteristics with the patrician Redwood family from Virginia, on a visit to Canada and New England, and the Lenox family of New England farmers, who inadvertently become the hosts for the traveling Redwoods. By bringing the two families together, Sedgwick sets up contrasts between their sectional characteristics, showing the Lenoxes as industrious, frugal, sober, and temperate, and the Redwoods as socially conscious, given to excess, and philosophically cynical. She extends her description of regional characteristics even further by having one of the Lenox sons join a nearby Shaker settlement. Despite these tendencies toward realism, however, Sedgwick remained equally interested in romance. The novel ends with two marriages and an unexpected revelation of kinship between Mr. Redwood and a long-lost daughter.

By 1830 Sedgwick had found a way to emphasize realism through use of oral tradition while remaining strongly committed to the didactic romance. "The Country Cousin" is an "explained ghost story," passed down to the author-narrator as a child from a friend of the family in the following folkloristic setting:

We, Isabel, Lucy, and myself, drew our low chairs around Mrs. Tudor's matronly rocking chair. The oil in the lamp was expended, a stick of wood was burning, as all wood burns after 12 o'clock, fitfully, and the bright, changeful flame threw such strange distorted figures on the wall, that braver spirits than ours might have been frightened at a shadow. Our conversation turned, I don't know how, but it then seemed naturally enough, on ghost stories. Mrs. Tudor was the benefactress of the rising generation; her mind was stored with strange and forgotten events; she had treasures of marvellous appearances, which had no record but in her memory.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>138</sup>Tales and Sketches (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Blanchard, 1835), p. 73. Originally published in The Token for 1830. Sedgwick's book, followed 9 years later by a second series of Tales and Sketches, was one of several collections of tales appearing in the 1830's which

After this introduction, however, what follows is a story designed to encourage daughters to be loyal to their fathers and to suspect aggressive, free-thinking young men. What was hinted as a ghost turns out to be a penitent daughter mourning her indiscretion at her infant son's grave. By 1837 Sedgwick had used the pattern so much it had become habit. "Daniel Prime," published that year in The Magnolia, shows the same use of oral tradition to authenticate a story discouraging vice.<sup>139</sup> Again the story goes back to Sedgwick's childhood, when she recalls hearing about a man whose hair stood on end. As the particulars are developed, the man about whom tradition told was excessively corrupt. Troubled with extreme avarice, he had killed his own daughter in an attempt to obtain her legacy from her grandfather. Unknown to him, his crime had been witnessed by his son, who raised Prime's hair with his testimony in court. Prime is banished from his community, indicating Sedgwick judged his immorality with an emphasis typical of that found in her longstanding defense of virtue.

#### Sara Josepha Hale

While Sedgwick encouraged literary nationalism by using local details in her fiction, Sara Josepha Hale (1788-1879) was influential as critic and editor of the Boston Ladies' Magazine in the late 1820's

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may have interested Hawthorne because of his own desire to publish a book of tales. They included books by Hale and Stone, whom I discuss in this chapter, and the following: William Cox's Crayon Sketches by an Amateur and Eliza Leslie's Pencil Sketches, or Outlines of Character in 1833; and Lydia H. Sigourney's Tales and Essays in 1834.

<sup>139</sup>"Daniel Prime" was republished in Tales and Sketches, second series (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1844).

and the later Godey's Lady's Book.<sup>140</sup> Speaking as editor of Ladies' Magazine in 1828, she encouraged young American writers:

The emanations of genius may be appreciated, and a refined taste cultivated among us, if our people would be as liberal in encouraging the merits of our own writers, if they would purchase the really excellent productions which depict our own country, scenes, and characters.<sup>141</sup>

Unwilling to restrict her editorial policies to the review, she frequently expressed her views in her own fiction, liberally published in her magazine. In "Walter Wilson," the first of a series of "Sketches of American Character," she gladly announced herself as an American writer concerned with pointing out peculiar American character traits:

America, my own, my native land. . . . It is the free expression of that spirit, which, when irradiated by liberty, and instructed by knowledge, is all but divine, that gives to Americans their peculiar characteristics. To exhibit some of those traits, originated by our free institutions, in their manifold and minute effects on the minds, manners, and habits of the citizens of our republic, is the design of these Sketches.<sup>142</sup>

The theme of national peculiarities persisted in her criticism and fiction, recurring as late as 1835 when she wrote:

Illustrations of American character, scenery and history, are demanded by the public; and who does not feel, that to fix a trait which shall be recognized as genuine, or a record that

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<sup>140</sup>See Isabelle Webb Entrikin, Sara Josepha Hale and Godey's Lady's Book (Philadelphia: Lancaster Press, 1946).

<sup>141</sup>Ladies' Magazine, 1 (November 1828), 526-7. Quoted in Entrikin, p. 22.

<sup>142</sup>Sketches of American Character (Boston: Putnam and Hunt, 1829), p. 8. The story was first published in Ladies' Magazine, 1 (January 1828), 5-16. The series of 9 sketches, enormously popular, were republished as a separate volume in 1829. By 1840 there were eight editions of the book, as well as the companion volume Traits of American Life (Philadelphia: E. L. Carey and A. Hart, 1835), composed of subsequent sketches printed in Ladies' Magazine. The stories are poor in quality but frequently have a nationalistic motif.

shall make one solitary place remembered, will be reward worth the effort.<sup>143</sup>

But for all her zeal as a literary nationalist, Hale, like Sedgwick, became progressively subject to conventions of the sentimental romance.

Hale writes at length about sectional characteristics of people even though she seldom sketches folk characters. In "Prejudices" (1828), for example, no Yankee figures appear although her stated purpose is to sketch the environment where the Yankee mind can be best understood:

We must go into the remote villages, and among the scattered settlements of the interior of New England, if we would discover the effect, either for good, or for evil, which the condition, principles, practices, and institutions of the Puritans, have had on the Yankee character.<sup>144</sup>

Nor are there Yankees in "The Springs" (1828) although Yankee character traits are discussed as representative of national characteristics:

There is a recklessness in their movements, (a Yankee rarely sits still in his chair,) an eagerness in their inquiries after news, a kind of impatience as if they felt in a hurry even when they know they have nothing to do. They are like travellers who are looking forward with earnestness to the next stage in their journey, and feel quite unprepared to rest or enjoy themselves by the way.<sup>145</sup>

Even in "The Apparition" (1828), which has more narrative structure than the other two sketches, the main character comments on Yankee susceptibility to superstition rather than embodies it. Isaiah Warren, son of a Yankee Congregationalist minister, wants to marry Lois Lawton, daughter of a Dutch Presbyterian clergyman. To enhance his chances he plans to appear to his father as an apparition, ordering the father to allow

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<sup>143</sup>"The Romance of Travelling," Traits of American Life, pp. 190-1.

<sup>144</sup>Sketches of American Character, p. 208.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid., p. 192.

Isaiah to study theology under Reverend Lawton. His plan will work, he thinks, because

the Yankees are not credulous or easily imposed upon; but, when once they have imbibed a superstition, it is difficult to eradicate the prejudice; because they are constantly reasoning themselves more and more into the belief of the reality of their fancies.<sup>146</sup>

Although he reconsiders his decision when his sister appeals to his better judgment, a ghost appears carrying the message to Reverend Warren anyway, a ghost later explained as Isaiah's brother Benjamin who sympathetically overheard the plans Isaiah could not implement. In spite of her failure to dramatize folkloric characters, Hale's Sketches of American Character is important for showing Hawthorne another writer's attempt to define national characteristics through regional peculiarities.

Although less frequently than Sedgwick, Hale occasionally used oral tradition to achieve her ends. In "A Winter in the Country" (1828) a Bostonian narrator, Owen Ashley, hears of the virtues of America's pioneers from Colonel Gage, a grandfather type who

converses with the ease of one accustomed to society, and [who] has moreover, all the fund of anecdote, which a revolutionary soldier and a pioneer in our new settlements, might be expected to possess. I [Ashley] have learned more from him of the early history of my country, more of the peculiar spirit of the early settlers, of their character, their labors and resources, than I ever learned before in my whole life.<sup>147</sup>

Generally the further Hale moved from discussing national peculiarities, the more likely her use of folklore would be compromised by moralizing. Her motivation in "The Silver Mine" (1830) is mixed, one desire being

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<sup>146</sup>Ibid., p. 230.

<sup>147</sup>Ibid., p. 282.

to write a legend which will immortalize Sunapee Mountain, another to create a "marvellous story" for a country lacking in fairy lore.<sup>148</sup> So she writes about Deacon Bascom, who is told by a man dressed in black where to find a silver mine on Sunapee Mountain. But after Bascom finds the mine he chooses not to dig for the riches, feeling his family would not prosper spiritually or morally with great wealth. "The Silver Mine" is significant for showing that Hale's literary nationalism, like Sedgwick's, was compromised by didactic interest in the early 1830's.

William L. Stone

William L. Stone (1792-1844), who published stories in the annuals later collected in Tales and Sketches--Such As They Are (1834), tried to counter the tide of sentimentalism the annuals were bringing in. As a regular contributor to The Token beginning in 1829, a friend of Samuel Goodrich, a resister of sentimental tendencies, and a user of folklore, he would have caught Hawthorne's eye.<sup>149</sup> Had he written five to ten years earlier when the call to use national history and traditions was more urgent, his stories about the national past could have been more influential than they were in the 1830's.

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<sup>148</sup>Published in Ladies' Magazine, 3 (October 1830), 464-81, and later in Traits.

<sup>149</sup>Little research has been done on this neglected writer. For a brief introductory memoir, see William L. Stone, The Life and Times of Sa-Go-Ye-Wat-Ha, or Red Jacket (Albany: J. Munsell, 1866). Hawthorne would have known Stone's work which started appearing in The Token in 1829, continuing during the years Hawthorne contributed. Stone's Tales and Sketches--Such As They Are was enthusiastically reviewed in the New England Magazine, 6 (June 1834), 524-6.

Stone's major folklore interest was witchcraft, evident in "Mercy Disborough: A Tale of the Witches" and "The Mysterious Bridal." Although "Mercy Disborough" has sentimental romance plot outlines, Stone fills the story with traditional New England lore.<sup>150</sup> It is set in seventeenth century Connecticut with a female protagonist in a love dilemma; she is attracted to David Salisbury while being desired by Deacon Goodspeed. Before the dilemma can be resolved, Goodspeed's house is bewitched by poltergeist phenomena: a pole dances down his chimney, a shower of stone rains against the walls, pots throw out their victuals, and diabolically smiling fish appear. A veritable catalogue of witchcraft phenomena fills several pages of the text. Mercy is brought to trial for witchcraft, having been linked with another suspected witch, Goody Clawson. Unlike Clawson, who is cleared of witchcraft when she "passes" the water test by drowning in deep water, Mercy is sentenced to die. On the day she is to be hanged, however, an Indian attack prevents her execution and she is taken captive. Years later she is found happily married to Salisbury, apparently having been freed from the Indians through the help of the regicide judges Whalley and Goffe. Thus, although Stone provides romance in his story, the details he spends the most time working into the text are indigenous.

"The Mysterious Bridal," the second witchcraft tale in Tales and Sketches--Such As They Are, was plainly influenced by literary nationalism. Showing witchcraft in a more modern setting, the story tells of the decline of Samuel Talcott, a young man known to friends of Stone in southern

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<sup>150</sup>"Mercy Disborough" is the lead story in Tales and Sketches--Such As They Are, 2 Volumes (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1834).



Connecticut. Early discovered to be capable of divination, Talcott worries his parents by the toll his interests are exacting from him:

His flesh had been wasted, and his cheeks blanched, by the vigils he had kept, and by studies long and intensely pursued--not of . . . rudimental classics . . .--but in poring over those vile works which treated of the abominable arts of the Egyptians and Babylonians, and in attempting to look into the windows of heaven, and read the stars.<sup>151</sup>

To get him away from such destructive influences, his father takes Talcott to Boston, where the young man's health improves when he meets heroes of the American revolution. He meets John Hancock, whom Stone describes ironically, much as Hawthorne did later, as being

a sound republican to the core of his heart. Indeed, it may be unhesitatingly said . . . that the truest republicanism of the land was to be found among those who in their habits and style of living, and their education, were the greatest aristocrats (II, 87).

In spite of temporary improvement, however, Talcott soon falls ill again and eventually dies while under the influence of Esther Peabody and Cora, two witches living near Talcott's home who aggressively seek to regain their control over him after his return to southern Connecticut. "A Mysterious Bridal" shows fewer concessions to sentimental romance and more literary nationalism than "Mercy Disborough," but its major importance consists in having provided in Talcott an American example of a "possessed wizard," a type of character Hawthorne used in the painter in "The Prophetic Pictures" (1835), Heidegger in "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment" (1836) and Aylmer in "The Birthmark" (1842).

Influenced by Irving, with whom he was friends, Stone also wrote about ghost legends on the Hudson. In "The Withered Man--A Legend of

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<sup>151</sup>Tales and Sketches, II, 35.

the Highlands" (1830), a traveller overhears two men telling how they saw a contemporary of Kidd stab a man for his gold, then bury the man and the gold together to secure the treasure. But the treasure has not remained hidden, since after that time an apparition haunts the site. A legend has been born, with the ghost last appearing as a withered old man to two sentinels guarding Fort Montgomery during the Revolutionary War. In spite of his attempt to focus again on the national history and folklore suggested by early nationalist critics, Stone's efforts failed to stop the general rush to sentimentality and moralizing.

#### The Token

The ebbing tide of literary nationalism, reflected in the pages of the New England Magazine and in the work of Sedgwick and Hale, is also evident in The Token. S. G. Goodrich, editor through thirteen of the fifteen years of its existence, started the annual in 1828 to provide a market for struggling American writers and engravers.<sup>152</sup> Writing in the preface to the 1828 Token he says:

As many of the pieces and many of the embellishments relate to American history, scenery, and manners, [the publisher] trusts that the work may find favor with those who would encourage every attempt to explore our native mines, and draw from them the treasures of poetry and romance.

By 1830 he was confident of the future of the annual as an "American only" publication:

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<sup>152</sup>See Chapters 6 and 7 of Daniel Roselle, Samuel Griswold Goodrich, Creator of Peter Parley: A Study of His Life and Work (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1968), where Roselle discusses Goodrich's connections with The Token and Hawthorne, respectively.

Ours [will] soon be in no respect inferior to those of London. In truth, reasons, founded upon our peculiar scenery, and upon the rich mines of poetic and legendary materials, which lie buried in our general and local history, together with the aptitude of our countrymen for the fine arts, [can] easily be assigned why we should ere long take the lead in this elegant class of publications.<sup>153</sup>

In 1831:

We have already expressed our intention to make the Token strictly national, and to depend entirely upon the resources of our country for the engravings, and the literary contents of the work. We see yet no cause to regret, or change this design, and as in the present volume, so in future ones, we propose to adhere to it.<sup>154</sup>

But by the time Goodrich could boast that the 1836 Token was "wholly an American production," it was more important to include sentimental literature and engraving than to have national emphasis in theme.

The amount of folklore material in The Token from 1828 through the late 1830's remains relatively constant, but in later years it becomes less prized for its nationalistic implications and more valued for its popular appeal. The changing emphasis can be seen in the Hawthorne materials Goodrich published. The 1832 Token contained probably the most significant Hawthorne material, from the viewpoint of literary nationalism, of any Token; all four stories--"Roger Malvin's Burial," "The Gentle Boy," "My Kinsman, Major Molineux," and "Wives of the Dead"--were probably part of Hawthorne's proposed nationalistic "Provincial Tales." By 1835 the most folkloristic Hawthorne story, "The Village Uncle," lacks overt nationalism and is balanced by the juvenile-oriented "Little Annie's Ramble" and the autobiographical "The Haunted Mind." The 1836 stories, "The Maypole of Merry Mount," "The Minister's Black Veil," and "The Wedding

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<sup>153</sup>The Token (Boston, 1830), p. VI.

<sup>154</sup>The Token: A Christmas and New Years' Present (Boston: Gray and Bowen, 1831), Preface.

Knell," are implicitly nationalistic, but each also contains a wedding ceremony attractive to those looking for romance or the Gothic. In the last two issues of The Token to which Hawthorne contributed, his single most nationalistic story, "Endicott and the Red Cross," was outnumbered by several stories having a folklore base but showing implicit nationalism diluted by their popular appeal, stories like "The Great Carbuncle," "David Swan," "Mrs. Bullfrog," and "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure."

One can see the changing emphasis in the work Goodrich published by other writers also. From the beginning, Sedgwick, Hale, and Stone were popular choices, with their less romantic work published earliest. "The Bridal in the Early Settlements," attributed by one scholar to Miss Hale, spends little time on the wedding referred to in the title, showing more concern for Indian lore and precise geographic location.<sup>155</sup> Stone's "The Withered Man--A Legend of the Highlands" in the 1830 Token was exclusively concerned with publicizing a ghost legend of the Hudson River valley. Sedgwick's "Mary Dyre," her most avowedly historical sketch, was published in 1831. Other material, by writers known and anonymous, illustrates the tendency. "David Whicher," attributable to John Neal because it contains a strong plea for preserving the remnants of Indian culture, appears with the four nationalistic Hawthorne stories in the 1832 Token, while earlier the anonymous "The Legend of Mount Lamentation" (1828) gives a legendary account of how Mount Lamentation near Wethersfield, Connecticut, came to have its name.

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<sup>155</sup>See The Token (Boston: S. G. Goodrich, 1828). The story is attributed to Hale by Entrikin, p. 146.

But around 1833 more concessions begin to be made to sentimentalism, indicated in one way by the fact that Sedgwick's contributions from 1833-1838 double the number of appearances in earlier issues. Even in her stories which retain some nationalistic flavor, romance and virtuous living have dominating importance. In "A Reminiscence of Federalism" (1834), for example, attention is focused on the marriage of a Federalist girl to the outspoken Democrat of the village, while a young Jacksonian in "Our Village Post Office" (1838) shows "rare disinterestedness and generosity" by relinquishing his political appointment to a Tory equally capable of service but politically out of favor. Hale's contributions show dramatic change. "The Broken Merchant" (1835) tells how Charles Carlton recovers from bankruptcy to "live for domestic happiness, for social improvement, [and] religious duties," and "The Love Marriage" (1838) shows a woman enriched when she better understands the virtues she has to contribute to marriage. Neither story shows the realism characteristic of Hale's more nationalistic work. William L. Stone shows a similar pattern, changing from writing about the legendry of the Hudson River in 1830 to writing about Arabella Johnson in "The Fair Pilgrim" (1836) as the first woman to live in marriage on the Shawmut (Boston) Peninsula. Even Paulding, to publish in the later Token, wrote a *märchen* having advice about marriage.<sup>156</sup> The call for national literature had been dissipated by the apology for marriage.

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<sup>156</sup>"The Magic Spinning Wheel" appeared in the 1836 Token.

## Folklore, Nationalistic Criticism, and Literature

## After 1837

After 1837, folklore, a welcomed resource of the literary nationalists of the 1820's and somewhat half-heartedly accepted for use in the sentimental 1830's, needed new justification for use. Ironically what served as justification was what originally brought about its use in the earlier decades, its political implications. But if it served as resource much as it did in the earlier 1820's, it was dominated by the ideals of the age, as in the early 1830's. And the dominating ideal was democracy. Benjamin Spencer writes:

The period between 1837 and 1855 . . . witnessed a strong movement toward nationality in American literature, deriving much of its impulse from the buoyancy attendant upon the democratic expansion of the time and characterized by its emphasis on the democratic ideal in letters.<sup>157</sup>

Again the periodicals of the age were the catalyst for literary developments. Two in particular, Knickerbocker and The United States Magazine and Democratic Review (commonly called the Democratic Review), found themselves in polar relationship with one another on the literary issues of the day.<sup>158</sup> Of the two the Democratic Review more emphatically kept the literary nationalist movement alive.

Generally the Democratic Review editors favored literature having democratic ideals, with folklore considerations being entirely

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<sup>157</sup>"A National Literature, 1837-55," American Literature, 8 (May 1936), 158.

<sup>158</sup>For full discussion of their warfare in the late 1830's and 40's see Perry Miller, The Raven and The Whale (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1956).

secondary.<sup>159</sup> Their editorial stance was taken in the first issue where they declared that if their magazine is able to show "the true glory and greatness of the democratic principle, by infusing it into our literature . . . one of the main objects of its establishment will have been achieved."<sup>160</sup> In poetry they liked Bryant for his documentation of American scenery and culture. The remarks written when they reviewed the fifth edition of his Poems are characteristic:

His poems are strictly American. They are American in their subjects, imagery and spirit. [They are] strongly marked . . . with the peculiarities of our natural scenery, our social feelings, and our national convictions.<sup>161</sup>

In prose fiction they liked Irving, Hawthorne, Cooper, Sedgwick, and Neal, particularly when those writers upheld democratic ideals. Their most reasoned statement on nationalism in literature came in a series of three articles in 1847, where they attempted to say exactly what nationality in literature meant:

Nationality involves the idea of home writers. Secondly, the choice of a due proportion of home themes, affording opportunity for descriptions of our scenery, for the illustration of passing events and the preservation of what tradition has rescued from the past, and for the exhibition of the manners of the

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<sup>159</sup>The best discussion of the critical biases of the Democratic Review is John Stafford, The Literary Criticism of 'Young America': A Study in the Relationship of Politics and Literature--1837-1850 (New York: Russell and Russell, 1967).

<sup>160</sup><sub>1</sub> (October 1837), 15.

<sup>161</sup>"Bryant's Poems," Democratic Review, 6 (October 1839), 283. Other reference to Bryant is in "Recent American Poetry," 5 (June 1839), 523-41; "American Poetry," 8 (November 1840), 399-430; and "Poetry of Bryant," 16 (February 1845), 185-91.

people, and for the circumstances which give form and pressure to the time and the spirit of the country; and all these penetrated by an intense and enlightened patriotism.<sup>162</sup>

Such a statement includes folkloric material only by implication, indicating the general staff position. Only one article, an assessment by William A. Jones of southwestern fiction, directly mentions folklore.

Jones praises the

large body of writers of fiction, tales, 'miniature novels,' . . . and narrative sketches, affording convincing proof . . . that imagination . . . [is] not wanting here, and which, employed on American themes, whether of history, character, or manners, legend or landscape, cannot fail to give our literature a national character.<sup>163</sup>

What the editors liked in the literature they published is evident in the Hawthorne material. Folklore was not a high priority item, but it was suitable as it contributed to achieving the higher democratic ideal. The major Hawthorne items prior to 1840 are the Legends of the Province House, which contain a blend of folklore and nationalism, while afterwards, when the editors are not trading on his name and publishing ephemeral sketches, they looked for stories with social relevance like "The New Adam and Eve" and "The Celestial Railroad." There is notably less folklore in the Hawthorne items published here than in those in the New England Magazine or the Token.

Another writer popular with the Democratic Review editors was Joseph Holt Ingraham, whose three items in the "Romance of American

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<sup>162</sup>"Nationality in Literature," 20 (March 1847), 267. The series included "Nationality in Literature," 20 (April 1847), 316-20, and "The Prose Writers of America," 20 (May 1847), 384-91; the first two articles were probably written by Evert Duyckinck (See Stafford, pp. 87-9).

<sup>163</sup>"Tales of the South and West," 18 (June 1846), 471-2. Jones is identified as author by Stafford, p. 73.



"History" series were published in the same two-year period as Hawthorne's Legends of the Province House.<sup>164</sup> All three stories focus on popular democratic heroes, the people. In "The Charter: An Historical Tale of Connecticut" the Charter of Connecticut is hidden from Governor Andros in 1688 by Catherine Wyllup and Henry Wadsworth, who prize home rule more than life. "The Hostile Governors" tells how French citizens in 1776 in New Orleans, like the American colonists, resist the demands of the mother country, Spain in their case. The central story, "West Point--A Tale of Treason," deals with the Major André-Benedict Arnold espionage plot, showing André morally superior to Arnold for meeting the hangman with "an honorable mind [triumphing] over an unworthy temptation" while Arnold lives on in "merited contempt and infamy" (pp. 354 and 349). The real heroes in this story, however, are the yeomen who capture André. These yeomen are equally significant for literary history as they are frontiersmen, speaking in hyperbolic dialect ("Here comes a prize [André] . . . or may I never take aim again at the sun with the butt-end of a quart-pot" and "Hold on [to André] like grim death to a dead nigger") and capturing the aristocratic André by shrewdly posing as loyalists. They are the only folklore elements in the entire Ingraham series.

Ultimately Democratic Review policies were to impose as rigid a structure for writers as those of The Token and the New England Magazine, creating forms which the great writers would have to violate to achieve their greatness. In the early 1840's Whitman began contributing stories

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<sup>164</sup>"The Charter: An Historical Tale of Connecticut," 1 (February 1838), 330-54; "West Point--A Tale of Treason," 3 (November 1838), 235-51 and 3 (December 1838), 339-56; and "The Hostile Governors," 6 (November 1839), 399-411.

which fit the pattern the editors liked. In "The Child-Ghost: A Story of the Last Loyalist,"<sup>165</sup> the last loyalist is viciously described as having beaten his ten-year old nephew to death in order to gain his property, only to be harried onto the last boat for Britain by a hallucinating conscience which sees the apparition of the child. In 1855 Whitman was to become the "Homer of the Masses" the editors of the Democratic Review looked for, but not before he moved beyond the work he gave them.

Although he felt the influence of literary nationalists until late in the 1830's, Hawthorne was most affected by nationalistic writers in the 1820's. Generally he was attracted to the more outspoken of the group--Neal, Paulding and possibly Bryant--with Irving being the most influential of the reluctant nationalists. As men who quietly continued using indigenous material into the early 1830's, Austin and Stone would have caught his eye. During the 1830's, when writers like Sedgwick, Hale, and Whittier had their nationalism altered by didactic sentimentality in literature and a growing interest in social reform, Hawthorne searched for the right formula to make him an acknowledged American writer. By the time he succeeded with the combination of nationalistic materials in Twice-Told Tales, the literary nationalism movement was beyond the crest of its tide, with the strong but less productive emphasis on literature celebrating democratic triumphs gradually dissipating from then throughout the 1840's.

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<sup>165</sup><sub>10</sub> (May 1842), 451-59.

## CHAPTER IV

## HAWTHORNE'S LITERARY NATIONALISM

Scholars have only recently discussed Hawthorne's literary nationalism, earlier criticism having been largely devoted to clarifying his themes of guilt and alienation. Neal Frank Doubleday initiated discussion on the subject by claiming Hawthorne's nationalism was inspired by Sir Walter Scott's writing, where the use of Scotland's history and customs made Hawthorne aware that American materials could be used similarly.<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly Scott was influential, particularly in earlier work like Fanshawe which Hawthorne fashioned as a romance. But from the beginning, Hawthorne was also influenced by folklore in both oral and literary form coming from American culture. A thorough understanding of his use of folklore is particularly helpful for seeing the nationalistic dimension of Hawthorne's work, especially where that nationalism is implied through the use of indigenous details rather than is evident in overt patriotic statement. It can be argued that Hawthorne's work shows implied as well as overt nationalism for fully the first fourteen years he wrote, and that even in the 1840's and 1850's he considered returning to the methods of his earlier nationalism. The numerous planned or published volumes he wrote, discussed in the following pages, provide evidence to support such a claim.

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<sup>1</sup>See Neal Frank Doubleday, "Hawthorne and Literary Nationalism," American Literature, 12 (January 1941), 447-53; Hawthorne's Tales of his Native Land, Doubleday, editor (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1962); Hawthorne's Early Tales, A Critical Study (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972).

"Seven Tales Of My Native Land"

Hawthorne was unable to secure a publisher for the first three nationalistic volumes he planned: "Seven Tales of My Native Land," "Provincial Tales," and "The Story Teller." He planned the first of these during his senior year at Bowdoin, showing his sister Elizabeth the tales to make up the volume in the summer of 1825.<sup>2</sup> The prospective publisher, Ferdinand Andrews, refused to publish them, however, and the frustrated Hawthorne destroyed practically all the stories, feeling they were inferior in quality. The publisher in "The Devil in Manuscript" who tells Oberon that "no American publisher will meddle with an American work-- seldom if by a known writer, and never if by a new one" seems a reliable representation of Andrews' behavior toward Hawthorne. The only extant story certain to have been included in the volume was "Alice Doane's Appeal"; Julian Hawthorne quotes Elizabeth as saying "One was a tale of witchcraft-- 'Alice Doane' I believe it was called; and another was 'Susan Gray.'"<sup>3</sup> Another person who talked to Elizabeth was told "some related to witchcraft, and some to the sea, being stories of pirates and privateers."<sup>4</sup> A framing device was intended, Julian Hawthorne reporting that his father "always had a liking" for such and intended to use it to unify the volume.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>See Nelson F. Adkins, "The Early Projected Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 39 (1945), 119-55, for a good summation of the primary documentation for "Seven Tales of My Native Land."

<sup>3</sup>Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1885), I, 124.

<sup>4</sup>George Parsons Lathrop, A Study of Hawthorne (New York: A. M. S. Press, 1969). Reprint of the 1876 edition, p. 134.

<sup>5</sup>Julian Hawthorne, I, 470.

In addition to "Alice Doane's Appeal," three other stories have been mentioned as probable inclusions in the book: "The Hollow of Three Hills," "An Old Woman's Tale," and "The Village Uncle" (originally published as "The Mermaid" in the 1835 Token).<sup>6</sup>

If these tales were to have been included in "Seven Tales of My Native Land," it is clear that Hawthorne's major concern was the past, which Palfrey and Gardiner had encouraged new writers to treat in fiction. In "An Old Woman's Tale" the narrator tells a story of people she knew when she was young many years before in the Connecticut River Valley. Those earlier people in turn dream of past folk and times of their village. Although it is not entirely clear what Hawthorne intended their dreams to suggest, his deliberate removal of the scene backwards in time through two frames suggests some thematic interest in the past. Such a theme is declared in "Alice Doane's Appeal," where Hawthorne comments that Americans have little knowledge of their past--"We are a people of the present and have no heartfelt interest in the past."<sup>7</sup> Such knowledge makes him determined to raise "in dark, funereal stone . . . another monument, sadly commemorative of the errors of an earlier race" (p. 280). Ultimately concerned with the judgmental temper of the early Puritans which he sees continuing in the behavior of modern people, he tells the story of

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<sup>6</sup>The first two are included by Elizabeth Chandler, A Study of the Sources of the Tales and Romances Written by Nathaniel Hawthorne Before 1853, Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, 7 (July 1926), 8, and the third by Adkins, p. 126.

<sup>7</sup>"Alice Doane's Appeal," The Snow-Image and Uncollected Tales, edited by William Charvat, Roy Harvey Pearce, Claude M. Simpson, and others. The Centenary edition of Hawthorne's Works (Ohio State University Press, 1974), XI, 267. Hereafter referred to as Centenary edition, XI.

Leonard Doane's murder of his brother. Some critics have argued that the Doane-Brome story itself is a sociological allegory embodying the struggle between Old England (Brome) and New England (Doane). According to Robert Cantwell, the nation's story

was summed up in the relation of Leonard and Walter, the sense of inquiry that the early colonists had, of having been abandoned in a wild and savage country or of having been driven to it, and then left unprotected against the attacks of the Indians; their resentment at the ease of life in the old country, and their hidden jealousy of its greater talents, or even of its vice, their dim recognition of their own sins or their own lost innocence written plainly in the lives of each other.<sup>8</sup>

Hawthorne's own statements in the story invite such a sociological reading when he says the story was written "years ago, when my pen . . . was driven by stronger external motives, and a more passionate impulse from within, than I am fated to feel again" (Centenary edition, XI, 269).

The external motive could have been the call for literature about the American past, influencing Hawthorne to write a theme at the same time personally and culturally meaningful, the theme of acknowledging responsibility for one's history.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Nathaniel Hawthorne: The American Years (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1948), p. 109. See also Leslie A. Fiedler, Love and Death in the American Novel (New York: Stein and Day, 1966), pp. 418-19, who finds the story practically a parable of the American Revolution, showing "the encounter of Old World and New World sons of the same fatherland, loyalist and colonial in a struggle for possession of the body of America."

<sup>9</sup>Such a thematic interpretation is made by the major critics of the story: Roy Harvey Pearce, "Hawthorne and the Sense of the Past: Or, the Immortality of Major Molineux," English Literary History, 21 (December 1954), 327-49; Hyatt H. Waggoner, Hawthorne: A Critical Study (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 49ff; and Robert H. Fossum, "The Summons of the Past: Hawthorne's 'Alice Doane's Appeal,'" Nineteenth Century Fiction, 23 (December 1968), 294-303.

The type of folklore Hawthorne uses in these stories seems chosen, perhaps unconsciously, to develop the theme of the past. In "An Old Woman's Tale" and "Alice Doane's Appeal" the past is necessary to make witch lore credible. As W. B. O. Peabody points out in "New England Superstitions" in the February 1833 New England Magazine, the nineteenth century mind had grown skeptical about witchcraft. Hawthorne's stories which present a wizard and a witch to be taken seriously clearly need a setting in the past. Oral tradition, used in "An Old Woman's Tale," also presupposes a past; the old woman's mind was "filled up with homely and natural incidents, the gradual accretions of a long course of years" (Centenary edition, XI, p. 241). Missing from these stories is folklore having contemporary reference, such as character types or contemporary legends, indicating Hawthorne was responding to the nationalist critics' call to use materials from the nation's past in fiction.

### "Provincial Tales"

Unwilling to accept failure with his first volume as more than a temporary set-back, Hawthorne planned a second collection of tales with a nationalistic thrust, the "Provincial Tales." Writing to Samuel Goodrich in December 1829, Hawthorne characterized them as folkloric.

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In a somewhat different way "The Village Uncle" has the theme of the past influencing the present, as I have indicated in my discussion of that story under "Oral Tradition" and "Folkloric Themes" in Chapter 2. Because it does not emphasize the historical past in the same way as "An Old Woman's Tale" and "Alice Doane's Appeal," I find Chandler's dating of the story plausible, which dating would have it written after plans for "Seven Tales of My Native Land" were discarded.

By implication such stories would be nationalistic since Hawthorne was responding to the pleas of nationalist critics to develop indigenous resources. Hawthorne writes:

These which I send have been completed . . . a considerable time. There are two or three others, not at present in a condition to be sent. . . . You will see that one of the stories is founded upon the Superstitions of this part of the country. I do not know that such an attempt has hitherto been made, but, as I have thrown away much time in listening to such traditions, I could not help trying to put them into some shape.<sup>10</sup>

The tale "founded upon Superstition" was probably "Alice Doane's Appeal," the surviving tale from "Seven Tales of My Native Land." By return mail Goodrich indicated that "The Gentle Boy," "My Uncle Molineaux" [sic] and "Alice Doane" were in Hawthorne's original letter. Since Goodrich was unable to get a publisher for the volume, Hawthorne allowed him to publish several of the tales in The Token, requesting they be subtitled "by the author of 'Provincial Tales.'" On this evidence "Roger Malvin's Burial" and "The Wives of the Dead," published in The Token for 1832, "Sir William Pepperell" from The Token for 1833, and "The Maypole of Merry Mount" and "The Minister's Black Veil" from the 1836 Token are considered by Adkins to have been part of the original "Provincial Tales." In addition to these, Adkins thinks "The Gray Champion" and "Young Goodman Brown," published in the New England Magazine in 1835, were probably included, and Chandler, without supporting her opinion, includes "Doctor Bullivant."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Published in Adkins, p. 127. The remainder of the primary evidence cited in this paragraph comes from Adkins' discussion of "Provincial Tales," excluding the reference to Chandler.

<sup>11</sup>A Study of the Sources of the Tales and Romances, p. 12.



As with "Seven Tales of My Native Land," Hawthorne shows primary interest in the past in "Provincial Tales." By the time he wrote these materials he could have heard Tudor, Palfrey, and Gardiner encouraging American writers to use three areas of the American past: the Puritan period, the era of French and Indian influence, and the Revolutionary period. From each of the three he could have gained inspiration; from Tudor, who encouraged using Indian materials and writing about the "eloquent harangues [and] strong contrasts" in America's past; from Palfrey, who emphasized Puritan history and legend as well as Indian materials; and from Gardiner, who added the Revolutionary period and character types as resource areas.<sup>12</sup> Although he wrote three items linked with the French and Indian period of American history--"Roger Malvin's Burial," "The Wives of the Dead," and "Sir William Pepperell"--Hawthorne focused primarily on the Puritan past and the Revolutionary experience in "Provincial Tales."

His main interest was the Puritan past, with seven of the eleven items having Puritan associations. Hawthorne's understanding of the Puritan heritage was complex even at this early date; he knew strengths but also pointed out weaknesses and inconsistencies, perhaps in doing so undermining his chances for publishing in a highly chauvinistic decade. "Alice Doane's Appeal" was written to point out cruelty and superstition in the national past rather than raise jingoistic fanfare as John Neal had done in Brother Jonathan. Throughout the Puritan tales Hawthorne

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<sup>12</sup>The Tudor quotation is from "An Address Delivered to the Phi Beta Kappa Society," North American Review, 2 (November 1815), 28. The three men referred to in this paragraph are discussed in the introductory pages of my Chapter 3.

was concerned with values and characteristics of mind, frequently negative, which were the Puritan heritage of the contemporary age. The darkest part of the heritage is evident in "Young Goodman Brown" and "The Minister's Black Veil."

Whereas "Alice Doane's Appeal" points out the judgmental nature of the Puritan mind, "Young Goodman Brown" emphasizes Puritan awareness of evil, something Brown learns about the culture through his changing view of Deacon Gookin, Goody Cloyse, and Faith. Brown's devil guide prepares him for the epiphany by saying "I have a very general acquaintance here in New England," a perception completed when the celebrant of the mass in the forest says: "Now are ye undeceived. Evil is the nature of mankind. Evil must be your only happiness. Welcome again, my children, to the communion of your race."<sup>13</sup> Hawthorne felt the Puritan culture passed down this perception of evil to succeeding generations in American civilization, resulting in thousands of "stern . . . sad . . . darkly meditative . . . distrustful, if not desperate [men]" (p. 106).<sup>14</sup> Parson Hooper in "The Minister's Black Veil," unable to deal with awareness of his own sin and capable of communicating only the dark side of men's souls, is a further embodiment of this heritage. By locating Hooper's

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<sup>13</sup>"Young Goodman Brown," Mosses from an Old Manse, edited by George Parsons Lathrop. Riverside edition of Hawthorne's Works (Cambridge, Mass., 1883), II, 104. Hereafter referred to as Riverside edition, II.

<sup>14</sup>For this sociological reading of "Young Goodman Brown" and the suggestion that such a reading might be made of the entire "Provincial Tales" see Q. D. Leavis's "Hawthorne as Poet," Sewanee Review, 59 (Spring 1951), 179-205, and (Summer 1951), 426-58. She finds Brown the embodiment of "that Calvinist sense of sin [which] did in actuality shape the early social and spiritual history of New England" (pp. 197-8).

ministry during Governor Belcher's administration in eighteenth century Massachusetts and admitting in a prefatory note to the story that his model for Hooper was Joseph Moody of York, Maine, Hawthorne emphasizes the connection between historical Puritan values and the behavior of later guilt-obsessed New Englanders.

Two stories of the seven about the Puritans show Puritan values through the method of contrast, a method Tudor had suggested in his article. The Puritan cast of mind appears in "The Maypole of Merry Mount" through sharp contrast with the "systematic gait" and "wild mirth" of the Morton settlement. The Morton group has been called "the English folk with its Catholic and ultimately pagan roots, preserved in song and dance, festivals and superstitions,"<sup>15</sup> with the triumphant Puritans led by Endicott shaping America into "a land of clouded visages, of hard toil, of sermon and psalm, forever."<sup>16</sup> When Endicott cuts down the Maypole, the future of America is prophesied, with "moral gloom" overpowering "systematic gait." In "The Gentle Boy" a similar attitude of intolerance is shown in the Puritans, this time balanced against irrational Quaker fanaticism rather than pagan levity. This conflict of values, in which Puritan power again predominates, is witnessed by Tobias Pearson, who found the young Quaker Ilbrahim alone after his father's death and his mother's desertion. Hawthorne makes an effort to meliorate the Puritan intolerance which Pearson sees destroy Ilbrahim, writing:

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<sup>15</sup>Leavis, p. 187.

<sup>16</sup>"The Maypole of Merry Mount," Twice-Told Tales, edited by William Charvat, Roy Harvey Pearce, Claude M. Simpson, and others. The Centenary edition of Hawthorne's Works (Ohio State University Press, 1974), IX, 62. Hereafter referred to as Centenary edition, IX.

The inhabitants of New England were a people, whose original bond of union was their peculiar religious principles. For the peaceful exercise of their own mode of worship, an object, the very reverse of universal liberty of conscience, they had hewn themselves a home in the wilderness; they had exposed themselves to the peril of death, and to a life which rendered the accomplishment of that peril almost a blessing. They had found no city of refuge prepared for them, but, with Heaven's assistance, they had created one; and it would be hard to say whether justice did not authorize their determination, to guard its gate against all who were destitute of the prescribed title to admittance. The principle of their foundation was such, that to destroy the unity of religion, might have been to subvert the government, and break up the colony, especially at a period when the state of affairs in England had stopped the tide of emigration, and drawn back many of the pilgrims to their native homes.<sup>17</sup>

Puritan willingness to persecute is balanced by Quaker desire for martyrdom. Hawthorne says of the Quakers:

Their enthusiasm, heightened almost to madness by the treatment which they received, produced actions contrary to the rules of decency, as well as of rational religion, and presented a singular contrast to the calm and staid deportment of their sectarian successors of the present day. The command of the spirit, inaudible except to the soul, and not to be controverted on grounds of human wisdom, was made a plea for most indecorous exhibition, which, abstractedly considered, well deserved the moderate chastisement of the rod (p. 69).

Pearson watches as the villagers grow progressively hostile to himself, his wife and their adopted Ilbrahim. But when Ilbrahim's mother reappears to chastise the Puritans with "unbridled fanaticism," he finds himself unable to side wholeheartedly with either faction. In spite of their softening attitudes at the end of the story, the Puritans found no champion in Nathaniel Hawthorne.

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<sup>17</sup>Centenary edition, IX, 614. The passage quoted appeared in the text of the story in The Token for 1832, therefore being the text for the proposed "Provincial Tales." For the changes Hawthorne made in the story before publishing it in Twice-Told Tales in 1837, see Seymour Gross, "Hawthorne's Revision of 'The Gentle Boy,'" American Literature, 26 (May 1954), 196-208.

"Dr. Bullivant," thought to have been one of the "Provincial Tales" because it too deals with Puritan values, shifts emphasis from the intolerance of "The Gentle Boy" and "The Maypole of Merry Mount" to New England's casual acceptance of mediocrity. Again the historical scene reveals shifting cultural values in a dichotomous framework. Later Puritan society, Hawthorne writes,

arranged itself into two classes, marked by strong shades of difference, though separated by an uncertain line: in one were included the small and feeble remnant of the first settlers, many of their immediate descendants, the whole body of the clergy, and all whom a gloomy temperament, or tenderness of conscience, or timidity of thought, kept up to the strictness of their fathers; the other comprehended the new emigrants [sic, immigrants], the gay and thoughtless natives, the favorers of Episcopacy, and a various mixture of liberal and unprincipled adventurers in the country.<sup>18</sup>

Later generation Puritans accept Dr. Bullivant, an apothecary whose sympathy with the Crown leads him to help Sir Edmund Andros suppress political liberties in the late seventeenth century. After his release from prison by William and Mary, Bullivant returns to his village to be accepted in ways first generation Puritans would not have permitted, moving Hawthorne to think that his experience

may give a species of distinctness and point to some remarks on the tone and composition of New England society, modified as it became by new ingredients from the eastern world, and by the attrition of sixty or seventy years over the rugged peculiarities of the original settlers (p. 78).

If Hawthorne planned to link his Puritan themes with material about the Revolution, "The Gray Champion" would have been the link. In spite of the intolerance and gloom of Puritanism, Hawthorne also saw a

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<sup>18</sup>"Dr. Bullivant," Tales, Sketches and Other Papers, edited by George Parsons Lathrop. Riverside edition of Hawthorne's Works (Cambridge, Mass., 1883), XII, 83. Hereafter referred to as Riverside edition, XII.

direct connection between Puritan spirit which resisted English tyranny and the spirit of the American Revolution. In the words of Nelson F. Adkins, Hawthorne saw that "out of the state of mind that made the early Puritans so stern, dogmatic, and bigoted, there somehow emanated the spirit of American liberty."<sup>19</sup> Those people confronting Andros reflect the first generation Puritan mind: they have

the confidence in Heaven's blessing on a righteous cause, which would have marked a band of the original Puritans, when threatened by some peril of the wilderness. . . . Old soldiers of the Parliament were here too, smiling grimly at the thought, that their aged arms might strike another blow against the house of Stuart. Here also were the veterans of King Philip's war, who had burnt villages and slaughtered young and old, with pious fierceness, while the godly souls throughout the land were helping them with prayer.<sup>20</sup>

When the gray champion appears he wears "the old Puritan dress, a dark cloak and a steeple-crowned hat, in the fashion of at least fifty years before, with a heavy sword upon his thigh" (p. 14). But this action anticipates the future, where Hawthorne ends the story in a patriotic flourish:

Should domestic tyranny oppress us, or the invader's step pollute our soil, still may the Gray Champion come, for he is the type of New England's hereditary spirit; and his shadowy march, on the eve of danger, must ever be the pledge, that New England's sons will vindicate their ancestry (p. 18).

"Sir William Pepperell" also is significant for showing patriotism which anticipates "the spirit of Seventy-Six," in spite of being about an Englishman during the French and Indian era. Pepperell, a complacent colonial aristocrat, was chosen by the Governor of Massachusetts to lead

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<sup>19</sup> Nelson F. Adkins, "Hawthorne's Democratic New England Puritans," Emerson Society Quarterly, 44 (3 Quarter 1966), 71.

<sup>20</sup> Centenary edition, IX, 11. . . .

the expedition against the French at Louisburg in 1745. Hawthorne analyzes his motivation for accepting the military venture, probing there to find characteristics of mind of early colonial Americans. He writes:

A desire to prove in the eyes of England the courage of her provinces; the real necessity for the destruction of this Dunkirk of America; the hope of private advantage; a remnant of the old Puritan detestation of Papist idolatry; a strong hereditary hatred of the French, who, for half a hundred years, had shed the blood of the English settlers in concert with the savages; the natural undertakings, even though doubtful and hazardous,--such were some of the motives which soon drew together a host, comprehending nearly all the effective force of the country (Riverside edition, XII, p. 237).

As in "The Gray Champion" Hawthorne finds a mixture of complex motives, but basically praise-worthy ones.

However, in "My Kinsman, Major Molineux," the single item to deal centrally with the Revolutionary experience, Hawthorne finds more ambiguous motives for resistance. Again the stage is set for a political theme by the framing comments of the narrator, who in this case observes that

the people looked with most jealous scrutiny to the exercise of power, which did not emanate from themselves, and they usually rewarded the rulers with slender gratitude, for the compliances, by which, in softening their instructions from beyond the sea, they had incurred the reprehension of those who gave them (Centenary edition, XI, p. 208).

Robin, the young man from the country, represents the nation in the symbolic overthrow of aristocratic leadership. The experience he undergoes clearly has national significance, established in the first paragraph where resistance to British authority is described as an often repeated phenomenon in colonial history, and also by Robin's characterization as a representative American, a Yankee naïf not fully understanding what is

gained and lost in the rebellion. There is no ringing endorsement of Molineux's political embarrassment such as in "The Gray Champion." Instead the exchange of leadership occurs in demonic frenzy with the crowd

like fiends that throng in mockery around some dead potentate, mighty no more, but majestic still in his agony. On they went, in counterfeited pomp, in senseless uproar, in frenzied merriment, trampling all on an old man's heart" (p. 230).

Leading the crowd is the man with the strange face, War personified, with "the red of one cheek . . . an emblem of fire and sword; the blackness of the other [betokening] the mourning which attends them" (p. 227).

Hawthorne assesses the Revolutionary experience with similar reservation to that in his Puritan material, finding the outraged righteousness of the people balanced by their obsessiveness.<sup>21</sup>

Stories in the "Provincial Tales" having to do with the French and Indian period are the weakest as vehicles for analyzing the national mind and experience. There are three--"Sir William Pepperell," "The Wives of the Dead," and "Roger Malvin's Burial"--with "Sir William Pepperell" providing a link with the Revolutionary materials. "The Wives of the Dead" is the single most dysfunctional piece in the "Provincial Tales" if the intention of the volume was to show cultural values inherited from the American past; it has only the slight historical connection that one of the supposed dead husbands returns alive from a conflict of the French and Indian War, with Hawthorne most interested in the irony of the wives' situation. "Roger Malvin's Burial" has a guilt theme,

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This reading of "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" is evident in Pearce, "Hawthorne and the Sense of the Past," Leavis, and Daniel Hoffman, "Yankee Bumpkin and Scapegoat King," in Form and Fable in American Fiction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965).



which Hawthorne connected with cultural experience in Puritan stories like "The Minister's Black Veil" and the Revolutionary "My Kinsman, Major Molineux," but here it has no social significance. Apparently Hawthorne found the French and Indian period less crucial in shaping the nation's values than Puritan and Revolutionary times, but complying with the suggestions of the critics Tudor and Palfrey that French and Indian material be used in fiction, he used the Lovewell's Fight narrative to supply a setting incidental to the guilt theme. The story is further atypical by showing guilt resolved, in contrast to guilt shared or unrelieved in the others.

Since "The Gray Champion" and "Sir William Pepperell" suggest links between the three categories of stories in the "Provincial Tales," it is surprising to note how few critics have seen the unity of that volume. One who has, Roy Male, argues that Hawthorne shows there America's search for cultural identity, seen largely in religious terms.<sup>22</sup> Rejecting both the values of the theocratic English past and the pagan wilderness, Americans search in dialectic fashion for their own religious home. If Male's view goes too far in arguing for the mythic dimension of the stories, or deals with conceptual patterns that probably were not conscious and intentional, it, nevertheless, has the virtue of seeing unity of conception underlying the various stories. (Male's four stories are the Puritan "Young Goodman Brown" and "The Maypole of Merry Mount," the Revolutionary "My Kinsman, Major Molineux," and the French and Indian

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<sup>22</sup>"The Search for a Home" in Hawthorne's Tragic Vision (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1964), pp. 38-53.

War story "Roger Malvin's Burial.") It seems more likely the conceptual unity of the book derives from its literary nationalism.

As with "Seven Tales of My Native Land," Hawthorne wanted the "Provincial Tales" to show that actions and tendencies of the past extend their influence into the present, an intention indicated by his using "Alice Doane's Appeal" in the new volume as well as in "The Gray Champion" and "The Maypole of Merry Mount." The witchcraft environment which had provided the setting for that theme in "Alice Doane's Appeal" was used with similar purpose in "Young Goodman Brown." A different folk element, however, was introduced in the new volume--legend. Recent criticism has claimed that Hawthorne's central concern in the "Provincial Tales" was to define the relationship between historical fact and fiction.<sup>23</sup> If Hawthorne was preoccupied with that problem this early, legend was apparently the structural form he chose to mediate between the two in an attempt to find the neutral territory of romance. Three of the stories are based on actual legends--"Roger Malvin's Burial," "The Gray Champion," and "The Minister's Black Veil"--while two others--"My Kinsman, Major Molineux" and "The Maypole of Merry Mount"--give history legendary status. With its strong invitation for belief coupled with removal from history through oral tradition,<sup>24</sup> the legend seemed especially appropriate for probing into history's cultural significance. A less frequently used

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<sup>23</sup> Christoph Lohmann credits this view to Alfred Weber in his book, yet untranslated, Die Entwicklung der Rahmenerzählungen Nathaniel Hawthornes: 'The Story Teller' und Andere Frühe Werke (1825-35). Lohmann's review is in the Nathaniel Hawthorne Journal, 2 (1972), 267-70.

<sup>24</sup> See Robert A. Georges, "The General Concept of Legend: Some Assumptions to be Re-examined and Re-assessed," American Folk Legend: A Symposium, Wayland Hand, editor (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 1-19.

vehicle, though it possessed similar artistic potential, was folklore character types, illustrated only by the Yankee Robin in "My Kinsman, Major Molineux."

If Hawthorne knew the literary nationalist milieu, and he probably knew most of it, he could have found there the elements which made up the "Provincial Tales," but his combination of these elements made the "Provincial Tales" unique. The great concern of the decade of the 1820's was a fascination with character types, evident in the work of Irving, Cooper, Neal, Sedgwick, and Hale, but ironically Hawthorne borrowed little directly from that tradition. Of this group he would have been less interested in the work of Sedgwick and Cooper, who generally did not probe beyond surface particularities of sectional types, and more drawn to Irving, Neal, and Hale, who saw national tendencies within them. Cooper, Irving, and Bryant used legends, but none of them realized their potential as Hawthorne did. The only significant fictional use of witchcraft influencing Hawthorne was Neal's Rachel Dyer. Hawthorne's original idea was to take the structural potential of the popular legend, load it with the intellectual interests heretofore worked with through character types, and thus produce fictional cultural history. His achievements outstripped those of his contemporaries, and a decade concerned with patriotism overlooked its first profound literary nationalist.

#### "The Story Teller" (1834)

Although twice unsuccessful, Hawthorne continued to think of publishing a complete volume with nationalistic emphasis. By the summer of 1832 he had laid new plans, writing to his college friend Franklin Pierce

about a trip he needed to make to gather material:

I was making preparations for a Northern tour when this accursed cholera broke out in Canada. It was my intention to go by way of New York and Albany to Niagara; from thence to Montreal and Quebec, and home through Vermont and New Hampshire. I am very desirous of making this journey on account of a book by which I intend to acquire an (undoubtedly) immense literary reputation, but which I cannot commence writing till I have visited Canada.<sup>25</sup>

Within the next year and a half Hawthorne apparently made the necessary travels because in early 1834 he again asked Goodrich to help him find a publisher, this time for a two volume manuscript. Goodrich himself declined to publish the work, recommending Hawthorne send it to Joseph T. Buckingham, then editor of the New England Magazine. Buckingham apparently planned to publish the work serially, but when he stepped down as editor at the end of the year, the new editor, Park Benjamin, refused to print the work as a literary unit. Individual portions were published in the magazine practically every month in 1835, but the framework for the material was destroyed. In addition to the seventeen fragments in the New England Magazine, three (and possibly four) more were printed in the American Monthly Magazine after the two merged. It is also likely that Goodrich kept some of the material for The Token; Elizabeth Peabody, later Hawthorne's sister-in-law, writes that Goodrich told Hawthorne "he was publishing The Token, and would buy some of the stories for this, and also the editor of the New England Magazine would take some of the stories."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Quoted in Adkins, "Early Projected Works," p. 132. The following summary comments about "The Story Teller" are from this article.

<sup>26</sup>Quoted in Moncure D. Conway, Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne (London, 1890), p. 32.

Hawthorne planned to call his volume "The Story Teller," intending to unify the material with "a travelling story-teller, whose shiftings of fortune were to form the interludes and links between the separate stories."<sup>27</sup> Exactly what stories were included in the original volume or what Hawthorne's full intentions were is difficult to know. Adkins thinks he had in mind writing an American sketch-book, combining travel sketches, reflective essays, and tales, much as Irving had done in The Sketch Book.<sup>28</sup> The contents may have been divided accordingly: Tales-- "The Seven Vagabonds," "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe," "The Ambitious Guest," "Wakefield," "The Old Maid in the Winding Sheet," "A Vision of the Fountain," "The Devil in Manuscript," "A Visit to the Clerk of the Weather," "The Gray Champion," and "Young Goodman Brown" (the latter two tales originally intended for "Provincial Tales"); Travel Sketches--"The Ontario Steamboat," "My Visit to Niagara," "The Canal Boat," "The Notch," and "Our Evening Party Among the Mountains" (these three from "Sketches from Memory, I"), "Rochester" and "An Inland Port" (from "Sketches from Memory, II"), "Old Ticonderoga," "The Great Carbuncle" and "Fragments from the Journal of a Solitary Man"; Essays--"Old News" (which includes "The Colonial Newspaper," "The Old French War" and "The Old Tory"), "Graves and Goblins" and "A Rill from the Town Pump."<sup>29</sup> A later critic, noting the Goodrich statement Elizabeth Peabody quotes, deduces from the bibliographical evidence of The Token that four items published there were probably also part of "The Story Teller"--"The Minister's Black

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<sup>27</sup>Lathrop, A Study of Hawthorne, pp. 173-4.

<sup>28</sup>See "Early Projected Works," p. 145.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., pp. 138-42.

Veil," "The Wedding Knell," "The Maypole of Merry Mount," and "Little Annie's Ramble."<sup>30</sup> The recent study by Weber lists thirty-six items altogether.<sup>31</sup>

Even though Hawthorne's intentions are not fully known, indications are that "The Story Teller" was rather reluctantly conceived in the wake of Hawthorne's failure to publish "Provincial Tales." His mood is accurately reflected in Oberon in "The Devil in Manuscript," despondent over the fact that "no American publisher will meddle with an American work" (Centenary edition, XI, p. 173). Finding little encouragement to continue the in-depth analysis of American cultural experience, he had to change his approach to supply what the market demanded, a task he viewed with considerable misgiving. In "Old News" he scans newspapers telling about the colonial period, the French and Indian period and the Revolutionary period (the three resource areas for writers suggested by nationalistic critics), with the main thrust of the essay coming in "The Old Tory." There he complains, possibly having "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" in mind, that he was unable to view the Revolutionary experience as favorably as might be necessary to get in print, finding

almost all . . . impressions, in regard to this period . . . unpleasant, whether referring to the state of civil society, or to the character of the contest, which, especially where native Americans were opposed to each other, was waged with the deadly hatred of fraternal enemies (Centenary edition, XI, p. 160).

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<sup>30</sup> Seymour L. Gross, "Four Possible Additions to Hawthorne's 'Story Teller,'" Papers of the Bibliographic Society of America, 51 (1 Quarter 1957), 91-2.

<sup>31</sup> Lohmann's review does not give Weber's listing.

Going against the grain, and without elaborating on the complex issues implicit in his character sketch, he views the old tory sympathetically:

One of our objects has been to exemplify, without softening a single prejudice proper to the character which we assumed, that the Americans, who clung to the losing side, in the Revolution, were men greatly to be pitied, and often worthy of our sympathy (p. 159).

He was also unpopular as a writer, he thought, because he did not use Indian materials:

It has often been a matter of regret to me that I was shut out from the most peculiar field of American fiction by an inability to see any romance, or poetry, or grandeur, or beauty in the Indian character. . . . I do abhor an Indian story. Yet no writer can be more secure of a permanent place in our literature than the biographer of the Indian chiefs.<sup>32</sup>

The American writer had also been victimized by English travel books, first because they claimed the audience which the American writer needed, but more importantly because they influenced him to write in reaction the same superficial descriptions of people and places in the new world. The English traveller in "The Canal Boat" planned to use the other passengers in

a future volume of travels. . . . He would hold up an imaginary mirror, wherein our reflected faces would appear ugly, and ridiculous, yet still retain an undeniable likeness to the originals. Then, with more sweeping malice, he would make these caricatures the representatives of great classes of my countrymen (Riverside edition, II, p. 489).

In reaction to these currents of influence and to the earlier failure of "Provincial Tales," Hawthorne reluctantly planned his concession to the reading public, "The Story Teller," with

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<sup>32</sup>"Our Evening Party Among the Mountains" in "Sketches from Memory, I," Riverside edition, II, 483.

airdrawn pictures . . . set in frames perhaps more valuable than the pictures themselves, since they will be embossed with groups of characteristic figures, amid the lake and mountain scenery, the villages and fertile fields of our native land.<sup>33</sup>

The most evident difference between "The Story Teller" and "Provincial Tales" is that Hawthorne is more concerned in "The Story Teller" with the present than the past. Even if he hoped to include a small portion from "Provincial Tales," those stories which have been argued for may have been included for different reasons than in "Provincial Tales." The chauvinism in "The Gray Champion" was acceptable as it was, certainly more desirable than the probing questioning about the Revolutionary experience in "My Kinsman, Major Molineux." "Young Goodman Brown" and "The Minister's Black Veil" were important now for their psychological dimensions extending to the present rather than for their implications about the past.

However, the present was to be featured, mainly shown in travelogue fashion, with little interpretation. Apparently a journey motif was to frame the work, conceived originally in "The Seven Vagabonds" to cover a short distance from the nearby forest into Stamford, Connecticut, but later broadened to include the entire Western travels Hawthorne had referred to in his letter to Pierce, west to Niagara and back through the White Mountains into New England. Hawthorne intended to provide informative sketches about places having geographical and historical interest for Americans. Precise geographical descriptions recur, evident as the journey moves from the West in "The Canal Boat," to Fort Ticonderoga, to

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<sup>33</sup>"Passages from a Relinquished Work," Riverside edition, II, 461.



the Notch in the White Mountains of Vermont. Hawthorne writes about Clinton and the Erie Canal:

In my imagination DeWitt Clinton was an enchanter, who had waved his magic wand from the Hudson to Lake Erie and united them by a watery highway, crowded with the commerce of two worlds, till then inaccessible to each other. . . . Surely the water of this canal must be the most fertilizing of all fluids; for it causes towns, with their masses of brick and stone, their churches and theatres, their business and hub-bub, their luxury and refinement, their gay dames and polished citizens, to spring up, till in time the wondrous stream may flow between two continuous lines of buildings, through one thronged street, from Buffalo to Albany.<sup>34</sup>

Ticonderoga is

the greatest attraction, in this vicinity . . . , the remains of which are visible from the piazza of the tavern, on a swell of land that shuts in the prospect of the lake. Those celebrated heights, Mount Defiance and Mount Independence . . . , stand too prominent not to be recognized, though neither of them precisely correspond to the images excited by their names. . . . Mount Defiance, which one pictures as a steep, lofty, and rugged hill, of most formidable aspect, frowning down with the grim visage of a precipice on Old Ticonderoga, is merely a long and wooded ridge.<sup>35</sup>

The Notch of the White Mountains, later to serve as the basis for a place legend in "The Ambitious Guest," is particularized in travelogue description:

We had come since sunrise from Bartlett, passing up through the valley of the Saco, which extends between mountainous walls, sometimes with a steep ascent, but often as level as a church aisle. . . . A demon, it might be fancied, or one of the Titans, was travelling up the valley, elbowing the heights carelessly aside as he passed, till at length a great mountain took its stand directly across his intended road. He carries not for such an obstacle, but [rends] it

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<sup>34</sup>"The Canal Boat" in "Sketches from Memory, I," Riverside edition, II, 484-5.

<sup>35</sup>"Old Ticonderoga: A Picture of the Past," Centenary edition, XI, 186.

asunder . . . with a mighty fracture of rugged precipices on each side. This is the Notch of the White Hills.<sup>36</sup>

Throughout, Hawthorne avoids intellectual analysis, presenting only precise description shaded with fanciful commentary.

The folklore in "The Story Teller" indicates Hawthorne's intention to make the collection nationalistic in a quite different way from the "Provincial Tales," stressing the contemporary panorama of the American nation rather than the ambiguous heritage of its past. With less emphasis on the past, fewer types of folklore dealing with the past appear. The new material involving legend centers in the present, illustrated by the place legends of the Willey familys' death in "The Ambitious Guest" and the Carbuncle legend connected with the White Mountain area. Further, Hawthorne shows a greater tendency to use legends to moralize than to interpret the past. Oral tradition appears only in "The Wedding Knell," and witchcraft, a third folklore item suited for reaching into the past, occurs only once, in "The Devil in Manuscript" where Hawthorne uses it to stress the intensity of personal frustration rather than historical patterns. Character types are more evident in "The Story Teller," appearing in such variety as to suggest a thorough attempt to show indigenous American types: the Yankee pedlar in "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe," the frontiersman and Sam Patch in "Rochester," and the sectional types in "The Canal Boat" and "The Seven Vagabonds." But these characters are catalogued, not probed. A new type of Hawthorne story appears also, revealing more about the nationalism of "The Story Teller." Ghost stories had been a part of American culture from the beginning. A story of this

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<sup>36</sup>"The Notch of the White Mountains," in "Sketches from Memory, I," Riverside edition, II, 476-7.

type was necessary if one were to sketch the culture. Apparently two stories fulfilled this need, "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe" and "The Haunted Quack," both of them examples of "explained ghost" stories where ghosts do not really appear.<sup>37</sup> They vary significantly from "The Gray Champion," lacking true ghosts and showing folk comedy rather than a serious purpose; their inclusion suggests clearly that Hawthorne wanted to change the nationalism in "The Story Teller" to emphasize popular elements of American culture.

If "The Story Teller" was conceived in reaction to his failure to publish "Provincial Tales," Hawthorne saw the need to follow the influence of the most popular and most often read nationalist authors. Samuel Goodrich, in tune with the popular tastes of the day, could well have suggested new directions for Hawthorne, whom he had known since the late 1820's. The writer most influential at this stage was Irving, who wrote about specific geographical areas of the country. He provided Hawthorne an early example of the "explained ghost" story in "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," and his folklore character types were not so excessively laden with thematic implications as to destroy their reality. John Neal's influence is likely also; The Down-Easters probably supplied Hawthorne with the idea for character sketches on a canal boat. Also, because they were adjusting their nationalistic fervor to the popular

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<sup>37</sup>"The Haunted Quack," appearing by Joseph Nicholson in The Token for 1831, has recently been included in the Hawthorne canon. Based on its setting on a canal boat and its similarities to "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe," it should probably be included in "The Story Teller." In the story, a young quack doctor, Hippocrates Jenkins, tells a traveller on a canal boat how he killed the wife of a village blacksmith in Utica by his quackery, to be haunted thereafter by her ghost. But when the canal boat arrives in Utica, to his surprise and relief the woman turns up alive.

sentimental demands of the early 1830's and because they were known for describing local scenes and sectional characteristics particularly well, Catherine Sedgwick and Sara Josepha Hale were exemplary. What these writers offered which was helpful to Hawthorne at this stage was methods for picturing the expansive surface of the country.

### Twice-Told Tales

Hawthorne succeeded in publishing a volume of material completely his own and significantly nationalistic in Twice-Told Tales (1837). Goodrich had successfully arranged a publisher, but not before Hawthorne's friend Horatio Bridge had pushed him to do so by offering a \$250 guarantee against loss to allay Goodrich's fears that the volume would not sell.<sup>38</sup> The volume, published with eighteen items in March 1837, sold well enough for Bridge to recover his investment and brought Hawthorne to the attention of several important literary people. Longfellow reviewed the volume enthusiastically in the North American Review, singling out its nationalism for particular emphasis:

One of the most prominent characteristics of these tales is, that they are national in their character. The author has wisely chosen his themes among the traditions of New England; the dusty legends of 'the good Old Colony times, when we lived under a king.' This is the right material for story. . . . Truly, many quaint and quiet customs, many comic scenes and strange adventures, many wild and wondrous things, fit for humorous tale, and soft, pathetic story, lie all about us here in New England.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>See Randall Stewart, Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 33ff.

<sup>39</sup>North American Review, 45 (July 1837), 62-3.

Hawthorne was gratified with Longfellow's praise, replying to his review:

I fondly own that I was not without hopes that you would do this kind office for the book. . . . Whether or no the public will agree to the praise which you bestow on me, there are at least five persons who think you are the most sagacious critic on earth--viz. my mother and two sisters, my old maiden aunt, and finally, the sturdiest believer of the whole five, my own self.<sup>40</sup>

Hawthorne also came to the attention of John L. O'Sullivan, the militant nationalist editor of the Democratic Review, who wrote Hawthorne soliciting material for his magazine. Complying with Sullivan's request, Hawthorne published twenty-two tales and sketches in the Democratic Review during the next eight years. Moreover, O'Sullivan's blatant nationalism encouraged Hawthorne's own literary nationalism in "Endicott and the Red Cross" and the Legends of the Province House. Five years after the first edition of Twice-Told Tales, a second edition appeared in two volumes. The first volume reprinted the first edition and added "The Toll Gatherer's Day"; the second volume contained twenty more items, all of them previously published, eight in the Democratic Review.

Evidence in the first edition of the Tales indicates Hawthorne planned to offer a compromise in his literary nationalism, a middle ground between emphasizing the ambiguous heritage of the past in "Provincial Tales" and describing the panoramic American scene in "The Story Teller." Meeting with limited success, and responding to the praise of Longfellow and O'Sullivan, he kept the same variety of nationalistic materials in the second edition of Twice-Told Tales but felt confident enough to emphasize the heritage of the past even more. Although the second edition

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<sup>40</sup>Quoted in Stewart, p. 35.

was not published until 1842, all materials included in it had probably been written by the end of 1838, making it feasible to consider the two volume Twice-Told Tales an indicator of Hawthorne's mature literary nationalism in 1838.

With his hopes for recognition as an American author riding on the proposed new volume in 1837, Hawthorne offered a mixture of material he had originally prepared for "Seven Tales of My Native Land," "Provincial Tales," and "The Story Teller," all supplemented by approximately six other pieces previously published in The Token. Only "David Swan" and "The Prophetic Pictures" of those six are significant for literary nationalism. Hawthorne's compromise was willingly made, since the "Provincial Tales" material still allowed him to emphasize the significance of the past more heavily than anything else. While showing that colonial values, primarily Puritan, affected the country's later culture in "The Gray Champion," "The Minister's Black Veil," "The Maypole of Merry Mount," and "The Gentle Boy," Hawthorne attempted to tone down the negative characteristics of the heritage, such as Puritan intolerance of values different than their own. "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" was excluded, and several passages from "The Gentle Boy" were deleted to give a more extenuating view of the Puritans.<sup>41</sup> To show the witchcraft mentality in the American background, he chose "The Hollow of the Three Hills" over "Alice Doane's Appeal" and "Young Goodman Brown," the first having overt accusatory passages, and "Brown"'s point already made with "The Minister's Black Veil." In addition, "The Hollow of the Three Hills" had only vague historical reference, set in "those strange old times, when fantastic

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<sup>41</sup>See Gross, "Hawthorne's Revision of 'The Gentle Boy,'" p. 208.

dreams and madmen's reveries were realized among the actual circumstances of life" (Centenary edition, IX, p. 199). "The Story Teller" material must have been reluctantly included for less serious readers who liked moralized material with American embellishments--the annuals' audience. With "The Great Carbuncle" Hawthorne gave them the moral of selfish motivation bringing ill results, set in the background of the Indian legend; with "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe " he gave less moral and more folk story embellishment. "David Swan" was apparently included because it also had these characteristics, the moral about fortunate ignorance placed in the attractive framework of an American märchen.

Feeling that the compromise in the 1837 edition of Twice-Told Tales had been accepted, Hawthorne kept the variety of material and increased its nationalistic emphasis in the later edition. The additions which treated the past in the second edition, "Endicott and the Red Cross" and the four "Legends of the Province House," were more ostensibly patriotic with their ambiguity in attitude harder to see. Hawthorne's handling of the character of Endicott, who figured in "The Gentle Boy" and "The Maypole of Merry Mount" in the 1837 Tales, reflects this increased patriotism. In "The Gentle Boy" Endicott, unnamed, had been presented as

the man of narrow mind and imperfect education, [whose] uncompromising bigotry was made hot and mischievous by violent and hasty passions; he extended his influence indecorously and unjustifiably to compass the death of the enthusiasts; and his whole conduct, in respect to them was marked by brutal cruelty (Centenary edition, IX, p. 69).

Balancing this man was the Endicott of "The Maypole of Merry Mount," presented in softer light as he watches the Lord and Lady of May uncrowned:

"The deepening twilight could not altogether conceal that the iron man was softened; he smiled at the fair spectacle of early love; he almost sighed for the inevitable blight of early hopes" (Centenary edition, IX, p. 66). In "Endicott and the Red Cross," however, he is a protector of civil rights and freedom of conscience as he strikes the Puritan banner: "Wherefore, I say again, have we sought this country of a rugged soil and wintry sky? Was it not for the enjoyment of our civil rights? Was it not for liberty to worship God according to our conscience?" (Centenary edition, IX, p. 439). Despite this change to characterize Endicott as a defender of America's freedoms in the later story, Hawthorne continues to show that the experience of the past was not unequivocally good. Even as the American Puritans exemplify democratic idealism in their rebellion, they become as repressive as the society causing their rebellion. On the day Endicott speaks, an Episcopalian and a suspected Catholic are in the stocks, an evangelist is punished, and the villagers show signs of corporal brutality--cropped ears, branded cheeks and slit nostrils.<sup>42</sup>

The overt patriotism in "Endicott and the Red Cross" was an emphasis Hawthorne desired to have in the complete Twice-Told Tales, a conclusion supported by his adding the nationalistic Legends of the Province House to the volume instead of his other story about the Revolution, the more equivocal "My Kinsman, Major Molineux." But these materials are a small portion of the entire second edition. Further, Legends of the Province House were written for an earlier forum, for the nationalistic

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<sup>42</sup>See Adkins' "Hawthorne's Democratic New England Puritans," pp. 66-71, for more about Endicott and other figures Hawthorne used similarly.



O'Sullivan to publish in the Democratic Review. O'Sullivan had written his prophecy of democracy's future in the first issue of the magazine:

The eye of man looks naturally forward; and as he is carried onward by the progress of time and truth, he is far more likely to stumble and stray if he turn his face backward, and keep his looks fixed on the thoughts and things of the past. We feel safe under the banner of the democratic principle, which is borne onward by an unseen hand of Providence, to lead our race toward the high destinies of which every human soul contains the God-implanted germ.<sup>43</sup>

When Hawthorne has Hancock deliver his political harangue to Esther Dudley, the speech seems consciously intended for O'Sullivan:

I, and these around me--we represent a new race of men, no longer living in the past, scarcely in the present--but projecting our lives forward into the future. Ceasing to model ourselves on ancestral superstition, it is our faith, and principle to press onward, onward!<sup>44</sup>

Taken collectively, however, Legends of the Province House lack the strident nationalism evident in occasional single speeches like Hancock's, showing instead a more thoughtful and equivocal assessment of the Revolutionary experience.<sup>45</sup> The legends are related to one another structurally in building up to the shifting of power during the Revolution, but Hawthorne creates a moral balance between republican and loyalist forces. Loyalists are not really ogres; Esther Dudley is to be pitied for her suffering, and Governor Hutchinson, later described favorably for his loyalty in Grandfather's Chair, is no more blameworthy

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<sup>43</sup>"The Democratic Principle--The Importance of its Assertion, And Application to Our Political System and Literature," Democratic Review, 1 (October 1837), 9.

<sup>44</sup>"Old Esther Dudley," Centenary edition, IX, 301.

<sup>45</sup>See Robert H. Fossum, "Time and the Artist in 'Legends of the Province House,'" Nineteenth Century Fiction, 21 (March 1967), 337-48, and Julian Smith, "Hawthorne's 'Legends of the Province House,'" Nineteenth Century Fiction, 24 (June 1969), 31-44.

than the mob for causing the Boston Massacre in "Edward Randolph's Portrait." In comparison to the relatively neutral picture of Howe in "Howe's Masquerade," Hancock, his successor, is pompous and unkind, condemning Esther Dudley's values ("You have treasured up all that time has rendered worthless--the principles, feelings, manners, modes of being and acting, which another generation has flung aside"-- Centenary edition, IX, 301.) and flaunting his own as he assumes residence at the Province House.<sup>46</sup> Hawthorne senses that a pride not unlike that of Lady Eleanor Rochcliffe is evident among democracy's defenders, resulting in pain to the loyalists and bringing guilt as well as independence to the republicans. The theme of the Legends is the equivocal Molineux theme, after ten years still dominant in Hawthorne's mind.

While primarily concerned with the theme of America's past, Hawthorne nevertheless continued to use the folkloric resources of the present, indicating in this way also his nationalistic belief that American resources should be used in fiction. To the second edition of Twice-Told Tales he added two items showing folk characters of the American countryside, "The Seven Vagabonds" and "The Village Uncle," material intended to complement character types shown in 1837 in "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe." Just as America had ghost stories in her culture, she also had stories of buried treasure, so "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure" was added to broaden the types of indigenous fiction illustrated in the volume. American märchen, becoming increasingly popular in

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<sup>46</sup> See Smith, pp. 42ff., and Thomas F. Walsh, "Hawthorne's Satire in 'Old Esther Dudley,'" Emerson Society Quarterly, 22 (1 Quarter 1961), 31-3.

the late 1830's, were further illustrated in 1842 by "The Lily's Quest" and "The Three-Fold Destiny," the latter being Hawthorne's most serious effort to show "the spirit and mechanism of the faery legend [among] New England personages and scenery" (Centenary edition, IX, p. 472). The legend which attached to a particular part of the American landscape, evident in "The Great Carbuncle" in the earlier Twice-Told Tales, reappeared in "The Ambitious Guest" to stress the fictional resources of the American countryside. However, in spite of these clear indications that materials to be found in the present American scene should be gathered for use, Hawthorne uses folklore of the past in greater proportion throughout Twice-Told Tales, with the most frequently appearing folkloric items being legends and oral tradition.

The nationalist influences on the material eventually published in Twice-Told Tales came largely from the 1820's, with Hawthorne's contemporaries in the 1830's important as they too responded to the nationalism encouraged in the earlier decade. Hawthorne continued to write about the Puritan age and the era of the Revolution, areas specified by Gardiner and Tudor. Hawthorne seemingly recalled Tudor's advice to deal with "eloquent harangues" in American history when he wrote "Endicott and the Red Cross" and parts of Legends of the Province House. For all the intensity of his forward-looking nationalism, John L. O'Sullivan still echoed the ideas of those early literary nationalists. Neal and Hale were influential for their interest in character types, which probably affected the sociological conception of "Provincial Tales" that Twice-Told Tales partially retained. Irving and Bryant were important for showing the fertile field of American legend, with Irving indicating

variety in the types of stories indigenous to America. ("Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe" and "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure" have antecedents in Irving's "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" and "Woolfert Webber," respectively.) Later writers in the 1830's, led by Whittier, continued gathering American legends similar to those Hawthorne found useful in "The Ambitious Guest" and "The Great Carbuncle." William Austin's "The Man With the Cloaks: A Vermont Legend" illustrates how a writer of the 1830's using local legend influenced Hawthorne to do the same. The single new influence from the 1830's affecting the nationalism of Twice-Told Tales was Paulding, whose arguments for the existence of fairy lore in America made Hawthorne want his book to contain American *märchen*.

Although Twice-Told Tales was the culmination of Hawthorne's decade-long attempt to use American materials and themes, ironically stories in that volume led him away from those objectives, anticipating the changes he made in the vastly less nationalistic Mosses from an Old Manse. Most important in showing this unexpected dimension is "The Prophetic Pictures," where Hawthorne seems conscious of conflict within himself. The painter-protagonist, a persona for Hawthorne, has been schooled in Europe (that is, affected by European literary traditions), but has worked to incorporate both the past and the present of his own country into his art (He paints pictures of Governor Burnet and Governor Phips' wife--Puritan figures--and travels West to Lake George and Niagara for inspiration ). His education has taught him that external history and location really provide only "a framework for the delineations of the human form and face, instinct with thought, passion or suffering" (Centenary edition, IX, p. 178). So in painting Elinor and Walter Ludlow he concentrates on

internal characteristics. The painter's realization signals a change in Hawthorne's subsequent work: he shows less concern for American location and cultural tradition and more probing of states of mind and psychological dynamics. "Dr. Heidegger's Experiment" was included in Twice-Told Tales as if to show the new direction he was heading.

#### Grandfather's Chair (1841)

Before that change was fully evident, however, Hawthorne wrote Grandfather's Chair, a series of historical stories for children showing an attitude toward the American past similar to that in Twice-Told Tales. Although Hawthorne considered that work inferior labor and something he did for amusement and recreation, it provides important supporting evidence of Hawthorne's views on the American heritage. He wanted children as well as adults to know that American history showed both darkness and light. The Grandfather emphasizes the glories of the American Revolution, finding honorable motives in the hearts and minds of those who brought the world the "grandest movement" it had ever seen.<sup>47</sup> He is rhapsodic about American freedom:

The people of Old England had never enjoyed anything like the liberties and privileges which the settlers of New England now possessed. And they did not adopt these modes of government after long study, but in simplicity, as if there were no other way for people to be ruled (Centenary edition, VI, p. 33).

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<sup>47</sup>Nathaniel Hawthorne, Grandfather's Chair, in True Stories from History and Biography, edited by Roy Harvey Pearce, Claude M. Simpson, and others. The Centenary edition of Hawthorne's Works (Ohio State University Press, 1972), VI, 171. Hereafter referred to as Centenary edition, VI.

But under the questioning of his young audience, Grandfather honestly admits that good people were often victimized as the country developed. Early in the nation's history Indians were treated unfairly, with only the Reverend John Eliot in the late seventeenth century acknowledging their humanity with Christian service (pp. 42-9). The Quaker persecutions in the late 1650's, which brought Mary Dyer and others to death, further illustrate "mournful passage[s] in the history of our forefathers" (p. 41). Later on, Loyalists suffered for principled convictions. For being faithful in his duties as lieutenant-governor, Thomas Hutchinson exposes himself and his family to danger when the stamp tax creates hostility toward all symbols of regal authority (pp. 148-60). These narratives keep Hawthorne's book from encouraging naive patriotism in children.

#### Mosses From An Old Manse (1846)

During the time Hawthorne was finally gaining recognition as an American author, several things happened which influenced the work he was to do in the 1840's. After having spent his long period of study and preparation at Salem from 1825 to 1837, he was becoming more involved with the outside world. He became a measurer in the Boston customhouse in 1839 for a short time, spent most of a year in the Utopian experimental community at Brook Farm in 1841, courted and married Sophia Peabody in 1842, and started rearing a family in 1844, all of which served to make him increasingly aware of the contemporary world around him. He settled with Sophia at the Old Manse in Concord, and there from 1842-1845 he wrote most of the stories which comprised his literary output of the 1840's. With Twice-Told Tales having been essentially completed in 1838,

when Hawthorne considered publishing a new volume of his work in 1846, his most recently composed material came readily to mind. Nineteen of the twenty-three items making up Mosses from an Old Manse were written in the 1840's and were chosen for the volume instead of practically an equal amount of material written earlier but scattered anonymously in various annuals and periodicals.

Hawthorne did not think highly of this new material. In December of 1841 he wrote to Cornelius Mathews and Evert Duyckinck:

I do not believe that I shall ever write any more--at least, not like my past productions. . . . During the last three or four years, the world has sucked me within its vortex; and I could not get back to my solitude again, even if I would.<sup>48</sup>

He lamented his decline in "P's Correspondence":

I was myself a young man of promise. Oh shattered brain, oh broken spirit, where is the fulfillment of that promise? The sad truth is, that, when fate would gently disappoint the world, it takes away the hopefulest mortals in their youth; when it would laugh the world's hopes to scorn, it lets them live (Riverside edition, II, p. 427).

The tone of his introductory essay in Mosses was apologetic about the new material: "These fitful sketches, with so little of external life about them, yet claiming no profundity of purpose . . . such trifles, I truly feel, afford no solid basis for a literary reputation."<sup>49</sup> He vowed it would be the last collection he offered the public.

What accounts for Hawthorne's displeasure with these materials is a rather clear turning away from the resources literary nationalists had called to mind. As though he had established his credentials as an

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<sup>48</sup>Quoted in Harold P. Miller, "Hawthorne Surveys his Contemporaries," American Literature, 12 (May 1940), 234.

<sup>49</sup>"The Old Manse," Riverside edition, II, 45.

American writer with Twice-Told Tales, he moved on to other objectives. Critical of contemporary society, with no interest in showing its historical particularities, he resorted increasingly to allegory to obtain distance from the contemporary world. In "A Select Party," "The Hall of Fantasy," "The Celestial Railroad," "The Procession of Life," "The New Adam and Eve," "The Christmas Banquet," "The Intelligence Office," and "Earth's Holocaust," he satirizes figures characteristic of the culture of the 1840's: reformers, politicians, capitalists, philanthropists, vegetarians, and temperance workers.<sup>50</sup> But these people are never individualized or placed in a local context, being referred to, for example, as "a reformer untrammelled by his theory" in "A Select Party" (Riverside edition, II, 78), "a modern philanthropist . . . [who] had no heart to do what little good lay immediately within his power" in "The Christmas Banquet" (p. 343), and "a member of Congress [who enriched] his pocket by the sale of his constituents" in "The Celestial Railroad" (p. 227). A second major interest of the 1840's was probing personality and subjective states of being, foreshadowed in "The Prophetic Pictures" of Twice-Told Tales. Hawthorne planned an entire collection of tales called "Allegories of the Heart" to show the darker side of man's motivation and behavior. He included in Mosses two stories--"Egotism, Or the Bosom Serpent." and "The Christmas Banquet"--designated as part of that series, and "The Birthmark," "Rappaccini's Daughter" and "Earth's Holocaust," may have also come from there.<sup>51</sup> He also included "Young Goodman Brown" and

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<sup>50</sup>For more discussion of this criticism, see Lawrence Sargent Hall, Hawthorne: Critic of Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944), pp. 1-45.

<sup>51</sup>See Adkins, "Early Projected Works," pp. 146-7.



"Roger Malvin's Burial" in Mosses, perhaps because they of the remaining "Provincial Tales" best illustrated this tendency of interior analysis. By showing evil and alienation within man and without in society, Mosses lacks the optimism generally characteristic of nationalistic literature. Hawthorne moves beyond nationalism to universal themes.

An examination of the folklore in Mosses reveals the extent to which Hawthorne had gotten beyond nationalism in the early 1840's. Unlike all his other volumes of proposed or published tales, where folklore appeared in a large majority of the items, Mosses devotes only about a third of the material to folklore, with only a fraction of that emphasizing American characteristics. One story is based on legend, "Drowne's Wooden Image," but the legend of the artist who brings the inanimate to life--the Pygmalion story--is transplanted from classical sources. Previous interest in indigenous character types has been left aside in favor of folklore types having international associations. Hawthorne had "A Book of Autographs" available for use in Mosses, a sketch showing sectional characteristics of Northerners and Southerners, but it apparently did not fit his plans for the volume. Instead he favored the Wandering Jew, alluded to but not developed extensively in "A Select Party" and "A Virtuoso's Collection," and the Faust figure, a universal representation of corrupted values in "The Birthmark" and "Rappaccini's Daughter," and of exiled creativity in "The Artist of the Beautiful" and "Drowne's Wooden Image." Of the types of folklore present in Mosses, witchcraft is the most pervasive, but with the exception of "Young Goodman Brown" it has no historical reference. Aylmer, Rappaccini, Warland, and Drowne are wizards, but hardly thought of as male witches. In comparison to Twice-Told Tales,

which illustrated several varieties of indigenous folk-tales, Mosses has only one story with folk humor, "Mrs. Bullfrog." Another story which could have reflected a folk environment, had that been Hawthorne's wish, was "Egotism, Or the Bosom Serpent," but it is entirely allegorical.

Such evidence indicates the extent to which Hawthorne turned away from literary nationalism in the early 1840's. Practically the only nationalistic influence touching him was the Democratic Review, but its emphasis on the great democratic experiment turned Hawthorne away from folk resources to contemporary social phenomena. Because he had deviated from his long-standing practice of using indigenous materials, Hawthorne undervalued his work in Mosses, complaining it lacked reality and depth of purpose. To recapture reality he attempted to re-establish national location in stories after 1846, but he must have understood belatedly after his successful romances that the moral-psychological studies in Mosses pointed the way to the future.

#### "Old Time Legends" and The Snow Image (1851)

In spite of his intention that Mosses From an Old Manse would be his last collection of stories, Hawthorne sought to use the resources of his country in another abortive collection of stories called "Old Time Legends: Together with Sketches, Experimental and Ideal." He was at work on the collection in 1848, sending James T. Fields about two hundred pages of The Scarlet Letter, which was to be included in the volume, in late 1849. Speaking of his intentions in a letter to Fields, Hawthorne wrote:

A hunter loads his gun with a bullet and several buckshot; and, following his sagacious example, it was my purpose to conjoin the one long story with half a dozen shorter ones, so that, failing to kill the public outright with my biggest and heaviest lump of lead, I might have other chances with the smaller bits, individually and in the aggregate. However, I am willing to leave these considerations to your judgment, and should not be sorry to have you decide for the separate publication [of The Scarlet Letter].<sup>52</sup>

"Main Street," "The Great Stone Face," and "Ethan Brand," written around 1848, were probably intended for inclusion in the volume.<sup>53</sup> Because Fields convinced Hawthorne The Scarlet Letter should be published separately, the remaining "half a dozen" shorter stories, some of which may never have been written after the success of the romance, were kept until 1851 when they were published in The Snow Image.

The material in The Snow Image indicates Hawthorne was returning to the resources he had abandoned in Mosses from An Old Manse, willingly accepting the fact that much of his creativity lay in using the materials the early nationalistic critics and writers had encouraged. He himself thought of the new volume as a kind of return, writing in the prefatory letter to Bridge of "turn [ing] back upon my path, lighted by a transitory gleam of public favor" to include in the volume some of his earliest sketches, some from a later period (the 1830's) and some recently written.<sup>54</sup> Most of the material in The Snow Image had been written prior to 1838; the nationalism it shows therefore belongs to an earlier period. Inclusion of the "Old Time Legends" suggests a clear desire to return in 1851

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<sup>52</sup>James T. Fields, Yesterdays with Authors (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925), p. 52.

<sup>53</sup>See Adkins, "Early Projected Works," pp. 147-9.

<sup>54</sup>Centenary edition, XI, 5-6.

with a volume which would reflect the nationalism of Twice-Told Tales, at least as much as the experiences of the 1840's would allow.<sup>55</sup>

Evidence of Hawthorne's revived nationalistic intention appears in the historical dimension of several items. He included "Old News" (originally to be in "The Story Teller"), with its references to three periods of American history, and "A Bell's Biography" which had an historical scheme complementing its fantasy. He dealt with states of mind which had influenced American civilization, including the often passed over "My Kinsman, Major Molineux" and two more recent stories about Puritan attitudes--"Main Street" and "The Man of Adamant." "Main Street" has a remarkable passage about how second generation Puritan values have affected successive Americans, while "The Man of Adamant" shows how self-righteous exclusivity destroys Digby, a prototypal Puritan. In addition to this historical dimension of the book, Hawthorne also included one of the travelogue materials from "The Story Teller," "Old Ticonderoga," to emphasize American location.

Folklore appears in The Snow Image in a moderate amount. Folklore dealing with the past is evident in the Indian legend inspiring Ernest in "The Great Stone Face," and in "Ethan Brand" and "The Man of Adamant" where Hawthorne creates American legends. But the folklore evidence suggests that the nationalistic motivation of the 1830's had been affected

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<sup>55</sup> Later evidence supporting such a claim appears in the 1854 edition of Mosses from an Old Manse, where Hawthorne adds the following three selections to the reprinted 23 items of the first edition: "Feathertop: A Moralized Legend," containing the old New England crone, Mother Rigby; and "The Story Teller" and "Sketches from Memory," which contained the heart of the travelogue portion of "The Story Teller."

by Hawthorne's experiences of the 1840's. The change is evident in "Ethan Brand," deliberately nationalistic with its localized lime-kilns:

There are many such lime-kilns in that tract of country, for the purpose of burning the white marble which composes a large part of the substance of the hills. Some of them, built years ago, and long deserted, with weeds growing in the vacant round of the interior, which is open to the sky, and grass and wild flowers rooting themselves into the chinks of the stones, look already like relics of antiquity, and may yet be overspread with the lichens of centuries to come (Centenary edition, XI, p. 84).

The change is evident also in Hawthorne's creating a story to "grow traditional in reference to this strange man" (p. 88), but showing his recent inclination to probe within. Less significant, but also indicative of the influence of the 1840's, is the evidence provided by the "märchen in the collection. "The Snow Image" includes satire against philanthropists, and "Little Daffydowndilly" serves instructional purposes for children. The pattern evident here, particularly in "Ethan Brand," of presenting inward realities in settings having national resonance continued in The Scarlet Letter and to a lesser degree in The House of the Seven Gables.

#### The Romances

Hawthorne's romances of the early 1850's give evidence of a short-lived return to the materials the literary nationalists had spoken of, but these materials are less evident in each successive work. After The Blithedale Romance (1852), his appointment as consul in England brought a seven-year stay in Europe, a physical as well as literary dissociation from America which marked the end of his literary nationalism. During the last years of his life, he made one last effort to draw from that

field when it became evident he could not write an English romance dealing with an American's attempt to locate his English forefathers, but by then his powers of imagination could not enliven even native resources.

The three romances of the early 1850's, very much influenced by his previous writing, showed traces of literary nationalism as well as commitments Hawthorne made in the 1840's to probe the inner self and outward society. The Scarlet Letter shows more nationalistic influence than either The House of the Seven Gables or The Blithedale Romance, being conceived originally as the chief story in "Old Time Legends." The central symbol in the Letter existed in Hawthorne's consciousness at least a decade earlier when he spoke of "the young woman, with no mean share of beauty, whose doom it was to wear the letter A on the breast of her gown, in the eyes of all the world and her own children," Hester's prototype originally appearing in the nationalistic "Endicott and the Red Cross." With its seventeenth century Puritan setting, The Scarlet Letter is the most firmly rooted in national history of any of the romances. The story occurs during Governor Bellingham's administration, which was also the time when John Eliot, known by Dimmesdale, was missionary to the Indians. Hawthorne uses the installation of the new colonial governor, a moment of great ceremony in the new world, as the occasion for Dimmesdale's culminating confession, but it also affords the chance for remarks on New England sobriety. In a passage reminiscent of "The Maypole of Merry Mount" and "Main Street," the long-lasting effects of Puritan seriousness are described:

Their immediate posterity, the generation next to the early emigrants [sic], wore the blackest shade of Puritanism, and so darkened the national visage with it, that all the subsequent years have not sufficed to clear it up. We have yet to learn again the forgotten art of gayety.<sup>56</sup>

Folklore also suggests the American past in the novel. Hawthorne attempts to give Hester's story legendary status and oral derivation, remarking that the Pue manuscript describing Hester's ostracism, supposedly discovered among the papers of the Salem Custom House, was based on "the verbal testimony of individuals, some of whom had known Hester Prynne, [and] others [who] had heard the tale from contemporary witnesses" (Centenary edition, I, 259-60). The witchcraft beliefs of colonial New England are reflected by Mistress Hibbins, who invites Hester into the forest to meet the devil with her, and in Chillingworth, thought by many to have gained powers as a wizard through Satanic services with the Indians.<sup>57</sup> Two characters, Pearl and Chillingworth, show characteristics of behavior traditionally associated with European protagonists. Chillingworth is an American Faust, blighted by powers gained with the devil's help and eventually wasted when recalled by Satan. Pearl is considered by Governor Bellingham "one of those naughty elfs or fairies, whom we thought to have left behind us, with other relics of Papistry, in merry old England" (Centenary edition, I, p. 110), in a description which suggests how Hawthorne was influenced by märchen literature in developing her elf-like

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<sup>56</sup>Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter, edited by William Charvat, Roy Harvey Pearce, Claude M. Simpson and others. The Centenary edition of Hawthorne's Works (Ohio State University Press, 1962), I, 232. Hereafter referred to as Centenary edition, I.

<sup>57</sup>See Karl P. Wentersdorf, "The Element of Witchcraft in The Scarlet Letter," Folklore, 83 (Summer 1972), 132-53.

character. But though these details anchor the book firmly in an American milieu Hawthorne evaluates equivocally, his main interest is the interior drama of guilt, damnation, and redemption in his protagonists.

With The House of the Seven Gables Hawthorne began a slow turn away from American settings and literary nationalism. Although this work retains a vague New England location, he worked to free it from history, writing in the Preface:

It has been no part of [the author's] object, however, to describe local manners, nor in any way to meddle with the characteristics of a community for whom he cherishes a proper respect and a natural regard. . . . The personages of the Tale--though they give themselves out to be of ancient stability and considerable prominence--are really of the Author's own making, or, at all events, of his own mixing; their virtues can shed no lustre, nor their defects redound, in the remotest degree, to the discredit of the venerable town of which they profess to be inhabitants. He would be glad, therefore, if . . . the book may be read strictly as a Romance, having a great deal more to do with the clouds overhead, than with any portion of the actual soil of the County of Essex.<sup>58</sup>

His new concept of romance resulted not only in movement away from historical setting but also in diminished use of folklore, making his romances differ from his tales in degree of particularity. Folklore exists in small quantity and compromised form in The House of the Seven Gables. Hawthorne describes his narrative in the Preface as

a Legend, prolonging itself, from an epoch now gray in the distance, down into our own broad daylight, and bringing along with it some of its legendary mist, which the Reader

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<sup>58</sup> Nathaniel Hawthorne, The House of the Seven Gables, edited by William Charvat, Roy Harvey Pearce, Claude M. Simpson and others. The Centenary edition of Hawthorne's Works (Ohio State University Press, 1965), II, 3. Hereafter referred to as Centenary edition, II.



. . . may either disregard, or allow . . . to float almost imperceptibly about the characters and events, for the sake of a picturesque effect (Centenary edition, II, p. 2),

giving vagueness to a folkloric item he heretofore valued for specificity. Although folklore motifs are abundant in the work, exemplified in the buried treasure motif associated with the lost deed to the Indian property, and the ghost house notion connected with Alice Pyncheon's harpsichord music, the dominant motifs of the Maule curse on the Pyncheons and the Pyncheon portrait which comes to life suggest Gothic influence which shunned national particularity.<sup>59</sup> Holgrave has characteristics of the American Yankee in his record of employment as country schoolmaster, salesman, political editor, travelling pedlar, and dentist, but he is not extolled as a representative American. Instead Hawthorne uses his contrasting dimension as a young man seeking social change to determine the outcome of the plot,<sup>60</sup> giving the book an ending strongly in contrast to the central theme of his literary nationalism. Here the past no longer influences the present: the Maule curse on the Pyncheons is broken with the Pyncheon heirs, Hepzibah and Clifford, enriched by untainted inheritance, and Phoebe and Holgrave end the Maule-Pyncheon feud by their marriage.

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<sup>59</sup>See Robert Moore, "Hawthorne's Folk-Motifs and The House of the Seven Gables," New York Folklore Quarterly, 28 (September 1972), 221-33. Although he identifies several folk motifs in the novel, Moore's argument has limited value because he ignores the Gothic dimension of such motifs as the curse and the Pyncheon portrait. See Jane Lundblad's evidence of Gothic influence in Nathaniel Hawthorne and the Tradition of the Gothic Romance, Upsala University Essays and Studies on American Language and Literature, #4 (Upsala, Sweden, 1946), pp. 61-69.

<sup>60</sup>For these contrasting dimensions of Holgrave's character see Form and Fable, pp. 198-200, and Roy Harvey Pearce, "Hawthorne and the Sense of the Past," p. 343.

In The Blithedale Romance Hawthorne goes even further to divorce his work from specific location, stating that he used Brook Farm only to establish a theatre, a little removed from the highway of ordinary travel, where the creatures of [my] brain may play their phantasmagorical antics, without exposing them to too close a comparison with the actual events of real lives.<sup>61</sup>

In spite of its vagueness in location, Blithedale represents to some critics contemporary society, seriously flawed by the heritage of Puritan values it has not escaped; theirs is an interpretation which would locate a major nationalistic theme in the book. Q. D. Leavis writes:

The eternal pattern that [Hawthorne] saw behind all social life in his America from the beginning has in The Blithedale Romance been traced in the Nineteenth Century too: the ideal community is disintegrated for the Puritan [Hollingsworth] and hence the Devil cannot be kept out; the separation of rich and poor is inseparable in this age [Zenobia and Priscilla, respectively]; the Puritan always masters the scene, and as always he rejects Zenobia for Priscilla [Richness for Poverty] and what Zenobia stands for is destroyed and lost to society.<sup>62</sup>

While this theme may be evident to one familiar with Hawthorne's earlier work, The Blithedale Romance seems to have a closer association with Hawthorne's period of lesser nationalism in the 1840's, when he satirized Utopian thinkers and philanthropists. The relative absence of folklore in the work supports the view that it lacks nationalistic dimension. Practically none of the seven categories of folklore found elsewhere in

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<sup>61</sup>Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Blithedale Romance and Fanshawe, edited by William Charvat, Roy Harvey Pearce, Claude M. Simpson and others. The Centenary edition of Hawthorne's Works (Ohio State University Press, 1964), III, 1.

<sup>62</sup>Q. D. Leavis, p. 454. The other critic is Hoffman, who writes: "In The Blithedale Romance we see not Puritanism itself but the modern detritus of Puritanism, the impulse toward moral duty and gloom turned inward and compounded with stiff-necked pride," Form and Fable, p. 209.

Hawthorne's work is evident here, the only exceptions being Westervelt's dimension as a contemporary wizard with mesmeric powers and Blithedale's dimension as a blighted, latter-day Merry Mount (suggested by the use of pre-Puritan English folk figures in the masquerade scenes).

By 1860, the year he published The Marble Faun, Hawthorne's literary nationalism was virtually extinguished, helped to its end by his physical separation from the country. The Preface to his last published romance contains the passage severely critical of America's literary resources, a passage clearly not indicative of what he found to be true during most of his years of writing but an accurate reflection of his growing disaffection with America in the 1850's. He writes:

No author, without a trial, can conceive of the difficulty of writing a Romance about a country [America] where there is no shadow, no antiquity, no mystery, no picturesque and gloomy wrong, nor anything but a common-place prosperity, in broad and simple daylight, as is happily the case with my dear native land. It will be very long, I trust, before romance-writers may find congenial and easily handled themes either in the annals of our stalwart Republic, or in any characteristic and probable events of our individual lives. Romance and poetry, like ivy, lichens, and wall-flowers, need Ruin to make them grow.<sup>63</sup>

Consistent with his belief, his remaining literary plans entailed writing an English romance, set largely in England, dealing with an American's search for his English forefathers, and contrasting English and American ideas. Only after two and a half years of unsuccessful struggling with that book did he return to the materials of his homeland for inspiration. In 1861 he began work on Septimius Felton, a book based on a legend Thoreau had told him about a former inhabitant of The Wayside in Concord

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<sup>63</sup>The Marble Faun, edited by Roy Harvey Pearce, Claude M. Simpson and others. The Centenary edition of Hawthorne's Works (Ohio State University Press, 1968), IV, 3.

who thought himself immortal. He was to combine properties of this legend with another story he had heard from Lowell about a young colonist killing a British soldier during the battle of Concord.<sup>64</sup> The surviving manuscript drafts of the story show that Hawthorne used folklore moderately in the book. Witchcraft was used in characterizing Aunt Keziah and Dr. Portsoaken, who help Septimius decode the formula for the elixir conferring immortality. In addition to indigenous legend and witch lore, Hawthorne sets his proposed work in the most pronounced historical location of any American romance, opening it to the sound of the battle of Concord and Lexington and reminding the reader of the battle for independence through the periodic appearance of militia-man Robert Hagburn. But Hawthorne protests that his main concern is the interior dilemmas faced by Felton contemplating immortality:

Our story is an internal one, dealing as little as possible with outward events, and taking hold of these only where it cannot be helped, in order by means of them to delineate the history of a mind bewildered in certain errors. We would not willingly, if we could, give a lively and picturesque surrounding to this delineation, but it is necessary that we should advert to the circumstances of the time in which this inward history was passing.<sup>65</sup>

Consequently the setting is not very functional, in no way accommodating the theme of the past's influence which occupied Hawthorne earlier.

Tension existed between the indigenous material and the plot of the man grasping for immortality, tension which could not become creative, so

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<sup>64</sup>The Lowell story is referred to in "The Old Manse," Riverside edition, II, 18. For Thoreau's legend see Edward Hutchins Davidson, Hawthorne's Last Phase (Archon Books, 1967), p. 72.

<sup>65</sup>Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Dolliver Romance, Fanshawe, and Septimius Felton, edited by George Parsons Lathrop. Riverside edition of Hawthorne's Works (Cambridge, Mass., 1883), XI, 242-3.

Septimius Felton was left fragmentary. Hawthorne's use of national resources, which had long served him well, terminated in this ruin of a manuscript.

Generally one sees Hawthorne's literary nationalism developing in variety until Twice-Told Tales, but after the 1837 and 1842 editions of that volume, little new development is evident as his focus shifts to other areas of interest. Understanding as much as one can about his intentions in the three proposed but unpublished volumes--"Seven Tales of My Native Land," "Provincial Tales," and "The Story Teller"--helps clarify exactly what Hawthorne attempted in Twice-Told Tales, to gain recognition as an American writer by using America's history and her present culture to develop national themes. In the 1840's and 50's as he emerged from his secluded personal life and literary anonymity, he was less concerned with the problem of establishing himself as a writer in a young nation. Turning to probe human motivation and current social tendencies in Mosses from An Old Manse, he developed the themes which would lead him eventually to the romances of the 1850's. But both before and after achieving success in his longer fiction, Hawthorne seemed to know how helpful national resources had been in his development as a writer, turning back to them when he was not entirely confident of his new directions in the late 1840's and when he was rapidly losing confidence in his total ability to write in the early 1860's.

## CHAPTER V

## CONCLUSION

Hawthorne's early natural attraction to folklore and the additional incentive to use it supplied by literary nationalists from the early 1820's to the late 1830's are responsible for much of his development as an American writer. He found that folklore supported thematic considerations he found meaningful, supplied him with models for a narrative method, and to a lesser degree offered character types which fired his imagination. One of his most extensively used themes, the influence of the past upon the present, probably the central focus in "Provincial Tales" and recurring intermittently in his work until The House of the Seven Gables, was evident in the very nature of much folkloric material; oral tradition and legends, for example, brought stories from the past into the present, and indigenous character types were the result of character traits evolving from earlier periods of American culture. Witchcraft beliefs and practices suggested the broad theme of the demonic which affected men's lives, whether in the form of negative cultural traits handed down from the past, introspective, isolating attitudes of the individual mind, or contemporary social phenomena which made life less meaningful. Folklore provided inspiration for developing a narrative method also, with Hawthorne finding a model for narrative procedure in oral tradition and legendry. Possibly as early as "Provincial Tales" and clearly as late as his romances, Hawthorne worked to anchor his stories in historical reality while probing subjective and ambiguous

states which did not lend themselves to empirical description. Oral process and legends combined the real and the uncertain in a narrative pattern which stimulated the growth of Hawthorne's theory of romance. Folklore also brought character types into Hawthorne's view, causing him to give considerable thought to their potential in his fiction of the late 1820's and early 1830's, and resulting in the gradual development in the late 1830's of the wizard character, frequently Faustian and invariably possessed, seen repeatedly in Hawthorne fiction as Heidegger, Aylmer, Rappaccini, Brand, Chillingworth, and Westervelt.

Inspired by the resources of folklore and encouraged by various leaders in the movement to achieve literary nationalism, Hawthorne used folklore to write as a literary nationalist, particularly during the decade from the late 1820's to the late 1830's. His literary nationalism has two dimensions, one part being his use of folklore resources to implement themes about the continuance of the nation's past experience into the present, the other part his demonstration of the surface peculiarities of the nation's culture. "Provincial Tales" was the product of his first nationalist tendency, a volume he could not publish because it emphasized negative characteristics of the American heritage in the 1820's which favored more patriotic nationalism. Desiring recognition as an American writer, Hawthorne reacted by turning to the panoramic American present in "The Story Teller," but it was only in the compromised blend of the two varieties of nationalism in Twice-Told Tales that he established his identity as a new American writer.

His imagination was drawn to the Puritan era of American history more than to the Revolutionary period or the years of French and English

conflict in the eighteenth century, the three available areas in the nation's past which nationalistic critics encouraged American writers to mine. The Puritan past must have been attractive because Hawthorne felt its influence reaching into his life through his own contemplative and at times obsessive temperament and through the guilt he assumed for the action of his ancestor judge at the Salem witchcraft trials.

Nationalist writers of his time gave Hawthorne direction and inspiration for the use of indigenous material in both phases of his literary nationalism. Indigenous details triggered the imaginative reach toward an area of meaning which transcended particular location, or they provided the particulars for merely describing a region. In the first type of usage, Washington Irving, John Neal, and Sara Josepha Hale helped Hawthorne realize character types suggested characteristics of the nation as a whole as well as regional peculiarities. Neal was probably also influential through Rachel Dyer in using witchcraft to suggest negative cultural tendencies in America. Several contemporaries were working with legends, including James Fenimore Cooper, William Cullen Bryant, Washington Irving, John Greenleaf Whittier, and William Austin, though none of them used legend as Hawthorne did in taking a story anchored to a specific environment and probing less tangential realities extending from it (for example, in "The Minister's Black Veil" the legend of Moody suggests the Puritan influence reaching into the present).

The nationalist writers who most influenced Hawthorne when he merely described the particularities of American culture were Irving, Neal, and James Kirke Paulding. Irving and Paulding illustrated the types of folk narratives flourishing in the country--legends of haunted



houses, buried treasure, and folk characters, stories having both explained and unexplained ghosts, and transplanted märchen--providing models for such Hawthorne stories as "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure," "Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe," and "The Three-Fold Destiny." Irving and Neal were also influential when plans for "The Story Teller" were formulated, the former's Sketch Book probably inspiring the travelogue portion of Hawthorne's work and Neal's The Down-Easters suggesting the catalogue of sectional character types. These influences stressed regionalism more than thematic symbolism.

Hawthorne's literary nationalism waned in the 1840's when his personal life brought him into greater contact with contemporary nineteenth century society, ironically lessening the influences of the literary nationalist milieu. In Mosses From an Old Manse he shows more interest in criticizing contemporary social shortcomings or exploring universal dimensions of human behavior than in Twice-Told Tales. Feeling the stories in Mosses lacked reality and unable to see that they foreshadowed the direction of his later romances, Hawthorne attempted to draw again from national resources in stories like "Ethan Brand" in the late 1840's and in The Scarlet Letter. As he wrote his romances in the early 1850's, however, his theory of romance directed his composition, resulting in stories (excluding the fragmentary Septimius Felton) with increasingly less national relevance and folklore usage. Although he moved clearly beyond his literary nationalism in his major romances, Hawthorne's early career as a nationalist writer greatly affected this later work. A direct line of development extends from Hawthorne's insights about the structure of legends to his theory of romance. Legends coming from the past offered

him a firm rooting in historical reality, but they needed imaginative reworking to expose the truths embodied in them. As he gradually came to see that the writer should blend the actual into the imaginary, Hawthorne developed his theory of romance, with passages in the Custom House section of The Scarlet Letter illustrating the concept. There he speaks of the difficulties involved in transforming the history contained in the Pue manuscript; the characters are seen as through a tarnished mirror until he allows his imagination to develop their humanity out of history. Later in The House of the Seven Gables Hawthorne associates the romance method more specifically with legend:

The point of view in which this Tale comes under the Romantic definition, lies in the attempt to connect a by-gone time with the very Present that is flitting away from us. It is Legend, prolonging itself from an epoch now gray in the distance, down into our own broad daylight, and bringing along with it some of its legendary mist.<sup>1</sup>

The legend is called a romance later in the preface--" [The author] would be glad, therefore, if . . . the book may be read strictly as a Romance"--, indicating the close association in Hawthorne's mind between the two concepts. In characterization, figures like Chillingworth and Westervelt are wizards who transcend the type in significance, and the theme of the past's influence provides the basis for a contrasting theme in The House of the Seven Gables. Hawthorne's major work was more universal than national in significance, but the resources of literary nationalists introduced Hawthorne to his options for transcendence.

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<sup>1</sup>Nathaniel Hawthorne, The House of the Seven Gables, edited by William Charvat, Roy Harvey Pearce, Claude M. Simpson and others. The Centenary edition of Hawthorne's Works (Ohio State University Press, 1965), II, 2.

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