VEILING AND UNVEILING

HAWTHORNE'S FULLER MYSTERY

Volume I

A Dissertation

by

THOMAS R. MITCHELL

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

August 1994

Major Subject: English

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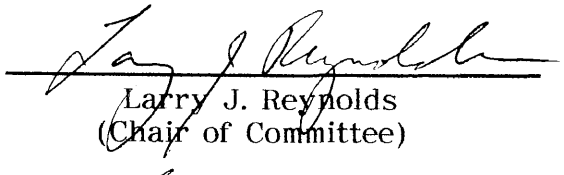

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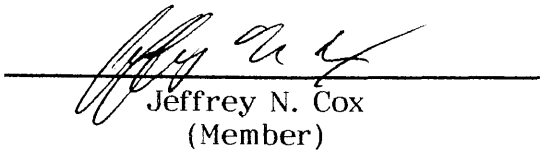

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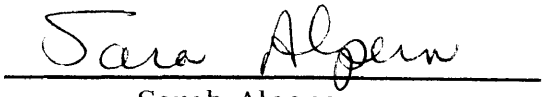

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ABSTRACT

Veiling and Unveiling

Hawthorne's Fuller Mystery. (August 1994)

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Eight years after Margaret Fuller's death and just after hearing gossip about the "boor," the "hymen," that he called her "clownish husband," Nathaniel Hawthorne confronted directly for the first time the "riddle" of Fuller's character. The "solution," he decided as he wrote in his notebook, was that she had suffered a "total collapse . . . morally and intellectually." When Julian Hawthorne published in 1884 his father's extensive description of Fuller's "defective and evil nature," he repositioned his father in American literary history as a champion of antifeminist domestic values, and he destroyed Fuller's reputation.

If Julian succeeded in "veiling" Hawthorne's complex attitudes toward Fuller in an ideologically-charged, reductive animosity, this study attempts to "unveil" Hawthorne's ambivalent relationship with Fuller by examining it more thoroughly than has heretofore been attempted. "There never was such a tragedy as her whole story," Hawthorne claimed in 1858, but as this study demonstrates, the narrative of Fuller's fall inscribed bitterly in that notebook entry was neither his first nor last revision of the tragedy he wrote her life to be. Quite simply, Fuller had disturbed Hawthorne for a very long time, disturbed him so much that he wrote some of his most powerful fictions in an attempt to resolve the "riddle" of his ambivalent, powerful attraction to her--"Rappaccini's Daughter," The Scarlet Letter, The Blithedale Romance, The Marble Faun. She was more than simply a partial "model" for the most complex and provocative women characters in his fiction, as critics have occasionally proposed; she was the origin of their very conception, the problem at their heart that Hawthorne could best confront and attempt to resolve through the privacy and the control provided by the veiled allegories of narrative

representation. Hers was the voice that Hawthorne continued to hear and respond to in the literary dialogue that he continued with her after their friendship was interrupted in 1844, after even, long after, her death.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Hawthorne could not have asked for a more sympathetic reader than I have had over the years in Professor Larry J. Reynolds. Quite simply, this study would not have been attempted, much less completed, had it not been for his constant and unqualified encouragement, high expectations, and remarkable generosity and kindness. No one could ask for a better committee chair or mentor. A more supportive committee would also be difficult to imagine--my thanks to Professors Alpern, Cox, and Meserole.

As every graduate student knows, without family support nothing is possible, and I have been fortunate to have the generous support, patience, and encouragement of all my family, immediate and extended, but most especially: my father and mother, Thomas and Elsie Mitchell; my wife, Linda Marie Garcia Mitchell; my daughters, Lesley Warrene and Ashley Cynara; and, arriving just after I had begun Chapter III, my son, Jackson Thomas.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION:

THE "RIDDLE" OF MARGARET FULLER

"She remained inscrutable to me."

--Emerson on Fuller (1852)[1]

"The solution to the riddle lies in this direction."

--Hawthorne on Fuller (1858)[2]

Margaret Fuller's determination to define and redefine the self challenged the nineteenth century's constricting demarcations of the feminine. Living in the historical center of the nineteenth century's "cult of domesticity," she claimed that since childhood she had known that she "'was not born to the common womanly lot,'" and she spent her life exploring the territory beyond that "lot."[3] Her passionate aspirations would extend the boundaries of the feminine and keep her life forever unsettled, and unsettling.

An 18 August 1842 entry in her private journal speaks of the all-too-frequent effort she had to summon to retain her faith in the self that was and the self that was ever about to be, the resistance she had to exert against the pressures of even her most intimate friends. Recounting a confrontation with Ellery Channing, her brother-in-law, in her room at Emerson's house, where both are house-guests, Fuller reports Ellery's attempts to sort out the ambiguities of his relationship with her. She records him as saying:

> I shall not like you the better for your excellence. I dont know what is the matter, I feel strongly attracted towards you, but there is a drawback in my mind, I dont know exactly what. You will always be wanting to grow forward, now I like to grow backward too. You are too ideal. Ideal people (always) anticipate their lives, and they make themselves and every body around them restless, by always being beforehand with themselves, & so on in the very tone of William's [William Henry Channing's] damning letter.[4]

Fuller was often subjected to the voices of "damning" criticism, for the passionate intensity of her commitment to the processes of continuous self-redefinition inspired both personal and ideological unease, "restlessness." "Most of her friends," Emerson would confess, felt around

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This study follows the manuscript style of Representations.

her "at one time or another, some uneasiness . . . as if she were ill-timed and mis-mated, and felt in herself a tide of life, which compared with the slow circulation of others as a torrent with a rill." Including himself among such friends, Emerson admitted: "She remained inscrutable to me; her strength was not my strength,--her powers were a surprise." As "she passed into new states of great advance," he conceded, "I understood these no better."[5]

Fuller claims in the journal entry that she listens to these voices for what she can "learn from them." But she reaffirms her intention to listen even more attentively to another voice, "the voice in the heart" that reminds her that such criticism had been made "of every prophetic, of every tragic character" and that a "path" has been "appointed" her which she must continue to follow with "great energy" and "self-reliance."[6] She could endure censure, but she would not doubt herself and endure the "despair" that a person must suffer "who after a whole life passed in trying to build up himself, resolves that it would have been far better, if he had kept still as the clod of the valley, or yielded easily as the leaf to every breeze." Fuller had no intention of yielding "easily" to the pressure of self-doubt exerted on her by her intense and ambivalent friendships with Emerson, William Henry Channing, and Ellery Channing. In the same journal entry, she vows, "Waldo must not shake me in my worldliness, nor William in the fine motion that . . . has given me what I have of life, nor this child of genius make me lay aside the armour without which I had lain bleeding on the field long since." "'I am what I am,'" she writes, and "I will bear the pain of imperfection, but not of doubt."[7]

By listening to the "voice of her heart," she had followed a path that had led her at this moment in her life to becoming a leading figure among the Transcendentalist circle, America's greatest contemporary scholar and champion of Goethe, the first editor of the Dial, an occasional poet, a literary and arts critic, and a pioneer feminist. She had briefly and successfully taken the conventional path of trying one of the very few occupations open to women, school teaching, but she had rejected it, and had instead made it her vocation to help other women find their voices by organizing the wives and daughters of America's cultural elite in Boston into an intellectual discussion group which she led, the "Conversations." There she had made a feminist application of Transcendentalist faith,

urging women to recognize their obligation to perfect the "'divinity'" within them, to commit themselves to a life of self-development and "'become gods . . . able to give the life which we now feel ourselves able only to receive.'"[8]

Awaiting down her "appointed" path after 1842 lay experiences that would enable her to continue redefining herself. As her commitment to women's rights deepened with the publication in the Dial of "The Great Lawsuit" (1843) and its expanded revision, Woman in the Nineteenth Century (1845), Fuller simultaneously used her position at Horace Greeley's New-York Daily Tribune (1844-1846) as one of America's first professional women journalists to become not only one of the country's most significant early literary critics but also the voice of oppressed groups, chastising a materialistic America for its failure to live up to its revolutionary ideals in its treatment of American Indians, slaves, Irish immigrants, the urban poor, and female convicts and prostitutes.[9]

In turbulent Europe, 1846-1850, she would become increasingly radical in her searing indictments of economic and political oppression, writing first-hand reports from Rome for the Tribune of the republican revolution of 1848-1849, working for the revolutionaries in a field hospital during the shelling of the city, and, in the despair of the revolution's failure and the return of despotic rule, finding Europe's only hope in an even more radical revolution.[10]

Her path in Rome was also to lead her to Giovanni Angelo Ossoli, a penniless Marquis and soldier in the Republican Guard. She bore his baby, Angelino, in September of 1848. Retreating during the latter stages of pregnancy from the American colony in Rome to the small mountain town of Rieti, she informed her family and friends in America of her child only months later and answered the transatlantic gossip with the still doubted claim of a secret wedding ceremony.

Her revolutionary hopes defeated, Fuller resolutely ignored her friends' warnings about the reception she would face and instead set out for America to face down the gossip and earn a living for Ossoli and her baby. On 19 July 1850, just off the beach of Fire Island, their ship ran aground in a storm. Waiting futilely for rescue during the morning and early afternoon on the disintegrating decks of the ship, Fuller and Ossoli refused to join fellow passengers and the crew in a desperate swim to the

beach. The baby drowned in the arms of a crew member trying at the last moment to swim him to shore, and first Ossoli and then Fuller were swept off the decks, their bodies never recovered.

Fuller's path was to transgress both public and private boundaries set for mid-19th-century American women. And she was aware of the possible costs of such transgressions. As she once wrote in a moment of passionately romantic and prophetic self-fashioning, she had been willing to define herself according to her "'own law'" even if it meant that she must encounter "'the tragic depths that may open suddenly'" and become "'like Oedipus'" to "'return a criminal, blind and outcast.'"[11] Failure to realize herself fully, however, seemed to her equally catastrophic. Writing of the intensity of her unfocused passions as "'Italy glowing beneath'" her intellect's "'Saxon crust,'" Fuller feared burning "'to ashes if all this smoulders here much longer. . . . if I do not burst forth in genius or heroism.'"[12] Fuller's "anticipation" of herself in the forward dynamic of her "own law" found habitual representation in such Romantic self-dramatizations of the heroic, the prophetic, the tragic.

If Fuller had dedicated her life to retaining the right to follow her "appointed" path, her "own law," she lost that control, of course, in death. First friends and then later generations of biographers and literary historians followed the example of Ellery's attempt to account for the complex force that was Fuller and for the puzzling ambiguity of their attraction to her life, of their own "restless" unease. Often incited and always informed by Fuller's own self-dramatizations, accounts of Fuller's life have provoked intensely divergent and contested representations. The meanings that biographers and literary historians have given to her life have defined them as much as her.

One of her earliest biographers, James Freeman Clarke, opens the 1852 Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli with a candid acknowledgement of the problem: "The difficulty which we all feel in describing our past intercourse and friendship with Margaret Fuller, is, that the intercourse was so intimate, and the friendship so personal, that it is like making a confession to the public of our most interior selves. . . . to reveal her is to expose ourselves."[13] While Clarke had been an intimate, life-long friend of Fuller's and certainly meant the admission only as the dilemma of a friend, his statement has proven remarkably prescient of representations

of Fuller's life and achievement. To one degree or another, of course, biographies are inevitably autobiographies, biographers inscribing themselves in their subjects in the images made possible by the cultural and personal moment. Few figures in the history of American literature, however, better illustrate the personal and ideological revelations of historical recreation than Fuller.

Fuller's life-long presentations and representations of self in the mythic and heroic haunted the permutations of character presented by biographers, each rejecting his predecesssors' "Margaret Myth" in an effort to define the "real" Margaret Fuller. Judging, in fact, by the avowed purpose of virtually every Fuller biographer, Bell Gale Chevigny's title for her 1976 feminist rewriting of the 1852 Memoirs, The Woman and the Myth, could serve appropriately as the title for all Fuller biographies.[14]

Contestation over the Margaret Fuller that would be defined by history began within four days of her death. Friend and employer Horace Greeley devoted almost a full page of the 23 July 1850 issue of his New-York Daily Tribune to an account of Fuller's death and to a personal tribute dedicated to her memory and the need to define that memory for history.[15] Greeley, the social crusader, would have her remembered as a fearless agent of change. Claiming that "America has produced no woman who in mental endowments and acquirements has surpassed Margaret Fuller," Greeley states: "It were a shame to us if one so radiantly lofty in intellect, so devoted to Human Liberty and Well-being, so ready to dare and to endure for the upraising of her sex and her race, should perish from among us and leave no memento less imperfect and casual than those we now have." But though he praises her for "conversing so profoundly and admirably" and laments that her "her great thoughts were seldom irradiated by her written language" and were in fact often "clouded and choked by it," he says that "it will be a public misfortune if her thoughts are not promptly and acceptably embodied" and calls for her relatives to select "a person to prepare a Memoir." Her relatives did just that.

The 1852 Memoirs that her friends Emerson, Channing, and Clarke produced was "a work of love," as her brother Arthur B. Fuller described it,[16] but it was "a work of love" that aimed to "acceptably" memorialize Fuller not so much as the daring and devoted intellectual working on

behalf of "Human Liberty" and "her sex," as Greeley would have her remembered, but as the consummate "Friend" and the devotee to what Clarke described as the "wholly religious, almost Christian" life-purpose of "SELF-CULTURE."[17]

This version of Margaret Fuller was immediately challenged, as the following excerpt from an unsigned April 1852 review of the Memoirs attests: "Each of these gentlemen . . . turns Miss Fuller round and round until he gets her in certain lights familiar or propitious to himself, and then blows a succession of brilliant bubbles. . . . You are provoked by the feeling that it is owing to an act of will, or of discretion, on the part of the biographers that you are not getting the actual and substantial life of the woman."[18] Finding the tone of the work presumptuous, the reviewer further complains that "it leaves too much the impression that they assume a right to treat with some familiarity an idol of their own making."[19]

Two months later in the Democratic Review, another unidentified reviewer (almost certainly Edward Duyckinck) complained even more strongly: "We heartily wish . . . that she were here to defend and save herself from her friends. Samuel Johnson used to say that he would take the life of any person who intended to write his; and indeed, we do not remember a case in which such an act could be perpetrated with more justification."[20] Opening the review with the judgement that though Fuller "should have been by nature a woman among men, but by intellect she was a man among women," the reviewer laments that "whatever chance" Fuller had to be taken seriously as an intellectual "has been materially diminished" by her "friends":

> These volumes detract much from our idea of Margaret Fuller; and we are certain there is no admirer of her high talents and brilliant capacities but will feel wearied and disgusted with the overweening vanity, inordinate ambition, and capricious characteristics which those books treasure up to her account. . . . and we more object to the exercise of the same faculties in the persons of, and as regards those editors themselves.[21]

The "idea of Margaret Fuller" contested in 1852 would continue being contested long after her first biographical representation in the Memoirs. Thirty-one years after the publication of the Memoirs, an aged James Freeman Clarke admitted to Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who was preparing to counter the Memoirs with his own biography of the "real"

Margaret Fuller, that "Margaret had so many aspects of her soul that she might furnish material for a hundred biographers" and that "not all could be said even then."[22] In 1915 Emerson biographer O. W. Firkins complained that Fuller was "one of the most inscrutable of personalities . . . in the wilderness of attributes one searches fruitlessly for the evasive character: one chases Margaret through Margaret."[23] Inscrutable, evasive, and certainly provocative in her challenge to gender ideology, she has thus "'belonged,'" as David Watson put it in 1988, "to many people, individuals as well as groups, each of whom with varying degrees of scrupulousness used her life work for their own purposes."[24]

And few figures who have puzzled over Fuller's complexities and their own "restless" ambivalence toward her "used her life" for their "own purposes" more than did Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Almost fourteen years after parting forever from her as intimate friend and eight years after her death, Nathaniel Hawthorne could be so moved to passion by petty gossip about Fuller's relationship with Ossoli that he would write in his journal what James R. Mellow has characterized as "the sharpest and most critical judgment he ever made on the human clay," creating, through "a kind of wrath, a secret animus," what Mellow praises as "the portrait of a difficult and vital woman--a woman more vivid and unkind, more instinct with life and passion, than he had ever quite created among his fictional heroines."[25]

Set within the often tedious descriptive details of the Italian Notebooks, the passage stuns the reader with the force of an eruption. After a visit from American sculptor Joseph Mozier in Rome in April of 1858, Hawthorne turned to his notebook to record his impressions of Mozier and their talk. He begins the Fuller passage by briefly repeating the gossip of the man he had condemned in the preceding paragraphs of the same journal entry as being made "not of the finest" clay:

> From Greenough, Mr. Mozier passed to Margaret Fuller, whom he knew well, she having been an inmate of his during a part of her residence in Italy. His developments about poor Margaret were very curious. He says that Ossoli's family, though technically noble, is really of no rank whatever; the elder brother, with the title of Marquis, being at this very time a working bricklayer, and the sisters walking the streets without bonnets--that is, being in the station of peasant-girls, or the female populace of Rome. Ossoli himself, to the best of his belief, was Margaret's servant, or had something to do with the care of her apartments. He was the handsomest man whom Mr. Mozier ever saw,

> but entirely ignorant even of his own language, scarcely able to read at all, destitute of manners; in short, half an idiot, and without any pretensions to be a gentleman. At Margaret's request, Mr Mozier had taken him into his studio, with a view to ascertain whether he was capable of instruction in sculpture; but, after four months' labor, Ossoli produced a thing intended to be a copy of a human foot; but the "big toe" was on the wrong side. (14:155)

Hawthorne then seizes upon Mozier's revelations in an attempt to solve what to him has clearly been the long and deeply troubling puzzle of Fuller's character. In a voice remarkably similar to that of a betrayed admirer stunned to bitter wrath by the unworthiness of a successful rival, Hawthorne gropes for some understanding of Fuller's and Ossoli's relationship, finding it, despite the possible "revolt" of "conscience," in dismissing Ossoli contemptuously and quite literally as mere sexual object, "this hymen," and in contemplating bitterly the sexuality of Fuller that betrays the woman he suggests he thought he had known and that she attempted to be:

> He could not possibly have had the least appreciation of Margaret; and the wonder is, what attraction she found in this boor, this hymen without the intellectual spark--she that had always shown such a cruel and bitter scorn of intellectual deficiency. As from her towards him, I do not understand what feeling there could have been, except it were purely sensual; as from him towards her, there could hardly have been even this, for she had not the charm of womanhood. But she was a woman anxious to try all things, and fill up her experience in all directions; she had a strong and coarse nature, too, which she had done her utmost to refine, with infinite pains, but which of course could only be superficially changed. The solution of the riddle lies in this direction; nor does one's conscience revolt at the idea of thus solving it; for--at least, this is my own experience--Margaret has not left, in the hearts and minds of those who knew her, any deep witness for her integrity and purity. She was a great humbug; of course with much talent, and much moral reality, or else she could not have been so great a humbug. But she had stuck herself full of borrowed qualities, which she chose to provide herself with, but which had no root in her. (14:155-56)

Though he attempts to deny Fuller the superficial sexual attraction suggested by the phrase "the charm of womanhood," the focus, tone, and diction of the passage betray his acknowledgement that the "riddle" of Fuller's character, and his interest in her, is centered in the sexual. Reminiscent of Melville's revealing use of sexually charged metaphor in "Hawthorne's Mosses," Hawthorne's diction in this passage suggests his obsession with the sexuality of Fuller that informs his metaphorical representation of Fuller's character as one of deceptive and unstable

"surfaces" and subversive but authentic "depths." Recalling the sexual penetration that underwrites Hawthorne's ridicule of "handsome" Ossoli as "hymen," Hawthorne represents Fuller's intense commitment to self-development as a desire to "fill up her experiences" in the "anxious" promiscuity of trying "all things" indiscriminately in "all directions." She cannot "refine" what, in deepest essence, is "coarse," and thus though she "stuck herself full of borrowed qualities," they take "no root in her," leaving no "deep witness for her integrity and purity." The passage, in other words, enacts Hawthorne's condemnation of Fuller's failure; he attempts to deny Fuller's sexual attractiveness while condemning her own irrepressible sexuality, her "strong and coarse nature," yet he suggests his own attraction to her sexuality by the very act of making it the focus of his solution to her "riddle" and by unconsciously encoding that explanation in the sexually charged terms that betray the origins of his interest.

Fuller at this stage in the passage is the "false" woman, "great humbug," but Hawthorne cannot dismiss her, or his sense of betrayal and anger, so easily. He returns to a final "revelation" from Mozier's gossip:

> Mr. Mozier added, that Margaret had quite lost all power of literary production, before she left Rome, though occasionally the charm and power of her conversation would re-appear. To his certain knowledge, she had no important manuscripts with her when she sailed, (she having shown him all she had, with a view to his procuring their publication in America;) and the History of the Roman Revolution, about which there was so much lamentation, in the belief that it had been lost with her, never had existence. (14:156)

Considering this final "clue" to the riddle, Hawthorne "refines" the characterization he had constructed in the earlier passage. The simplicities of his earlier portrait of the "false" woman are now subsumed within the greater complexities of a tragic heroine whose Faustian aspirations are doomed to collapse of their own sheer folly. If all narratives originate in the desire to allegorize reality, as Hayden White as convincingly argued,[26] the narrative that Hawthorne now creates for Fuller's life and character may be read as an attempt to resolve the "restless" ambivalence of the "riddle" that she has been to him by inserting it within the comforting ideological closures of a tragic allegory of feminine hubris:

Thus there appears to have been a total collapse in poor Margaret,

> morally and intellectually; and tragic as her catastrophe was, Providence was, after all, kind in putting her, and her clownish husband and their child, on board that fated ship. There never was such a tragedy as her whole story; the sadder and sterner, because so much of the ridiculous was mixed up with it, and because she could bear anything better than to be ridiculous. It was such an awful joke, that she should have resolved--in all sincerity, no doubt--to make herself the greatest, wisest, best woman of the age; and, to that end, she set to work on her strong, heavy, unpliable, and, in many respects, defective and evil nature, and adorned it with a mosaic of admirable qualities, such as she chose to possess; putting in here a splendid talent, and there a moral excellence, and polishing each separate piece, and the whole together, till it seemed to shine afar and dazzle all who saw it. She took credit to herself for having been her own Redeemer, if not her own Creator; and, indeed, she was far more a work of art than any of Mr. Mozier's statues. But she was not working on an inanimate substance, like marble or clay; there was something within her that she could not possibly come at, to re-create and refine it; and, by and by, this rude old potency bestirred itself, and undid all her labor in the twinkling of an eye. On the whole, I do not know but I like her the better for it;--the better, because she proved herself a very woman, after all, and fell as the weakest of her sisters might. (14:156-57)

The shocking power of this passage is fueled by the very power that Fuller held over Hawthorne's imagination, but it is a power that cannot be contained by the tragic narrative that Hawthorne constructs for her life. The closure Hawthorne seeks in dismissing Fuller as, in the end, an ordinary woman felled by womanly "weakness" is belied not only by her extraordinary power to provoke Hawthorne after so many years but also by the "dazzling" "mosaic" of Hawthorne's own still stubbornly ambivalent recreation of her as tragic heroine. The instability of voices in the passage is the very sound of Hawthorne's ambivalences amplified. The extraordinary cruelty of Hawthorne's endorsement of her and her family's untimely deaths as an act of Providence's kindness, the severity of his judgement of Fuller's nature as being "strong, heavy, unpliable, and, in many respects, defective and evil" are destabilized by the muted voice of an admiration that may have been betrayed but has not been silenced. The passionate logic of betrayal would make Providence "kind" if death saved a fallen Fuller from returning to the land of her early triumphs and many friends mated humiliatingly, for Hawthorne, to a "clownish husband" and unable to produce the "masterpiece" so long proclaimed and anticipated--a "kindness" that would save her, in other words, from facing the "ridicule" that he says she could never bear but which, the

passage subtly suggests, he could himself never bear to have her face. The "awful joke" of the "ridiculous" that Hawthorne would have as a mixture in Fuller's tragedy originates not in Hawthorne's sense of the comic folly of Fuller's unbounded aspirations but in his bitter contemplation of all that she seemed to promise and to him failed to be, all that once "dazzled" him. And still "dazzles" him. His attempt in the final sentence to find a new foundation for his admiration of her as an extraordinary example of a conventional woman who merely reaffirms the patriarchal smugness of an ideology of woman's "weakness" is undermined not only by the tentativeness of his "I do not know but" qualification but also by his very conception of her aspirations and "collapse" in the mythic dimensions of a feminist Icarus, Pygmalion, Christ.

If Fuller was a "riddle" to Hawthorne, this passage suggests an even greater "riddle." Namely, just why does Hawthorne care? And clearly, care so much. This study originated with that simple question when I first read that remarkable passage, shocked. The answers, of course, are anything but simple and often less than certain, but I have found them provocative. They suggest that an apparent question of biography is instead an infinitely less simple question of the creative origins of much of Hawthorne's most highly regarded work--"Rappaccini's Daughter," The Scarlet Letter, The Blithedale Romance, and The Marble Faun. "There never was such a tragedy as her whole story," Hawthorne claims, but the narrative of Fuller's fall inscribed bitterly in his notebook is neither Hawthorne's first nor last revision of the tragedy he wrote her life to be. Quite simply, Margaret Fuller had disturbed Hawthorne for a very long time, disturbed him so much that he wrote some of his most powerful fictions in an attempt to resolve the "riddle" of his powerful ambivalence toward her. She was more than simply a partial "model" for the most complex and provocative women characters in his fiction, as critics have occasionally proposed. She was the origin of their very conception, the problem at their heart that Hawthorne could best confront and attempt to resolve through the privacy and the control provided by the veiled allegories of narrative representation.

Obscured from the beginning by the very nature of these concealed and concealing fictions, Hawthorne's confrontation with the "riddle" of Margaret Fuller has been further veiled by the contestations of literary

history. If fiction allowed Hawthorne on a deeply personal level to engage in the contemporary effort to define Fuller, publication of the notebook characterization twenty years after Hawthorne's death was itself employed to redefine both Fuller and Hawthorne and, of course, their relationship. The effect of that publication and the controversy surrounding it was to simplify Hawthorne's ambivalence to a reductive animosity and thus to conceal the depth to which Hawthorne's art is shaped by his engagement with Fuller. Despite the immediate and furious defense of Fuller by her friends and relatives, the effect was also, for a time, a very long time, to rescind her claim to a legitimate place in American literary history.

Before we can restore the Hawthorne-Fuller relationship to something like its full complexity and can thus examine its inscription in his works, we must turn to the moment when their relationship was represented in reductive form, the moment when Julian Hawthorne would attempt to domesticate his father's image at Fuller's expense, and, more immediately, by discrediting Fuller, to discredit the aspirations of Fuller's descendant, the New American Woman.

Notes

1. Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Henry Channing, and James Freeman Clarke, Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli, 2 vols. (1852; Boston, 1884), 1:232. Hereafter, the Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli will be cited simply as Memoirs, and the particular writer being cited will be identified within the text.

2. Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne, eds. William Charvat, Roy Harvey Pearce, Claude M. Simpson, et al., 20 vols. (Columbus, Ohio, 1963-1990), 14:156. Unless so noted, further quotations from the works of Hawthorne will be taken from the Centenary Edition and parenthetically cited within the text by volume and page number.

3. Memoirs, 1:98.

4. Margaret Fuller, "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal: At Concord with the Emersons," ed. Joel Myerson, Harvard Library Bulletin 21 (1973): 320-40, 329.

5. Memoirs, 1:232, 238. Of the reaction of his own "slow circulation" to Fuller's "torrent," Emerson cast himself in the serio-comic role of passive male victim of Fuller's "urgent assault" (Memoirs, 1:203):

> When I found she lived at a rate so much faster than mine, and which was violent compared with mine, I foreboded rash and painful crises, and had a feeling as if a voice cried, Stand from under! . . . This feeling partly wore off, on better acquaintance, but remained latent; and I had

> always an impression that her energy was too much a force of blood, and therefore never felt the security for her peace which belongs to more purely intellectual natures. (Memoirs, 1:228)

Much, of course, has been written of the extraordinarily intense intellectual and ambivalently romantic relationship between Emerson and Fuller. In addition to biographies of both figures, see particularly Carl F. Strauch, "Hatred's Swift Repulsions: Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and Others," Studies in Romanticism 7 (1968): 65-103; Marie Mitchell Olesen Urbanski's "The Ambivalence of Ralph Waldo Emerson towards Margaret Fuller," Thoreau Journal Quarterly 10.3 (1978): 26-36; and Christina Zwarg, "Emerson as 'Mythologist' in Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli," Criticism 31 (1989): 213-33.

6. For a current study of the linkage between the development in women of an independent sense of "self" and the not so metaphorical development of a "voice," see the important intellectual developmental study by Mary Field Belenky et al., Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, Mind (New York, 1987). Fuller's struggle to reconcile the masculine and the feminine within the self conforms at every point to the developmental model proposed by this study of contemporary women, a model, I may add, which directly challenges the findings of Piaget. The difficulty which Fuller herself encountered in developing a "voice" of her own is suggested by Emerson's revision of the Fuller journal entry being quoted. To protect Fuller posthumously from herself, Emerson participates in the Clarke-Channing effort to convert Fuller through the redemption of editorial revision to conventional Christianity. For Fuller's statement, "We need great energy, and self-reliance to endure to day," Emerson rewrites it in the Memoirs to read, "We need great energy, faith, and self-reliance to endure to-day" (1:211). For an account of Emerson, Channing, and Clarke's attempt to memorialize an ideologically "acceptable" Fuller, see Bell Gale Chevigny, "The Long Arm of Censorship: Mythmaking in Margaret Fuller's Time and Our Own," Signs 2 (1976): 450-60; see also her "To the Edges of Ideology: Margaret Fuller's Centrifugal Evolution," American Quarterly 38 (1986): 173-201.

7. "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal," 329. Three days earlier (25 August 1842), Fuller had written a letter to William Henry Channing describing her initial "excitement of intimacy" with Emerson, which was followed by the disappointments of "the questioning season." She has now, she claims, learned to accept and even appreciate the value of his "limitations," his "cool mind" which he described to her as "'shut up in a crystal cell.'" She denies Channing's charge that she "had imbibed much of his [Emerson's] way of thought." She claims, in fact, that as she looks "forward to eternal growth" she is "always aware" that she is "far larger and deeper for him." Men, she asserts, have little to offer her: "When I am with God alone, I adore in silence. With nature I am filled and grow only. With most men I bring words of now past life, and do actions suggested by the wants of their natures rather than my own" (The Letters of Margaret Fuller, ed. Robert N. Hudspeth, 5 vols. to date [Ithaca, NY, 1983-], 3:90-92. Hereafter, The Letters of Margaret Fuller will be cited simply as Letters). Of her relationship to Channing, Fuller wrote to him a year later (27 October 1843) acknowledging his influence on her life but insisting on their differences and her independence:

> [C]an we not wait very patiently, if sometimes [s]adly, steering the bark over the waste of waters and thus becoming ourselves that which we seek? We have different ways of steering the ship. Yours is to seek conclusions, which as you often hasten to you must afterwards modify, mine to give myself up to experiences which often steep me in ideal passion, so that the desired goal is forgotten in the rich present. . . . It is a constellation, not a phalanx to which I belong. (Letters, 3:154)

8. Memoirs, 1:346-47.

9. For Fuller's Tribune columns, see her Papers on Literature and Art, 2 vols. (New York, 1846) and her brother's posthumous editions, At Home and Abroad (Boston, 1856) and Life Within and Life Without (Boston, 1860). For a reliably edited selection of Fuller's Tribune columns written in New York, see Joel Myerson, ed., Margaret Fuller: Essays on American Life and Letters (New Haven, 1978); and Bell Gale Chevigny, The Woman and the Myth: Margaret Fuller's Life and Writings, 2nd rev. ed. (Boston, 1992). For a complete and reliable edition of Fuller's European dispatches for the Tribune, see Larry J. Reynolds and Susan Belasco Smith, eds., "These Sad but Glorious Days": Margaret Fuller's Dispatches from Europe, 1846-1850 (New Haven, 1991). No similarly complete and scholarly edition currently exists of Fuller's New York columns.

10. Though Elizabeth Barrett Browning, who came to know Fuller during her post-revolutionary exile in Florence, claimed that Fuller had become "one of the out & out Reds" (The Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning to Mary Russell Mitford, 1836-1854, eds. Meredith B. Raymond and Mary Rose Sullivan, 3 vols. [Winfield, KS, 1983], 3:285), Reynolds and Smith, Introduction to "These Sad but Glorious Days", argue that Fuller's final political position was more akin to Christian socialism than communism (35). See their edition of Fuller's final Tribune dispatch from Italy, 6 Jan. 1850 (320-23) for Fuller's revolutionary prophecy.

11. Memoirs, 2:111.

12. Memoirs, 2:58. Fuller continually sought to negotiate a reconciliation between the dual claims of intellect and instinct, thought and "life", which Fuller identified, respectively, as the masculine and feminine sides of her nature. Writing to Emerson from Chicago during her 1843 summer journey to the frontiers of the Midwest, which she was to chronicle in her first major work, Summer on the Lakes, 1843, Fuller writes of the intensification of these claims and her rejection of their extremes: "I am silenced by these people, they are so all life and no thought, any thing that might fall from my lips would seem an impertinence. . . . Truly there is no place for me to live, I mean as regards being with men. I like not the petty intellectualities, cant, and bloodless theory there at home, but this merely instinctive existence to those who live it so 'first rate' 'off hand" and 'go ahead,' pleases me no better" (Letters, 3:143).

13. Memoirs, 1:61.

14. Charles Capper, Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life, the Private Years (New York, 1992), the most recent Fuller biographer, admits, for instance, that "Fuller has remained elusive and enigmatic," that his

work is an attempt at "historical recovery," and that he makes no pretense to having encountered or presented the "real" Margaret Fuller, for she, "is a phantom" (x). Later chapters will explore critically the biographical history of Fuller representations and the permutations of the "Margaret Myth"; the discussion which follows is meant merely to introduce the inception of the process.

15. "Death of Margaret Fuller" and "The Wreck of the Elizabeth," New-York Daily Tribune, 23 July 1850: 4. All quotations are from Greeley's tribute, "Death of Margaret Fuller."

16. Preface, Memoirs, 1:3.

17. Memoirs, 1:132.

18. Review of Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli, Prospective Review 8 (1852): 199-218, 199.

19. Ibid., 200.

20. "Vanity versus Philosophy: Margaret Fuller Ossoli," United States Magazine and Democratic Review, 30 (June 1852): 513-29, 513.

21. Ibid.

22. Qtd. in Perry Miller, ed., Margaret Fuller: American Romantic (Glouchester, Mass., 1963), vii.

23. O. W. Firkins, Ralph Waldo Emerson (Boston, 1915), 82. Qtd. in reprint of pp. 82-85 in Joel Myerson, ed., Critical Essays on Margaret Fuller (Boston, 1980), 141.

24. David Watson, Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic (Oxford, 1988), xv. Watson's brief "history of ideas" approach to Fuller's life, work and reputation is flawed by numerous and inexcusable errors of basic fact (for example, "1890" instead of 1884 for Higginson's biography and "Mary" instead of Miriam in The Marble Faun), and depends entirely on published accounts of Fuller's life, but it presents a rare metacritical analysis of how Fuller's reputation has been shaped by recent feminist criticism as well as by both nineteenth and twentieth-century male criticism.

25. James R. Mellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne in His Times (Boston, 1980), 494-95.

26. Hayden White, The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation (Baltimore, 1987), 45.

CHAPTER II

THE "SCANDAL" OF MARGARET FULLER

"Margaret Fuller has at last taken her place with the numberless other dismal frauds who fill the limbo of human pretension and failure."
--Julian Hawthorne (2 Jan. 1885)[1]

"The ideal of Margaret Fuller . . . is one of high womanhood. We love it as a symbol. It is a golden image that we symbolically worship. If an iconoclast breaks it, proving it to be but gilded clay, what good? I have lost my idol, and have neither the absolute truth nor the image of gold in its place."
--C. A. Ralph (15 Jan. 1885)[2]

When Emerson learned that Margaret Fuller had been swept off the decks of the Elizabeth just fifty yards from Fire Island, he dispatched Thoreau to recover her body and her book--the history of the Italian Revolutions of 1848-49 that Fuller had said would be her masterpiece. He failed to find either. Emerson himself took over and transformed Thoreau's mission. Collaborating with two other Fuller friends, James Freeman Clarke and William Henry Channing, Emerson attempted to recover Fuller's life and work for literary history in the Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli (1852). "Because crowds of vulgar people taunt her with want of position," he confided in his journal, "a kind of justice requires of us a monument."[3] The monument that he raised was immediately challenged, as we have seen, for its very lack of "justice" to the woman and her words. Nevertheless, anchored by Emerson's eminence, that monument would mark the site of Fuller's reputation for as long as he lived. Two years after his death, however, that monument would be disfigured and relocated.

When in late 1884 Julian Hawthorne published for the first time his father's now infamous 1858 notebook entry assaulting Fuller's marriage and her character, he intentionally provoked a literary scandal that he hoped would realign and strengthen his father's position in literary history even as he destroyed Margaret Fuller's. Though Julian's two-volume Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife came to almost a thousand pages in length, the two and a half pages that he devoted to the notebook entry on Fuller received almost the only detailed citation and comment from the reviewers. Her supporters were shocked to read of Hawthorne's assessment of Fuller's "defective and evil nature." Not only did they

immediately assail Hawthorne's "solution to the riddle" of Margaret, but they also raised serious questions about the boundaries of propriety in publishing and the motives of Hawthorne and his son. Few literary feuds have been so public and so passionate.

Few have also been so damaging. Titillating as all scandals are, the feud that Julian constructed between the two dead friends and living literary legends is equally fascinating as an instructively dramatic exposure of the usually unarticulated, often unconscious politics behind the making and unmaking of literary reputations and national canons. In the rhetorical extremes with which the participants of the feud defended their chosen "idols," we see also just how fitting is literature's appropriation of the concept of "canonization" to describe the need to create and defend a faith in unblemished cultural saints. This chapter will examine that moment in late 1884 and early 1885 when Julian succeeded in repositioning his father in American literary history by destroying Margaret Fuller's reputation, decanonizing damage that has only recently been repaired by revisionist histories of American literature which have raised a new monument to Fuller's reputation on the very grounds that Julian once destroyed it.

2

By 1884 Margaret Fuller occupied a prominent position in American cultural and literary history. When her Memoirs appeared in February of 1852, the first thousand copies sold within twenty-four hours. Before the year ended, the two-volume edition had been reprinted four times, by 1884 eleven times.[4] Fuller's Woman in the Nineteenth Century (1845) had also enjoyed an active public presence during the three decades after her death, having been printed nine times by 1884. By that year her Papers on Literature and Art (1846) had been reissued six times and had originally been published along with Hawthorne's Mosses, Poe's Tales, and Melville's Typee as part of Edward Duyckinck's Library of American Books series for Putnam and Wiley.[5] Her brother Arthur's edited collections of her work, At Home and Abroad (1856) and Life Within and Life Without (1860), had been reissued, respectively, ten and four times. Of her Summer on the Lakes, 1843, Duyckinck in his private diary had written that it was the most genuinely American book that he had ever read,[6] and in 1855 he had included her in his groundbreaking Cyclopaedia of

American Literature. In 1868, Horace Greeley had devoted an entire chapter in his autobiography, Recollections of a Busy Life, to Fuller, calling her "the best instructed woman in America" and "the loftiest, bravest soul that has yet irradiated the form of an American woman," judging her Woman in the Nineteenth Century "the loftiest and most commanding assertion yet made of the right of Woman to be regarded and treated as an independent, intelligent, rational being, entitled to an equal voice in framing and modifying the laws she is required to obey."[7] The next year, Greeley had his publishing house issue a six-volume edition of Fuller's works.

If Fuller's reputation seemed secure three decades after her death, the year 1884 initially promised to improve it. Just the year before, Fuller's friend Julia Ward Howe had published Margaret Fuller (Marchesa Ossoli) for Roberts Brothers' "Eminent Women" series, the first biography of Fuller since the Memoirs, on which Howe depended heavily. In 1884, however, another friend, Thomas Wentworth Higginson enshrined Fuller in the Houghton Mifflin "American Men of Letters" series with his still highly regarded biography, Margaret Fuller Ossoli. Designed to compete with Macmillan's successful English "Men of Letters" series, of which Henry James' Hawthorne formed a part, the "American Men of Letters" series--along with the companion series "American Statesmen" and "American Commonwealths"--was initiated by Horace Scudder at Houghton Mifflin, according to Ellen B. Ballou, to advance Scudder's faith in "patriotism" as "a spiritual essence" that is "derived from . . . an 'identity with antecedent life,' from a knowledge of the country's history and the men who made it."[8] One of the first in the twenty-three volumes in the series of "the men who made" American literary history,[9] Higginson's biography would seek to elevate Fuller's reputation by redefining her as a serious thinker who was as committed to social action as to thought and thus explicitly challenging the Fuller left "a little too much in the clouds" by the Emerson-Clarke-Channing Memoirs.[10] Though Fuller had on Higginson "a more immediate intellectual influence" than "anyone except Emerson and Parker," she was not, as the Memoirs would suggest, an other-worldly, eccentric thinker, "a mystic, a dreamer, or a book-worm," but a woman determined to put thought into action, to engage what Higginson terms her "vigorous executive side."[11] If

Higginson was challenging the Memoirs in 1884, Roberts Brothers was to make sure that the public could judge for itself which of the two Fullers it preferred; that year alone Roberts Brothers followed up Howe's biography by reissuing the Memoirs four times and Woman in the Nineteenth Century once. In 1879 Henry James had written that Fuller had become such a "legend" that "the people who had known her well grew at last to be envied by later comers."[12] By the end of 1884, recovering and defining the memory of Margaret Fuller for "late comers" had become a cultural enterprise at its point of greatest energy. In that year there were to be not two but three Fullers to choose from--the Transcendentalist mystic Fuller of the Memoirs (and Howe's retelling), the social activist Fuller of Higginson, and the fallen-woman Fuller of the Hawthornes, Nathaniel and Julian.

Despite the fiery public defense of Fuller by her friends and family following Julian's publication of Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, his vociferous insistence on his father's infallibility and his own vituperative attacks on Fuller clearly damaged her position within the American literary canon. After 1884, the Memoirs, for instance, would not be reprinted again until 1973, and even then only in a small run by a reprint house.[13] Fuller's Woman in the Nineteenth Century, in its twelfth printing in 1884, would be reprinted only once more (in 1893) before its resurrection in 1969. Other Fuller works and edited collections by her brother would suffer the same neglect.[14] Thus during the two crucial periods in which the American literary canon was institutionalized--the closing decades of the nineteenth century and its reformulation during the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century--Margaret Fuller was simply out of print and, of course, out of the canon, each to some extent both cause and effect of the other.[15]

Fuller's sudden devaluation in the very year which promised to raise her literary and historical currency was, in fact, part of Julian's strategy to strengthen his father's position as a celebrated American author. As Jane Tompkins and Richard Brodhead have so thoroughly demonstrated, by 1884 Hawthorne had long been served by the emerging literary institutions that had created and were busily marketing a canon of American literature as a "classic" American literature with a cultural difference.[16] Marketed as a classic first by Ticknor and Fields in their

Blue and Gold edition and later by James R. Osgood and Company in their Little Classics edition, from 1880 on, as Brodhead has observed, Hawthorne was to be promoted vigorously by Osgood's successors Houghton Mifflin as a classic for all cultural levels--for the popular market in cheap paperbacks, for the collectors market in a de luxe edition, for the juvenile-educational market in the remarkably successful Riverside Literature Series, and, in 1883, for the burgeoning middle-class and their home libraries in the Riverside Edition of the Complete Works, the "format," says Brodhead, which "Houghton Mifflin perfected to identify the standard authors."[17] Hawthorne's "extraordinary cultural status" in the second half of the nineteenth century, according to Brodhead, was such that not only did his greatness go completely unchallenged but that he also began to define the fiction writer's "whole literary enterprise" as "no other figure in the history of American fiction . . . before or since." As French and Russian narrative models became influential, Hawthorne, instead of losing, gained in stature as he was reassessed in their light and each time found to prefigure them.[18] The 1883 twelve-volume "edition de luxe" of Hawthorne's works illustrates the "bull market" at work in Hawthorne's valuation as a national cultural treasure. The first of Houghton-Mifflin's de luxe limited editions of American authors, the Hawthorne edition of 250 copies sold out immediately through subscription at $6 a volume, many of the subscribers being "shrewd booksellers," according to Ballou; soon afterward volumes were reselling for $15, prompting Houghton Mifflin to double the number of copies to 500 for the Emerson and Longfellow de luxe editions to follow.[19]

Using Hawthorne as her case study, Jane Tompkins has argued that classics "do not withstand change; they are always registering, or promoting, or retarding alterations in historical conditions as these affect their readers, and, especially, the members of the literary establishment."[20] Julian's Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, I will argue, illustrates this historically contingent process. Published in an identical format and binding as the prestigious Riverside Edition of the Complete Works (in both trade and "de luxe" edition formats), and advertised as an optional supplement to the set,[21] Julian's biography attempts to position Hawthorne as the thoroughly committed author and practitioner of the values of the market for which the edition was targeted--the middle-class

American home. Materially indistinguishable from his father's works in the edition, the biography makes a visual claim to Hawthorne's authority as an endorsement of Julian's reading of his life. If Julian's Hawthorne is to register the values of the conventionally domestic, his cultural and literary prestige is also enlisted to champion the fight against those forces threatening to disrupt the harmony of the ideological home of the middle-class. When Julian published the notebook entry and started a literary feud, more was at stake than simply domesticating Hawthorne for the marketplace.

Julian published Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife when the role of women in American society was undergoing rapid and profound redefinition, and his biography registers that change by resisting it with the weight of his father's enormous prestige. Though the phrase the "New Woman" would begin to surface in the next decade to signify the end of the cultural hegemony of "the cult of True Womanhood,"[22] it is clear that by the early 1880's the ideological underpinnings of "True Womanhood" were collapsing. Kate Gannett Wells' Atlantic Monthly article in December 1880, "The Transitional American Woman," assumes, in fact, that women have already rejected the most fundamental condition for the preservation of "True Womanhood"--fulfillment in a life centered exclusively on the home: "Women do not care for their home as they did . . . . The simple fact is that women have found that they can have occupation, respectability, and even dignity disconnected from the home."[23] Or, as she states the situation later, "Formerly, to be a good housekeeper, an anxious mother, an obedient wife, was the ne plus ultra of female endeavor,--to be all this for others' sakes. Now it is to be more than one is, for one's own sake [her emphasis]."[24] Wells' article, indeed, is a complaint that "the imperative mood in which the times address modern women" to "do something, be of worth in yourself, form opinions" has led to "restlessness, wandering purpose, and self-consciousness."[25] Assuming the triumph of the new vision of woman's life, Wells simply identifies, and laments, the after-effects of the transition. The entire December issue of the Atlantic, in fact, is devoted to this redefinition of woman: Wells' article (pp. 817-23) is preceded by an installment of Henry James' The Portrait of a Lady (pp. 740-66) and followed by George E. Woodberry's tribute to Mary Wollstonecraft (pp. 838-46).

If Margaret Fuller in 1844 had become one of the first professional women journalists, by the 1880's James' Harrietta Stackpole was no anomaly. Journalist Jan ("Jennie June") Croly had started the first professional woman's club, Sorosis, in 1868, after being denied admission to the all male New York Press Club's dinner for Charles Dickens. By 1890, when the General Federation of Women's Clubs was founded, the woman's club movement counted over a million members.[26]

Though only thirty-one percent of American colleges accepted women in 1870, by 1890 that figure had more than doubled to sixty-five percent.[27] At the same time, first-rate colleges for women were being established: Vassar in 1865, Wellesley and Smith in 1875, Harvard Annex (Radcliffe) in 1882, and H. Sophie Newcomb in 1886. Expanded educational opportunities began to pay dramatic results: between 1890 and 1910, for instance, the number of women with college degrees soared from twenty-five hundred to almost over eight thousand.[28]

As Wilson had observed in 1880, women were finding fulfillment outside the home, particularly women in urban areas, where the percentage of women ten years and older who worked grew from sixteen percent in 1870 to twenty-six percent in 1890.[29] Whether or not they had jobs outside the home, women were rejecting domestic isolation to work aggressively in the public arena on key social and political issues. The 1848 Seneca Falls Convention for women's rights that Fuller's Woman in the Nineteenth Century is often credited for inspiring had led, of course, to the Women's Suffrage movement; in 1878 the "Susan B. Anthony" constitutional amendment for women's suffrage was first introduced, as it would be virtually every year until its final adoption in 1920. In 1874 the Women's Christian Temperance Union was founded; in 1889 Hull House was opened; and in 1895 the National Association of Colored Women was chartered.

The decisions Julian made in constructing his book respond to this social and historical context as much as they do to Fuller's individual impact. As contemporary reviewers were generally quick to praise, Julian gives his mother equal, but of course subordinate billing. Her identity as a subject worthy of biography is equated with her duty. Julian claims that he has simply organized family documents and allowed his subjects to speak for themselves without his caring "to comment or to apologize" and not having been "concerned to announce or confirm any theory." But

revealingly he dedicates the biography to his own wife as "Records of a Happy Marriage" and allows himself one interpretative "remark": "If true love and married happiness should ever be in need of vindication, ample material for that purpose may be found in these volumes."[30] And, implicitly acknowledging the "morbid" shadows haunting his father's image, he adds that the family closet has "no skeleton in it," that indeed "there was nothing to be hidden" in the first place. He assures his reader that he has indeed emptied that closet, excluding materials only because of considerations of "taste rather than of discretion," a claim to editorial propriety that Fuller's friends will challenge.[31]

Julian's purposes embrace discreet but complementary goals. Judging by the frequency of allusions in reviews of the biography to the dark image in the public's imagination of a morbid, reclusive Hawthorne whose sensibilities were perhaps slightly effeminate, Julian recasts his father's public image in the mold of a domesticated, manly Hawthorne. With one significant exception,[32] every contemporary reviewer of Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife seemed to breathe a sigh of relief at the revelation of Hawthorne's "happy marriage" and the effect it had on dispelling any lingering doubts about Hawthorne the man. The review in the New York Times illustrates the extent of Julian's success: "Here and there idle gossips have hinted at skeletons in the Hawthorne closets, and . . . his admirers will be glad to have this full record extant ready to stop busy mouths. Hawthorne's life was as pure and transparent as his own matchless English prose style, and, despite his shyness and retiring ways, he was at heart as manly as the best of us, and he had absolutely nothing to conceal."[33] The reviewer for The Nation also praises the masculine sanity of Hawthorne by contrasting him with the "effeminate" intellectual environment surrounding him, Transcendentalism, "a species of intellectual measles which was then very contagious among the feminine minds of the neighborhood": "Certainly by comparison with the life out of which Hawthorne came, and perhaps even more clearly by comparison with the Transcendentalists, the Brook Farm reformers, the prophets and prophetesses among whom he was thrown, moral health and mental sanity and the vigor of an uncorruptible common sense seem to be peculiarly his possession--one is almost tempted to say, his alone."[34] As if to prove further that "moral health and mental sanity" are inherently masculine,

the reviewer associates masculine sexuality with healthy thought. The Transcendentalist Sophia, he notes, not only found a cure for her headaches when she married Hawthorne but "with the headache, apparently, disappeared also that peculiar Bostonian malady already mentioned. There is nothing more about 'paly golden-green letters,' or Mr. Emerson in his incarnation as 'Pure Tone.'"[35] If the reviewer for the New-York Daily Tribune is not as explicit as reviewers of the New York Times or The Nation in declaring with relief that Hawthorne was "as manly as the best of us," he comes close. He praises "the Hawthorne whom his son presents" for being far from "the mystical, weird, and morbid romancer known to the sentimental imagination of would-be analysts," and asserts, now confidently, that "the Hawthorne of real life was a man of thoroughly sane mental habits, of healthy sensibilities and large sympathies."[36]

That Julian's portrait of his parents' marriage was a success in reshaping Hawthorne's image would be understating it, judging at least by one reviewer: Chicago Tribune columnist Hattie Tyng Griswold stated flatly that "no more beautiful record of a perfect marriage has ever been made than this life of the Hawthornes presents."[37]

As Julian proclaimed, however, his portrait of his parents' "perfect marriage" had broader purposes. Given the erosion of women's commitment to a life centered exclusively in and on the home, the idyllic and thoroughly conventional marriage that he portrays is meant to "vindicate" the traditional vision of "true love and married happiness" against the emergent forces threatening them. In a follow-up to her review of the biography, Hattie Tyng Griswold in "The Reasons for Hawthorne's Dislike of Margaret Fuller" made Julian's implicit polemic explicit. After identifying Hawthorne's dislike of Fuller as being the result of his love for "simple, natural, unaffected people, and the part of a sibyl" being therefore "very distasteful to him," Griswold praised Sophia as being "so different a person from the noble army of literary and artistic women who are so numerous today but who in his [Hawthorne's] time had just begun to assert themselves--that, believing her to be the perfect flower of womanhood as he did, he could scarcely be expected to appreciate the Zenobias of that or of the present time."[38] So powerful is the persistence of the ideal of the domestic "perfect flower of womanhood"

that Griswold also contrasted Sophia with her sister Elizabeth Peabody, "one of the women of the new era" who "has spent her entire life in noble efforts to improve the world into which she was born," and can end the contrast only in the puzzled indecision born of the pull and counter-pull of two conflicting gender ideologies: "Who shall say whether Mrs. Hawthorne or Miss Peabody was the highest type of woman?"[39]

Julian has no problem at all answering that question. For him, "Miss Fuller" (pointedly not Higginson's "Margaret Fuller Ossoli" or, much less, Howe's "Marchesa Ossoli"), then legendary as the almost mythic "creator" and symbol of the "New Woman," becomes useful as a foil to Sophia as wife and Hawthorne as artist. Fuller's "tainted" marriage and "fall" provide Julian with an dark allegory of the fate of other "New Women," who, like Fuller, lose themselves as they stray from the home, an allegory against which Julian may highlight the "true love and married happiness" that Sophia found in the ideological confines of her conventional home--the very type of home, Julian suggests, requisite for nurturing great artists like his father.

Though ample evidence existed that Sophia greatly admired Margaret before her marriage and that both Nathaniel and Sophia were intimate friends with her during their residence at the Old Manse,[40] Julian selects and provides an interpretative frame for those materials which will portray Fuller as a potentially disruptive influence on his parents' marital "bliss," a misguiding influence on women in general, and, in the citation of the notebook entry, a "fallen" woman whose radical feminism merely masked the desire for and subverted the attainment of the "bliss" that his parents found in their marriage.

In portraying her as a potentially disruptive influence on the Hawthorne marriage, Julian sets up his citation of Hawthorne's letter to Fuller declining the proposal to board her sister Ellen and Ellen's husband Ellery Channing by describing "Miss Fuller" as "a very clever woman" of whom "most people stood in some awe."[41] He presents his father as being unintimidated, in fact more than her match, for Julian adds as a post-script that the letter "finished the episode" and that if Miss Fuller "felt any dissatisfaction" she did not think it "advisable to express any."[42] His mother is also not among those standing in "some awe" of Fuller. Julian cites Sophia's letter to her own mother reacting to

Fuller's Woman in the Nineteenth Century ("'What do you think of the speech which Queen Margaret Fuller has made from the throne? It seems to me that if she were married truly, she would no longer be puzzled about the rights of women.'").[43] To be sure that his contemporary reader recognizes the wisdom of his mother's rejection of Fuller's misguided feminism, he prefaces the letter with his own patronizing dismissal of Fuller's and his own generation's concern for "the never-to-be exhausted theme of Women's Rights":

> Miss Fuller was at this time in her apogee, and had to be doing something; and accordingly . . . she produced a book in which the never-to-be-exhausted theme of Women's Rights was touched upon. The book made the rounds of the transcendental circle, and was sufficiently discussed; and doubtless there are disciples of this renowned woman now living who could quote pages of it. But married women, who had in their husbands their ideal of marital virtue, and whose domestic affairs sufficiently occupied them, were not likely to be cordial supporters of such doctrines as the book enunciated.[44]

Sophia chose to suppress Hawthorne's 1858 notebook entry on Fuller when she had control of her husband's image, an act of discretion which Fuller's friends were to praise in their condemnation of Julian's impropriety. Sophia, it may be supposed, wished not only to observe the propriety of not tainting Fuller's name and offending Fuller's friends and relatives but also to suppress what one reviewer of the passage labelled "the dark quality" of Hawthorne's "genius."[45] Julian had no fear that his father's immense reputation would be tainted, at least not among those who really count: "The majority of readers," he claims confidently during the heat of the ensuing feud with Fuller's supporters, "will . . . not be inconsolable" that Hawthorne has exposed Margaret so candidly even though he knew beforehand, as he says contemptuously, that the exposure "would create a fluttering in the dove cotes of Margaret's surviving friends, and of the later disciples."[46]

Julian, however, is not as candid as his father. He edits the notebook passage and frames it to put his father in the best possible light. He introduces the passage by dubbing Mozier's gossip about Fuller as "facts regarding her marriage" and by smugly terming his father's analysis of Fuller's character as "not too eulogistic."[47] He is also careful to exclude his father's own frame for the passage on Fuller, a frame that would detract from the credibility of Mozier's "facts" in that it is critical of

Mozier's character and suggests that Hawthorne probably accepted Mozier's account with considerably more skepticism than Julian would have of his readers.[48] Within the passage that he does quote, he makes several significant editorial changes that further his purposes. After the first sentence introducing Mozier's account of Fuller, Julian omits his father's statement that Mozier's "developments about poor Margaret were very curious"; the omission furthers Julian's effort to turn gossip into "fact" and to suppress any possibility of reading ambivalence in his father's reaction. More important, he makes editorial changes which preserve the image that he seeks to create of his father as a righteous and courageous exposer of moral, feminist fraud but which protect the image from charges of an ungentlemanly, indeed gratuitously profane and somewhat prurient, interest in Fuller's sexuality. To suppress his father's repeating of Mozier's implication that Fuller and Ossoli lived "in sin," he deletes Margaret's name in the identification of Ossoli as "Margaret's servant" ("_____'s servant") or having "something to do with the care of her apartments" (". . . of _____'s apartments").[49] For his father's puzzlement over what "attraction" Margaret could have "found in this boor, this hymen without the intellectual spark," Julian censors "hymen" and substitutes "man."[50] Where his father finally identified the only possible attraction Margaret could find in Ossoli as being "purely sensual," Julian deletes the entire phrase and leaves the reader with the impression that Hawthorne's chaste imagination had found its limits ("As from her towards him, I do not understand what feeling there could have been").[51] To cover his tracks, Julian must also recast "as from him towards her, there could hardly have been even this [the "attraction" of the "purely sensual"]" into "as from him towards her I can understand as little."[52]

Despite Julian's best efforts to preserve the severity of his father's judgement of Margaret without impugning the character of the judge, Sarah Clarke, one of Margaret's closest surviving friends, was quick to accuse Hawthorne of having clearly implied that Margaret "was not married to Ossoli,"[53] revealing how sensitive Fuller's family and friends were to the still current suspicion that Fuller had not really been officially married or that, if she had, she had done so only after her baby was born. Julian takes hypocritical umbrage at Clarke's interpretation,

and his reaction suggests the image of his father that he had hoped an edited version of the notebook entry would help preserve: Of Fuller not being married, he insists that his father "never entertained such an idea; he was not the man, under any circumstances, to make an insinuation; and the language he uses will not bear Miss Clarke's gratuitous interpretation."[54]

The fury of Fuller's friends and relatives over Julian's publication of his father's notebook entry on Fuller originated primarily, of course, in their desire to defend her memory from malicious and false attack, but the context in which they rally to her defense suggests that their defense was informed by broader and more complex considerations than personal loyalty. Fuller had become more than just their friend; she had become a national symbol that guided their efforts to redefine woman's "proper sphere." Julian's attack on her through publication of the notebook entry was an attack on more than just Margaret, as they clearly understood; it was an attack on every thing she stood for. One participant in the debate which followed, C. A. Ralph, a man who identifies himself as being "a later-day lover of Margaret Fuller . . . one who has learned to look upon her as combining with distinct originality many of those characteristics of true womanhood which are so needful now as high ideals," complains bitterly against the increasing tendency toward iconoclasm, "post-mortem defamation."[55] After stating that the defamation of an author's character does not negate the truths of his works, he explicitly identifies the larger import of Julian's attack:

> It is in this respect that the question of post-mortem criticism more nearly affects the case of Margaret Fuller, for it is rather by the ideal conception of her as an admirable woman than from her writings that she is worthy of remembrance. The existing symbol of her is every way worthy, and is the creation of those who best knew her. Its truth or falsity cannot be proven now. Let it stand. If it is true, as a most noble and loveable example; if it is false, then it is the same, but purely ideal. Its influence is only for good; why destroy it? The ideal of Margaret Fuller that remains is one of high womanhood. We love it as a symbol. It is a golden image that we symbolically worship. If an iconoclast breaks it, proving it to be but gilded clay, what good? I have lost my idol, and have neither the absolute truth nor the image of gold in its place.[56]

Ralph's reference to Fuller as a "symbol" created "by those who best knew her" alludes to the biographical projects that, three decades after the publication of the Memoirs, two of Fuller's friends had just

completed--Julia Ward Howe in 1883, with Margaret Fuller (Marchesa Ossoli), and Thomas Wentworth Higginson in 1884, with Margaret Fuller Ossoli. These biographies, together with the four reissues of the Memoirs and the one reissue of Woman in the Nineteenth Century in 1884, had consolidated Fuller's position as the "idol" of "high womanhood" in American cultural and literary history. Indeed, strengthening that position even as he redefined it had been Higginson's overriding purpose.

Higginson, who would brutally match Julian insult for insult in the feud, was both personally and ideologically linked with Fuller. As a child, he had known her as a friend of his older sister, and as an adult he had married Ellery Channing's sister and had thus become the brother-in-law of Margaret's sister, Ellen Fuller Channing, acting frequently as her and her child's (Margaret Fuller Channing's) protector by making his home their refuge when Ellen and Ellery's marriage suffered one of its many storms. When he finally had a child of his own late in life, by his second wife, he named her Margaret Waldo Higginson after two of his idols. A committed intellectual who wrote prolifically throughout his life, Higginson was also consistently a man of social conscience determined to act upon his beliefs. Among the most militant of abolitionists, he led a company of Black soldiers in the Civil War and was a charter activist in the temperance, women's suffrage, and civil service reform movements. Early on he had taken up Fuller's challenge in Woman in the Nineteenth Century, joining the women's movement at its formal inception in the early 1850's, and he was among the leaders who formed the American Suffrage Association in 1869, acting for years as one of the contributing editors for its newspaper, Woman's Journal.[57]

By openly attempting in his biography to rescue Fuller from the image of the "mystic" eccentric created in large part by the Memoirs, Higginson intended to emphasize "that vigorous executive side which was always prominent in her aspiration for her self and which was visible to all after she reached Italy."[58] The Transcendental "idea of Margaret Fuller," in other words, was to be supplanted by the feminist, social activist "idea," an "idea" that was not only more attractive to an intellectual social activist like Higginson but one in which Fuller could serve as an "ideal" of womanhood in an age, as Ralph proclaimed above, that was so "needful" of that ideal.

Higginson's biography goes a long way toward rescuing Margaret from the "clouds," but to recenter her life in the arena of social activism and to establish her credentials as a noble example to contemporary women, Higginson nevertheless clearly feels obligated thirty-four years after her death to put to rest any lingering hint of scandal regarding her marriage to Ossoli. Though his stated intention is to portray her "vigorous executive" side, ironically he ends up committing almost a fifth of the book to her marriage--quoting at length both Mr. Cass's and Mrs. Story's full account (the Memoirs having abbreviated it) of Margaret's assurances to them of the propriety of her marriage and devoting an entire chapter to quotations from the love letters "Between Husband and Wife."[59] Higginson concludes the biography by vigorously attacking suggestions that Margaret's life had been a tragic failure. For Higginson, her life was "a triumphant rather than a sad one," for "she shared in great deeds, she was the counselor of great men, she had a husband who was a lover, and she had a child. They loved each other in their lives, and in their death they were not divided. Was not that enough?"[60]

Higginson's efforts to redefine Margaret's image for his age were inspired by life-long personal and ideological commitments, but they were also quite timely, as was Julian's attempt to discredit her, for though the role of women was rapidly changing during this period, the suffrage movement had been rocked in the past fifteen years by personal and theoretical dissension and moral scandal.[61]

Upset over Elizabeth Stanton's radicalism and particularly her racist remarks opposing the 15th Amendment to give suffrage to male Blacks while still denying it to all females, the New England contingent of the movement split in 1869 into the National Woman Suffrage Movement, led by Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, and the American Suffrage Association. The leaders of the American Suffrage Association were either former Fuller friends or supporters: Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Julia Ward Howe, Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, and Theodore Tilton. The New England group formed its own periodical, Woman's Journal, in 1870, to provide an alternative to Stanton and Anthony's Revolution. From the beginning, efforts were made by the New England group, particularly by Higginson, to heal the split, but the movement was not to be united again until 1890. The New England group to which

Higginson belonged was decidedly more conservative than Stanton's group. Higginson's Fuller--loving mother and wife and social and feminist activist--may be interpreted as his and his group's alternative ideal to the militant abrasiveness they shunned in Stanton.

Julian's very blunt perception of Fuller as a "fraud" in need of exposure may have been inspired by, and almost certainly inspired memories of, the moral scandal that had earlier shaken the American Suffrage Association and all of New England. Indeed, the scandal made national news. In 1872, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, the first president of the American Suffrage Association and nationally famous as a religious leader and moral spokesman, was accused of having seduced and maintained a long term affair with the wife of one of his chief supporters and best friends, Theodore Tilton, a founding member of the American Suffrage Association and the president of the Union Association, an organization formed to reconcile the two suffrage groups. The public charge of adultery was made by the irrepressible spokeswoman for "free love" and avowed enemy of hypocrisy, Victoria Claflin Woodhull, in her Commodore Vanderbilt subsidized Woodhull & Claflin Weekly. Briefly jailed for "obscenity" through the efforts of Anthony Comstock and eventually acquitted, Woodhull pressed the attack on Beecher in follow-up articles and persuaded Tilton, by then her own lover, to file suit against Beecher. The suit led to a nationally-publicized trial that ended with a hung jury.

If the thirty-four years that had passed since the death of Fuller had not been sufficient time for Higginson to feel that rumors about her marriage had been silenced, then certainly the twelve years since the Beecher affair had not lessened the sensitivity of Higginson and Fuller's friends to the consequences of another scandal. Nor could they ignore the furor in the 1884 Presidential election over Grover Cleveland's illegitimate son. Higginson, a Cleveland supporter, had in fact split with the American Woman Suffrage Association and left his position at the Woman's Journal (carrying his column on women to Harper's Bazaar) when Lucy Stone, supporting the graft-tainted Republican Blaine, used the Woman's Journal to denounce the Democratic reformer Cleveland as immoral, claiming that his election would "'defile the purity of the American woman and endanger the sanctity of the American home.'"[62] Given the lingering memories of the embarrassment of the Beecher scandal

and the bitter divisiveness of the election just concluded, Fuller's supporters could not but have been enraged to have Julian attempt not only to promote his father's characterization of Fuller as "fallen" but also to follow it up in the press with his own indictment of Fuller as a "dismal fraud" deserving of exposure.

3

In general, the sales and the reviews of Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife were very positive. Released in late October with a trade printing in the Riverside format of three-thousand copies, the biography had to be reprinted by December, this time in a thousand copy press run. A limited edition of three-hundred-fifty numbered copies was also released in the de luxe, collector's Riverside edition format, a hundred more copies of the edition than had been printed the year before of his father's works.[63]

Reviewers praised the inspiring example of the Hawthornes' "happy marriage," and throughout November the reviewers also either accepted Hawthorne's assessment of Margaret Fuller or raised no serious objections. The reviewer for Fuller's former paper, the New-York Daily Tribune, praised Julian's decision to publish Hawthorne's love letters and announced that "the world should be grateful for the records of so wise and noble a sentiment, so unselfish, and wholesome a passion." Of the Fuller passage, the reviewer said that it revealed Hawthorne's "positive aversion" to the "high priestess" of Transcendentalism and that, though it was "a rather harsh analysis of her character and career" and may be "partially mistaken and prejudiced," it nevertheless "has in it many elements of truth, and is, perhaps, quite as trustworthy as the unduly worshipping estimates of her followers."[64] The reviewer for the New York Times praised the "pure and transparent" life Julian portrayed of his father, observed that Hawthorne's "opinions of others was severe and searching" and that consequently they were "likely to create discussion," and then singled out the Fuller passage as an example, quoting it in full. The reviewer follows the quotation with praise: "Hawthorne, we may be sure, never wrote those lines for publication. But how worthy of his powers of insight they are! 'She was a person anxious to try all things.' Who that knows anything about Margaret Fuller but will feel the truth of that sentence?"[65] The reviewer for the Boston Herald said that the propriety of publishing the passage on Fuller "may be questioned" but

that it "discloses more truth about her than her friends and biographers have seemed willing to have told."[66] In the first review of the book in the Boston Evening Transcript, on 15 November, the reviewer also hailed Hawthorne's "insight" into Fuller's perplexing character, saying that Hawthorne's "severe" judgement of her "reconciles all the others" and that though "it is not a pleasant solution of the riddle . . . it is better to know precisely what sort of Isis is behind the veil."[67] In the second review in the Boston Evening Transcript, on 28 November, the writer reported that the biography had "already created a profound stir in literary circles" in reaction to Julian's decision to open up "private and confidential correspondence which in other hands and under other circumstances would have never seen the light." The reviewer indicts Julian for demonstrating "little delicacy or regard for the eternal fitness of things" but then pardons him because "there are few living to be wounded by any of these betrayed confidences" and "there does not seem to be a single expression in them inspired by a feeling of spite, bitterness or prejudice." Of the Fuller passage, the reviewer accepts Julian's version of the Fuller-Hawthorne relationship and concludes, as generations of scholars would conclude, that "Margaret Fuller was . . . an acquaintance--it can hardly be said a friend--of Hawthorne's" and that "he always disliked and distrusted her." The reviewer then proceeds to quote the entire Fuller passage without further comment.[68] The irony of condemning Julian for the impropriety of publishing private and confidential papers and then proceeding to quote the most sensational and severe passage among them seems to have escaped this reviewer. Indeed, most reviews and even some of the letters written in Fuller's defense quote all or extensive parts of the passage even as they condemn not only its portrayal of Fuller but Julian's lack of propriety in making it public.

The "profound stir in literary circles" became a very public feud in December. If the early reviews largely accepted Julian's presentation of Hawthorne's attitudes toward Fuller and barely questioned Hawthorne's judgement of her and Julian's discretion in publishing the passage, later reviews became much more critical, particularly after Fuller's supporters began to challenge the "idea of Fuller" that seemed to be gaining ascendancy over the rehabilitated image that Higginson had created earlier in the year.

On 6 December, Henry B. Blackwell, husband of Lucy Stone, reviewed the biography for the Woman's Journal. Reflecting the double ideological commitment of the Woman's Journal and its sponsor, the American Suffrage Association, to preserve the sacredness of the domestic even as it fought to secure a place for women outside the home, Blackwell uses half of the review to praise the "pure and happy home life" of the Hawthornes and half to condemn a series of passages in the biography that he identifies as being "on the wrong side of public questions." Among them, of course, is the Fuller passage, which Blackwell condemns as being "so cruelly unfair and so bitterly unjust." He rebukes the "settled prejudice" of both Hawthorne and Julian, particularly the "sneer" with which Julian dismisses the women's movement and Fuller's Woman in the Nineteenth Century, a work which "seems to-day a series of truisms so generally accepted as to have lost their novelty."[69]

On 12 December, Fuller's long-time friend Sarah Clarke began the full-fledged counter-attack on both Hawthorne and Julian with a letter in the Boston Evening Transcript, and three days later another Fuller intimate, Caroline Healey Dall, entered the fray with her book review, "The Hawthorne Book Censured," in the Springfield Republican.[70] The notebook entry, Clarke writes, is "discreditable" to Hawthorne's "judgment of character" and is "full of untruths," but Hawthorne "was too wise to publish anything so crude." Claiming that Hawthorne implies that Fuller "was not married to Ossoli," the most damaging and seemingly unsuppressible of insinuations haunting Margaret's image, she counters by citing the Memoirs account of an Ossoli wedding. She also defends Ossoli's intelligence, his family's social rank, and Margaret's integrity. Praising Sophia's "delicate discrimination" in previous publications to omit "things not characteristic" of Hawthorne's "genius or his normal temper," Clarke can only lament that Julian did not show the same discrimination "that distinguished his mother."

Dall also laments Julian's shortcomings as a son in not following his mother's example. Acknowledging that Julian's book is "the great literary sensation of the season," she charges that the notebook passage is a "revolting extract, which lowers greatly one's former estimate of Hawthorne" and "seems to be printed with a sort of elation, which makes one suspect that Margaret had in some way offended the self-love of both

Hawthorne and his son." Testifying personally to the high national regard with which Fuller was held, Dall recalls a trip across the continent three years ago in which "there were poured into my listening ear many a noble story of Margaret Fuller" and she found herself "welcome in many obscure places because I had known and honored her." Dall casts doubt on Julian's accuracy as well as judgement, challenging the details of his family genealogy in the book's "Ancestral Matters" section, specifically regarding William Hathorne and Francis Peabody. Mischievously, Dall implies that Julian's family biography blackens its own name in blackening Fuller's, for the "blood" of both William Hathorne and Francis Peabody, she claims, also "ran in Margaret Fuller's veins."

Though most of the other major counter-attacks by Fuller supporters would follow Sarah Clarke's format--challenging the truth of Hawthorne's accusations with counter evidence, lamenting his misjudgment, and condemning Julian's impropriety--Thomas Wentworth Higginson attempted to undermine the very foundation of Julian's monument to his parents. Anticipating T. Walter Herbert's provocative deconstruction of the idyllic image of the Hawthornes' "marital bliss," Higginson, in a 20 December article for Woman's Journal entitled "Wedded Isolation," warns his readers against the temptation to see the Hawthorne marriage as "ideal."[71] Calling Nathaniel and Sophia "two very peculiar temperaments" who had led lives of "seclusion," Higginson states that by marrying "they simply admitted each other to that seclusion, leaving the world almost as far off as before." "A perfect conjugal devotion may create a beautiful atmosphere at home," Higginson warns, "and yet may bring with it danger, when it leads a husband and wife to entrench themselves, as it were, against the world outside, and live only for each other." Higginson condemns the hermetic quality of the marriage for producing an "antagonism" that is especially directed toward "those who took hold of life more actively," citing as examples Hawthorne's opinion of Margaret Fuller and Sophia's of Theodore Parker.[72]

Julian fought back. In the first of three letters he would write in his defense, Julian on 2 January 1885 responded to Clarke and Higginson. Rubbing salt deeply in the wound, he begins his letter by citing virtually the entire Fuller notebook entry. To Clarke's lament that he lacked his mother's "delicate discrimination," Julian claims, basically, that his mother

almost did not have it either. He says that his mother decided only at the last minute not to publish the Fuller passage, fearing that it would be interpreted as "revenge," since Margaret had treated Sophia with a "deficiency of good taste, to say the least," but that she wanted it printed "when a complete biography was written." He defends his father's judgement of Fuller by terming it a "sound and searching . . . analysis" that "told the exact truth." He is careful to be deferential to Clarke personally, but he sneers at Higginson. Inspired perhaps by his father's use of "hymen" as synonym for Ossoli, which of course Julian himself had censored, Julian refers to the Woman's Journal as Higginson's "female organ," in the pages of which an unmanly Higginson "has woven . . . a theory of 'married isolation' which has a sadly perfunctory twang about it." Julian ends his letter with an assessment of Fuller that is incendiary in its smug contempt: "The majority of readers will, I think, not be inconsolable that poor Margaret Fuller has at last taken her place with the numberless other dismal frauds who fill the limbo of human pretension and failure."[73]

Higginson returned the insult. In an unsigned review of the biography for the February issue of the Atlantic, Higginson thrusts another dagger at the very heart of Julian's enterprise--challenging the worth of Julian's service to his father's memory. Alluding to the savage custom of a son's killing off a father who has "outlived his usefulness" by knocking "him on the head," he compares it favorably to the more savage modern custom of sons performing the "post mortem" in biographies. "After Hawthorne," he warns, "who is safe?" He then ridicules Julian for showing "that he loves his father as himself" in that Julian included "a liberal share of his own autobiography."[74] Questioning Julian's own manhood, Higginson dismisses Julian's literary career while suggesting that Julian is something of a mother's boy: "It is a great thing to know that Mr. Julian Hawthorne, whose previous writings have never given marked indications of any very refined sensibilities, really becomes tender, and almost poetic, whenever he speaks of his mother."[75] As a biographer, Julian approaches his material with "little shifting, not much method, and, it is needless to say, the most utter and heroic disregard of the sensibilities of any living person." And the special point that Higginson wished to bring out in this review to discredit Julian was that

Julian was extraordinarily petty in omitting any reference to James T. Fields' valuable role in Hawthorne's career: "Of all the pettiness of Mr. Julian Hawthorne's book, there is none so petty as this omission." [76]

Through much of the review, Higginson repeats the points he made in "Married Isolation," but he sharpens his censure of the Hawthornes and their marriage. Earlier, he had written that "both Mr. and Mrs. Hawthorne came to each other from a life of seclusion; he had led it by peculiarity of nurture, she through illness; and when they were united, they simply admitted each other to that seclusion, leaving the world almost as far off as before."[77] Now, he writes that "Hawthorne came to his wife from a morbidly recluse existence; she came to him from a sick-room. From the moment of contact they clung to each other, but it is hard to resist the conclusion that they helped each other do without mankind outside."[78] To defend Hawthorne, Julian had escalated his assault on Fuller. To defend Fuller, Higginson seems more than willing to do the same to Hawthorne. Cut off from mankind in "wedded isolation," Hawthorne was so gullible, asserts Higginson, that he "was apt to swallow the whole story that any informant told him," and he was particularly susceptible to being "taken in" by Mozier's gossip because Hawthorne "seems rarely to have met an intellectual woman outside of his own and his wife's family." Higginson then resurrects the image of the "morbid" Hawthorne by bluntly questioning the health of his mind. Careful to praise Hawthorne's "penetrating glimpses of the world" in his art, Higginson states that in a world not "transmuted" by art "the truth is that . . . he . . . saw most of its details through a glass, darkly; his mental processes were unsteady and fragmentary, however brilliant."[79]

Julian's first letter of response to his critics on 2 January had been written too early to respond to James Freeman Clarke's 1 January defense of Fuller. But his second response on 16 January would answer James Freeman Clarke and two critical letters in the 9 January issue of the Transcript, one signed by C. P. Cranch and one unsigned.

Clarke's letter was among the most conciliatory exchanges in the feud. Claiming that the publication of the notebook entry has "surprised and grieved the friends of Hawthorne no less than those of the woman that he criticises," Clarke declares "the comments false in themselves, and unworthy of the writer."[80] As his sister before him, Clarke concentrates

on defending Fuller through citation of the "facts" regarding her marriage. To counter the credibility accorded Hawthorne's "insight," he quotes extensively praises of Fuller from other eminent persons--Emerson, Hedge, Greeley, and Carlyle. And, significantly, he challenges the wholly negative picture of the Hawthornes' relationship with Fuller as painted in the biography. Clarke, in fact, suggests that the relationship was cordial, quoting as proof a letter obtained from the Fuller family and written by Sophia to Margaret. The letter informs her that Sophia and Nathaniel had decided the night before to be married and that Nathaniel had immediately suggested that Margaret could stay with them when she visited Concord. Puzzled as to how Hawthorne could later write an indictment of Margaret in his notebook, he accepts the "solution" offered by a friend that Hawthorne used his notebook to record "hints and suggestions . . . for future imaginative characters," that the notebooks do not represent "his final judgments on persons," and that "Hawthorne is unfortunate, as other writers before him have been unfortunate, in the publication, after death, by injudicious friends, of what is an injury to their reputation."[81]

If James Freeman Clarke's defense is among the least belligerent in tone, C. P. Cranch's 9 January letter is among the most.[82] Clarke is conciliatory because he believed that the public's faith in both literary idols could be salvaged, but Cranch is angry precisely because he fears that the public will insist on unflawed idols, preferring to believe Fuller a fraud than to believe Hawthorne capable of any failure of insight, much less of cruel misjudgment. Angered that Hawthorne would write such an indictment of Fuller and that Julian would endorse it "with such unnecessary animosity," Cranch is even more appalled that the passage would be reprinted in the newspapers and "not only not censured, but applauded as a masterly portrait of the distinguished woman thus libelled." Hawthorne's "distinguished name may prevail in giving it weight with some classes of readers," Cranch jeers, but, fearing that the damage to Fuller's reputation may be permanent if Hawthorne's "insight" is not assaulted, Cranch claims that he is impotent "to find a fit adjective" to describe the notebook passage. The ones he does find are among the most potent used in the feud: "a virulent paragraph," "leprous distillments which Mr. Mosier poured into his ear," "a gross and merciless libel," "a string of ill-natured comments and manifest falsehoods." Unable to account

for Hawthorne's turning on an old friend, he does venture a motive for Julian's inclusion of the passage and his promotion of its views--"the wider sale that it would give to his book."[83]

On 16 January, Julian responded.[84] Apparently Julian felt it unwise to attack the eminent Clarke family, exempting James Freeman, like Sarah, from insult. He does not exercise a similar restraint with Cranch. "As for Mr. C. P. Cranch," he says, "I remember him in Rome as an amiable and inoffensive gentleman with an entertaining talent for ventriloquism." His "ventriloquism" is again being exercised, he implies, in merely echoing his friends, presenting only "the fact of his indignation, but not . . . anything else." Hypocritically--in light of his just displayed propensity for sarcasm and ridicule--Julian accuses Cranch of masking a "weak" case by resorting "to the familiar device of abusing the plaintiff's attorney" through Cranch's suggestion that he would "have created this discussion" in hopes of promoting the sales of the biography, a charge that he admits he cannot disprove, a charge in fact for which he provides evidence in his next public counterattack.[85]

To answer James Freeman Clarke, Julian dismisses the testimony of Fuller's friends cited by Clarke as being typical of eulogisms that "gloss over defects, and . . . magnify virtues." He also attempts to use Clarke's evidence on Fuller's behalf against her. He seizes on a statement Clarke had cited from Emerson about Fuller to show that Fuller was a self-righteous fraud, a "Pharisee."[86] To illustrate Fuller's absolute integrity and commitment to truth, Emerson had written, and Clarke had quoted, the following: "'Margaret . . . suffered no vice to insult her presence, but called the offender to instant account when the law of right or beauty was violated. . . . Others might abet a crime by silence, if they pleased; she chose to clear herself of all complicity, by calling the act by its name.'"[87] Julian judges this statement "as expressing a more ugly side of Margaret's character than does anything said by Hawthorne": "Surely none of the Pharisees who were denounced by the Founder of the religion which Mr. Clarke preaches could have deserved a worse characterization than that."[88]

Julian concludes his letter by appropriating to his cause his father's "generally conceded" reputation for "deep and peculiar insight into human nature." Against such authority, those challenging Julian's and his

father's reading of Fuller's life have little credibility, for, as he says, they "were never suspected of insight till now." Julian asserts his intransigence. "Not one word has been said by anybody," he proclaims, "that demands the least modification of Hawthorne's analysis; nor is there any such word to say."[89]

The next word, however, had already been written. On 10 January, Margaret's nephew, Frederick T. Fuller, published the most thorough defense of Margaret to be written during the exchange,[90] and Julian would respond to it on 5 February in his third and final counter-assault.

Citing copiously from Margaret's unpublished journals and letters, Fuller argues that Margaret's relationship with Nathaniel and Sophia was cordial, even intimate, and that Nathaniel's attitude toward Margaret as it appears fourteen years after his last contact with her can be explained only by some unknown "wound" that Margaret may have "inflicted . . . unconsciously."[91] The notebook passage, Fuller argues, is only further evidence of Hawthorne's vindictiveness, the "lengths Hawthorne could go when moved by a pique which would seem small to most men."[92] Hawthorne's dislike of Margaret is not a surprise to Fuller, for he and "those who loved her" have long been convinced that Hawthorne modelled Zenobia after Margaret and Coverdale after himself.[93]

The larger, political implications of Hawthorne's attack on Margaret are implied in Fuller's dismissal of the notebook entry as the verbal equivalent of a "political cartoon," which, "under the inspiration of party hate," maliciously distorts the truth.[94] Julian's motives for publishing the passage, he says, may generously be "ascribed to no other cause than that he is not one to spoil a sensation to save a friend."[95] Or even an aunt. For Julian, Fuller observes, showed no compunction in casting "more than one grievous imputation" upon Elizabeth Peabody, and "since he does not spare his own family, I can hardly in reason complain that he does not regard less binding ties."[96]

Fuller concludes his article with an anecdote contrasting a statue of Medea with a painting of Judas' betrayal of Jesus, linking Hawthorne with both the pagan vengeance of Medea and the perfidy of Judas and identifying Margaret with the forgivingness of Jesus. Had Hawthorne been "under the impulse of motives such as Margaret would have wished to waken in him," whatever "wounded feeling" Margaret may have given

him would have been transformed into "a pity and forgiveness such as I believe Margaret herself would feel toward the 'brother' who has so cruelly judged and rejected her."[97] In the spirit of that forgiveness, Fuller closes with a conciliatory gesture, stating his hope that he has not seemed "to belittle Hawthorne's genius" because "our American heroes and saints are not so many that we can afford to turn iconoclasts."[98]

The public schism between Hawthorne and Fuller, as promoted by Julian and attacked by the Fuller faithful, had become so sensational that reviews of Julian's biography soon became reviews of the feud. Newspapers not only reprinted excerpts from various letters appearing in rival publications but began to keep score. On 11 January, for instance, the Springfield Republican reviewed Frederick Fuller's defense, recommending the Literary World article to its readers, and judged that Fuller had shown "the falsity of Hawthorne's charges" and had put "him in a really despicable position, as a revenger of petty piques and wounded vanities." Noting, however, that Fuller himself "attacks" in "matters entirely irrelevant to the discussion of Margaret and her husband," the writer reminds Fuller of his closing sentiments by uttering a common refrain heard throughout the controversy, the lament that cultural idols cannot be left alone to rest in the peace of idealizing memory: "This is one of the miseries of biographies of the present fashion, they are so exhaustive, so indiscreet and so wanton in their use of matter that their publication awakens hard feelings on every hand, and gives rise to recriminations until the fame of the dead is beclouded and fouled by offense."[99]

On 5 February, Julian spoke his final word in the controversy, and it was anything but conciliatory.[100] In addition to the now customary personal attacks on Fuller's defenders, Julian broadens his attack on Fuller as a moral hypocrite and intensifies his representation of his father and himself as moral crusaders. Lending credence to Cranch's earlier charges, he admits that he knew that by including the Fuller passage in the biography he would incite scandal; he hoped, in fact, that it would "be noticed" because though "Margaret Fuller was in herself . . . of very slight importance . . . she represents a large and still surviving class, the existence of which is deleterious to civilization and discreditable to human nature." That class, whose demise is hastened through such exposure, is

"the class which is inspired with the old Pharisaic spirit . . . which says, 'I am holier than thou.'" Coveting "personal merit in the sight of God," apostates to "the profound truth of human brotherhood," these "'respectable people,'" as they are "technically known," must have their "absurd and degrading pretensions" exposed.

Thus, to challenge the representation of Fuller as the "symbol" of "high womanhood," Julian represents her as the "symbol" of an aristocracy of "high moral hypocrisy" in a democracy founded on fallibility. To those who have criticized him for violating "propriety" in publishing the notebook passage, Julian, for example, argues that "it has been the curse" of "the many-headed beast of mankind" because of "cowardice" to "have striven to hide our frailties, first from one another, and finally from ourselves," that "until the highest of us has confessed himself morally indistinguishable from the lowest, the first step in man's spiritual emancipation is yet to take." As he works to depict his father and himself as righteous and courageous exposers of moral hypocrisy, he urges, with no trace of irony, "Let us not try to make heroes of ourselves or of one another," for "to say that we are good, is to say that we are God."

As his father had exposed Fuller, so Julian would expose Fuller's supporters. Of these "wounded" defenders of Margaret Fuller, Julian ridicules Frederick Fuller with sarcastic pity in a metaphor that must have been suggested by his own fortune and precariousness as the son of an illustrious father. Julian cannot bring himself, he says, to "blame" the nephew of the "Doll Stuffed with Straw" who was able to shine "prosperously in her reflected glory" as long "as the inner secret of the Doll's existence remained unrevealed" but whose situation is now worse than that of the Doll's, "appalling" even, once that "sawdust" has been exposed and emptied. Julian's malevolent pugnacity at this stage in the controversy is even directed at George William Curtis, who had praised the biography in the February issue of Harper's Monthly in one of the rare reviews during the heat of the controversy that did not even mention Margaret Fuller. Praising the biography for presenting a "clear perception" of Hawthorne's "moral and intellectual character" and being in every way "worthy of its illustrative subject," Julian nevertheless targets Curtis for ridicule for having written the following: "If it dispels some

illusions as to Hawthorne's uniform amiability toward his contemporaries, and sometimes shows him in an unpleasant light with relation to those whose hospitality he enjoyed, it leaves us in no doubt as to the general symmetry of his character."[101] For this slight apostasy to the memory of his father, Julian reveals the degree to which he would make the controversy a question of endorsing unquestioningly the character and judgement of one literary "idol" over the other. Charging Curtis with speaking "charitably . . . on the side of Margaret Fuller's defenders," Julian pays homage to Curtis' "honorable and useful life" before belittling it: "Why should he compel us to remember that the graceful 'Howadji,' who as Miss Fuller's contemporary, was a gushing and sentimental youth, ready to make an idol if he could not find one ready made? If his opinion of Miss Fuller now is the same that it was then, it is worth just as much--and no more."[102] Given the hagiography of Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife and the malevolent contempt with which he holds those who would blaspheme his father's memory by challenging his judgement of Fuller, Julian's defense of his and his father's right to destroy Fuller through "exposure" is almost comically ironic in its own hypocrisy. It will also be prophetically ironic in 1913 when Julian is imprisoned for a year for trading upon his father's name in a fraudulent scheme to sell worthless stock in a mining venture.[103]

Despite and, indeed, because of, Julian's best efforts to present himself and his father as heroically committed to a righteous anti-heroism, Julian managed to persuade others that the idol of his own remaking in Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife had a few disturbing cracks of its own. Five days after his letter in the Boston Evening Transcript, the Transcript ran three letters responding to Julian, each expressing dismay that Julian was succeeding only in diminishing their former esteem for his father.[104]

Christopher Cranch, in his second letter in the controversy, observes that Julian's "little sermon on self-righteousness" and "the splenetic moralism in these notes from his father's journal might easily be construed as falling under that very head." But Julian, he says, is incapable of seeing that because "he is so blinded to the truth by love and reverence for his father that he thinks all his judgments were infallible." Unfortunately, as Cranch laments, "hundreds of readers" now "feel a genuine sorrow and indignation (on Hawthorne's account)" that

Julian published the notebook passage and "are beginning to feel that they must make large discount of their former esteem of this author," for "the main effect of the extract and of his [Julian's] warm indorsement of it must be not to injure Madame Ossoli, but only the author and the abettor of the libel."

The two letters following Cranch's illustrate the immediate damage done to Hawthorne's reputation. W. C. Burrage writes of his former worship of Hawthorne's works, his tours of Hawthorne settings in Salem and Rome, but says that he was "inexpressibly shocked" to read the "bitter, uncalled-for blows, resurrected from the dead to slander the dead, by the bad judgment of the living." He can only wish that Julian had allowed "this flaw, this unkind side" of his father to remain hidden and not caused such "unnecessary pain to . . . lovers of Hawthorne." The third letter, unsigned, accuses Julian of slandering his father's name by publishing the notebook passage. The slander is even more disturbing in light of Julian's success in portraying his father as soundly conventional and domestic. Caught in the contradiction between domestic ideology's sacramentalization of privacy and its evangelical promotion, the writer condemns the publication of Nathaniel and Sophia's love letters as "sacrilege" yet extols as "unsurpassed" their "revelation of sincerity and sweetness" and of Hawthorne's being "tender and true in his domestic life." It is an image, however, that "makes more striking and distressing the inexplicable passages from the Roman journals, passages which in a moment distort the whole transcription of Hawthorne's character."

4

After some three months of public acrimony, the feud ended.[105] But we are still living with its legacy. Despite the claims of Fuller's defenders to the contrary, Hawthorne's status as a "classic" American author was not diminished by the scandal. Hawthorne's reputation of course continued to grow and be even more securely institutionalized in the American canon, but it grew in precisely the direction that Julian had steered it. Adopting the domestic bliss of the Hawthorne marriage as an article of faith that seemed supported by Hawthorne's apparent disdain for Fuller and the feminism she symbolized, both prefeminist and feminist critics, as Nina Baym remarked in 1982, have for antithetical political purposes misread Hawthorne in the same way, the way that Julian, of course, had first

shown them--as an antifeminist.[106] In order to recognize with Baym that "the question of women is the determining motive in Hawthorne's works" and that Hawthorne condemns rather than endorses the sexual politics of his male characters, recent critics such as Larry J. Reynolds, Joel Pfister, and especially T. Walter Herbert have first had to deconstruct the monument of a uniformly blissful Hawthorne marriage that Julian had memorialized and to reconstruct the "morbid" romancer brooding over his own complicity in man's sins against women.[107] Yet to be recovered, however, from Julian's construction of a uniformly antagonistic relationship is the depth of Hawthorne's complex personal and fictional engagement with the Fuller who claimed in her journal to enjoy in Hawthorne's "still companionship" a "mutual visionary life" with one who "was more like a brother" to her "than any man before."[108]

If Hawthorne's reputation continued to rise until recently in the antifeminist direction Julian had chartered for it, Fuller's reputation also fell in the direction he had driven it. Largely out of print after 1884, Fuller would be briefly resurrected in 1903 in D. Appleton's publication of the Love Letters of Margaret Fuller, 1845-46.[109] Marketing The Private Life of the Sultan and The Private Life of the Queen (Victoria) on the back cover of their edition of Fuller's letters to the unscrupulous George Nathan, D. Appleton seemed to confirm that the Fuller who had once been the "golden image" of "high womanhood" for her pioneering work as an American literary critic, social activist, and feminist was now Julian's Fuller, the Fuller who claimed public interest only as a scandal-tainted woman whose forceful intellect had masked the greater power of those passions which would eventually betray her in Rome. On those occasions, until recently, when she was taken seriously in literary history, she was marginalized as a supporting player in the narratives of her canonized superiors--a Whetstone of Genius, as Mason Wade's 1940 subtitle defined this now "strange, misty figure" in the first major biography of Fuller since Higginson's in 1884.[110] When Wade published selections from Fuller's writings in 1941, it marked the first time since the Love-Letters that Fuller had been allowed to speak again for herself.[111]

Lost to the world in 1850 and to literary culture in 1884, the life and works of Fuller, however, have gradually been restored during the five decades since Wade's biography by a group of scholars who have

dedicated themselves to the mission of recovering what Thoreau could not find and Julian could not forever bury. Working within a gender ideology whose triumph Julian sought to retard, they have, in fact, resurrected Fuller's reputation on the very site that Julian had buried it. If Hawthorne read Fuller's Roman experience as a "total collapse" of her moral and literary powers and Julian read it as the inevitable unmasking of the "dismal fraud" of her feminism, recent critics have read her Roman "transgressions" of domestic and political ideologies as the triumph of her sexual, political, and literary life. For Bell Gale Chevigny in the late 1970's, Fuller's movement from New England to New York to Rome paralleled a "centrifugal" movement of feminist liberation from the constrictions of New England and the abstractions of Transcendentalism to the sexual freedom and political activism of Rome.[112] The subtitle of Paula Blanchard's still standard biography, From Transcendentalism to Revolution (1979) announces its similar reading of her life, and Larry J. Reynolds' European Revolutions and the American Literary Renaissance (1988) identifies Fuller as the only voice among her long canonized male peers to embrace the European revolutions as a fulfillment rather than a threat to the democratic promise of America.[113] Reynolds further argues that rather than suffering a "total collapse" in her literary as well as moral life, as Hawthorne had decided, Fuller in fact reached the height of her literary powers in Rome, the force of her rhetoric wedded to the immediacy of the historical moment in her first-hand accounts of the revolution.[114]

If the radical turn of Fuller's personal and political life in Rome and her martyrdom at the hands of a patriarchal culture now served to authorize her canonization as a precursor to contemporary feminist and social activism, the "dense theoretical cast" of her Transcendentalist years, according to Christina Zwarg in 1989, has nevertheless caused her to be marginalized among the heroines of the feminist movement itself.[115] Zwarg, however, would reposition her in the forefront of the movement.[116] For Zwarg, Fuller's movement from a feminism initiated in her "reading" to "a theory of history as an act of reading" is valuable precisely because it can serve as a model for Anglo-American feminists confronting in post-structuralism "a move away from . . . empirically based feminism."[117] Fuller authorizes an American feminist embrace of foreign theory that, as

it turns out, is not really foreign, for Fuller "anticipates the theoretical turns of European feminism and helps to show how the American feminists now turning to this European frame are in many ways returning to their own theoretical legacy."[118] Complementing Zwarg's efforts to redeem Fuller's earliest work for an American feminist movement in transition, Steele's earlier exploration (1987) of the "psychological mythmaking" of Fuller's Transcendentalist work demonstrates that far from being the product of a socially disengaged romanticism it is "an explosive effort to free the psychological and social images of woman from inhibiting patriarchal assumptions."[119]

Redeemed first on the very transgressive grounds that Julian had "dis-graced" her, Fuller now reclaims a canonical position in our literary and cultural history that continues to be relocated horizontally to authorize each slight shift in our interests. Her reentry into the canon, however, is not so much a creation of the politics of our reading as it is a restoration, a resurrection by politics from an oblivion imposed by politics, imposed in my account by Julian's residualist intervention in an earlier literary culture, a culture that was just as much driven as ours by ideological interests, that was just as passionate as we have been in recovering, recreating, and defending those whose lives and works we would make represent the embodiment of our values and the fulfillment of our aspirations. When we resurrect or bury the dead in the process of rewriting literary history, we all enlist in Thoreau's mission. But the mission does not end, for what we recover can only be what we imagine we have lost and what we believe we now need.

Notes

1. Julian Hawthorne, "Hawthorne and Margaret Fuller," Boston Evening Transcript 2 Jan. 1885: 4.

2. C. A. Ralph, "With Regard to Margaret Fuller," Boston Evening Transcript 15 Jan. 1885: 6.

3. Ralph Waldo Emerson, Emerson in His Journals, ed. Joel Porte (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 429.

4. Joel Myerson, Margaret Fuller: A Descriptive Bibliography (Pittsburgh, 1978), 39. Myerson's source for the first day's sale of the Memoirs is the New York Home Journal (3 March 1852): 3. All bibliographic information regarding Fuller's works is derived from Myerson.

5. Ezra Greenspan, "Evert Duyckinck and the History of Wiley and Putnam's Library of American Books, 1845-1847," American Literature 64 (1992): 677-93, 685-86.

6. Qtd. in Perry Miller, The Raven and the Whale: The War of Words and Wits in the Era of Poe and Melville (New York, 1956), 170.

7. Horace Greeley, Recollections of a Busy Life (1868; New York, 1970), 171, 191, 175.

8. Ellen B. Ballou, The Building of the House: Houghton Mifflin's Formative Years (Boston, 1970), 338-39.

9. Lowell gained the editorship of the series after the death of its first editor, James T. Fields, largely on his promise to write the Hawthorne volume for the series. The Hawthorne volume, however, did not appear until 1902 and was written by George E. Woodberry largely because Lowell first delayed the project and then asked for too much money, $3,000 (Ballou, The Building of the House, 340-41).

10. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Margaret Fuller Ossoli (1884; New York, 1980), 5.

11. Ibid., 2-5.

12. Henry James, Hawthorne (1879; London, 1967), 83.

13. Myerson's Margaret Fuller: A Descriptive Bibliography is once again the source of bibliographic information. The reprint house for the Memoirs is Burt Franklin, an imprint of Lennox Publishing, and the press run was limited to 350 copies.

14. Other Fuller works and edited collections suffered similar fates. Fuller's Papers on Literature & Art (1846) would be reissued only once after 1884 (in 1889 and not since then); Summer on the Lakes, 1843 not until 1970; At Home and Abroad its twelfth and thirteenth printings in 1890 and 1895 but not again until 1971; and Life Without and Life Within its sixth and seventh printings in 1890 and 1895 but not again until 1970. Edited selections from Fuller's works did appear, however, in Mason Wade's 1941 The Writings of Margaret Fuller (New York) and Perry Miller's 1963 Margaret Fuller: American Romantic, but it was not until the late sixties and early seventies with the rise of the feminist movement that Fuller's works began to appear again in unabridged form.

15. Among the increasing numbers of accounts of the formation and reformation of the American literary canon, my views have been especially influenced by the following: Richard H.Brodhead, The School of Hawthorne (New York, 1986), 3-16, 48-66; Gerald Graff, "American Criticism Left and Right," in Ideology and Classic American Literature, eds. Sacvan Bercovitch and Myra Jehlen (Cambridge, 1986), 91-121; Giles Gunn, The Culture of Criticism and the Criticism of Culture (New York, 1987); Russell Reising, The Unusable Past: Theory and the Study of American Literature (New York, 1986); and Jane Tompkins, Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790-1860 (New York, 1985).

16. Jane Tompkins, Sensational Designs, 3-39; Richard H. Brodhead, The School of Hawthorne, 48-66.

17. Brodhead, The School of Hawthorne, 58-59.

18. Ibid., 52, 51.

19. Ballou, The Building of the House, 313. The annuity contracts offered by Osgood in the mid-1870's to his stable of writers suggests clearly Hawthorne's commercial value. While Oliver Wendell Holmes settled for less than $1,000 and Emerson and Lowell for $1,500, Hawthorne's children rejected an offer of $1,800. Bargaining hard and still immensely popular, Longfellow was to sign for $4,000, the only contract higher than that offered Hawthorne's heirs (Ballou, 242-43).

20. Ibid., 37.

21. C. E. Frazer Clark, Jr., Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Descriptive Bibliography (Pittsburgh, 1978), 363, 365, 396.

22. Barbara Welter, Demity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century (Athens, Ohio, 1976). According to Margaret Gibbons Wilson, The American Woman in Transition: The Urban Influence, 1870-1920 (Westport, Conn., 1979), the phrase "New Woman" first appears in the mid-1890's (11, n.2). For a list of contemporary articles using this phrase, see page 13, n.23.

23. Kate Gannett Wells, "The Transitional American Woman," Atlantic Monthly 46 (December 1880): 817-23, 819. Wells also states, "Formerly, to be a good housekeeper, an anxious mother, an obedient wife, was the ne plus ultra of female endeavor, -- to be all this for other's sakes. Now, it is to be more than one is, for one's own sake" (her emphasis, 821).

24. Ibid., 821.

25. Ibid., 820, 818.

26. Beath Millstein and Jeanne Bodin, We, the American Women: A Documentary History (N.P., n.d.), 146.

27. Wilson, The American Woman in Transition, 14, n.7. The figures exclude enrollments in women's colleges and technical schools.

28. Millstein and Bodin, 147.

29. Wilson, The American Woman in Transition, 112. Wilson's statistics are a "Percentage of Aggregate Population" of "Native Whites of Native Born Parents" in "Urban" areas.

30. Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, 2 vols. (Boston, 1884), 1:v-vi. Hereafter, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife will be cited as NH and HW.

31. NH and HW, 1:v.

32. The exception is Thomas Wentworth Higginson, whose counter-attack on Julian and the Hawthorne's marriage will be discussed in detail later in the chapter.

33. "Hawthorne," Review of Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, New York Times 23 November 1884: 6.

34. [G. E. Woodberry], "Hawthorne in His Own Family," Rev. of Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, The Nation 18 December 1884: 525-26, 525.

35. Ibid.

36. "The Real Hawthorne," New-York Daily Tribune 16 November 1884: 4. The relief that such male reviewers expressed in the "manly" Hawthorne Julian made available to them suggests that the need for defensive assertions of masculinity among the classic writers of the American Renaissance was still felt among the inheritors and preservers of their canon (see, of course, David Leverenz, Manhood and the American Renaissance [Ithaca, NY, 1989]).

37. Hattie Tyng Griswold, "Genius at Home / Hawthorne's Secluded Life and His Enjoyment of Its Pleasures," Chicago Tribune 19 July 1885: 18.

38. Hattie Tyng Griswold, "Genius at Home / The Reasons for Hawthorne's Dislike of Margaret Fuller," Chicago Tribune 26 July 1885: 18.

39. Ibid., 18.

40. Evidence was cited in the feud between Julian and Fuller's defenders by James Freeman Clarke and Frederick Fuller (to be discussed and cited later in this and other chapters in the study).

41. NH and HW, 1:252.

42. NH and HW, 1:256.

43. NH and HW, 1:257. Julian also includes a letter written on the same day on the same subject by Sophia's mother, Mrs. Peabody, which he claims was written "from very much the same viewpoint" (1:257), a claim that is apparently meant to pre-focus the reader's attention on his grandmother's critical remarks, for her philosophy is antithetical to her daughter's. Though Mrs. Peabody objects that Margaret could have used "language less offensive to delicacy" in her book, had the letters not been identified by name, Mrs. Peabody's position on women's rights would make a reader think that she, rather than Sophia, were the daughter of Fuller's generation. "Seems to me I could have written on the very same subjects," she proclaims. Though she assents to Margaret's portrayal of "what woman should be," she states that a "woman must wait till the lion shall lie down with the lamb, before she can hope to be the friend and companion of man" because "he has the physical power, as well as conventional, to treat her like a plaything or a slave, and will exercise that power till his own soul is elevated to the standard set up by Him who spake as man never spoke" (1:258). Julian apparently reprints his grandmother's remarks because she later complains not only about Fuller's "offensive" language, but also her "bad" style and the book's "look of

absolute irreligion" (1:258). In any case, his preface to his mother's letter clearly identifies his sympathies, and he ignores his grandmother's essential agreement with Fuller's depiction of woman's state.

44. NH and HW, 1:256.

45. Richard Henry Stoddard, "Hawthorne and His Wife," The Independent 1 January 1885: 11.

46. Ibid.

47. NH and HW, 1:259.

48. Hawthorne's assessment of Mozier was that he surprising lacks "the polish, the close grain, and white purity of marble . . . but, after all, he handles clay, and, judging from the specimens I have seen . . . is apt to be clay, not of the finest, himself." He is "sensible, shrewd, keen, clever," and on the night that he gossiped about Fuller's marriage, he "talked for about two hours in a very amusing and interesting style" on "topics . . . taken from his own personal experience, and shrewdly treated" (14:154-55). All references to Hawthorne's version of the Fuller notebook entry are taken from the Centenary Edition; all references to Julian's version are from NH and HW, 1:259-62.

49. NH and HW, 1:259.

50. Ibid. Thomas Woodson suggests that the substitution of "man" for "hymen" was "probably a misreading" (14:766), but given the pattern of Julian's other editorial changes and the motives I have suggested, such a misreading would have been fortuitous indeed. Woodson's notes on the Fuller notebook passage (14:766-73) provide a concise history and summary of the furor created over Julian's publication of the Fuller passage.

51. NH and HW, 1:260.

52. Ibid.

53. Sarah F. Clarke, "Margaret Fuller Ossoli and Hawthorne," Boston Evening Transcript 12 December 1884: 4.

54. Julian Hawthorne, "Hawthorne and Margaret Fuller."

55. C. A. Ralph, "With Regard to Margaret Fuller."

56. Ibid.

57. See Anna Mary Wells, Dear Preceptor: The Life and Times of Thomas Wentworth Higginson (Boston, 1963); and Tilden G. Edelstein, Strange Enthusiasm: A Life of Thomas Wentworth Higginson (New Haven, Conn., 1968).

58. Higginson, Margaret Fuller Ossoli, 4.

59. By my count Higginson devotes fifty-one of the books' three-hundred-fourteen pages to Fuller's married life: all of Chapters 15 and 16 and most of 17. By contrast, he devotes only seventeen pages to the

chapter "Books Published," fourteen pages to her life in New York, and eleven pages to her "European Travels." Ironically, Higginson himself had criticized the editors of the Memoirs for emphasizing Fuller's life over her work, noting the "curious fact" that "but two pages and a half" in the two-volume Memoirs were devoted to her work on the Dial (Margaret Fuller Ossoli, 130-31).

60. Ibid., 314.

61. The discussion which follows of the split in the suffrage movement and the Beecher scandal was drawn chiefly from the following sources: Milton Rugoff, America's Guilded Age:Intimate Portraits from an Era of Extravagance and Change, 1850-1890 (New York, 1989), 268-75; Anna Mary Wells, Dear Preceptor, 246-66; and James MacGregor Burns, The Workshop of Democracy (New York, 1985), 122-27.

62. Qtd. in Wells, Dear Preceptor, 266. Higginson left after the election.

63. C. E. Frazer Clark, Jr., 396. Clark also notes that customized editions were available in four and six volumes and supplemented with Hawthorne materials (signed Custom House document in one).

64. "The Real Hawthorne."

65. "Hawthorne," New York Times 23 November 1884: 6.

66. "Margaret Fuller in a New Light," Boston Herald 23 November 1884: 12.

67. Rev. of Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, Boston Evening Transcript 15 November 1884: 6.

68. "Nathaniel Hawthorne," Boston Evening Transcript 28 November 1884: 6.

69. H[enry] B. B[lackwell], "Literary Notices," Woman's Journal 6 December 1884: 394-95.

70. Sarah Clarke, "Margaret Fuller Ossoli and Hawthorne"; and, Caroline Healey Dall, "The Hawthorne Book Censured," Springfield Republican 15 December 1884: 2.

71. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "Wedded Isolation," Woman's Journal 20 December 1884: 407. See T. Walter Herbert, Dearest Beloved: The Hawthornes and the Making of the Middle-Class Family (Berkeley, 1993).

72. Higginson, "Wedded Isolation," 407.

73. Julian Hawthorne, "Hawthorne and Margaret Fuller."

74. [Thomas Wentworth Higginson], Rev. of Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, Atlantic Monthly 55 (February 1885): 259-65. Rpt. in Kenneth Walter Cameron's Hawthorne Among His Contemporaries (Hartford, Conn., 1968), 266-69, 266.

75. Ibid., 267.

76. Ibid., 268. According to Maurice Bassan, Hawthorne's Son: The Life and Literary Career of Julian Hawthorne (Columbus, Ohio, 1970), Thomas Bailey Aldrich had asked Higginson "'to give Julian a rap on the knuckles for his shabby treatment of Fields'" and later congratulated Higginson for his "'cruelly good'" review (163).

77. Higginson, "Wedded Isolation," 407.

78. Higginson, Rev. of Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, 267.

79. Ibid., 268.

80. James Freeman Clarke, "Hawthorne and Margaret Fuller, The Independent, 1 January 1885: 1-2, 1.

81. Ibid., 2.

82. Christopher Cranch, "Hawthorne and Margaret Fuller," Boston Evening Transcript, 9 January 1884: 6.

83. Ibid.

84. Julian Hawthorne, "Mr. Julian Hawthorne Rejoins." Boston Evening Transcript, 16 January 1885: 4.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.

87. James Freeman Clarke, "Hawthorne and Margaret Fuller," 2. Emerson's statement was taken from the Memoirs, 1:306.

88. Julian Hawthorne, "Mr. Julian Hawthorne Rejoins."

89. Ibid.

90. Frederick T. Fuller, "Hawthorne and Margaret Fuller," Literary World 10 January 1885: 11-15. Rpt. in Joel Myerson, ed., Critical Essays on Margaret Fuller (Boston, 1980), 117-28.

91. Ibid., 126.

92. Ibid., 127.

93. Ibid., 126.

94. Ibid., 125.

95. Ibid., 126

96. Ibid., 126. Almost three years later, Elizabeth Peabody was to join the then ended, but not forgotten, feud by confirming Hawthorne's authorship of the Fuller description but stating that "he never meant" the passage to ever be printed ("Notes," Critic, 17 [September 1887]: 146).

97. Ibid., 128.

98. Ibid.

99. "Hawthorne and Margaret Fuller," Springfield Republican 11 January 1885: 4. The Springfield Republican's review of Frederick Fuller's defense was itself excerpted two days later in the Transcript ("Hawthorne and Margaret Fuller," 13 January 1885: 6). The next day the Transcript ran its own editorial endorsement of Frederick Fuller's defense ("Literary Items," 14 January 1885: 6) and promoted Higginson's Atlantic Monthly review of the biography and attack on Julian as "spicy" ("The Atlantic," 27 January 1885: 6). Fuller's defense of his aunt was also excerpted in the Critic on 17 January ("Hawthorne as His Own Critic," 30) and Julian's 16 January rejoinder to Fuller and others on 24 January ("Notes," 47). Woman's Journal, as a final example, ran for comparison's sake both Sarah Clarke's defense of Fuller and Julian's "ill-natured" 2 January reply ("Margaret Fuller and Nathaniel Hawthorne," 10 January 1885: 10) and a week later on 17 January ran two additional articles defending Fuller ("A Reminiscence of W. H. Channing," 17, and Jennie Collins, "Nathaniel Hawthorne vs. Margaret Fuller," 17; as discussed earlier, two major articles in the feud had appeared earlier in Woman's Journal, Blackwell's on 6 December and Higginson's on 20 December).

100. "Mr. Hawthorne and His Critics," Boston Evening Transcript 5 February 1884: 4.

101. [George William Curtis], "Editor's Literary Record," Rev. of Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, Harper's Monthly 70 (February 1885): 490.

102. Julian Hawthorne, "Mr. Julian Hawthorne and His Critics."

103. For the full story, see Bassan, Hawthorne's Son, 212-31.

104. Christopher Cranch, W. C. Burrage, and Unsigned Correspondent, "Hawthorne and Pharisaism," Boston Evening Transcript 10 February 1885: 6. "Hawthorne and Pharisaism" is the Transcript's headline for its grouping of the three letters on the subject.

105. Oscar Cargill, "Nemesis and Nathaniel Hawthorne," PMLA 52 (1937): 848-62, briefly reignited the feud in 1937 when he suggested that Hawthorne's attack on Fuller was motivated by his lingering resentment of Fuller's brother-in-law Ellery Channing, an argument that was quickly and effectively challenged by Austin Warren, "Hawthorne, Margaret Fuller, and 'Nemesis,'" PMLA 54 (1939): 615-18; and William Pierce Randel, "Hawthorne, Channing, and Margaret Fuller," American Literature 10 (1939): 472-76.

106. Nina Baym, "Thwarted Nature: Nathaniel Hawthorne as Feminist," in American Novelists Revisited: Essays in Feminist Criticism, ed. Fritz Fleischmann (Boston, 1982), 58-77, 58.

107. Baym, "Thwarted Nature," 62, 61. See Larry J. Reynolds, "Hawthorne and Emerson in 'The Old Manse,'" Studies in the Novel 23 (1991): 60-81; Joel Pfister, The Production of Personal Life: Class, Gender, & the Psychological in Hawthorne's Fiction (Stanford, 1991); and Herbert, Dearest Beloved. For excellent readings of gender issues in Hawthorne that do not challenge the conventional view of the Hawthornes' marriage, see Leland S. Person, Jr., Aesthetic Headaches: Women and a Masculine Poetics

in Poe, Melville, and Hawthorne (Athens, Ga., 1988); and David Leverenz, Manhood and the American Renaissance.

108. Margaret Fuller, "'The Impulses of Human Nature': Margaret Fuller's Journal from June through October 1844," eds. Martha L. Berg and Alice de V. Perry, Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings 102 (1990): 38-126, 105, 106.

109. Margaret Fuller, Love-Letters of Margaret Fuller, 1845-1846 (New York, 1903).

110. Mason Wade, Margaret Fuller: Whetstone of Genius (New York, 1940), xi.

111. Mason Wade, The Writings of Margaret Fuller (New York, 1941).

112. Chevigny, The Woman and the Myth, 1-12. See also Chevigny, "Growing Out of New England: The Emergence of Margaret Fuller's Radicalism," Women's Studies 5 (1977): 65-100; and Chevigny, "To the Edges of Ideology." Chevigny writes in the foreword to the second, expanded edition of The Woman and the Myth of the cultural and autobiographical contexts in which her interpretation of Fuller took shape. The foreword also provides an insightful historical review of the directions Fuller scholarship has taken since the late 1970's.

113. Paula Blanchard, Margaret Fuller: From Transcendentalism to Revolution (New York, 1979); Larry J. Reynolds, European Revolutions and the American Literary Renaissance (New Haven, Conn., 1988), 54-78.

114. Reynolds, European Revolutions, 57. See also Reynolds and Smith, Introduction to "These Sad but Glorious Days", 1-35.

115. Zwarg, "Emerson as 'Mythologist,'" 214.

116. Julie Ellison, Delicate Subjects: Romanticism, Gender, and the Ethics of Understanding (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990), like Zwarg, repositions Fuller for post-structural American feminism by challenging Chevigny's "centrifugal" thesis and assessing Fuller's early "romantic" work as consistent with her revolutionary activism in Europe (xii, 225).

117. Zwarg, "Emerson as 'Mythologist,'" 214.

118. Ibid.

119. Jeffrey Steele, The Representation of the Self in the American Renaissance (Chapel Hill, 1987), 105. See also Jeffrey Steele, Introduction to Margaret Fuller, The Essential Margaret Fuller, ed. Jeffrey Steele (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992), xi-xlvi.

CHAPTER III

"THIS MUTUAL VISIONARY LIFE":

THE HAWTHORNE AND FULLER FRIENDSHIP

Henry James illustrates as well as anyone the collapse of Fuller's literary reputation in the late nineteenth century. If in 1879 Margaret Fuller had become a "legend" for Henry James and his culture, by 1903 she had become, in his words, "the unquestionably haunting Margaret-ghost," the extraordinary woman consumed by the "wolf" of Rome in the "'underplot'" of a marriage that made "explanation difficult." Of Fuller, the "legend," James could find it possible in 1879 to praise "some of her writing" as having "extreme beauty" and "all of it . . . real interest," but by 1903 he would proclaim that the "Margaret-ghost" had "left nothing behind her, her written utterance being naught."[1] Though Fuller was still the subject of talk, according to James, every hope that she had had of being taken "seriously as an intellectual" had been, for a time, lost: her life fed the impulse of her culture's desire to create mythic narratives of cultural heroes while her work went unread and out of print. James evoked the "ghost" in the name of the myth of the "New England Corinne," the "moral improvisatrice." Even for one of her last surviving friends and arch-defenders, Julia Ward Howe, Fuller had become by 1903 a "name to conjure with" as "the inspired Pythoness" and "Sibyl" who had once "in a vision walked, rapt, inspired . . . with a message to deliver, whose import she could not know." The "ghost" of her "name" now stood "guard" at "the entrance of the enlarged domain of womanhood." Despite Howe's elevation of Fuller to an arch-angel in a feminist heaven, Howe, like James, dismisses Fuller the writer; the "literary material which she left behind," Howe asserts, is but "small in dimension."[2] Howe's very comments introduce the Love-Letters of Margaret Fuller, 1845-1846. The last of Fuller's writings to be published for the next thirty-eight years, the Love-Letters seemed to support both James's and Howe's, and indeed the entire literary establishment's, dismissal of Fuller's importance as a writer just as it so obviously confirmed that the debate about the "failed" passions of her romantic life had become, since 1884, the center of her cultural interest.

Thus, though Fuller's works would remain out of print, her life would

be resurrected briefly in the 1920's during the flush of enthusiasm for Freudian theory. Katherine Anthony's Margaret Fuller: A Psychological Biography (1920) represents Fuller in the embodiment of the passionate woman whose sexuality terrified a repressive New England.[3] During this decade of intellectual and literary reassessment of genteel Victorian culture, V. L. Parrington in his Main Currents in American Thought (1927) would appropriate Anthony's Freudian Fuller and define Fuller's place in the newly emerging canon, not as a writer, but as the "epitome" of "emotional" romanticism whose "rich paganism" was wasted on a repressive New England.[4] "No sharper criticism could be leveled at New England," he would claim, "than that it could do no better with such material, lent it by the gods."[5] Yet despite his ostensible defense of this "victim of sex,"[6] Parrington himself uses the "material" of her life to victimize her further. Dismissing Fuller as "not a scholar like Theodore Parker, not a thinker like Thoreau, not an artist like Emerson," Parrington characterizes her as "a ferment of troubled aspirations" and "of disastrous frustrations" whose "emotions were forever embroiling her intellect."[7] Though he would assign the blame for her difficulties on her repressive era, the hysterical female of Parrington's representation (one whose life, he speculates, would "have been much less tragic" had she "married early" and "turned" her "excessive energy . . . into domestic channels") "left" nothing "quite adequate to explain her contemporary reputation," for as a writer she was "in no sense an artist, scarcely a competent craftsman" and thus "wrote nothing that bears the mark of high distinction either in thought or style."[8]

Ignoring her contribution to American feminism and social criticism and dismissing with contempt her literary efforts, Parrington assigns her primary cultural significance to the confirmation of the Freudian tragic narrative of frustrated passion in a repressive society. A "wonder and riddle" to her repressed New England contemporaries, Fuller is useful to literary history, Parrington suggests, as a means of exposing the latent Puritanism of her securely canonized friends, especially Hawthorne.[9] Unaware of or simply ignoring the intimacy of the Hawthorne-Fuller friendship that Frederick Fuller had briefly exposed in his aunt's unpublished journals, Parrington takes as a given the reductive animosity which Julian had attributed to the Hawthorne-Fuller friendship. But he

reinterprets that animosity within the context of his own age of Freud and flappers. If Julian's Hawthorne is the courageous moral defender of the conventionally domestic and the manly denouncer of the fraud of feminism, Parrington's Hawthorne can accept a "sexless feminism," a "radical feminism in the abstract," but not the "frank avowal of sex" that confronted him in the "concrete." Fuller's "rich paganism," Parrington states, "disturbed" a Hawthorne "restrained by certain Puritan inhibitions" and "ruffled his instinctive squeamishness."[10] Parrington thus transforms Hawthorne's allegory of Fuller's fall by reassigning to Hawthorne the role of hypocritical "humbug" whose "rude, old potency" of residualist Calvinism cannot be refined away. Three years later, Margaret Bell's biography of Fuller would essentially second Parrington's interpretation, explaining Hawthorne's "antipathy" toward Fuller as being driven by "some deep repression," speculating that "he may possibly have been more attracted" to her "than he knew."[11]

Parrington's inversion of the allegory of course reinterprets the relationship by reassigning to Hawthorne the role of tragic victim of inescapable inner limitations, but it does not redefine the relationship. Complicated as it may be by Parrington's Freudian insights, the relationship between Hawthorne and Fuller is still founded on the assumption of an unquestioned antagonism--still founded, that is, on Julian's terms. With at times considerable variations, the pattern of Parrington's reassessment of the Hawthorne-Fuller relationship will hold for both Hawthorne and Fuller partisans. Not even the most committed of Hawthorne's defenders will adopt Julian's reverent endorsement of Hawthorne's "insights" into Fuller, and Fuller partisans will often assail Hawthorne's character and motives more critically than Parrington, but all, to varying degrees, will accept the essential antagonism at the heart of Julian's recreation of the relationship.

If Parrington established the pattern for reinterpreting without redefining the relationship, Mason Wade would provide the list of explanations from which later scholars would draw their particular choices to identify the sources of Hawthorne's animosity. Providing one of the most comprehensive and insightful analyses of the relationship to date, Wade argues, as Fuller defenders had in 1884-1885, that the Hawthorne-Fuller relationship had once been amicable, that in fact

Hawthorne and Fuller ironically had much in common, but he accepts Julian's characterization of Hawthorne's essential antagonism during the later years, explaining Hawthorne's animosity as having multiple possible sources--his "dislike of consciously intellectual women"; his recoil from Fuller's passionate nature because of his own "shyness, reticence, and shrinking fascination with sexual matters"; his professional jealousy of "the fame which came so much more easily and earlier to her than it did to him"; his resentment of "the admiration that his Sophia paid the Sibyl of the Conversations"; and his mental decline during his last "dark years."[12] Hawthorne's relationship with Fuller was sufficiently complicated to lend credence to each and all of Wade's possible explanations for Hawthorne's sudden eruption in 1858 over Mozier's gossip, but Wade's assumption of a souring in the once amicable relationship during Hawthorne's later years over-simplifies the troubled fascination that the "riddle" of Fuller had always been for Hawthorne.

After Anthony, Bell, Parrington, and Wade had all suggested in their sympathetic treatments of Fuller that Hawthorne's patriarchal animosity toward her was founded either on envy or on repressed sexual attraction, Randall Stewart in his highly-regarded 1948 Hawthorne biography countered this reemergence of the "dark" Hawthorne by resurrecting Julian's Hawthorne--the conventional, happy husband. Of the early years of their apparent friendship, Stewart writes: "Hawthorne could enjoy Margaret's company and ideas without feeling, as some moderns have supposed, a sexual interest: such a supposition is incompatible with his marital happiness."[13] Here Stewart identifies the problem, bluntly. If Hawthorne was at all attracted to Fuller, then his marriage could not have been the uniformly blissful, conventionally domestic relationship that Julian had so persuasively promoted. Hawthorne's animosity toward Fuller was simply a necessary premise for maintaining the conclusion that Julian had insured that generations of readers would reach. The premise was both personal and ideological. For Hawthorne to be attracted to Fuller would require that he also be attracted, in some measure at least, to her feminist ideas. Hawthorne's animosity toward Fuller was thus an essential premise to sustain both antifeminist and, until recently, feminist readings of Hawthorne, both of which, as Nina Baym has persuasively argued, interpreted Hawthorne as a conservative writer with a profound dislike

for strong, independent women. In an antifeminist Hawthorne, contemporary conservatives appropriated a literary classic as an authority for their prejudices, and feminists found "the sort of patriarchal mind-set" they expected to find "in writings by men."[14] According to Hawthorne biographer Arlin Turner, for example, Hawthorne "recoiled" from "the excessive admiration" that Sophia initially had for Fuller, worked assiduously if subtly to undermine that admiration, and succeeded once Fuller became more and more "dedicated to the cause of women's rights."[15] Thus, in Turner's narrative of the Hawthorne-Fuller relationship, Hawthorne perceives Sophia's admiration for Fuller as a potentially disruptive force in their marriage which he is able to neutralize once Sophia can see, for herself, where heroines such as Fuller would lead her. Though Fuller scholars also assume that Fuller represented a threat to Hawthorne, in their accounts Hawthorne did not fear her influence on Sophia so much as he feared it within himself. For Blanchard, Hawthorne, as his marriage proved, preferred the "'safe' woman" who is "pallid, pure, and a little stupid," and found the "intellect plus erotic passion and will" of such women as Fuller "dangerous . . . because she represents what the author would like to suppress in himself."[16] Along similar lines, but more bluntly, Allen claims that Hawthorne preferred the submissive dependence of a Sophia "for long-term relationships" but "recognized Margaret's sexuality and passionate nature, responded to it, and was terrified of it and of his own passionate sexuality, actual or potential." Thus, to both "the Puritan and the male supremacist in him," Fuller "was the enemy, to be attacked unmercifully."[17]

In a major breakthrough in Hawthorne studies, Nina Baym asserted that readers of Hawthorne's life and works, regardless of their gender politics, had been mistaking the messenger's messenger for the message, that in fact what appeared to be Hawthorne's antifeminism was instead Hawthorne's condemnation of antifeminists. "The ability to accept woman--either as the 'other' or as a part of the self--becomes in his writing a test of man's wholeness," she asserted, and it was a test that most of his male characters failed and failed miserably.[18] The tradition of a Hawthorne-Fuller antagonism, however, had become so deeply entrenched that even Baym did not challenge "such <u>facts</u> of biography as

Hawthorne's intense dislike of Margaret Fuller" [my emphasis].[19] By not reassessing the "fact" of the Hawthorne-Fuller relationship, Baym created a problem for herself. In order to explain how Hawthorne could be antagonistic toward the greatest feminist he ever knew, and knew well, and yet insist that his "prevailing attitude toward feminist ideas, in all four major romances, is strongly sympathetic," Baym made three rather bold moves, two in the same sentence. First, she separated Hawthorne's attitudes toward Fuller and feminism, and then she rejoined them, but only to imply that Hawthorne was a more loyal feminist than Fuller: "Hawthorne's dislike for Margaret Fuller has been confused with a general dislike for the feminist movement; but his response to Fuller was a personal reaction that had nothing to do with her views and a good deal to do with his suspicion (perhaps right, perhaps wrong) that she was not sincere in them."[20] With the Hawthorne-Fuller antagonism still intact, Fuller disqualified as the figure haunting Hawthorne's depiction of such "good women" as Zenobia and Miriam, and no one else in Hawthorne's life available as a "muse," Baym must then argue that "in neither the short works or the long romances are these figures mimetic so much as they are signifiers of valuable traits--ideals, to use Hawthorne's language, dressed up in the garments of the real."[21]

Baym's penetrating insights into Hawthorne's engagement with the feminine within himself have paved the way for some of the most provocative recent work on Hawthorne, the work of such scholars as Gloria Erlich, Leland S. Persons, Jr., Evan Carton, Larry J. Reynolds, Robert K. Martin, Joel Pfister, and T. Walter Herbert. Each of them, however, has had to contend with the biographical problem that Baym avoided rather than confronted when she made Hawthorne a highly autobiographical writer who would nevertheless turn to the abstract for inspiration when he created his most vital women characters. For Erlich, the masculine-feminine models and sexual tensions within the family serve to account for Hawthorne's gender ambivalences.[22] For Persons, Hawthorne finds his power as an artist once he discovers in his relationship with Sophia the liberating power of the feminine that his art can both release and contain.[23] Evan Carton finds Hawthorne's engagement with the feminine commencing with his fathering of a daughter.[24] Robert K. Martin locates the source of Hawthorne's

masculine-feminine tensions in his identification with the "dangerous liminal space" between "the world of both men and women," an "unacknowledged, or at least denied, desire for intimate male companionship."[25] For Reynolds, Pfister, and Herbert, Fuller is reintroduced to play a part, at least, in provoking Hawthorne to reexamine the grounds on which he had established his own relationship with Sophia and on which, by extension, he inscribed the men and women in his works.[26] They do not, however, reexamine Hawthorne's relationship with Fuller. The tradition of an antagonistic Hawthorne-Fuller relationship still obscures the depth with which Fuller's brief presence in Hawthorne's life penetrated his imagination.

This chapter will examine Hawthorne's troubled fascination with Fuller by reexamining their relationship as it is represented by Hawthorne and Fuller in their letters and notebooks. I will argue that Julian's simplistic redefinition of that relationship has obscured their intimate, if short-lived friendship, and concealed much of his father's ambivalent admiration for Fuller, an admiration that, in the fictions of his allegorical representations of her, becomes an obsession with the personal and ideological provocation that Fuller had become for him.

2

Hawthorne first met Fuller in the fall of 1839 and last saw her in the fall of 1844.[27] These five years, of course, are among the most crucial in Hawthorne's life. In 1839 he had just emerged from the anonymity of his Salem study with the publication of Twice-Told Tales, and he had just become engaged to Sophia, initiating at once both his public entry into the literary world and his private confrontation with the sexual. During this period, he would struggle to find his place in both worlds. By the end of 1844 he had been married a year and a half, had his first child, and completed many of the tales for Mosses--including the disturbing "Egotism or the Bosom Serpent," "The Birth-mark," and "Rappaccini's Daughter." He was still struggling to find a means of securing his status as a professional writer. And, he was still struggling within himself, as increasingly evidenced in his tales, to come to terms with his obsessive desire to define, and thus control, the feminine, a desire that is so clearly manifest in the courtship letters to Sophia that he began writing soon after he and Sophia met Fuller in October of 1839. Hawthorne first writes

of Fuller within the rhetorical context of these letters; it is a context that must be examined, as Leland S. Person, Jr., has shown us, if we are to understand not only his initial relationship with Fuller but also his early explorations of his own power to employ writing as a means of recreating woman within, as Marlon Ross terms it, the "contours of masculine desire."[28] Person's groundbreaking study of the Hawthorne's love-letters to Sophia makes essentially the same points that I will make about their importance to the study of Hawthorne's sexual and romantic awakening, of his negotiation with conflicting images of the feminine, and of his later creative impulses, but we reach different conclusions because we assign different motives and consequences. Person reads the letters basically as Hawthorne's successful attempt to locate his identity in Sophia's, and I read them as his successful attempt to redefine Sophia's in his.[29] Hawthorne's later, more obsessive and conscience-stricken explorations of that same power over women will fuel the intensity of his great romances as he reflects in guilt and despair over his sterile success in defining his wife and their relationship and as he simultaneously struggles with the "riddle" of Fuller, the woman who insists on defining herself and who challenges his power to contain her in the scripts that he writes her life to be. In his intimate friendship with Fuller, Hawthorne will encounter a woman who not only resists such male "magnetism" as Hawthorne will exert on Sophia but who exerts a power over Hawthorne's imagination that he will struggle through much of his life and much of his finest art to understand.

Within a month after her marriage to Hawthorne, Sophia would reassure her worried mother that her "Adam," her "crown of Perfection," the same man who would seven months later write "The Birth-mark," "loves power as little as any mortal I ever knew" and thus "it is never a question of private will between us, but of absolute right . . . ."[30] The Peabodys, of course, had reason to worry. In another fourteen years, she would write proudly to her sister Elizabeth of her willing submersion within the character and will of her husband, proclaiming that a "flower preserved in celestial ichor in immortal bloom & fragrance . . . would be a faint emblem of my being in my husband," that, in fact, "as the years develop my soul & faculties, I am better conscious of the pure amber in which I find myself imbedded--of such a golden purity that every thing is

glorified as I look through it."[31] The process by which Hawthorne induced Sophia to "imbed" herself within the "pure amber" of his vision began with the courtship letters. If Sophia resisted Hawthorne's initial attempts to recreate her in the image of his desire, we will never know, for Hawthorne insured that posterity could read their early love only as he wrote it, know only the "maiden" Sophia preserved in the "golden purity" of his letters: preparing to leave for the Consulate in Liverpool, Hawthorne records in his notebook that in addition to "heaps of old letters and papers," he burned "hundreds of Sophia's maiden letters--the world has no more such; and now they are all ashes." In triumph, he adds, "What a trustful guardian of secret matters fire is! What should we do without Fire and Death?" Having destroyed all evidence of the Sophia that she might have once imagined herself to be in her relationship with him, Hawthorne, in the very next entry, links fire, death, and the violence of his manipulative love. He writes: "Cupid, in these latter times, has probably laid aside his bow and arrows; and uses fire-arms--a pistol--perhaps a revolver" (8:552).[32]

We have then, as he intended, only Hawthorne's version of their love. In her study of nineteenth century love letters, Karen Lystra contends that in reaction to the public constrictions of Victorian culture individuals turned to the intimacies of romantic love to discover and express their "true" selves.[33] The intimacy of Hawthorne's letters to Sophia during their courtship would seem to confirm Lystra's thesis, for nowhere else can we find Hawthorne seemingly so willing to break the silence of his legendary reserve.[34] What the letters reveal is not in any sense, of course, the transparently "true" self of Hawthorne but the "self" that he would represent himself to be and allow her to love and the "self" that he would construct to love and have her become.[35]

Not content with the woman he has found, Hawthorne, like Pygmalion, constructs an ideal for the Sophia that is not--the spiritualized "Dove"--which he sets in opposition to the Sophia Peabody that is--the "naughty" Sophia. The Pygmalion myth, contends Susan Gubar, is the very paradigm of a "male creativity" that seeks to reverse the biological "humiliation" of woman's ability to create man by employing art to recreate woman in the image of his own desire; the living "art object" of the female has "like Pygmalion's ivory girl . . . no name or identity or

voice of her own."[36] For Person, Hawthorne creates his greatest art when he surrenders himself to a Pygmalion-like creative process, but for Person, Hawthorne is not a Pygmalion who seeks "creative and possessive power over a woman through his art" but one who as an "agent or medium" enables "a woman's self-creation . . . through him."[37] A closer examination of Hawthorne's letters, however, reveals that Hawthorne himself is often quite disturbed by the very "possessive power" that he attempts to exercise, as a Pygmalion, over Sophia.

Hawthorne himself is very conscious of the self-generated origins of the artifice of his "Dove." His "Dove" is the "likeness," he tells Sophia, "that has haunted the dreams of poets, ever since the world began," but though she "has flitted shadowlike away from all other mortals," he alone has found his "dream . . . become the reality of all realities" in the "Poem" that is his "Dove" (15:382), and he will allow "nothing," he tells her, to disturb "the preconceived idea of you in my mind" (15:379), for "without the idea of you" he does not know what he should "do in this weary world" (15:399).

In a letter written early in their engagement, 26 May 1839, Hawthorne delineates for Sophia the terms of their relationship by defining the role that he is assigning her in his life. She is to be, as he addresses the letter, "Mine own self," the self-created spirit that, absent from her, he summons from within his heart when "'thinking of you,'" the "Dove" that "flits lightly" through his "musings," allowing him to "feel as if my being were dissolved, and idea of you were diffused throughout it" (my emphasis, 15:316). She is and must be, in other words, "imbedded" within Hawthorne's spirit, assuming the role of his "awe" inspiring "angel" that converts his "love into religion" (15:317) for, as he tells her in a later letter, she had been given to him "to be the salvation of my soul" (15:330). Submerging her spirit within his, losing her very self to save the self that she in turn becomes, she must silence the voice that she has lost. Hawthorne is blunt: "It is singular, too, that this awe (or whatever it be) does not prevent me from feeling that it is I who have the charge of you, and that my Dove is to follow my guidance and do my bidding. Am I not very bold to say this? And will not you rebel? Oh no; because I possess this power only so far as I love you. My love gives me the right, and your love consents to it" (15:317). As Herbert has argued, by granting

Sophia moral superiority, Hawthorne placed himself at a disadvantage that he could only correct by asserting his superiority in matters of the world and claiming his role as her master tutor, to whom she was thus expected to defer silently in all earthly matters.[38] Whether, or to what extent, Sophia rebelled at this time, we cannot know.[39] But the remainder of the letter suggests strongly that Hawthorne himself rebelled, condemning in his dreams the self that would so nakedly assert its power to subsume another within its "own self." Immediately after writing this passage, Hawthorne writes of falling asleep and dreaming of sleeping naked for a year in a field, the bed-clothes he wore becoming in his dream his pallet on the grass. Awakening in his dream, he finds that the grass that his bed-clothes had covered "had been burnt--one square place, exactly the size of the bed clothes" but that "fresh" pieces of "grass and herbage" had been "scattered over this burnt space." He instructs his "Dove" to "interpret this," but, in an illustration of the power he had just claimed as his prerogative, he commands her not to "draw any sombre omens from it" (15:317-18). The interpretative caution is perhaps a warning in disguise, but if Sophia's later insistence on avoiding the implications of Hawthorne's disturbing fictions is any indication, she missed the warning and accepted faithfully the limits he imposes here on interpreting the text of his character. The dream, of course, is rich with meanings that Hawthorne has placed off limits to Sophia, but Hawthorne teases Sophia with the possibilities: "What was the fire that blasted the spot of earth which I occupied, while the grass flourished all around?--and what comfort am I to draw from the fresh herbage amid the burnt space?" He believes that she, as the "Dove," "mingle[s] with my dreams, but take[s] care to flit away just before I awake" (15:318). The dream, of course, was about his "Dove," about the demonic desire to make the dream of the dream-like Dove a reality. The burnt grass covered by the bed clothes displaces the burnt self that the bed-clothes covered during the dream. In other words, Hawthorne in his sleep condemns as demonic the Mephistophelian self who has just proposed that Sophia surrender her identity to the soul of the woman that he creates and owns in his heart, the self-generated "Dove." The living woman, represented by the "grass" and "herbage," would be sacrificed and scattered over the burnt shape of Hawthorne's condemned self as an ironic consecration of the "unholy"

space that he has just proposed she occupy.

A decade later Hawthorne is to name himself "Ethan Brand" and transform the dream into a tale, but only months later, in October of 1839, the month in which Hawthorne would meet Fuller, Hawthorne is to appropriate Icarus as the model of his self-damnation. In what he calls a "foolish flight of fantasy," he writes to his "Ownest Dove" of his fears that his "Dove" will turn "naughty" and fly from the "home in his deepest heart" to the home that she says she longs for "'in the gladsome air'" (15:350-51). Attempting to repossess his vision, he would "do his best to fly in pursuit of the faithless Dove; and for that purpose would ascend to the top-mast of a salt-ship, and leap desperately into the air, and fall down head-foremost upon the deck, and break his neck." "Engraven on his tombstone" would the warning that he has just allegorized but does not heed: "'Mate not thyself with a Dove, unless thou hast wings to fly'" (15:351).

The Icarus fantasy represents multiple anxieties besetting Hawthorne. He has created from the "air" of his imaginative desire an ideal for Sophia to incarnate "within his heart," but in envisioning the "flight" of that ideal, he imagines his own betrayal of that vision through his failure to maintain it within "his deepest heart"--his fear, as he expresses it later, "that my Dove had been only a dream and a vision and . . . had vanished into unlocality and nothingness" (15:461). It will be a nightmare that he will relive in his life and reimagine in the same images in Blithedale and The Marble Faun. In the folly of his doomed "flight," he acknowledges, of course, that he can never really possess the "Dove." As a self-created ideal of unobtainable desire, the "Dove" promises him a love that he cannot have, a love, in fact, that will destroy him if he attempts (as he has and will) the impossible and tries to make it his own. By placing the impossible burden of his own "salvation" on a self-generated ideal of love, creating, as he would say of Fuller, his own "redeemer," he has made it his damnation (14:157).[40] The fantasy also allegorizes Hawthorne's fears that Sophia, for her part, will rebel, turn "faithless" and "naughty," refusing to accept "her home in his deepest heart" as his "Dove." To a great extent, the fantasy functions within the context of the letters as part of his campaign to intimidate Sophia into accepting his transformation of her as his "Ownest Dove." He can "sport with the idea" only because,

he tells her pointedly, "you will never fly away from me" (15:351).

Three weeks after he writes of the flight of the "naughty Dove," Hawthorne reclaims the loyalty of the ideal by reassigning the possibility of resistance and flight to "naughty Sophie Hawthorne" (15:357). Hereafter in the letters, Hawthorne will oppose the perfection of the "Dove" to the imperfection of "naughty Sophie," reminding her of the ideal in which he has invested his love, the ideal she has yet to become but, he suggests insistently through contrast, she must strive to be. Writing from his apartment in Boston on 23 October 1839, he first introduces the three selves of their love in seeming playfulness but suggests the subtraction he would employ to transform the trinity into the unity of "Mine Own Self": "And now if my Dove were here, she and that naughty Sophie Hawthorne, how happy we all three--two--one--(How many are there of us?)--how happy might we be!" (15:357). He would unite with the "Dove" in "sweet sleep," imagining the "pictorial magnificence and heavenly love" of the dream that she prepares for him to "enter," where he will "find himself in the midst of her enchantments." Though his "Dove" would question the right of Sophie Hawthorne to "share our nuptial couch," he would insist that "like it or no, that naughty little person must share our pillow" (15:357), and presumably enter with him into the dream of the Dove. Unlike his "Ownest Dove," Sophie Hawthorne not only resists his control but "has bewitched him" with her unmanageability, at one moment united with his "Dove" and dedicated to his salvation and at another, unpredictably, the rebellious "Sophie" taking on "airs," asserting her independence:

> Sometimes, while your husband conceives himself to be holding his Dove in his arms, low and behold! there is the arch face of Sophie Hawthorne peeping up at him. And again, in the very midst of Sophie Hawthorne's airs, while he is meditating what sort of chastisement would suit her misdemeanors, all of a sudden he becomes conscious of his Dove, with her wings folded upon his heart to keep it warm. (15:358)

Could he "combine the characteristics of Sophie Hawthorne and my Dove," he tells her pointedly, he would have "the very perfection of her race," the "heart" finding "all it yearns for, in such a woman" (15:358). Yet in the next day's addition to the same letter, he alludes again to the antagonism of the duality, referring to an unexplained "delightful scene . . . between Sophie Hawthorne and my Dove, when the former rebelled so

stoutly against Destiny, and the latter, with such meek mournfulness, submitted" (15:359). Raising the question of which he loves "the best," Hawthorne claims to love both "equally," yet immediately casts doubt on this claim by asserting that he has "reason to apprehend more trouble with Sophie Hawthorne than with my Dove" (15:359).

Though he will periodically claim to respect the "rebel" in "naughty Sophie," he will consistently contrast his absolute union with the "idea" of Sophia in her personification as the "Dove" to his conflict with the Sophia who fails to live up to his conceptions. Contemplating, for instance, the possibility of his love entering "those inward regions" to read what "never can be expressed in written or spoken words," Hawthorne asserts that "the Dove can do it, even if Sophie Hawthorne fail," for the Dove is, after all, the ideal of the Other that has become himself: "How I should delight to see an epistle from myself to Sophie Hawthorne, written by my Dove!--or to my Dove, Sophie Hawthorne being the amanuensis!" (15:388). "Imbedded" within his heart's home as the "Dove," Sophia would indeed become little more than the "amanuensis" of, as she claimed later to her sister Elizabeth, Hawthorne's "golden purity." As an extension of his own spirit, for instance, he writes to the "Dove" as to himself in a 3 January 1840 letter, telling his Dove to give "naughty Sophie Hawthorne" the message "that I still entreat her to allow my Dove to kiss her cheek," hoping that in accepting the "kiss" of his spirit "her spirit is beginning to be tamed" (15:399). The "tamed" and the "untamed," the "Strophe and Antistrophe," as he refers to the two in a 21 January 1840 letter, elicit two types of loves that he claims are one love, "infinitely intensified" because "they share it together." Despite his reassurance, he leaves no doubt in Sophia's mind that his love for the two is decidedly different. He claims that the "perfect and angelic nature" of the Dove "awaken[s] infinite tenderness" in him because she has an "inalienable and unquestionable right" to his love, but he asserts that he is "forced to love" the "naughty Sophie Hawthorne" with his "wayward heart." It is Sophie's "office," he instructs her, "to cheer and sustain" his Dove, her duty, that is, to become the Dove (15:400). In a later letter, adopting his customary guise of the playful lover, Hawthorne makes his preference for the Dove clear: "Mine own Dove, how unhappy art thou to be linked with such a mate!--to be bound up in the same volume with her!--and me

unhappy, too, to be forced to keep such a turbulent little rebel in my inmost heart! Dost thou not think she might be persuaded to withdraw herself, quietly, and take up her residence somewhere else?" (15:471).

If it is "naughty Sophie's" "office" to "sustain" the Dove and be "tamed" by the kiss of the Dove's spirit, it is Hawthorne's "office," he asserts, to "tame" the Dove. Exerting the "power" that he had declared to be the "right" of his love and the "consent" of hers (15:317), he claims the role, he tells the Dove, of "interpreter between the world and yourself--one who should sometimes set you right, not in the abstract (for there you are never wrong) but relatively to human and earthly matters" (15:375). Conceding her superiority "in immortal reality," he claims the right to provide her "guidance and instruction" among the "flitting shadows" of the world--his chief "instruction" in this letter being not to "grieve your husband's spirit, when he essays to do his office" (15:375). As "interpreter" for the Dove, Hawthorne in effect is claiming what he has created, the right to the "voice" of the Dove, for it, as he was to say of her body, "belongs wholly to me" (15:464).

No where does he "instruct" the Dove so severely as when he perceives a threat to his control over her. When Sophia turned to hypnotism for possible relief from her headaches, Hawthorne confronted in the mysteries of the "magnetist" not only a rival to his power over the Dove but also a mirror-image of himself as manipulator, interpreter. Hawthorne condemns "magnetism" with an anger that barely conceals his desperate possessiveness and that suggests his own horror at confronting, in the crude replication of "magnetism," the power he had gained over the self of another:

> I am unwilling that a power should be exercised on thee . . . . If I possessed such a power over thee, I should not dare to exercise it; nor can I consent to its being exercised by another. Supposing that this power arises from the transfusion of one spirit into another, it seems to me that the sacredness of an individual is violated by it; there would be an intrusion into thy holy of holies--and the intruder would not be thy husband! Canst thou think, without a shrinking of thy soul, of any human being coming into closer communion with thee than I may?--than either nature or my own sense of right would permit me? I cannot. And, dearest, thou must remember, too, that thou art now a part of me, and that by surrendering thyself to the influence of his magnetic lady, thou surrenderest more than thine own moral and spiritual being--allowing that the influence is a moral and spiritual one. (15:588)

In the days before their marriage, as they postponed the ceremony waiting for Sophia to recover from an "attack," Sophia apparently ignored his previous "guidance" and again submitted herself to another treatment of magnetism. The image of Sophia controlled by another struck Hawthorne again with terror. He writes to her of awakening from sleep "in an absolute quake" after a night of being "haunted with ghastly dreams" of her "being magnetized" (15:634). If Hawthorne was to imagine his failure to "mate" his ideal of woman as a reenactment of the folly of Icarus, he was to imagine his success in the displacement of the nightmare of the "magnetized" woman who has "surrendered" her "moral and spiritual being" to the power of the "magnetist"--"naughty Sophie" finally submissive to the power of his desire, tamed, "imbedded" within the ideal of the Dove. It would be a nightmare that he would agonize over again and again within the concealed confessions of his self-condemning fictions of male egotists "violating" the "holiest of holies" of their women.

In the intimacy of his friendship with Margaret Fuller, Hawthorne encountered a woman who challenged the sort of male "magnetism" that he had exerted over Sophia and would condemn in himself. Committed to the process of continuously redefining herself according to her own ideal and of urging other women to do the same, she would make of herself, as Hawthorne was later to say, her "own Redeemer." In his letters Hawthorne was to imagine Sophia as the "Strophe and Antistrophe," the submissive "Dove" and the rebellious, "naughty Sophie," but once he had succeeded in submerging the latter into the former, in his fiction he was to explore the psychic costs to both Sophia and himself of his "mating with a Dove"[41] and to confess and condemn his attraction to the Dove's "Antistrophe," no longer embodied in the now tamed "naughty Sophie," but in Margaret Fuller. Not only did Fuller come to represent for Hawthorne the embodiment of feminine resistance to the type of personal and cultural male "magnetism" that Hawthorne employed to reorder and master Sophia's character, but she also came to represent both the seductively attractive and intimidatingly repellent poles of the "magnetic" force that such a woman could have on others. The documentary evidence left to us is admittedly scant, but what we do have suggests that during the short period of their friendship, Hawthorne established an intimacy with Fuller that, Sophia excepted, he established with no other woman.

After they last saw each other in the fall of 1844, he began in his fiction to puzzle over his ambivalent attraction to this woman who represented everything he had systematically suppressed in his wife, to master, in other words, the "riddle" of her character and their relationship and to come to terms with the very sources of his need to "master" it.

3

When Hawthorne first met Fuller in October of 1839, she was preparing to initiate the two ventures that would confirm her growing reputation as one of the leading intellectuals and certainly the most provocative woman of America: the editorship of the Dial during its first two years, and the subscription series of organized intellectual discussions among the, until then, largely voiceless wives and daughters of the New England intellectual elite, the "Conversations," which were to be so successful that they were held every winter from 1840 through 1844. The year before, she had decided to give up the one vocation that was then open to women of intellectual talent, school teaching, had moved her family to Boston, been invited by Emerson to be among the very few women who attended meetings of the Transcendentalist Club, and begun what she hoped would be her masterpiece, a biography of Goethe, whose chief champion in America she had become. Though she would never complete the biography, in May of 1839 she had published her translation of Eckermann's Conversations with Goethe in the Last Years of His Life as Volume IV of George Ripley's series Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature, and in 1842, for Elizabeth Peabody's press, she had also published her translation of the correspondence of Bettina to Gunderode. As editor of the Dial during its first two years, she would write essays on the arts and literary criticism (including reviews of Hawthorne's The Grandfather's Chair and Twice-Told Tales). In July of 1843, she would also write for Dial the feminist essay that she (and Elizabeth Hoar) had urged Emerson in 1838 to write, Fuller at the time prodding him to the task by proclaiming that "women are Slaves."[42] The lengthy essay with the awkward title "The Great Lawsuit. Man versus Men: Woman versus Women" would later be revised and expanded in late 1844 and early 1845 into Woman in the Nineteenth Century. Turning over the editorship of Dial to Emerson in 1842, Fuller travelled to the upper Midwest frontier in 1843 and published in the following year Summer on the Lakes, 1843.

During their five year friendship, then, both Fuller and Hawthorne were emerging from relative obscurity to national preeminence as American writers and both were struggling to make literature their sole means of support. Each was single when they met, but Fuller, as the head of her family, was attempting to support her mother and younger brothers, while Hawthorne was struggling to acquire the means to marry Sophia and raise a family. By the time that she departed from the Boston-Concord literary scene in the fall of 1844 to assume the position of literary critic and social commentator for Horace Greeley's New-York Daily Tribune, she had established during these five years of her friendship with Hawthorne a literary reputation that clearly exceeded that of Hawthorne's, and, unlike him, she had found a way to support herself and her family by her writing.

As both were entering the literary world and struggling to secure a living there, they were also confronting crises in their personal lives, both attempting to define the terms of an ideal relationship which would give them the emotional salvation they sought. While Hawthorne was at work on defining love as a "religion" with an idealized Sophia transformed into his "savior," haunted in the process by misgivings about the implications of his purposes and methods, Fuller was confronting in the passionate intensity of her relationships the torment of inextricably interwoven, ambivalent longings of both friend and lover. Fueling "the intensity of her friendships with both sexes," according to Fuller biographer Paula Blanchard, was her early effort in life "to sublimate her sexual feelings" and accept "the denial of marriage and motherhood" as "the price demanded for a female intellect as flamboyant as . . . [hers],"[43] but her sublimation was shallow enough to trouble her consciously. By late 1839 she had apparently allowed her friendship with Sam Ward to develop into love only to find that he had become engaged with Anna Barker, with whom Fuller had shared for years a devoted, passionate friendship. The engagement and marriage the following year troubled Fuller greatly, as did, for a time, the emotional undertow of her increasingly intense and ambivalent relationship with Emerson. By 1841 "the queen of a parliament of love," as Emerson was to describe her role within her "broad web of relations,"[44] was to write, "Once I was all intellect; now I am almost all feeling. Nature vindicates her rights, and I

feel all Italy glowing beneath the Saxon crust. This cannot last long; I shall burn to ashes if all this smoulders here much longer."[45]

The Fuller that Hawthorne would come to know seemed to her most intimate friends to possess the "magnetic" power over others that Hawthorne deplored, yet, in his relationship with Sophia, cultivated himself. After her death, Fuller's friends would speak in awe of the spell that Fuller's power of personality had exerted over them, representing her in the image of the female "magnetist" that she had often represented herself to be. Written primarily within months of her death, these accounts memorialize hyperbolically perhaps, but the consistency in which Fuller is represented as a woman of mesmeric power attests, at the very least, to her power to inspire potent memories in the very self-fashioned images she would have wanted. James Freeman Clarke, for instance, claimed that she "possessed, in a greater degree than any person I ever knew, the power of so magnetizing others, when she wished, by the power of her mind, that they would lay open to her all the secrets of their nature" as she sought "to understand the inward springs of thought and action in their souls."[46] It was a power that granted her the ability to exert the "profoundest influence on individual souls," which she used, he says, to urge them to "aspire to something higher, better, holier, than they had now attained."[47] In a militant language suggesting the initial resistance of individuals to Fuller's passionate assault on their intimacy, the very language that Coverdale will use to describe Zenobia, Sarah Freeman Clarke wrote:

> She broke her lance upon your shield. Encountering her glance, something like an electric shock was felt. Her eye pierced through your disguises. Your outworks fell before her first assault, and you were at her mercy. . . . Though she spoke rudely searching words, and told you startling truths, though she broke down your little shams and defenses, you felt exhilarated by the compliment of being found out, and even that she had cared to find you out. I think this was what attracted or bound us to her . . . . Many of us recoiled from her at first; we feared her too powerful dominion over us, but as she was powerful, so she was tender; as she was exacting, she was generous. She demanded our best, and she gave us her best. To be with her was the most powerful stimulus, intellectual and moral.[48]

Similarly, William Henry Channing would write:

> I know not how otherwise to describe her subtle charm, than by saying that she was at once a clairvoyante and a magnetizer. She read another's bosom-secret, and she imparted of her own force. She

> interpreted the cipher in the talisman of one's destiny, that he had tried in vain to spell alone; by sympathy she brought out the invisible characters traced by experience on his heart; and in the mirror of her conscience he might see the image of his very self, as dwarfed in actual appearance, or developed after the divine ideal.[49]

Employing the militant language used by Sarah Clarke but employing it perhaps as a means of absolving himself somewhat from his role in initiating his well-known ambivalent intimacy with Fuller, Emerson would describe how Fuller initially "repelled" him and as well as others, men thinking that "she carried too many guns" and women not liking one "who despised them" for their weakness, but he describes himself as finding it "impossible long to hold out against such urgent assault."[50] "Persons," he says, "were her game, specially, if marked by fortune, or character, or success . . . . Indeed, they fell in her way."[51] Through her magnetic power, he claims, she "had drawn to her every superior young man or young woman she had met"; she "knew . . . what necessity to lead in every circle, belonged of right to her," and, as he says, she was "the queen" of the brilliant circle of her friends.[52] The brilliant circle that became known as the Transcendentalists, Emerson wrote in his notebook in the late 1860's, was but a collection of diverse individuals with similar intellectual interests who "were only held together" by their bond of friendship with Fuller: "Margaret with her radiant genius & fiery heat," he says, "was the real centre that drew so many & so various individuals to a seeming union."[53]

In his friendship with Fuller, Hawthorne thus confronted a woman who, by these accounts, possessed the power to penetrate into the deepest regions of her friends' most private selves and establish an intimacy they could share with few others. Hawthorne did, in fact, develop such an intimacy with Fuller, but if Fuller exerted any "magnetism" over Hawthorne, it was the "magnetism" of his own complex attraction to her as a friend with whom he found that he could be intimate. Distressed in 1858 over his inability to converse with an acquaintance, Hawthorne examined his failure and concluded that for him, "There must first be a close and unembarrassed contiguity with my companion, or I cannot say one real word." Such relationships for Hawthorne were rare. Looking back over his life, he then wrote: "I doubt whether I have ever really talked with half a dozen persons in my life, either men or women" (14:178). Of those

half a dozen persons, we may surmise that at least two of them were Sophia and Horatio Bridge. As we shall see from her many private conversations with Hawthorne on often highly personal matters, Fuller would have been a third. Given the tradition of animosity associated with Hawthorne's attitudes toward Fuller, such "a close and unembarrassed contiguity" between Hawthorne and Fuller may be initially difficult even to imagine, but Hawthorne's attraction to Fuller has many sources, as this study will demonstrate in depth. For now, however, a brief introduction of some of those sources is in order. For one, Fuller had intelligence, wit, humor, spontaneity, and passion. She was the best educated woman in America and one of the most engaging. Her often proclaimed brilliance as an entertaining and provocatively insightful conversationalist was matched by her power to listen and sympathize with a compassion whose depths, combined with her own frankness about her own life, encouraged her friends to feel comfortable enough to engage in similar self-revelations. Hawthorne thus found in Fuller not only an engaging and entertaining friend but also a friend whose intensely intimate self-revelations and profound compassion for others both modelled and encouraged the trust that Hawthorne needed to be similarly open. Besides sharing similar professional interests and difficulties, as I have already briefly suggested, both during the early 1840's were exploring similar issues in their own lives, namely, the relationships between men and women in friendship and in marriage and the dual nature of the masculine and feminine within man and woman. These were topics which Hawthorne would be encouraged to discuss with Fuller because of Fuller's closeness to both Sophia and him, of her initial faith and continuing interest in the possibility that their marriage was an extraordinary union capable of transcending the boundaries of conventional marriages, and of her open acknowledgement of her admiration for what she perceived as Hawthorne's rare combination of "manliness" and of a rare "feminine" power of insight into women.

Hawthorne was also attracted to Fuller, I believe, because in her diverse resemblances to his older sister Elizabeth, she came to fulfill, after his marriage, the role that Elizabeth could no longer play in his life. By marrying Sophia, Hawthorne built a barrier between himself and Elizabeth that would never be really overcome. She never quite forgave

Hawthorne for marrying Sophia, and her life-long coldness toward Sophia in turn strained Hawthorne's relationship with her. Elizabeth was important to Hawthorne. While I am more than a little hesitant to conclude, as Gloria Erlich has, that Hawthorne harbored incestuous feelings toward Elizabeth, it is clear that Elizabeth was a seminal influence on Hawthorne's development as a man and as a writer.[54] Her strength, her intelligence, her wit, her talent as a critic and a writer, her unswerving faith in Hawthorne's artistic potential, and her tough insistence that he fulfill her expectations--all played an important life-long role in Hawthorne's commitment to literature. Hawthorne, in fact, began writing in his boyhood as collaborator with Elizabeth and later turned to her when he needed help filling the pages of the American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge. As a dramatically personal example of the debilitating effects of the cultural limitations imposed on women, Hawthorne would become the literary success Elizabeth insisted he be while Elizabeth imprisoned herself in her room and devoted her talents for years to a translation of another man's writing, Don Quixote. As a tribute to her, poignant in the unspoken implication of the waste of what he so admired, Hawthorne would write late in his life that she was "the most sensible woman I ever knew in my life, much superior to me in general talent and of fine cultivation" (18:456). He would also say that Elizabeth "'had more genius'" than he had.[55] His respect for her expressed itself as well in his need to earn her approval: "'The only thing I fear,'" he said, "'is the ridicule of Elizabeth.'"[56] Gloria Erlich believes that after leaving his family, Hawthorne "longed for and idealized his mother's and Louisa's compliance and Ebe's intellectual stimulation" and satisfied his need for "uncritical acceptance" in his marriage to Sophia.[57] Sophia indeed provided the "uncritical acceptance" that Hawthorne, like his Hollingsworth, longed for, but her "compliance" was so complete and her "acceptance" so "uncritical" that she could not satisfactorily fill the place of Elizabeth in Hawthorne's life. Fuller could and did. In Fuller, Hawthorne encountered a woman every bit as intelligent, well-educated, witty, and talented as Elizabeth. Often bed-ridden like Sophia with migraine headaches and facing the same cultural and professional obstacles that both Elizabeth and Sophia faced as talented women of superior intelligence, Fuller became what the two other could have become

but did not. Hawthorne had to have admired that. Importantly, like Elizabeth and Sophia, as we shall see, she sympathized completely with Hawthorne's art and gave him her full faith in his powers and potential as an artist, but like Elizabeth and unlike Sophia, her faith in Hawthorne was not uncritical. She read him better than Sophia could. To her praise of what he had done, she always insisted that he could and must do better, and in her sympathetic readings of his work and his life, she identified exactly in which direction Hawthorne must move artistically. As it happens, her criticism of his flaws anticipates and parallels his own criticism, and the direction that his work takes once they become friends will be the direction in which she encouraged, and in fact, enabled him to take. Fuller promoted Hawthorne's career not only as a friend but as literary critic. As both friend and critic, Fuller, more than anyone else, became the sympathetic friend, the intimate auditor, that Hawthorne will first introduce in 1844 in "Rappaccini's Daughter" as his supposedly "ideal" reader.

4

We know very little about the early years of Hawthorne's relationship with Fuller, and the evidence that we do have--Hawthorne's courtship letters to Sophia--is intricately related to the rhetorical context of those letters, related, that is, to Hawthorne's representations of self and of the Dove that he would have Sophia become. Hawthorne first mentions Fuller in a 5 December 1839 letter to Sophia, less than a month and a half after he had met her. He tells her that he had been "invited to dine at Mr. Bancroft's yesterday, with Miss Margaret Fuller; but Providence had given me some business to do; for which I was very thankful" (15:382). Taken out of context first by Sophia in Passages from the American Notebooks (15:383,n.3) and later by others, the sentence has been used by Hawthorne critics as evidence of his dislike of Fuller in particular and of feminists in general, though, of course, it could just as well be read as revealing Hawthorne's dislike of his political patron, George Bancroft, who awarded Hawthorne his lucrative post at the Boston Custom House at the urging of Sophia's influential sister, Elizabeth Peabody. Within the context of several other such messages to Sophia, however, it does reveal that he would establish limits to his participation in her world, for in engaging himself to Sophia, Hawthorne had found himself immediately thrust into the

tightly knit social-intellectual world of Boston, whose advance guard would make their camp for a time in Elizabeth Peabody's bookstore. As Hawthorne was riddled by doubt and initially reluctant publicly to enter the literary world by collecting his tales under his name, so he was reluctant at first to engage himself socially with those whose influence he had already come to need. The world that Hawthorne would occupy, he tells Sophia in these early courtship letters, is the world that he would have her join: Hawthorne consistently represents himself to Sophia as finding his only reality away from the Boston Custom House and secluded from the world in his apartment, indulging himself, he tells her, in "reveries" about her (15:380). When Sophia encourages him to participate in her world, as she did the week before he wrote about the Bancroft-Fuller dinner, offering him tickets to a series of Emerson lectures, he tells her to give the tickets to someone else, for, as he bluntly informs her, "my evenings are very precious to me; and some of them are unavoidably thrown away in paying or receiving visits" (15:380). In the world of his "reveries," Sophia becomes his Dove, but in Sophia's world, he becomes her dependent. In an 18 December letter, thirteen days after the Fuller statement, he writes in mock desperation about another Bancroft invitation, this time to dine at Dr. Channing's: "What is to be done? Anything, rather than go. I never will venture into company, unless I can put myself under the protection of Sophie Hawthorne--she, I am sure, will take care that no harm comes to me. Or my Dove might take me 'under her wing'" (15:389).

Fuller is not mentioned again in the letters until January of 1841, the second winter of Fuller's successful series of Conversations. After resigning from the Boston Custom House with a substantial savings and before investing it in the Brook Farm experiment, Hawthorne visited Salem for a week in January, writing to Sophia on 13 January. In this letter he responds to Sophia's apparent complaint in one of her letters to an attack of headache brought on by a dream of an "Arabian execution" (15:511). Having just described his world without his Dove as "but the semblance of life . . . a vision, but without any spirituality," he blames her headache on his absence from her dreams: "Thou shouldst have dreamed of thy husband's breast," he instructs her, "and then thou wouldst have awaked with a very delicious thrill in thy heart, and no pain in thy head"

(15:511). In mock worry, he then implies that in "naughty Sophie's" world, represented by Fuller and the women attending the Conversations, his Dove's illness will only grow worse: "And what wilt thou do to-day, persecuted little Dove, when thy abiding-place will be a Babel of talkers? Would that Miss Margaret Fuller might lose her tongue!--or my Dove her ears, and so be left wholly to her husband's golden silence!" (15:511). The very intent of Fuller's Conversations was to enable women to find their voices by providing a forum which encouraged them to engage in serious intellectual discussion, but in a perfect union of Sophia with the Dove in Hawthorne's heart, "naughty Sophie's" assertion of self, her voice, would, by necessity, have to be silenced and her ears deafened to any voice that would lure her from her home in "her husband's golden silence." Of course, Hawthorne writes the passage in the tone of a light-hearted lover's jest, the tone that he adopts for virtually all of the "naughty Sophie" passages in the letters. Hawthorne's intent, however, is serious, and when he truly feels his power over Sophia threatened, as he does when she allows herself to be "magnetized," his tone is anything but light-hearted. He, in fact, changes tone immediately after the Fuller passage, defending "his golden silence" as the wordless perfection of the spiritualized love he shares with his Dove-wife, the Dove that he claims, later in the letter, he "worships," for she is his "type of womanly perfection" (15:513):

> Dearest wife, I truly think that we could dispense with audible speech, and yet never feel the want of an interpreter between our spirits. We have soared into a region where we talk together in a language that can have no earthly echo. Articulate words are a harsh clamor and dissonance. When man arrives at his highest perfection, he will again be dumb!--for I suppose he was dumb at the Creation, and must perform an entire circle in order to return to that blessed state. (15:511-12)

Hawthorne's references to Fuller in this letter have been read, of course, as evidence of his disdain for her, but in the context of his ongoing campaign to subsume Sophia within his idealization of the Dove, Hawthorne seems merely to be employing Fuller as "naughty Sophie's" surrogate and the Dove's foil, saying little, if anything, about Fuller personally.

In fact, there is every reason to believe that Hawthorne's relationship with Fuller during this period was close, a relationship founded not only on their relationship with Sophia but on their common professional

interests. By this time, both Fuller and Hawthorne had grown ever more dependent professionally and financially on the social-literary world headquartered at Elizabeth Peabody's bookstore. Elizabeth hosted the Conversations, then Fuller's primary source of income, printed the Dial, and published Fuller's second book. Having helped him obtain the Boston Custom House position, Elizabeth Peabody worked to promote Hawthorne's career, republishing in 1839 his most popular tale, "The Gentle Boy," with frontispiece illustration by Sophia, and launching him on what they hoped would be a lucrative venture in writing stories for children, printing in November of 1840, Grandfather's Chair, the first of three children's books Hawthorne would write for Elizabeth's press. When Hawthorne wrote the 13 January letter, he expected at any moment publication of the second volume of the series, Famous Old People, and in fact expresses in the letter some irritation at its delay (15:513).

That very month, Fuller had joined Peabody in the effort to promote Hawthorne, writing a positive review of Grandfather's Chair for Dial,[58] the first of three reviews of the author she will proclaim as "the best writer of the day" in her otherwise highly critical 1846 essay "American Literature, Its Position in the Present."[59] Fuller's strategy in the review is to praise Hawthorne's "perfect success" in "this new direction of his powers," while helping him avoid earning a reputation as a writer for children. Praising "this gifted author" for "employing his pen to raise the tone of children's literature," Fuller, nevertheless, places her emphasis on encouraging the public to attend more closely to his serious fiction. To a public raised on Scott's Waverley novels, she proclaims: "No one of all our imaginative writers has indicated a genius at once so fine and rich, and especially with a power so peculiar in making present the past scenes in our own history." Specifically, she praises "Endicott and his Men" [sic] from the 1838 Token as being superior to anything in Grandfather's Chair. As we shall see, Hawthorne will remember this commendation of "Endicott" and associate Fuller with the story. Though she praises his decision to continue writing for children, alluding to the new volume in the series due out that month, she praises the "delicate satire" of his serious work and ends the review by "demanding" of Hawthorne that he "write again to the older and sadder, and steep them in the deep well of his sweet, humorsome musings." This review will be only

the first of Fuller's efforts to encourage Hawthorne to develop the promise of his "peculiar" powers. Her implicit message to Hawthorne is that he must continue with his serious work despite the temptation to meet the demands of the publishing market for children.

The "delicate satire" which Fuller identified as a distinguishing characteristic of Hawthorne's work is employed at her expense in the next letters in which Hawthorne mentions her. Writing to Sophia ("Ownest love") immediately after his arrival at Brook Farm during an April snowstorm, Hawthorne creates a comic narrative of himself as a novice farmer learning to master the labor of the farm, his most daunting challenge being milking the cows. The seemingly good-natured humor of his satire--of himself and Fuller--masks the darker implications of this fable of male mastery. Identifying the most "fractious" of the cows as "a Transcendental heifer, belonging to Miss Margaret Fuller," one "apt to kick over a milk-pail," and thus resembling "her mistress," Hawthorne, "the unregenerated man" shivering within him (15:526), prays that he will be assigned "the kindliest cow in the herd--otherwise he will perform his duty with fear and trembling" (15:527). In an addition to the letter on the following day, he informs Sophia that, true to the character he perceived, "Miss Fuller's cow hooks the other cows, and has made herself ruler of the herd, and behaves in a very tyrannical manner" (15:528). Two days later, he tells her that he "has milked a cow!!!" and that the other cows have rebelled "against the usurpation of Miss Fuller's cow," and now, presumably beset by her own fear and trembling, "she is compelled to take refuge" under his protection, "keeping [so] close to him" while he tried to work that "he found it necessary to give her two or three gentle pats with a shovel": "But still she preferred to trust herself to my tender mercies, rather than venture among the horns of the herd. She is not an amiable cow; but she has a very intelligent face, and seems to be of a reflective cast of character. I doubt not that she will soon perceive the expediency of being on good terms with the rest of the sisterhood" (15:531).

One is tempted not to make too much of this, to do, as Arlin Turner does in his biography, simply to present it as exemplifying "his usual playful spirit," something "Sophia would of course know how to read,"[60] or to read it as Edwin Haviland Miller does, as a successful attempt "to

reduce Fuller to size" in the admiring eyes of Sophia.[61] Of course, it is meant to be, or to seem, "playful," and it clearly seeks to "reduce Fuller to size" as a potential rival to Hawthorne's powers as the Dove's earthly "interpreter," but within the context of Hawthorne's letters to Sophia, it functions similarly in its seriousness of intent to the "naughty Sophie" passages, "something that Sophia" would by now indeed "know how to read." If "naughty Sophie" is the "fractious" earthly woman of will who resists Hawthorne's spiritualized idealization of her as his Dove, then in the barnyard reductiveness of a satiric fable, "naughty Sophie" finds her equivalent in the "Transcendental heifer" who rebels against man's desire to master her sexuality for his own needs, to "milk" her. In the first letter, when Hawthorne tells Sophia that "the unregenerated man shivers within me" and that he will be filled "with fear and trembling" if he does not get "the kindliest cow in the herd" to milk, he makes light of his insecurities, of his sense of physical intimidation in a confrontation with any but the most subservient of the cows, the fable's equivalent of "the Dove," but after feeling "the original Adam reviving within me" (15:529), he writes, two days later, that he has asserted his newly recovered masculine power in the milking of his first cow. Now the most "fractious" of the cows, Fuller's heifer, cowers close to him for protection once the other cows have rejected her as the tyrannical leader of the rebellion she attempted to instigate. With the other cows presumably again subservient to man's needs and a threat only to her who would lead them to "kick over a milk-pail," Hawthorne has overcome his "fear and trembling" and has emerged as a master of milking. No longer the potential victim of the "Transcendental heifer," he is now her disciplinary protector, his power drawing her, "magnetically," close to him.

Such a reading of Hawthorne's witty fable may seem more than just a little bit humorless, but the reading is consistent with Hawthorne's repeated use of seemingly light-hearted humor as a rhetorical strategy in his letters to Sophia. Like the "Transcendental heifer" passage, each of the "naughty Sophie" passages makes light of Hawthorne's determination to master the troublesome "naughty Sophia" through his transformation of her into the gentle "Dove." The "humor" functions, however, as a means of making the seriousness of Hawthorne's message palatable not only to a possibly resistant Sophia but also to a conscience-stricken Hawthorne;

through humor, in other words, he avoids a confrontation with and over his intent. The message to Sophia in this barnyard fable of Fuller is essentially that of the "naughty Sophie" passages, but it is the first such passage in the letters in which Hawthorne represents himself as mastering another woman of will, the first real substitute, in other words, for "naughty Sophie." It will not be the last.

By 1842 it is clear from letters and journals that both Hawthorne's and Sophia's friendship with Fuller had become more intimate. Hawthorne, of course, had had numerous opportunities in 1841 to develop his relationship with Fuller during her frequent visits to Brook Farm. By February 1842, in a letter to Sophia, he refers to her for the first time as "Margaret," instead of his previous formality, "Miss Margaret Fuller," a formality that anyone who has read Hawthorne's letters recognizes as a standard form of reference for all except his closest of friends, and the letter clearly suggests that "Margaret" had indeed become one of his most trusted friends. Writing from Salem, Hawthorne attempts to explain to Sophia why he cannot bring himself to follow her "parting injunction" (15:611)--to tell his mother and sisters of the marriage that they had planned, and delayed, since 1838. After explaining the "tacit law" of his family never to speak "our deepest heart-concernments," he excuses his own difficulties in taking "my heart in my hand" and showing "it to them" by arguing that even when he speaks most intimately of Sophia, he finds that he has not "<u>really</u> spoken of thee" (15:611-12). Deploying the dichotomy of Sophia as "other" and as "self," the very dichotomy that founds "naughty Sophie" and the "Dove," Hawthorne claims that when he has attempted to speak of her "the idea in my mind was apart from thee--it embraced nothing of thine inner and essential self" that lies "in my deepest, deepest heart" but was merely "an outward and faintly-traced shadow that I summoned up, to perform thy part" (15:612). To emphasize just how impossible it would be to speak of the <u>real</u> Sophia to his family, he admits that he has been unable to speak of her "inner and essential self" even with those with whom he feels most free to speak, "So that thy sister Mary, or Mrs. Ripley, or even Margaret, were deceived, and fancied that I was talking about thee." These are, he tells her, the "persons from whom, if from any, I might expect true sympathy in regard to thee" (15:612). With the series of names ending with "or even Margaret," he

suggests that Sophia as well as he would expect his intimacy with Fuller to allow him, as with no one else, the ability to express the deepest conceptions of his love.

Hawthorne, of course, could not bring himself to tell his mother and sisters of the planned June wedding until mere weeks before the ceremony--"execution," he termed it when it wrote of it to his sister Louisa (15:636,639). But on May 10, when he and Sophia finally set the date after having visited Concord to inspect the Manse, they decided that they could finally inform their friends, and on the very next day, perhaps the first of their friends to be told of their plans was Fuller. Writing that they had decided to marry and had chosen June for their wedding, "the month of roses and of perfect bloom," Sophia suggests that Hawthorne's decision to choose Concord for their home had been influenced by their friendship with Fuller and her frequent, extended visits to Concord: "Mr. Hawthorne, last evening, in the midst of his emotions so deep and absorbing, after deciding, said that Margaret can now, when she visits Mr. Emerson, spend part of the time with us."[62] If Hawthorne "recoiled from the excessive admiration" that Sophia held for Fuller, as biographer Arlin Turner has concluded,[63] then Hawthorne's statement here (which Turner does not quote) is more than a little problematic, for at the very moment that he makes one of the most momentous and emotionally "absorbing" decisions of his life, Hawthorne thinks immediately of sharing the home of his honeymoon with another woman and of sharing her with Emerson. And he does this at a moment when Sophia's admiration for Fuller as well as Emerson has reached perhaps its highest pitch. Demonstrating the "enthusiastic attachment" that Emerson described in those who had come under Fuller's "powerful magnetism," Sophia included in the letter a sonnet she had written to Fuller, "To the Priestess of the Temple not made with hands," which concludes: "Behold! I reverent stand before thy shrine / In recognition of thy words divine."[64]

Fuller's praise of Hawthorne is only slightly more restrained than that of Sophia for Fuller. Responding to Sophia's letter, Fuller praises the balance of a feminine sensitivity and an undemonstrative masculine force in Hawthorne, claiming that "great happiness" awaits Sophia, for, as she writes her, "if ever I saw a man who combined delicate tenderness to understand the heart of a woman, with quiet depth and manliness enough

to satisfy her, it is Mr. Hawthorne."[65] Fuller had longed recognized a "delicate tenderness" in Hawthorne, before, in fact, she met him, for when she read the anonymously published "Gentle Boy" eight years before this, she was so impressed that she wrote in a letter: "It is marked by so much grace and delicacy of feeling, that I am very desirous to know the author, whom I take to be a woman."[66] Though Fuller here extols Hawthorne's ability to understand and satisfy "a woman," and praises the quality of Sophia's love for Hawthorne ("wise and pure and religious" and promising "a pure and rational happiness"),[67] she omits any specific observations about Hawthorne's love for Sophia. However, in a passage that may have been influenced by the relationship that she, but not Lidian, shared with Emerson, she at once both raises and then casts doubts on the possibility that Sophia and Hawthorne may develop a love that encompasses an intellectual friendship, a love that she will later praise in "The Great Lawsuit" and Woman in the Nineteenth Century as being essential to a marriage of equality:

> How simple and rational, too, seems your plan of life. You will be separated only by your several pursuits and just enough daily to freshen the founts of thought and feeling; to one who cannot think of love merely in the heart, or even in the common destiny of two souls, but as necessarily comprehending intellectual friendship, too, it seems the happiest lot imaginable that lies before you. But, if it should not be so, if unexpected griefs or perils should arise, I know that mutual love and heavenly trust will gleam brightly through the dark.[68]

To explain the source of her faith and her doubt, Fuller then adds a passage that, together with her review of Twice-Told Tales in July, may have lingered in Hawthorne's mind, as I will later argue, when Fuller left for New York in the autumn of 1844 and he wrote "Rappaccini's Daughter":

> I do not demand the earnest of a future happiness to all believing souls. I wish to temper the mind to believe, without prematurely craving sight, but it is sweet when here and there some little spots of garden ground reveal the flowers that deck our natural Eden,--sweet when some characters can bear fruit without the aid of the knife, and the first scene of that age-long drama in which each child of God must act to find himself is plainly to be deciphered, and its cadences harmonious to the ear.[69]

A few weeks later, Fuller again employed a metaphor that recalls this metaphor of Edenic fruit when she described the pleasure that Emerson would have in acquiring Hawthorne as one of his "new colonists": "You will find him more mellow than most fruits at your board," she wrote

Emerson, "and of distinct flavor too."[70]

The "distinct flavor" of the "mellow" fruit of Hawthorne's character, his "delicate tenderness" and "quiet depth and manliness"--Fuller was clearly intrigued by the man, but, judging from her July 1842 review of Hawthorne's reissue of Twice-Told Tales, she was impatient with both the writer and the man for not disturbing his "quiet" depths, for not engaging in the "age-long drama . . . to find himself." She both praises and condemns the tales not for the success that she willingly grants them, but for "a great reserve of thought and strength never yet at all brought forward."[71] The masculine "quiet depth and manliness" and the feminine "delicate tenderness" that Fuller attributed to Hawthorne's character find their metaphoric parallels in the sexual suggestiveness of "a noble tree" and "a wood-embosomed lake:"

> Like gleams of light on a noble tree which stands untouched and self-sufficing in its fulness of foliage on a distant hill-slope,--like slight ripples wrinkling the smooth surface, but never stirring the quiet depths of a wood-embosomed lake, these tales distantly indicate the bent of the author's mind, and the very frankness with which they impart to us slight outward details and habits shows how little yet is told.[72]

Terming the "invention" of his "imaginative pieces" a "phantom or shadow, rather than a real growth," Fuller describes his characters with a metaphor Hawthorne will use in "The Custom-House" for the same purpose: "The men and women, too, flicker large and unsubstantial, like 'shadows from the evening firelight,' seen 'upon the parlor wall.'"[73] "This frigidity and thinness," she claims, "bespeaks a want of deeper experiences, for which no talent at observation, no sympathies, however ready and delicate, can compensate." These "deeper experiences" will come should Hawthorne "ever hear a voice that truly calls upon his solitude to ope his study door." Then the "genius" of his life would be "fully roused to its work, and initiated into its own life, so as to paint with blood-warm colors."[74] Published in the month of Hawthorne's marriage, Fuller's review is provocative in its suggestiveness. If her earlier review of Grandfather's Chair had encouraged Hawthorne to commit himself to his serious work without being side-tracked by his skill in tapping into the children's literature market, this review clearly suggests that his serious work has yet to develop its promise because of his inhibition as a man to engage his passions in "deeper experiences," the "frigidity and thinness"

of his characters being but a "shadow" of his own failure. Emphasizing throughout the "promise" of his characters as well as his talent, Fuller suggests that he will develop his potential only if he encounters someone who will engage his passions, break the silence of this "quiet depth" in "a voice that truly calls upon his solitude," that (to convert her passive into the active) "fully rouses" him to his "work" by "initiating" him "into his own life" so that, "blood-warm" himself, he can then "paint with blood-warm colors." Read in conjunction with her letter to Sophia, the review may explain why Fuller analyzed Sophia's "wise and pure and religious" love for Hawthorne but not his for her, why she wrote not of Hawthorne's "understanding" of Sophia, as accomplishment, but of his ability, as unrealized potential, "to understand the heart of a woman" and "satisfy her," why she stressed also not the "sight" of "a future happiness" but her "wish to temper the mind to believe" in it. The review would suggest that Fuller did not believe that Sophia had as yet "roused" Hawthorne's "genius," not been the "voice" that could truly penetrate his solitude and supply his "want of deeper experiences." But then, written on the eve of their marriage, the review may reflect Fuller's hope that a sexually active, passionate Sophia would soon "rouse" Hawthorne's potential, emblazon his as yet "cold" genius. The erotic subtext of Fuller's metaphors would certainly suggest that she saw a sexual connection between Hawthorne's needs as a man and his as yet unrealized potential as an artist.

For Hawthorne, the review must have read as a penetrating intuition on Fuller's part of the "deeper experiences" that he had withheld from his fiction and from Sophia. For despite his apparent intimacy with Sophia in his letters and his claims of finding salvation through the "sunshine" of Sophia's love, Hawthorne had clearly refused to disclose the self that had not been transformed by her love. Explaining why he cannot tell his mother and sisters of the approaching wedding, Hawthorne blames the "tacit law" of their "strange reserve" that prohibits them from speaking of their "deepest heart-concernments" (15:611) and toward the close of the letter, he informs her, in effect, that he shall observe that "tacit law" in their relationship. Though the Dove's "sunshine falls continually" into "infinite depths," he tells her, it is, he implies, blocked by "a cloudy veil" that "stretches over the abyss of my nature" (15:612). He denies that his

refusal to open that region of the self to her originates in "a love of secrecy and darkness," but he insists that it will remain in "secrecy and darkness" (15:612) unless she proves herself insightful enough to discover it for herself: "I am glad that God sees through my heart; and if any angel has power to penetrate into it, he is welcome to know everything that is there. Yes; and so may any mortal, who is capable of full sympathy, and therefore worthy to come into my depths. But he must find his own way there. I can neither guide him nor enlighten him" (15:612).

When--immediately after her most searching criticism--Fuller abruptly ends the review with the statement that "we wait new missives from the same hand,"[75] she is in effect challenging Hawthorne to meet the demands of her criticism of his life and its literary products, to engage in a dialogue with the "voice" that "truly calls" upon him, the voice that he may hear in the "deeper experiences" of marriage or the voice that he hears in this review.

The evidence suggests that to a surprising extent Hawthorne accepted Fuller's challenge. In person, at first, and in fiction, later, Hawthorne engaged in an intimate dialogue with the woman who called him forth, this woman who had the magnetic ability, say all who knew her, to penetrate by sympathy and insight into a person's most private self.

On 17 August 1842, less than two months after the Hawthorne marriage, Fuller arrived in the Hawthornes' Eden for a month-long stay at Emerson's house. Her journal entries during that visit record her uneasy attempts to navigate her ambivalent relationships with Emerson and her brother-in-law Ellery Channing, who were drawn to her for the "intellectual friendship" they could not establish with their wives but who found that friendship fraught with vaguely sexual tensions. Two years had passed since Fuller had found to her disappointment that Emerson would be unable to establish the depth of intimacy she had sought from him, but though she states that her "expectations" of him "are moderate now," they literally and figuratively, as she says, "stop at all our old places,"[76] rehashing their old debates of love and marriage during their moonlight walks down well-worn paths. The debates merely strengthened Fuller's impatience with the bloodless self-sufficiency of the Emerson she described in the journal as having "little sympathy with mere life," who

"does not seem to see the plants grow, merely that he may rejoice in their energy."[77] If Fuller during this stay struggles to accept the limits of Emerson's capacity for intimacy and for wedding the passionate to the intellectual life, she explores the potential for "delicate tenderness" and "depth and manliness" she had seen in Hawthorne and rejoices in his willingness to meet her challenge of a deeper, more intimate friendship. Fuller's contrast between the two men is implicit in her description of moonlight walks with them, Emerson on the 19th and Hawthorne on the 20th. Walking with Emerson by the banks of the moonlit Concord, Fuller records Emerson's inability to respond emotionally and aesthetically to the beauty of the scene:

> Looking at the moon in the river he said the same thing as in his letter, how each twinkling light breaking there summons to demand the whole secret, and how 'promising, promising nature never fulfils what she thus gives us a right to expect.' I said I never could meet him here, the beauty does not stimulate me to ask why?, and press to the centre, I was satisfied for the moment, full as if my existence was filled out, for nature had said the very word that was lying in my heart. Then we had an excellent talk: We agreed that my god was love, his truth.[78]

The next day Fuller visited the Hawthornes and comments that "it was very pleasant."[79] Though Fuller does not mention it herself in her journal, Sophia wrote her mother that Fuller surprised them at an intimate moment. Hearing footsteps, she writes, "I sprang from my husband's embrace, and found Queen Margaret."[80] Rather than being irritated by the intrusion, Sophia says that they "were delighted," particularly Hawthorne: "'She came in so beautifully," as Mr. Hawthorne truly said, and he looked full of gleaming welcome." Inviting her to stay the afternoon and have tea with them, according to Sophia, Fuller was equally gleaming, "like the moon, radiant and gentle."[81] Fuller, however, is noticeably silent in her journal about her impression of the newlyweds and says nothing about their conversation during the visit. Sophia, in fact, is not even mentioned. Fuller's interest is clearly focused on Hawthorne and his confessions to her of the changes wrought on him by his initiation into the life of marriage and sexual passion. Fuller's description of Hawthorne's reaction to that moment in his life as well as that moment of their conversation contrasts sharply with her description of her previous night's disappointment as Hawthorne reveals the capacity she ascribed to

herself, to feel "as if my existence was filled out": "H. walked home with me: we stopped some time to look at the moon; she was struggling with clouds. H said he should be much more willing to die than two months ago, for he had had some real possession in life, but still he never wished to leave this earth: it was beautiful enough. He expressed, as he always does, many fine perceptions. I like to hear the lightest thing he says."[82] Her implicit identification of herself with the feminine moon's struggle with the "clouds," however, suggests that tension as well as beauty and joy may have characterized the moment for them both.

In life Hawthorne could reserve exclusive right to narrate his courtship of Sophia by burning her letters, expressing in the underlying rage of the act, as Edwin Haviland Miller and T. Walter Herbert have observed, the ritualistic end of the romance, but in death Sophia could exact her revenge by editing his notebooks.[83] Hawthorne's description of Fuller's visit and their walk in the moonlight, if he wrote one at all, was destroyed when two and three-fourths pages of the journal entry that follows Sophia's comments on the events of 19 August were torn-out (8:780), presumably by Sophia.

The intimacy of their conversation on Saturday during their moonlight walk is continued on Sunday in a long afternoon alone in the woods of Sleepy Hollow. Fuller had left a book at the Hawthornes, and Hawthorne, with returning the book as his excuse, walks through the woods to Emerson's house to see her again. In the long entry describing that afternoon, Hawthorne breaks the passage into two parts, his walk to Emerson's house evocatively narrated as a solitary journey through the impediments of a dark forest alive with beauty and forebodings of death and his walk back to his own house and waiting wife suggestively narrated as postponed by his long, intimate encounter with Fuller in the woods. In the first part Hawthorne evokes faint allusions to Book I of The Faerie Queene, Pilgrim's Progress, and "Young Goodman Brown" as he describes himself getting off the "nearest way" and losing himself in the "dense and sombre" shades of the oak and pine "forest" between his Edenic home and Emerson's, at one point finding himself so entangled in bushes and underbrush that he personifies his tormentors: "Always when I founder into the midst of a tract of bushes, which cross and intertwine themselves about my legs, and brush my face, and seize hold of my

clothes with a multitudinous gripe--always, in such a difficulty, I feel as if it were almost as well to lie down and die in rage and despair, as to go one step further" (8:340-41). He next records intruding upon the solitude of "a company of crows" who were "holding their sabbath in the tops of some trees." Feeling like one "who should unawares disturb an assembly of worshippers," Hawthorne sets up his later ridicule of Emerson in the passage by playing with the irony that despite "their gravity of mien and black attire," they have "no real pretensions to religion" and are "certainly thieves and probably infidels" whose pagan "voices" on this Sabbath are "in admirable accordance with the influences of the quiet, sunny, warm, yet autumnal afternoon" (8:341). For Hawthorne it is a pagan afternoon, an afternoon poignant with beauty in the shadow of death. The subtle coolness amid the heat of the breezes "thrills" Hawthorne with the first signs of "the breath of autumn," "pensive autumn," and he gives himself up to the "deliciously sweet and sad" feeling that comes with recognition "of the year's decay" (8:342). As in the night before when he thinks of death at the moment of his acknowledgement that he has achieved his greatest "possession in life," so he perceives that the glorious beauty of the flowers he describes so lovingly derives in part from their impending death, their "glow" of "pensive autumn," their "gentle sadness amid their pomp" (8:342). The summer of his long awaited marriage is passing, and his awareness of its beauty is darkened by his perception of its end: "Alas, for the summer! The grass is still verdant on the hills and in the vallies; the foliage of the trees is as dense as ever, and as green; the flowers are abundant along the margin of the river, and in the hedge-rows, and deep among the woods; the days, too, are as fervid as they were a month ago--and yet, in every breath of wind, and in every beam of sunshine, there is an autumnal influence" (8:342). Describing the "audible stillness" of "the song of the crickets," the bright "Golden Rod," and the "gorgeous cardinals" (8:342)--Hawthorne immerses himself in a sensuous experience of the passing moment as he did the previous night when he dove into the moon-reflected sky of the death-like Concord, finding his heaven in the beauty of the "earthly world."

The narrative of his journey through the woods to Emerson's house--beginning in frustration and anger and slowly transforming itself into a

reflective, melancholic sensuousness--as it turns out, has been building toward the climatic scene in which Hawthorne finds, unexpectedly, what he had sought--Fuller. On his return from Emerson's house, he encounters Fuller alone in the woods and decides to postpone his return home to pass the afternoon with her. Hawthorne's pleasure is evident: "After leaving the book at Mr. Emerson's, I returned through the woods, and entering Sleepy Hollow, I perceived a lady reclining near the path which bends along its verge. It was Margaret herself" (8:342). Hawthorne's narration of the scene is subtly suggestive and elusive; like the "infidel" crows who only seem to worship the Sabbath, like the beauty of nature on that summer afternoon shadowed for the perceptive by autumnal decay, the scene Hawthorne narrates between himself and Fuller maintains the innocence of their intimate friendship while suggesting its sources in the erotic tensions of a forbidden attraction. Hawthorne's tension locates itself in his anxious awareness of Fuller's "reclining" body and of his body's proximity to hers. Self-conscious of their postures and their isolation in the woods, his desire for an uninterrupted moment alone with her finds its expression in a nervous narrative emphasis on those who threaten to intrude upon their solitude:

> She had been there the whole afternoon, meditating or reading; for she had a book in her hand, with some strange title which I did not understand and have forgotten. She said that nobody had broken her solitude, and was just giving utterance to a theory that no inhabitant of Concord ever visited Sleepy Hollow, when we saw a whole group of people entering the sacred precincts. Most of them followed a path that led them remote from us; but an old man passed near us, and smiled to see Margaret lying on the ground, and me sitting by her side. He made some remark about the beauty of the afternoon, and withdrew himself into the shadow of the wood. (8:342-43)

The old man's smile at the position of their bodies, his forgettable piece of small talk, his quick withdrawal "into the shadow of the wood"--all suggest Hawthorne's own perception of the romantic tableau of the scene and his irritation with the old man's violation of the "sacred precincts" of their intimacy, his failure, in other words, to perceive immediately, as the rest of the group of people apparently did, that they were a couple that wanted to be left alone. Immediately after describing the old man's awkward retreat into "the shadow of the wood," Hawthorne, finally alone with Fuller, reports that they immediately began a long and wide-ranging conversation: "Then we talked about Autumn--and about the pleasures of

getting lost in the woods--and about the crows, whose voices Margaret had heard--and about the experiences of early childhood, whose influence remains upon the character after the recollection of them has passed away--and about the sight of mountains from a distance, and the view from their summits--and about other matters of high and low philosophy" (8:343). Under the spell of the moment, Hawthorne forgets the rage that he had felt in getting off the "nearest way" to Emerson's and getting entangled in the underbrush. Losing one's self in the pathless forest, as Hester will later propose to Dimmesdale, now has, with Fuller, a "pleasure" that Hawthorne had just denied.[84] The nature of the wide-ranging topics of their conversation that Hawthorne reports suggests that both shared sympathetically the pleasure of indulging in the "deliciously sweet and sad" pensiveness inspired by autumn's advent, conversing reflectively on the interconnections between the "high" and the "low," the present and the past, childhood and mountains in the distance and then in the present perceived from the autumnal summit of approaching middle-age. The order in which Hawthorne lists the topics also suggests that Hawthorne initiated the conversation, since they speak first of his observations about autumn and his experiences with getting lost in the woods and seeing the crows, and the second half of the list--their confessions of childhood experiences and their lifelong influences, the romantic sublimity of mountain summits and grand perspectives, "high and low philosophy" -- suggests that the conversation, which had begun with topics of an immediate but not intimate nature, became more confessional and reflective as it progressed. The rhetorical decision to list specifically the diverse topics of their conversation in rapid order and ending it with the indeterminant prolificacy of "and about other matters of high and low philosophy" conveys the delight that Hawthorne experienced in the conversation, the excitement of finding himself free enough with Fuller to speak unreservedly on any topic. Given the romantic evocativeness of Hawthorne's narrative framing of the conversation, the "excitement" conveyed by the effect of the listing of topics so diverse suggests nothing so much as the early, enthusiastic explorations of two friends of the range and depth of their newly discovered capacity for mutual sympathy and intimacy. In Blithedale, Hawthorne will have Coverdale describe such a moment; wandering through the woods, "threading

through the more distant windings of the track," as Hawthorne had been that day, and looking "for some side-aisle" in the woods that, he says, "should admit me into the innermost sanctuary of this green cathedral," he compares encountering such openings to "human acquaintanceship," when "a casual opening sometimes lets us, all of a sudden, into the long-sought intimacy of a mysterious heart" (3:90).

In listing the topics of their conversation, Hawthorne conceals the intimacy of the conversation in the very act of revealing it, for he does not, of course, disclose anything they actually said. The most telling revelation is Hawthorne's disclosure that they discussed the subtle "influences" on their "characters" of long forgotten "experiences" in "early childhood." For both Hawthorne and Fuller, the topic would entail some of the most painful possibilities of self-disclosure. If Fuller's autobiographical accounts of her childhood and adolescence may serve as a guide, the topic would suggest that she likely discussed the poisonous effects that her father's oppressively rigorous intellectual training had on her, the isolation her uniqueness imposed on her. And Hawthorne's letters to Sophia would suggest that he may have discussed his own sense of isolation and dislocation and the "strange reserve" so characteristic of his family, the reason for the self-restraint and "solitude" that Fuller had identified in her review the month before as inhibiting his ability to paint his characters with "blood-warm colors." At some point during her visit, on this day or another, Hawthorne is likely to have discussed with Fuller her perception in the review that the self-imposed inhibitions of his solitude or lack of "deeper experiences" had led to the "frigidity" of his characters. Whether he did or not, it is clear that in his discussion of his most private feelings of love and death with Fuller on the night before and in his account of his moment alone with Fuller in Sleepy Hollow he had accepted the implied challenge to self-disclosure and intimacy that Fuller's review had issued.

This much is certain. With the exception of his letters to Sophia, and, I would argue, his fiction, the entire passage describing his afternoon in the woods with Fuller represents the most intimate moment Hawthorne ever chose to record of his experiences with a woman.

The spell of the moment was broken by another "intruder," one not so perceptive, Hawthorne seems to imply, as the old man, but one just as

unwelcome: "In the midst of our talk, we heard footsteps above us, on the high bank; and while the intruder was still hidden among the trees, he called to Margaret, of whom he had gotten a glimpse. Then he emerged from the green shade; and behold, it was Mr. Emerson, who, in spite of his clerical consecration, had found no better way of spending the Sabbath than to ramble among the woods" (8:343). Hawthorne's narrative suggests subtly that Emerson was covert in his approach, almost skulking in his unseemly curiosity about the couple below him, for he was not "hidden by the trees" but "hidden among the trees," not calling to a Margaret "of whom he had recognized" but "of whom he had gotten a glimpse," and, finally, not rambling "in the woods" but, again, "among the woods." Hawthorne's irritation at the intrusion expresses itself in his ridicule of the "clerical consecration" that Emerson had not renounced yet ceased to practice and evokes an inevitable comparison with the "infidel" crows who only appear to be religiously "grave" and only seemed to have been worshipping in the woods. Another, more telling contrast is evoked in the juxtaposition of his own account of his sensuously concrete yet reflectively pensive response to nature that afternoon with his account of Emerson's abstractly, and slightly ridiculous, literary response: "He appeared to have had a pleasant time; for he said that there were Muses in the woods to-day, and whispers to be heard in the breezes" (8:343). Hawthorne and Fuller heard crows, Emerson heard Muses. Like Fuller, Hawthorne had recently expressed his impatience with Emerson's bloodless abstractions,[85] writing in his notebook just six days before a trenchant contrast between Emerson and the farmer Mr. Hosmer:

> It would be amusing to draw a parallel between him and his admirer, Mr. Emerson--the mystic, stretching his hand out of cloud-land, in vain search for something real; and the man of sturdy sense, all whose ideas seem to be dug out of his mind, hard and substantial, as he digs potatoes, beets, carrots, and turnips, out of the earth. Mr. Emerson is a great searcher for facts; but they seem to melt away and become unsubstantial in his grasp. (8:336)

The sympathetic alliance of Hawthorne and Fuller in their physical and emotional response to that autumn-haunted summer afternoon is broken by Emerson, who "had nothing better to do" than to intrude insensitively upon a day that he could not understand and, by implication, upon a couple whose desire for privacy he could not appreciate. The spell broken, "Mr. Emerson" takes "Margaret" away from him, and Hawthorne

returns from the enchantment of an afternoon in the woods conversing of "high and low philosophy" with Fuller to the diminutive domestic pleasures of "tea" with his "little wife" (8:343). Hawthorne closes his account of his Sunday afternoon with Fuller by describing his enchantment with the moon, repeating the themes that Fuller had recorded of his conversation on the previous night but adding the haunting image of plunging into the death-like "sky" of the moon-reflecting river: "Last evening there was the most beautiful moonlight that ever hallowed this earthly world; and when I went to bathe in the river, which was as calm as death, it seemed like plunging down into the sky. But I had rather be on earth than ever in the seventh Heaven, just now" (8:344).

Though Fuller recorded in lengthy detail journal entries of intimate, even painfully revelatory, conversations with Emerson, his wife Lidian, and Ellery Channing during her stay, her comment on her afternoon with Hawthorne in Sleepy Hollow, read in light of Hawthorne's suggestive narrative, is perhaps more provocative in its implications than any of her other journal entries. She wrote, simply: "What a happy, happy day, all clear light. I cannot write about it."[86]

Four days later Hawthorne was to write the letter that, with the exception of the infamous notebook passage, was to be cited as primary evidence that Hawthorne recoiled from the aggressiveness of Fuller. Aware of Fuller's intimacy with the Hawthornes, Ellery Channing had asked Fuller to inquire of the Hawthornes if they would be willing to take in Ellery and Ellen as boarders. After discussing the matter with Sophia, who had originally talked with Fuller about it and somewhat favored the proposal, Hawthorne wrote a lengthy letter to Fuller explaining why he did not think that the arrangement would be suitable for either party, the most often quoted excerpt from this letter being, "Had it been proposed to Adam and Eve to receive two angels into their Paradise, as boarders, I doubt whether they would have been altogether pleased to consent" (15:646). Julian first published the letter in Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, and, as with the journal entry condemning Fuller, Julian influenced future readings of the letter by establishing its interpretative frame. Introducing "Miss Fuller" as a woman so "clever" that "most people stood in some awe," Julian presents his father as an exception, as a man who was her match in cleverness and had the courage to put her in her

place.[87] Julian ends his quotation of the letter by suggesting that Fuller had been so intimidated by the letter that she was reduced to silence and the Channings to disappointment: "This finished the episode; Miss Fuller, if she felt any dissatisfaction, not thinking it advisable to express any, and the Channings resigning themselves to finding quarters elsewhere."[88] Biographers since then have read the letter through Julian's frame, condemning Fuller for her gall and praising Hawthorne for his diplomatic mastery of the situation.[89] The letter is indeed diplomatic in the care that Hawthorne takes in explaining at length his several reasons for declining the proposal, but rather than revealing his displeasure at Fuller, the attention that Hawthorne gave to the letter reveals the extraordinary respect that Hawthorne had for Fuller, his concern that their relationship not be affected by his refusal of the proposal, and, as a sign of their intimacy, his extraordinary ease in speaking openly with her. That Hawthorne replied at all is itself an indication of his respect for Fuller and his concern that she not be offended by their refusal, for Fuller had mentioned the proposal originally to Sophia, and Sophia already declined in a separate letter.[90] Often ignored by critics but illustrated by the letter itself, as well as by accounts of their meetings in the summer of 1842 and of 1844, is Hawthorne's admission to Fuller in the closing paragraph that "there is nobody to whom I would more willingly speak my mind, because I can be certain of being thoroughly understood" (15:648). For Hawthorne, that is a startling, boldly unqualified assertion. As his love-letters to Sophia and every one of his future prefaces attest, his highest hope as both a man and an artist was to establish just such a degree of "understanding" between himself and another. Ignored as well are the simple signs of an obvious friendship--the very fact that he addresses the letter "Dear Margaret," an informality of address that Hawthorne reserved only for family and his closest of friends, and the very fact that instead of simply closely with "Sincerely," he closes, given the context, with the more emphatically reassuring, "Sincerely your friend" (15:648).

If Fuller's proposal and the Hawthornes' reaction damaged the relationship between Hawthorne and Fuller, as is generally contended, there is certainly no evidence of that. In fact, the record of Fuller's visit for the remainder of 1842 and her visit during the summer of 1844

suggests that Hawthorne's friendship with Fuller continued to deepen. On Sunday, 4 September, for instance, Hawthorne and Fuller had another long, private conversation. As Hawthorne is writing in his journal of Sophia's attending church that day alone and of his attitude toward observing the Sabbath, he breaks off in mid-sentence because of the arrival of two visitors--Fuller and Sam Ward. On 8 September, Sophia completes the journal page by describing the visit. Though she begins by regretting that Hawthorne never completed the sentence because of the interruption, a statement often quoted as evidence of Fuller's "intrusiveness," Sophia clearly welcomes Fuller's visit, which is often ignored.[91] Sophia's description of the visit, however, reveals that during the visit Hawthorne and Fuller seemed to give each other exclusive attention, leaving Sophia with the task of entertaining Ward:

> Those visitors who interrupted my dear husband in the above sentence, (O that they had come later) were Margaret & Mr Sam Ward. We had an exceedingly pleasant visit from them. Mr Ward was greatly delighted with the house & its environs. He seemed to think Boston could not afford so charming a drawing room as our quaint old parlor & that it could not be persuaded to imitate it in is present degenerate taste. We went down the orchard to the river's banks, & my husband & Mr W. laid down upon the grass while Margaret & I sat on rocks. Margaret was very brilliant & while she talked to my husband, Mr. Ward addressed himself to me, whom he apparently thought a kind of enchanted mortal, in an earthly Elysium. . . . Margaret at last invited me to take him into the house & shew him the outlived furniture, while she remained with my dearest husband.[92]

Since Ward had already seen part of the house and had not at the time requested to see the remainder, nor had been invited to, Fuller's "invitation" that Sophia take Ward back to the house while she and Hawthorne remained by the river may have been prompted by her desire to speak alone with Hawthorne. What she discussed with him, we will never know. As happened to the journal record of the day of Fuller's last visit to the Old Manse, the six pages immediately following Sophia's account of the visit were cut out (8:783). The three missing leaves, of course, may have given Hawthorne's reflections on the visit and his conversation with Fuller. Fuller's journal entry for the day does not record the conversation either, but it does suggest that Fuller may have confided in Hawthorne about her complex and painful relationship with Sam Ward and his wife Anna Barker, both of whom Fuller had once, in her way, loved. Fuller records that it was "one of the finest days." She

"enjoyed being with S. more than I have since he was married," for "he spoke straight from his mind, without reference to others or his position."[93] Ward, like Hawthorne, talked to Fuller about death and about recent "'pitched battles'" within himself and seemed "all lovely, a glancing bird, a sunbeam" as long as he was "out in the field" with Fuller, but, she records, as "soon as we got into the Hawthorne's house, he seemed too fine for the place, & with a touch of the petit maitre once more."[94] Disappointed in Ward "once more," this time for his condescension to her friends, Fuller directed her exclusive attention to Hawthorne, leaving Sophia to Ward, and, once alone, she may have recounted her day to Hawthorne and confided in him. Interestingly, though Fuller resents the condescension she perceives in Ward toward her friends, Sophia imagines Ward as thinking her an "enchanted mortal, in an earthly Elysium" married to "a kingly man" who was "far surpassing all he had anticipated, for who can prefigure him?"[95] In addition to being Ward's friend, Fuller was simply more alert than Sophia to the darker nuances of character--as her perceptive reading of the source of Hawthorne's literary "frigidity" demonstrates.

Fuller's stay at Concord ended on 25 September, but before leaving she records, briefly, another visit on the 21st with the Hawthornes, this time to accept an invitation to dine with them. After dinner, she notes that they all three took a short boat trip up the Concord. The closeness of Hawthorne's relationship with Fuller after the supposed "offense" of her proposal to board the Channings is evident not only in the dinner invitation itself but also in the assurance with which he presumes Fuller's sympathy in ridiculing Fuller's hostess, Lidian Emerson: "Hawthorne expressed his surprise at having met Lidian out at noon day, said it seemed scarce credible you could meet such a person by the light of the sun."[96] Hawthorne's presumption was well-founded, as it turns out and as he probably knew to begin with, based on their many conversations, for Fuller aligns herself immediately with him by judging Lidian's extravagant grief over the death that year of little Waldo as being melodramatically hypocritical: "She does look very ghostly now as she glides about in her black dress, and long black veil. . . . I feel that her child is far more to her in imagination than he ever was in reality."[97]

Fuller's intimacy with the Hawthornes was apparently well known, even

among Hawthorne's friends, for on 16 January 1843, Fuller again writes Hawthorne to "sound" him "out" concerning the possibility of employing and boarding their mutual friend, Charles Newcomb, whom Hawthorne met at Brook Farm. Assuming the playfully defensive tone of a friend placing another friend in an awkward situation, Fuller opens the letter by making light of the awkwardness of her own situation as the apparent agent of potential marital discord: "You must not think I have any black design against your domestic peace--Neither am I the agent of any secret tribunal of the dagger and Cord. Nor am I commissioned by the malice of some baffled lover to make you wretched."[98] Fuller, of course, is responding with hyperbolic humor to Hawthorne's earlier contention that even an "angel," much less Ellery and Ellen Channing, would be unwelcome in Adam and Eve's Paradise, but it is perhaps relevatory of the powerful undercurrent of their relationship that, defensively, she imagines, only to disavow, Hawthorne's anxiety that she would employ her intimacy with Hawthorne insidiously against his marriage, motivated, perhaps, by the jealousy of the hypothetical, "baffled lover." Assuming the very role that Hawthorne had insisted he must fill in his relationship with the "gentle" Dove, Fuller writes that she is but an "interpreter" of "gentle souls" who turn to her because she "can bear hearing the cold cruel word No, better than any soul now living," assuring Hawthorne, the "serenest and most resolute man," she flatters him, that "these propositions are none of mine."[99] She, in fact, invites him to decline, telling him that Newcomb, as well as she, expects it, and that he need not feel obligated to state his reasons, for she will "divine them."[100] Rather than a lengthy explanation of his reasons for declining Newcomb's proposal, she asks him instead to tell her how he and Sophia spend their days and whether he thinks of her. She is curious if the promise of an "intellectual friendship" that she had told Sophia was possible in this marriage between a writer and an artist had been fulfilled, and she assumes that Hawthorne would be willing to trust her with the intimate details of his life:

> I should like much to hear something about yourselves, whether ther[e] is writing, or drawing or modelling in what room you pass the short, dark days, and long bright evenings of Jany, what the Genius loci says whether through voice of ghost, or rat, or winter wind, or kettle singing symphony to the happy duet, and whether, by any chance, you

sometimes give a thought to your friend.[101]

On 1 February 1843 Hawthorne sent Fuller the longest and most intimate account that he would write to anyone of his marriage and his life at the Old Manse. In that letter he resumes the conversation he had established with Fuller about his relationship with Sophia and the effects marriage has had on their lives. These conversations, among others of course, were crucial in helping Fuller to conceptualize alternative forms of marriage that allowed for greater equality and individual development for women, a concern which will figure prominently in her writing of "The Great Lawsuit" later in the year. These same conversations, as we shall see in later chapters, were also crucial to the concerns which Hawthorne would increasing make the subject of his most profound fictions.

Addressing the letter to "Dear Margaret," he indeed declines the Newcomb proposal, saying it was impossible "for a reason at present undeveloped, but which, I trust, time will bring to light" (15:670), an allusion to the recently discovered pregnancy that Sophia would soon miscarry. As he did in his earlier letter, Hawthorne acknowledges Fuller's extraordinary ability to understand him, a distinction he accords to no one else but the "Dove" in all his letters, but before that acknowledgement he seems to allude to her assurance of not having any "black design" upon his "domestic peace" by denying--in a phrase that, interestingly, is suggestive of moral transgressions rather than social infractions--that he has never considered her capable of "wishing any thing that ought not to be!":

> So here is a second negative. How strange, when I should be so glad to do everything that you had the slightest wish for me to do, and when you are so incapable of wishing any thing that ought not to be! Whether or no you bear a negative more easily than other people, I certainly find it easier to give you one; because you do not peep at matters through a narrow chink, but can take my view as perfectly as your own. (15:670)

The proposal dealt with, Hawthorne proceeds to give Fuller an account of his state of mind, confident that she "can take" his "view as perfectly as" her "own." As she had requested, he speaks of his writing, telling her that the pressures of contributing monthly to periodicals keeps him "writing without any period at all" (3:670), but he says nothing specifically of Sophia's "drawing or modelling." Though he claims that he cannot find "anything to tell of or describe" that would not reduce the

"delicate pungency" of their lives to "a very common-place residuum," his description of their continual "advances" in happiness emphasizes their isolation from the world and their daily isolation from each other (15:671), an emphasis that perhaps arises from his anticipation, with Sophia's pregnancy, of the baby that will bring that "selfish" solitude to an end: "I do suppose that nobody ever lived, in one sense, quite so selfish a life as we do. Not a footstep, except our own, comes up the avenue for weeks and weeks; and we let the world alone as much as the world does us. During the greater part of the day, we are separately engaged at our respective avocations; but we meet in my study in the evening" (15:671). Though he claims that their moments together "spread over all the time that we are apart" and leave them with the sense that they are "in each other's society a good deal more than we are," his "wonder" at Sophia's ability "to dispense with all society but mine" (15:671) implicitly acknowledges an anxiety that the solitude of his society is not or will not be enough.[102] Of his own state of mind, Hawthorne describes "the circle" of his life since marriage as having "come round," bringing "back many of my school-day enjoyments," such as skating, which he now experiences with "a deeper pleasure," tasting them with "a sort of epicurism" possible for one who is "boy and man together" (15:671). Later in the year, he was to write to Edward Duyckinck that the "reality" that he has found in marriage "looks very much like some of my old dreams" (16:9). His "old dreams" as a boy had been of a return to his Edenic days in Raymond, Maine, and a life spent in isolation from the world with his mother and sisters (15:117,119); at that moment in Concord, at least, he seems, as "boy and man together," to satisfy that longing with Sophia, whom he brags of keeping "tranquil as a summer-sunset" (15:671).

Or so he presents himself to Fuller. Of course, at the very moment that he writes to Fuller he anticipates the arrival of a baby that will end forever not only his "boyhood" but his exclusive hold over Sophia's attention and love. As a boy, "like the body of the mother to the child," Larry J. Reynolds has written, "nature constituted his reality and the son felt no sense of separation from her, until the intrusion of a father figure, his Uncle Robert Manning."[103] As a man, he will, with heavy irony, be the father who will drive himself as boy from this second paradise and from perfect possession of this second woman. At the moment that he writes to

Fuller, he is also writing out a damnation of his resentment and rage in the preemptive fantasy of abortion that is "The Birth-mark."[104] Though Hawthorne might be willing to provide Fuller a more intimate description of his marriage than he would provide to anyone else, he could continue the conversation on love and marriage--could speak the truth, the whole and darker side of the truth, at least--only in fiction.

Hawthorne closes by telling Fuller that Sophia wants to read the letter, but notes pointedly that he would not allow her because he has "too much regard for her to consent" (15:672), presumably because of the atrocious handwriting, for which he has just apologized, but perhaps also because of his desire to maintain a sense of exclusivity in his increasingly independent friendship with Fuller. He and Sophia "may let the world alone as the world does" them, but Fuller is welcome to join them in the solitude of their Eden: Hawthorne closes the letter by insisting, as he had to Sophia on the night they decided on Concord as their home, that Fuller spend "a proportionable part of the time at our house" when she next comes for a visit to Concord, whether it be "for a month, or a week, or a day" (15:672). He signs the letter "Your friend."

Fuller was not able to accept Hawthorne's invitation until the summer of 1844. During the year and a half that elapsed, Fuller published in July of 1843 "The Great Lawsuit: Man Versus Men. Woman Versus Women," the lengthy essay advocating a revision in male-female relationships that she would expand in the fall of 1844 into Woman in the Nineteenth Century, and she had toured the Midwest frontier and published her account of the trip in Summer on the Lakes, 1843. Arriving at the Old Manse on 9 July 1844, Fuller spent the first ten days of her visit to Concord with the Hawthornes, whose household now included the four month-old Una, and she visited frequently with them during the remainder of the summer and fall. The assumption that Hawthorne's relationship with Fuller had soured over her proposals that the Hawthornes take boarders or over her increasing commitment to women's rights is simply not supported by the surviving documents of her visit.[105] The journal that Fuller left of those encounters suggests that her relationship with Hawthorne became more intimate than it had ever been. In fact, editorial decisions made by Fuller during her apparent recopying of the original entries, together with mysteriously missing pages in the journal, suggest that her relationship

with Hawthorne may have been even more intimate than the record that we do have, for, as with Hawthorne's notebooks for 1842, these editorial deletions frequently occur at crucial junctures during or immediately after descriptions of her encounters with Hawthorne.[106] Though Sophia left accounts of Una's and Fuller's immediate affection for each other,[107] this time Hawthorne did not record in his notebooks any of his private moments with Fuller, perhaps, as Edwin Haviland Miller speculates, because "he had Sophia looking over his shoulder."[108] These moments of the summer and fall of 1844 will be the last that Fuller and Hawthorne will share as friends, for after last seeing Hawthorne in October, Fuller moved to New York to become a literary and social critic for Greeley's New-York Daily Tribune and, as far as we know, she and Hawthorne never met again.

When Fuller arrived in Concord in July, both she and Hawthorne were attempting to adjust to emotional upheavals in their lives. The "selfish" solitude of Hawthorne's marriage had finally been broken, of course, by the arrival of Una, and Hawthorne, as most new fathers, was in the midst of adjusting not only to his immense responsibilities as a parent but also to the end of the "boyhood pleasures" he claims he had relived in the early days of his marriage.[109] Though Sophia would remain "imbedded" within the pure "amber" of her husband and never admit to not worshipping him as a veritable god, Hawthorne had now to share his position in Sophia's pantheon with a child. During the first six months after Una's birth, in fact, Hawthorne had to sleep alone, for Sophia slept in a separate bedroom with the baby.[110]

Fuller was struggling to overcome a mysterious crisis that had given her, as she says, "much pain in the month of May."[111] Martha L. Berg and Alice De V. Perry, editors of the recently published Fuller journal for the summer and fall of 1844, argue that Fuller had fallen in love with young William Clarke, brother of James Freeman and Sarah Clarke, whom she had met during her trip to the upper mid-West in the summer of 1843. By May of 1844, Berg and Perry surmise, the promise of that relationship had soured, and Fuller's journal, particularly before she arrives at the Hawthornes', records her anguished attempts to recover from the experience.[112] On June 27, for instance, Fuller writes:

> I am not fitted to be loved & it pains me to have close dealings with those who do not love, to whom my feelings are 'strange.' Kindness &

> esteem are very well. I am willing to receive & bestow them, but these, alone are not worth feelings such as mine, & I wish I may make no more mistakes, but keep chaste for mine own people. I have got beyond what gave me so much pain in the month of May, but I will never seem right, I fear.[113]

Only five days before arriving at the Hawthornes', Fuller finds that she has not "got beyond" the pain; she writes despairingly: "O I need some help. No I need a full a godlike embrace from some sufficient love."[114] Fuller's journal account of her stay in Concord describes her "close dealings" with those who do "love" her, her "own people" who do not feel that her feelings are "'strange,'" chiefly, of course, Emerson and Hawthorne. When Hawthorne in "The Old Manse" alludes to Fuller's stay at his home, he describes her as a woman "on whose feminine nature had been imposed the heavy gift of intellectual power, such as a strong man might have staggered under, and with it the necessity to act upon the world," and includes her as one of those three "weary and world-worn" friends "who came within our magic circle" where he was able "to throw the spell of a tranquil spirit" over them and give them "rest" (10:29).

Hawthorne and Una--not Emerson and certainly not Sophia, who is rarely mentioned--are the centers of Fuller's attention in the summer of 1844. Though still drawn to Emerson, by 1844 Fuller is more resigned to than impatient with Emerson's incapacity for passionate intimacy. Hearing him read his essay on "Life" only two days after her arrival and only one day after the birth of his son Edward, Fuller remarks "how beautiful, and full and grand" it is before condemning it and its author for the frigidity of its vision: "Nothing but Truth in the Universe, no love, and no various realities. Yet how foolish with me to be grieved at him for showing towards me what exists toward all. Then we talked. He showed me a page from his journal which made me rather ashamed of ever exacting more. But lure me not again too near thee, fair Greek, I must keep steadily in mind what you really are."[115] Just as she had subtly characterized Hawthorne as an alternative to Emerson in her journal of 1842, Fuller seems to turn from Emerson to Hawthorne for the emotionally sympathetic understanding that she needs during this crucial period, and Hawthorne, attempting himself to adjust to his altered relations with Sophia, apparently responds. In "The Old Manse," Hawthorne alludes to Fuller as one of the three "weary and world-worn spirits" (Horatio Bridge and Franklin Pierce

being the others) that he cast "the spell of a tranquil spirit" over once they had come within his "magic circle" (10:29). The record that Fuller has left us of those summer days and nights alone with Hawthorne--helping him babysit Una, boating on the Concord, walking through the woods of Sleepy Hollow--clearly suggests, as Hawthorne represented it, that Fuller found comfort with Hawthorne as her host and companion.

Fuller and Hawthorne had much time to be alone together, for Sophia took on the task of nursing not only Una but Fuller's niece, Margaret Fuller Channing ("Greta").[116] On Saturday night, 13 July, four days after her arrival, Fuller records the first of their private conversations: "On the rock in the orchard. It was very dark, the breeze whispering in the trees above our heads, a few stars palely gleaming. We talked of dreams & H. told the nature of his. He was a little eager & sentimental tonight, but I shall not forget the conscious subtle smile with which he looked up as he said, 'I seem so at times from sympathy, but I am not really so.'"[117] This entry, as several others which concern Hawthorne or Emerson, was apparently edited by Fuller, for not only is a blank space (suggesting an omission) left between "I shall not forget the" and "conscious," but the entry itself, at the top of the page, is preceded by the row of "X's" across the bottom of the previous page, a signifier that journal editors Berg and De V. Perry believe Fuller "introduced" into the text to mark omissions when recopying the original for circulation among friends.[118] The omission in this case eliminates whatever Fuller may have written between the first line of the day's entry, "Playing with the beautiful Una, reading," and the passage that she kept on "dreams." In two other places the row of "X's" suggests the omission of entire conversations with Hawthorne. On 24 July, for instance, Fuller, who was now staying with her sister Ellen, spent the day at the Old Manse, having brought gifts for Hawthorne and Una but not Sophia. She writes: "I went up to the H's with some new potatoes for H. & a rattle for Una: Armed with these dignified presents I found as kind a welcome as shawls & silks would have purchased from an Eastern Pacha. H. walked home with me beneath the lovely trembling--X X X X X." [119] Two days earlier after dining with the Hawthornes and playing with Una, Fuller records: "Walked home with H. the long Sleepy Hollow way. Through the X X X [bottom of page] X X

X X X [top of next page] our intercourse could never be perfect."[120] The three "X's" at the bottom of one page and the five "X's" at the top of the next suggest that Fuller wished to denote the omission of the entire conversation, not just the final sentence on one page and the first sentence on the next. Whatever was discussed, it is clear that Fuller's disappointment in the imperfection of her intercourse with Hawthorne is linked in her mind in some way with romantic disappointments. Immediately after the edited reference to her conversation with Hawthorne, she writes:

> At present, it skills not, I am able to take the superior views of life, and my place in it: but I know the deep yearnings of the heart & the bafflings of time will again be felt, & then I shall long for some dear hand to hold. But I shall never forget that my curse is nothing compared with that of those who have entered into those relations but not made them real: who only seem husbands, wives, & friends. H. was saying as much the other evening.[121]

Fuller's recognition that her "intercourse" with Hawthorne "could never be perfect," is, I believe, her recognition that the romantic tension in their friendship could never be resolved or realized fully. That Fuller and Hawthorne would discuss the nature of friendships and marriages made "real" is, of course, revelatory of the intimacy of their friendship. Not only were friendship and marriage the recurring topics of disagreement over the years between Fuller and Emerson in their private conversations, but it seems clear that Hawthorne and Fuller had been discussing the failure of Emerson to form truly intimate relations with his wife as well as his friends. The passage further suggests that Fuller and Hawthorne had discussed their own friendship and perhaps the Hawthorne marriage as being founded on "real" rather than "seeming" relations and had used Emerson as their foil.

Fuller's pleasure in Hawthorne's company and her longing to develop their friendship to an even deeper level of intimacy than the "brotherly" relationship she will later describe it as being is evident in a couple of passages that were not deleted from the journal. On 18 July, for instance, Fuller writes of lying on a rock in the Hawthorne orchard, giving herself up to the sensuous summer afternoon--"lustrous warm, delicious happy, tender, gently stooping clouds"--listening to sounds of farmers making hay, children splashing in the river, the dancing master's "shriek and scrape" on the fiddle, the discord "harmonized by the golden fulness of

light on the river on the trees, on the fields," caring "not where it lay" for "it loved and laughed on all."[122] Into this sensuously picturesque scene she introduces Hawthorne: "H. came down about six and we went out on the river & staid till after sunset. We talked a great deal this time. I love him much & love to be with him in this sweet tender homely scene. But I should like too, to be with him on the bold ocean shore."[123] The Hawthorne "in this sweet homely scene" is the husband, the father, the friend--the "mild, deep and large" man that she had described having a "most pleasant communion" with five days before when Sophia had left Fuller alone with Hawthorne and Una,[124] the man whom she had originally described to Sophia as having the "delicate tenderness to understand the heart of a woman." The Hawthorne that she desires "to be with . . . on the bold ocean shore" is the man that she could not find in Emerson, the "mellow" Hawthorne of passionate potentiality, of "quiet depth and manliness enough to satisfy the heart of a woman." Fuller's desire "to be with him on the bold ocean shore" may be read, in a sense, as a more explicit prescription for the "deeper experiences" that she had claimed two years before that Hawthorne needed in order to become the "genius . . . fully roused" to his "work."

Fuller's "most pleasant communion" with Hawthorne had an immediate impact on her. If the June and early July entries in the journal are filled with descriptions of Fuller's emotional and physical agonies, her despair over the need that she cannot quite suppress for "a full a godlike embrace from some sufficient love," after only nine days at the Old Manse, Fuller finds herself somewhat surprised to report that she "can scarcely remember" the pain of "all the thoughts that stung me so," for now her "blood flows gently" and "neither head or heart aches."[125] By the last week in July, pondering her relationship with Hawthorne after a moonlight boat ride alone with him on 26 July, Fuller attempts to define the man who was capable of providing her a "sufficient love," and she places Hawthorne at the apex of the triangle of men in her life:

> Last night in the boat I could not help thinking each has something--more all. With Waldo how impossible to enjoy this still companionship, this mutual visionary life. With William even: with whom I have for moments & hours been so happy could I ever depend on his being <u>at leasure</u>, to live thus; certainly for ages I could not. But then H. has not the deep polished intellect of the one or the pure & passionate beauty of the other. He has his own powers: I seem to want

them all.[126]

As she had done on 21 August 1842 after spending the afternoon in Sleepy Hollow with Hawthorne, Fuller concludes the entry with the statement that she "cannot write about it,"[127] but what she does write about that night on the Concord with Hawthorne suggests that the "mutual visionary life" that she found in Hawthorne's "still companionship" may have been complicated by a more romantic attraction:

> I got to the Parsonage about 5 & we went out in the boat immediately. But the wind being against us made it too hard work for the boatman & soft clouds overspreading the whole sky it seemed that we should have no moon back, so we did not go quite to Fairhaven, but stopped about half a mile this side & went on shore to walk. But soon the moon rose in great beauty above a wood & we went to the boat again. We floated carelessly running ashore every now & then, and reached home a little after ten. O it is a sweet dream in memory, yet I regretted afterward that I had been led to talk so much. Had we floated silently, the captives of the scene, it would have been more entirely separate from the past. Now there are associations with these hours they cannot be remembered alone. The night was so beautiful, too, after we came in! I cannot write about it, but two poems occurred to me. I shall write them out so soon as I am able.[128]

The morning after her experience with Hawthorne, Emerson seems more inadequate than ever; Fuller writes: "I have just been in to see Waldo a few minutes. Sweet child.--Great Sage--Undeveloped Man!"[129] It is not the first time in the journal that Fuller juxtaposes Emerson's inadequacies with Hawthorne's "own powers." The paragraph immediately preceding Fuller's account of visiting Hawthorne on 24 July with gifts for him and Una and walking home with him "beneath the lovely trembling -- X X X X X" in fact ridicules Emerson more mercilessly than Hawthorne was ever to do: "Waldo came in & talked his transcendental fatalism a little. Then went away, declaring he should not come again till he was less stupid. I had as lief he would sit here and not say a word, but it would be impossible to make him understand that."[130]

After the long entry describing her 26 July boatride with Hawthorne, Fuller does not write again in her journal until 30 July, this time to describe the effect of her disappointment in not being able to take another boat ride with Hawthorne:

> Evening at the Parsonage but Mr. Bradford was there and wanted to go with H. in the boat. So I staid by myself in the avenue or went up the hill opposite with Leo [Hawthorne's St. Bernard]. playing Mephisto. to the Goethean life & then late I went into the orchard & lay on the rock

> looking up to the sky through the old twisted broken trees.--I am not happy tonight & ugly memories shed their bitter in the cup, but it was a beautiful, a spirit haunted night.[131]

This is not the first time that Fuller suggests a connection between the effect of her relationship with Hawthorne on her emotional or physical well-being. After her heavily edited description of the 22 July walk home with Hawthorne through "the long Sleepy Hollow way," which left her with the impression that their "intercourse could never be perfect" and that she would soon "long for some dear hand to hold," she begins the next day's entry simply: "My head aches today, I can scarce do anything."[132] Two days later, on the morning after bringing gifts to Hawthorne and Una and walking home again at night with Hawthorne "beneath the lovely trembling -- X X X X X," Fuller suggests that she is recuperating from her recent crisis--sleeping late, the mind not wanting "to be waked" because "the body needs a long lullaby": "Nestling stilly, long wing feathers grow again."[133]

In her final journal entry on Hawthorne prior to leaving Concord in August, Fuller records her "sadness" that Una will not be quite the baby she is now, but as she thinks of the changes wrought by time on Una, she also thinks of the possibilities of future development in her relationship with Hawthorne. Describing yet another walk through the woods with Hawthorne, she first recounts the experience in an implicitly suggestive narrative. She then adds a coda that explicitly negates the suggestiveness by attributing to Hawthorne, if not quite to herself, the presently innocent nature of their intimacy and its potentiality for even greater depth:

> Walk with H. in the woods long paths, dark and mystical. We went far & it was quite dark when we returned: we lost the path & I got wet in the long grass & had much scrambling. Yet this was pleasant too in its way though I reached home quite "beat out" & went straight to bed with burning headache as I did last night. I feel more like a sister to H. or rather more that he might be a brother to me than ever with any man before. Yet with him it is though sweet, not deep kindred, at least, not deep yet.[134]

Fuller's temptation, but refusal, to define her feelings toward Hawthorne as "sisterly" while asserting his "brotherly" role with her may have been added to the description of this walk as a result of the conversation she had with Sophia two days before, the only conversation in fact that she records in her journal as having had with Sophia during

her entire stay. Toward the end of the journal, on 14 October, nearly a month after she had taken leave of Emerson and Hawthorne before departing for New York, Fuller records that "visions came to haunt" her, and she exclaims: "O let the past be quite past. Help me my Angel to an increasing delicacy of conscience and a stricter honor."[135] The cryptic conversation that Fuller recorded of Sophia's conversation and her reaction to it may have contributed not only to her attempt to define Hawthorne's relationship to her as being "brotherly" but also to the haunting, conscience-stricken visions of her past. On 31 July Fuller writes: "Sophia told me a truth for which I thank her: she seemed nobly. 'Each Orpheus must to the depths descend.' I walked home with H. through the woods. The skies were sighing & veiling their lids, & began to weep almost as soon as I was housed. . . . I have been writing a little note to Sophia about the truth. I will think prayerfully of it. I am very unwell, thanks to moonlight damps of last night, I suppose."[136]

We can never know "the truth" that Sophia told Fuller, of course, but thirty years after this conversation, Julian would defend his decision to publish Hawthorne's damning 1858 analysis of Fuller's character by arguing that his mother wanted it published but would not publish it herself during her lifetime because she feared that she would be seen as taking "revenge" on Fuller for having treated her with "a deficiency of good taste, to say the least."[137] Fuller's narration of the episode suggests that--in "thanking" her for the disclosure, in immediately and "prayerfully" writing Sophia a follow-up note, and in Sophia's "seeming" nobility at a moment that perhaps could have been handled ignobly--"the truth" that Sophia told her, whatever it may have been, was painful to them both.

Whatever was said between Sophia and Fuller on 31 July, Fuller's friendship with the Hawthornes did not seem to be affected. Returning to Concord on 21 September after an absence of almost two months, Fuller records having tea with the Hawthornes and walking home with Hawthorne beneath the "very bright, cold moonlight."[138] She had already begun expanding "The Great Lawsuit" into Woman in the Nineteenth Century and had returned to Concord apparently to discuss with Emerson and Hawthorne the offer she had received from Horace Greeley, for she writes, "Both W. & H. think the N.Y. plan of great promise, which I did not

expect."[139]

She left Concord the next day, and in the two month interval between Concord and New York, she was busily at work transforming "The Great Lawsuit" into Woman in the Nineteenth Century. She had entered the Hawthorne household in July having yet to recover from a debilitating emotional crisis, but she was able to leave Concord ready to make the biggest personal and career move of her life, ready to enter, as it turns out, the most productive and important phases of her literary career. She never saw Hawthorne again, but she did not forget her friend. As we shall see in the next chapter, in New York she continued to promote Hawthorne's career through her personal contacts and through her power as a widely read literary critic.

As the rest of this study will demonstrate, Hawthorne certainly did not forget her. Though he would never again walk the woods of Concord with her, his conversations with her did not end. Fuller did much more to promote Hawthorne's literary career than simply praise him every time that she reviewed his work. She probably never realized it, but, more than anyone or anything, she is responsible for unsettling Hawthorne's fiction, for enabling him to "paint" with "blood-warm colors." Like Fuller, after the summer of 1844, Hawthorne also embarked on the greatest phase of his literary career. It begins less than one month after she left Concord. It begins the moment Hawthorne initiates a new conversation with her, the literary conversation that is "Rappaccini's Daughter."

Notes

1. The 1879 statements were made in James, Hawthorne, 83; and the 1903 statements were quoted in Chevigny, The Woman and the Myth, 420-21. For an assessment of how Fuller's sexuality and marriage have played an overwhelming influence on assessments of her life and work, see Chevigny, "To the Edges of Ideology," and "The Long Arm of Censorship"; and Marie Mitchell Olesen Urbanski, "Margaret Fuller: Feminist Writer and Revolutionary," in Feminist Theorists: Three Centuries of Key Women Thinkers, ed. Dale Spender (New York, 1983), 73-89, especially 86-89.

2. Julia Ward Howe, Introduction to Love-Letters of Margaret Fuller, 1845-1846 (New York, 1903), v-vi.

3. Katharine Anthony, Margaret Fuller: A Psychological Biography (New York, 1920), identifies the sources of Hawthorne's attitude toward Fuller: "His immoderate dislike of Margaret is only comprehensible as a symptom of his hidden misery, a cover for his fascinated interest in a Bacchante type. . . . No doubt he received the same sort of emotional satisfaction

from vilifying her that his near ancestor had received from whipping a witch through the streets of Salem" (92-93).

4. V. L. Parrington, The Romantic Revolution in America, vol. 2 of Main Currents in American Thought (New York, 1927), 433, 448.

5. Ibid., 434.

6. Ibid., 428.

7. Ibid., 433, 428.

8. Ibid., 428, 426.

9. Ibid., 427.

10. Ibid., 448-49.

11. Margaret Bell, Margaret Fuller (New York, 1930), 120-21.

12. Wade, Whetstone of Genius, 113-14.

13. Randall Stewart, Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography (New Haven, Conn., 1948), 66.

14. Baym, "Thwarted Nature," 58-60.

15. Arlin Turner, Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography (New York, 1980), 148, 324.

16. Blanchard, 194.

17. Margaret Vanderhaar Allen, The Achievement of Margaret Fuller, (University Park, Penn., 1979), 20.

18. Nina Baym, "Hawthorne's Women: The Tyranny of Social Myths," Centennial Review 15 (1971): 250-72, 250-51.

19. Baym, "Thwarted Nature," 60.

20. Nina Baym, The Shape of Hawthorne's Career (Ithaca, N.Y., 1976), 199, n.7.

21. Baym, "Thwarted Nature," 61.

22. Gloria C. Erlich, Family Themes and Hawthorne's Fiction: The Tenacious Web (New Brunswick, N.J., 1984), especially 61, 84-99.

23. Persons, Aesthetic Headaches, 94-104.

24. Evan Carton, "'A Daughter of the Puritans' and Her Old Master: Hawthorne, Una, and the Sexuality of Romance," in Daughters and Fathers, eds. Lynda E. Boose and Betty S. Flowers (Baltimore, 1989), 208-32.

25. Robert K. Martin, "Hester Prynne, C'est Moi: Nathaniel Hawthorne and the Anxieties of Gender," in Engendering Men: The Question of Male Feminist Criticism, eds. Joseph A. Boone and Michael Cadden (New York, 1990), 122-39, 138.

26. Reynolds, European Revolutions, 79-80; Pfister, The Production of Personal Life, 67-68, 95-96, 131-34; and Herbert, Dearest Beloved, 12-14, 226, 228, 269. As an illustration of the need for greater attention to the Hawthorne-Fuller relationship, Pfister ruins several excellent points about Fuller's influence on Hawthorne by getting his facts dreadfully wrong. He has Hawthorne thinking of "his recently deceased friend, Margaret Fuller," when writing a descriptive statement about Hester (134), though Fuller was then very much alive and would be for more than five months after Hawthorne wrote the last sentence of the romance. He also mistakes Hawthorne's 1858 notebook entry for a letter and either states or allows ambiguous syntax to imply that Hawthorne condemned Fuller in 1850 rather than 1858: "But her [Fuller's] independence gradually caught up to her 'brother,' who, after her death by drowning in 1850, two years before Blithedale, maligned her in a letter in terms that echo Weld's dressing down of Hutchinson: 'She set to work on her strange, heavy unpliable, and in many respects, defective and evil nature.'" (96).

27. Hawthorne and Sophia first met Fuller on 28 October 1839 at a party hosted by Connie Park (15:383, n.3).

28. Leland S. Person, Jr., "Hawthorne's Love Letters: Writing and Relationship," American Literature 59 (1987): 211-27. Marlon Ross, The Contours of Masculine Desire: Romanticism and the Rise of Women's Poetry (New York, 1989).

29. Person, for instance, states that "self-creative relationship requires Hawthorne's self-surrender; he becomes a form that Sophia will fill and then quicken into life--a male Galatea to her Pygmalion" ("Hawthorne's Love Letters," 213). I would argue that Hawthorne is asking Sophia to surrender her substance to his form. Person, to my mind, does not distinguish adequately between Hawthorne's Sophia Peabody, the "Dove," and "Naughty Sophie." Not to belabor the point, but consider Person's reading of Hawthorne's 20 December 1839 letter to Sophia. Hawthorne apologizes to "Sophie Hawthorne" that half the letter "remains undeveloped" in his "brain and heart" and wishes that "Sophie" could "enter those inward regions, and read the letter there": "The Dove can do it, even if Sophie Hawthorne fail. Dearest, would it be unreasonable for me to ask you to manage my share of the correspondence, as well as your own?--to throw yourself into my heart, and make it gush out with more warmth and freedom than my own pen can avail to do" (15:388). Person immediately equates "Sophie" with the "Dove" and both with "Sophia": "Not only did Hawthorne admit Sophia's power to make him 'be,' in other words, but in this passage he granted her an ability to make him write" (223). I would contend that Hawthorne's point is that if "Sophie" could become the "Dove"--and he clearly implies that she has most definitely not--then she could read his heart, even write its words. He is reminding her, subtly and with deceptive playfulness, that she has a ways to go before she lives up to his conception of her. Person also either glosses over or does not examine some of the more problematic letters (see, for instance, 15:317-18, 15:350-51). I suspect that what I consider Person's "blindspots" in an otherwise brilliant case for the importance of those letters is linked to Randall Stewart's--the assumption of "marital happiness" requiring a compatible interpretation.

30. 30 August - 9 September 1842 letter from Sophia to her mother (Berg; qtd. in Mellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne in His Times, 204).

31. 1856-57 (?) letter from Sophia to her sister Elizabeth (Berg; qtd. in Miller, Salem is My Dwelling Place, 416).

32. In addition to the Centenary edition of The American Notebooks, from which I quote here, I will also be citing from the extremely valuable notes of Randall Stewart, ed. The American Notebooks (New Haven, Conn., 1932).

33. Karen Lystra, Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America (New York, 1989), 38.

34. This too is one of Person's major arguments throughout "Hawthorne's Love Letters."

35. In a complex but persuasive argument, Herbert, Dearest Beloved, argues that Hawthorne's success in inducing Sophia to inhabit his "ideal" was the happy (or unhappy) coincidence of both of them having "already imagined one another before they met" and finding that "on meeting . . . that their two narratives were already one" (34).The relationship that Hawthorne constructs in these letters, of course, is but an individual application of the broader cultural movement among the middle-class in England and America during the early and middle nineteenth-century to redefine male-female relations, specifically by defining the "true woman" as the spiritualized "angel" of the home providing refuge and redemption for the man from the brutal materialism of the business and political world, the movement known as "the cult of domesticity" or the ideology of "true womanhood." My only reservation about such ideological analyses is that I feel the economic sources and consequences often overshadow the spiritual; the need to transform love into a religion and women into gods says as much about spiritual vacuity and despair as it does about man's needs to rationalize crass and patriarchal capitalism, the two actually being intimately interrelated. Nina Auerbach, Woman and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), though focused primarily on British middle-class culture, makes much the same argument. That cavil aside, I will focus on the particularity of Hawthorne's participation in the construction of that ideology rather than foreground that interpretative frame and supplement redundantly the many excellent studies already in existence--to name a few--Ann Douglas, The Feminization of American Culture (New York, 1978); Gillian Brown, Domestic Individualism: Imagining Self in Nineteenth-Century America (Berkeley, 1990)--and, related to Hawthorne--Pfister, The Production of Personal Life, especially 1-11; Herbert, Dearest Beloved.

36. Susan Gubar, "'The Blank Page' and the Issues of Female Creativity," in The New Feminist Criticism: Essays on Women, Literature, and Theory, ed. Elaine Showalter (New York, 1985), 292-313, 293. Hawthorne rewrites and explicitly refers to the Pygmalion myth in "Drowne's Wooden Image" and in "The Birth-mark." Immediately after the birth of Una, Hawthorne wrote to Horatio that he is happy to have had a daughter because "there is something so especially piquant in having helped to create a future woman" (16:25).

37. Person, Aesthetic Headaches, 114. Person's remarks are made specifically about Browne, but Browne is presented by Person as a model of Hawthorne's artistic project.

38. Herbert, Dearest Beloved, 117-18.

39. Herbert's Dearest Beloved predicates its analysis of Hawthorne's marriage on the thesis that it "teemed with covert sexual politics . . . with inward debates about the axioms of its own constitution" (5), that, in other words, Sophia did, covertly, rebel against Hawthorne's assertion of power over her.

40. Hawthorne's attempt to find redemption in the idol of a woman of his own creating illustrates Nina Auerbach's thesis, Woman and the Demon, that the "ethos of religious humanism" in Victorian life "exhorted man to stretch to godhead," which, in an age of religious crisis and disbelief, led man to imagine woman in "unorthodox" and "sometimes frightening" myths as "new vehicles for transfiguration" (7). Herbert, Dearest Beloved, contends that "Sophia's religious authority as the angel of Hawthorne's self-making" arose from Hawthorne's "own desperate need to reinforce the conviction that his selfhood as a man and artist had actually taken form during the years of solitary labor he had sustained before he met her" (77).

41. Herbert, Dearest Beloved, asserts that Hawthorne met Sophia's "dissociated fury [an "unvanquished will to power" concealed within her "groveling protestations of absolute devotion"] not only with acquiescent guilt but also with covert reciprocal rage" (28-29).

42. Qtd. in Ralph Waldo Emerson, Emerson in His Journal, ed. Joel Porte (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 194.

43. Blanchard, From Transcendentalism to Revolution, 102, 137. Hawthorne biographer, Edwin Haviland Miller, Salem is My Dwelling Place, refers to Fuller's "erotic and intellectual aggressiveness" as the source of her power, and problems, in friendships (219).

44. Memoirs, 1:213.

45. Ibid., 2:58.

46. Ibid., 1:65.

47. Ibid., 1:66, 64.

48. Qtd. in Higginson, Margaret Fuller Ossoli, 117-18.

49. Memoirs, 2:22-23.

50. Ibid., 1:202-03.

51. Ibid., 1:212.

52. Ibid., 1:205.

53. Emerson in His Journals, 540.

54. Erlich, Family Themes, 61, 84-99.

55. NH and HW, 1:5.

56. Ibid.

57. Erlich, Family Themes, 61.

58. Margaret Fuller, Rev. of Grandfather's Chair, Dial 1 (January 1841): 405.

59. The essay "American Literature: Its Position in the Present Time, and Prospects for the Future" was first published in Fuller's Papers on Literature and Art, 2:122-43 and is reprinted in Joel Myerson, ed. Essays on American Life and Literature (Albany, N.Y., 1978), 381-400, 399.

60. Turner, Nathaniel Hawthorne, 132-33.

61. Edwin Haviland Miller, Salem is My Dwelling Place, 190.

62. Sophia Peabody to Margaret Fuller, 11 May 1842 (Houghton; qtd. in Mellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Times, 195).

63. Arlin Turner, Nathaniel Hawthorne, 147.

64. Memoirs, 1:280-81; Stewart, ed., American Notebooks, 315, n.372.

65. Letters, 3:66.

66. Letters, 1:198.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Letters, 3:70.

71. Margaret Fuller, Rev. of Twice-Told Tales, Dial 3 (July 1842): 130-31, 130.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid., 130-31.

74. Ibid., 131.

75. Ibid., 61.

76. "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal," 326.

77. Ibid., 330.

78. Ibid., 324.

79. Ibid., 324.

80. Sophia to her mother, 22 August 1842 (Berg; qtd. in Mellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne in His Times, 211-12).

81. Ibid.

82. "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal," 325.

83. Miller, Salem is My Dwelling Place, asserts that Hawthorne's burning of Sophia's love letters to him "served as an epitaph of the edenic relationship, which had in some ways proved but another bubble" (397). Herbert, Dearest Beloved, describes the act as an "assertion and effacement of his rage," arising from Hawthorne's "impulse to obliterate" Sophia's "worship" (29).

84. Two years later, Hawthorne and Fuller did get lost during a walk in the woods (see "'The Impulses of Human Nature,'" 108).

85. Larry J. Reynolds, "Hawthorne and Emerson in 'The Old Manse,'" argues persuasively that in "The Old Manse" Hawthorne records his attempt during this period to reestablish an original, maternal and pre-Oedipal, relationship with nature that Emerson--as father figure, literary and personal rival, and author of Nature--obstructed (60-81). Fuller, I would argue, experiences to a great extent a similar conflict with Emerson, and in the summers of 1842 and 1844 begins to align herself with Hawthorne's sensuous earthiness against Emerson's brilliant but frigid abstractness.

86. Margaret Fuller, "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal," 325.

87. NH and HW, 1:252.

88. Ibid., 1:256.

89. Stewart, ed., American Notebooks, for instance, calls this and the Charles Newcomb letter from Fuller "untactful suggestions" and "blunders" which "perhaps diminished" the "cordiality of relations" between Fuller and Hawthorne. Stewart terms Hawthorne's replies "models of diplomatic correspondence" (315-16, n.372). Following Julian's lead, Turner, Nathaniel Hawthorne, terms Hawthorne's reply to the first request "a masterly letter" (149; my emphasis). Even Fuller biographer Paula Blanchard, From Transcendentalism to Revolution, follows Stewart's lead in calling the Ellery letter a "tactless blunder" which Hawthorne "declined gracefully" but "privately doubtless resented even the suggestion of intruders" (193).

90. Fuller, "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal," contrasted the letters from the two Hawthornes in her journal: "I enclose here a letter received from Hawthorne in answer to a question put at Ellery's earnest request, and with it one from Sophia received several days since. It is a striking contrast of tone between the man and woman so sincerely bound together by one sentiment" (328). Unfortunately, the "striking contrast" remains a mystery since Sophia's letter has never been recovered.

91. As an example of Julian's influence on future Hawthorne biographers, Sophia's initial sentence expressing her regret that Hawthorne had been interrupted is the only sentence of Sophia's quoted by Turner, Nathaniel

Hawthorne, in his account of the incident. Convinced that "Hawthorne recoiled from the excessive admiration of Margaret Fuller he found in Sophia and her associates" (147) and that Hawthorne and Sophia had for years carried on a debate about her (Ibid., 324), Turner, by omitting the remainder of the entry, obscures Fuller's friendly relations with both Hawthornes. Turner, however, apparently did not have access to the 1844 Fuller journals, as Hawthorne's most recent biographer, Edwin Haviland Miller did. Though Miller, Salem is My Dwelling Place, devotes a full chapter to Fuller, his own animus toward Fuller is but thinly veiled. Of Fuller's relationships with Emerson, Channing, and Hawthorne, Miller, for instances, proclaims: "Her greed, as Carlyle noted, was insatiable, but she trifled with three married men" (234). And, remarkably for a biography that insightfully explores the psychological and sexual ambivalences haunting Hawthorne, he exceeds even Julian in editing the 1858 notebook passage to obscure Hawthorne's preoccupation with Fuller's sexuality, omitting the entire first sections of the passage in which Hawthorne's interest in Fuller's sexuality is evident. Miller assesses Hawthorne's attitude toward Fuller in the 1858 passage thus: "He admired Fuller's artistry, the 'humbug' in her nature which cloaked the inner hurts, the vulnerabilities behind the arrogance and egomania. He may have come closer to understanding her than many of her contemporaries" (Ibid., 237).

92. Qtd. in Stewart, ed., American Notebooks, 317, n.391.

93. "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal," 334.

94. Ibid.

95. Qtd. in Randall Stewart, ed., American Notebooks, 317, n.391.

96. "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal," 339.

97. Ibid.

98. Letters, 3:115.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid., 117.

101. Ibid.

102. Herbert's Dearest Beloved brilliantly explores the cultural and psychic origins and consequences of what Thomas Wentworth Higginson in 1885 called the Hawthornes' "wedded isolation" ("Wedded Isolation," 407; and Rev. of Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, 259-65). Herbert, for instance, contends that Hawthorne's "elaboration of the union of souls between himself and Sophia . . . arrives at a contradiction that points toward anxieties built into its structure" (120-21). Hawthorne "dreads disturbances of their sacred intimacy that threaten from multiplying sources" because he "can have communion with his 'Dove' only so long as that sweet bower is protected from connections to the life beyond it" (121). Within the broader range of a full-scale biography, Miller's Salem is My Dwelling Place explores some of the same territory, concluding for instance that Sophia's insistence on maintaining the facade of an "ecstatic Eden . . . exacted a toll [on her] physically as well as emotionally" (225).

103. Reynolds, "Hawthorne and Emerson in 'The Old Manse,'" 70.

104. On 22 February, Sophia fell while walking with Hawthorne over the frozen Concord and lost the baby a few days later. Mellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Times, has concluded that based on Sophia's letters to her mother after her recovery the Hawthornes endured an "emotional disturbance" during this time (219). We can only imagine what Hawthorne must have felt when the dark drama of "The Birth-mark" played itself out on the Concord ice. See Pfister, The Production of Personal Life, for an intriguing historical reading of "The Birthmark" as "complicit with and critical of a cultural process that discursively produces the female body as pathological" (38). Though Pfister alludes to the biographical contexts of the story, he does not pursue a full arguement for a biographical influence.

105. Stewart, ed., American Notebooks, cites the proposals concerning boarders as possible causes of Hawthorne's change in attitude toward Fuller (315-16, n.372), and Turner, Nathaniel Hawthorne, argues that both of the Hawthornes "grew impatient" with Fuller as she became "more dedicated to the cause of women's rights" (324). Julian, of course, is responsible for the latter theory, which, I think, suffers from the terminal weakness of ignoring the fact that Fuller had long been committed to women's rights and had first published on the subject in "The Great Lawsuit" in 1843. Stewart and Turner, however, did not have access to Fuller's 1844 journal.105.

106. The editors of the 1844 journal, Martha L. Berg and Alice De V. Perry, "'The Impulses of Human Nature,'" conclude that the "missing pages suggests that there was intention in or a design to their removal, perhaps because their content was too revealing or inappropriate to the image of Fuller that her editors wanted to communicate to the world" (54). They further conclude that the row of "X's" that frequently appear at the bottom or top of pages were made by Fuller to denote "a break in the text, a thought interrupted, or some material omitted," leading them to conclude that the journal we have is a copy that Fuller made from the original journal, a copy that she intended to circulate "among her friends perhaps, as a 'letter-journal'" (54). Miller, Salem is My Dwelling Place,also suggests that "in recopying her journal at a later date she or someone else bowdlerized some of the accounts of her walks with Hawthorne" and denoted the omissions with the series of "X's" (234). For a complete discussion of the state of the text, see Berg and De V. Perry (Ibid., 51-55); for a general discussion of editorial changes made to Fuller's work, see Chevigny, "The Long Arm of Censorship" and "To the Edges of Ideology." 106.

107. Fuller writes frequently of her love for Una in her journal, several times stating her preference for Una over her newly born niece Margaret Fuller Channning ("Greta") and other babies, and Sophia verifies the mutual attraction between Fuller and Una in a notebook entry. Fuller's relationship with Una will be treated in a later chapter.

108. Miller, Salem is My Dwelling Place, 234.

109. Among the adjustments, of course, was an increase in the already great financial pressures, Hawthorne at one point envisioning his baby daughter in the almshouse (16:23).

110. Miller, Salem is My Dwelling Place, 230-31.

111. Fuller, "'The Impulses of Human Nature,'" 66.

112. Ibid., 38-51.

113. Ibid., 66.

114. Ibid., 71.

115. Fuller, "'The Impulses of Human Nature,'" 83.

116. Blanchard, From Transcendentalism to Revolution, states that "no more telling evidence exists of the Hawthornes' friendship to the Fullers as a family" than Sophia's willingness to nurse daily Margaret Fuller Channing as well as Una (192).

117. Fuller, "'The Impulses of Human Nature,'" 84. Berg and De V. Perry identify "W." not "H." as the man in this passage, but Larry J. Reynolds, who has transcribed the passage, claims that it is Hawthorne and not Emerson referred to, "H." not "W." The context of the entry as well as the location of the conversation argues for Reynolds' reading of the manuscript.

118. Ibid., 54.

119. Ibid., 93.

120. Ibid., 92.

121. Ibid., 92.

122. Ibid., 89.

123. Ibid.

124. Ibid., 85.

125. Ibid., 90.

126. Ibid., 105. Editors Berg and De V. Perry identify "William" as William Hull Clarke rather than, as has been the case, William Henry Channing (Ibid., 105, n.142).

127. Ibid., 106.

128. Ibid., 105-06. The poems are not copied under the entry. Two poems, however, are copied later on in the journal. In the first, Fuller puns on the meaning of "Margaret" as "pearl" to suggest that "the ray of sufficient day" will one day

break the spell
of the slimy oyster shell
Showing a pearl beyond all price so round and clear.

For which must seek a Diver, too, without reproach or fear.
(Ibid., 112)

In the other poem (or fragment), Fuller writes a farewell to Emerson on 23 September and follows it with the two couplets:

Winding hence afar.
O mild and steady star
The oft deserted stream
Will ne'er forget thy silver beam!
(Ibid., 118)

Both poems suggest Fuller's romantic longings at the time and both employ sexually suggestive metaphors, in the quotations above the feminine associated with water and unopened shells and the masculine with the phallic penetration of beams and divers.

129. Ibid., 105.

130. Ibid., 93.

131. Ibid., 106.

132. Ibid., 92.

133. Ibid., 93.

134. Ibid., 108.

135. Ibid., 122.

136. Ibid., 107.

137. "Hawthorne and Margaret Fuller," Boston Evening Transcript 2 Jan. 1885: 4.

138. Ibid., 118.

139. Ibid., 118.

CHAPTER IV

"RAPPACCINI'S DAUGHTER" AND THE VOICE OF BEATRICE

"I will compare the attempt to escape him to the hopeless race that men sometimes run with memory, or their own hearts, or their moral selves. . . . I will be self-contemplative, as Nature bids me, and make him the picture or visible type of what I muse upon, that my mind may not wander so vaguely as heretofore, chasing its own shadow through a chaos and catching only the monsters that abide there."

"Monsieur du Miroir" (10:169-70)

The elusive complexity of "Rappaccini's Daughter" has been especially baffling to Hawthorne scholars.[1] The tale's "ambiguity, obscurity, and inexplicable complexity" have become critical "assumptions," claims Lois A. Cuddy in a 1987 review of the criticism.[2] Indeed, the tale's seemingly structured resistance to meaning has itself been at issue. An "autodeconstructive" text, Deborah L. Jones calls it, arguing that the tale itself is "premised upon an inability to reveal a final, totalizing reading except by recourse to misguided hermeneutic allegiances."[3]

Any entrance into Rappaccini's garden is clearly fraught with the humbling uncertainty that we are following perilously in Giovanni's footsteps, carrying with us our own vial of interpretative poison. This is as Hawthorne would have it, for this is as Hawthorne experienced it before and during his "translation" of it into the tale that we are compelled in turn to translate into the language of an experience we can comprehend. Struggling to complete the tale that he had begun sometime in mid-October of 1844, Hawthorne read the unfinished manuscript to Sophia: "But how is it to end?" she asked him, when he laid down the paper. "Is Beatrice to be a demon or an angel?" "I have no idea!" was Hawthorne's reply, spoken with some emotion.[4] Hawthorne ended the tale by condemning the very desire to conclude it, to fix himself to an "idea" that, by the falsity of a reductive certainty, would unravel the "riddle" of Beatrice. But then he began the tale for that very purpose, for the "riddle" of Beatrice had become for Hawthorne inseparably bound, as he writes of Giovanni, with the "mystery which he deemed the riddle of his own existence" (10:110).

The sources of the "inexplicable complexity" of the tale, I would contend, originate in the very complexity of the "lurid intermixture" (10:105) of emotions that Margaret Fuller aroused in Hawthorne. Beginning

the tale within weeks of his last walk with Fuller in the woods of Concord and during the very month that her mentor and his friend and rival, Emerson, published his second series of essays, Hawthorne "translates" his troubling relationship with them both into the "picture or visible types" of the tale--attempting through art, as his narrator in "Monsieur du Miroir" proclaims, to contain the "chaos" of his "musings" and through the concealed confessions of allegory to confront the "monsters that abide there."

The tale thus performs its subject; it is a riddle of a riddle, a translation that requires translation. The prefatory "Writings of Aubépine" suggests as much. Hawthorne invites us in self-deprecatory humor to read through the thin fiction of his self-presentation, to "translate" it; for "Aubépine," we read "Hawthorne," for "translator," we read "author." In another sense, however, Hawthorne took up the transparent mask of translator because in transmuting life into art he had attempted in a very real sense to translate the language of his experience into the language of art. With Giovanni as his "visible type," Hawthorne is the "author" of the life that as writer he translates into his tale. As Hawthorne himself attempts to find in art a language that will allow him to read the meaning of his own experience, he translates that private text into a public text that approximates but does not equal its original, a text that we can and yet cannot read. Compelled to read the "riddle" of Fuller's character and his troublingly ambivalent relationship with her, detesting his very need to do so and compelled also to conceal the very confession that is the tale, Hawthorne images in the mirror of Giovanni not only his reflection but ours. The tale performs his agony. We "see" the language of the translator's tale, but in taking seriously Hawthorne's playful invitation to become translators ourselves, we are challenged to have the "depth" that Giovanni lacked, the faith to believe that we hear another, truer language, the first language of the tale's source--the language of an author's troubled heart.

The preface introduces both the private and the public texts and provides for the "individual" whom he claims as his audience an interpretative entrance into Rappaccini's garden. The "individual or possibly isolated clique" (10:91) capable of reading the tale is and is not a self-deprecatory appeal to his readers' aesthetic and class vanities;

beneath the public text of Hawthorne's apology for his art is his solicitude of, literally, an individual reader, for the private text is his response to Margaret Fuller's July 1842 review of Twice-Told Tales. Though Fuller praised "the soft grace, the playfulness, and genial human sense" of Hawthorne's tales and sketches, which have "been growing more and more dear to his readers," her chief praise was for "what is rarest in this superficial, bustling community, a great reserve of thought and strength never yet at all brought forward."[5] The tales, however, but "distantly indicate the bent of the author's mind, and the very frankness with which they impart to us slight outward details and habits shows how little yet is told." To develop his promise, to tell all, he must abandon his reserve; he must, she suggestively challenges him, "hear a voice that truly calls upon his solitude to ope his study door."[6] His art suffers from his life, but the present source of his weakness is the source of his potential strength. Fuller's praise of his "great reserve of thought and strength" shifts by the end of the review to condemnation and ends with a second provocatively personal and artistic challenge. Of his "imaginative pieces," Fuller writes:

> The invention is not clearly woven, far from being all compact, and seems a phantom or shadow, rather than a real growth. The men and women, too, flicker large and unsubstantial, like "shadows from the evening firelight," seen "upon the parlor wall." But this would be otherwise, probably, were the genius fully roused to its work, and initiated into its own life, so as to paint with blood-warm colors. This frigidity and thinness of design usually bespeaks a want of deeper experiences, for which no talent at observation, no sympathies, however ready and delicate, can compensate. We wait new missives from the same hand.[7]

Hawthorne's review of Aubépine's work not only acknowledges most of the same points of criticism but employs similar phrasing. Hawthorne will implicitly address Aubépine's "want of deeper experiences" in his treatment of Giovanni, but, here, he explicitly addresses Fuller's criticism of his failure to "paint with blood-warm colors"--of his shadowy characters' "frigidity and thinness"--by instead blaming "an inveterate love of allegory" for making Aubépine "apt to invest his plots and characters with the aspect of scenery and people in the clouds and steal away the human warmth out of his conceptions" (10:91-92). Slightly rephrasing Fuller's challenge to his contentment with imparting but "slight outward details and habits" which suggest "how little yet is told"

and with providing an "invention" that "is not clearly woven" or "a real growth," Hawthorne writes that Aubépine "contents himself with a very slight embroidery of outward manners,--the faintest possible counterfeit of real life" (10:92). And as Fuller praised his work in general for "the soft grace, the playfulness, and genial human sense" and had compared the limited revelation of his life in his art to "gleams of light on a noble tree which stands untouched and self-sufficing in its fulness of foliage on a distant hill-slope" or to "slight ripples wrinkling the smooth surface, but never stirring the quiet depths of a wood-embosomed lake,"[8] so Hawthorne redeploys Fuller's organic metaphors of wind, water, and light to praise Aubépine's own "human sense": "Occasionally a breath of Nature, a raindrop of pathos and tenderness, or a gleam of humor will find its way into the midst of his fantastic imagery, and make us feel as if, after all, we were yet within the limits of our native earth" (10:92). In praising Hawthorne's sketches for their "soft grace" and "genial love of the familiar plays of life," the very qualities that we condemn them for, as Jane Tompkins has pointed out,[9] Fuller speaks for the tastes of her age; they "are most pleasing" considered "in the light of familiar letters."[10] But that is not enough--not for Fuller, not for Hawthorne. "Were the genius fully roused to his work," she tells him frankly, it would be "initiated into its own life" and would then and only then "paint with blood-warm colors." Hawthorne's talent for "observation," for "sympathy" is not enough. Hawthorne must live "deeper experiences" and create a passionate art out of a passionate life. To do that, he must abandon his solitude and risk responding to "a voice that truly calls" upon him.[11]

If through paraphrase his preface, his very first preface, acknowledges that he had heard Fuller's voice, his restatement of her criticism and his assumption of the role of translator and American promoter of a continental author are acts of literary ventriloquism, registering his voice in her key, for Fuller had become widely recognized for her translations and her unfinished biography, and, in general, her championship of Goethe. She also had long waged an American critical campaign on behalf of German and French romantics, in particular courageously defending against popular prejudice Madame de Staël and George Sand. In identifying Aubépine's literary predicament of being "too popular" for the "spiritual or metaphysical requisitions" of the

Transcendentalists as well as "too refined" for "the intellect and sympathies of the multitude" (10:91), Hawthorne also aligns himself with Fuller. Though credited by Emerson with being the one person responsible for whatever unity the Transcendentalists had as a group, Fuller had become over the years as dissatisfied with Emerson's passionless abstractions as had Hawthorne.[12] During the preceding summer, of course, her private journal had registered again and again her impatience with Emerson's "cold" intellectualizations, juxtaposed most often by her expressions of contentment in Hawthorne's "still companionship" and their "mutual visionary life."[13] When she arrived in New York in fact, she selected the October publication of the second series of Emerson's Essays: Second Series as the topic of her first review for the New-York Daily Tribune. Published on 7 December 1844 (during, of course, the same month that "Rappaccini's Daughter" appeared in the Democratic Review), Fuller's lengthy review lavishes much praise on Emerson but is publicly frank in concluding that because he had been "chilled by the critical intellect," he was incomplete as a man and as a writer:[14]

> We miss what we expect in the work of the great poet, or the great philosopher, the liberal air of all the zones: the glow, uniform yet various in tint, which is given to a body by free circulation of the heart's blood from the hour of birth. Here is, undoubtedly, the man of ideas, but we want the ideal man also; want the heart and genius of human life to interpret it, and here our satisfaction is not so perfect.[15]

Dissatisfied with "the petty intellectualities, cant, and bloodless theory" of her friends in Boston, as she had stated frankly to Emerson in a 17 August 1843 letter from Chicago, she found herself with "no place . . . to live," for she was equally unsettled by the "merely instinctive existence" of the frontier multitude in the Midwest, which, as she said, "silenced" her.[16] Writing "Rappaccini's Daughter" as Fuller moved to New York and began settling into her job as a newspaper columnist and critic, Hawthorne (though he and Emerson had encouraged her to accept the position) would have every reason to anticipate that her work, like his, would be "too refined" for her audience of New York newspaper readers and "too popular" for Emerson and his circle.

Within the private text of "The Writings of Aubépine," Hawthorne addresses Fuller in a language that she, at least, would be able to read.

Adopting her literary persona, echoing her insights into his work, positioning himself with her in the readerless space of an ideological and literary isolation--Hawthorne encodes her intimate identification with the tale that follows even as he seems to distance himself from it. As she was the "author" of the critique of Hawthorne's art that he "translated" into his own critique of Aubépine's, so she will be, with Hawthorne, the original "co-author" of the experience that he presents as translation. Performing its subject, this passionate tale "paints with blood-warm colors" the passionate response of a man to a "voice" that calls upon him to forsake his wary "solitude" for "deeper experiences." It is and is about Hawthorne's conversation with the "voice" that he imitated in the preface. But in responding to that voice, he is responding to his own voice as well as Fuller's, for Fuller challenges him to examine his own attraction to and fear of the "deeper experiences" of a dialogue with a feminine nature that both promises release from and yet threatens the self-sufficiency of his male "solitude." As often noted, the notorious shift in point of view in the tale (the sudden emergence of the narrative "voice" condemning Giovanni) is largely responsible for the complexity of the tale, but this complexity, as I hope to demonstrate, originates in Hawthorne's own extraordinarily complex conversation with those "voices" within himself that spoke most clearly in his dialogue with Fuller and Emerson. Less than two years later, as Larry J. Reynolds has demonstrated of "The Old Manse," Hawthorne continued this dialogue with Emerson, attempting there, as he did here, earlier, in "Rappaccini's Daughter," to interrupt the monologue of the self-sufficient masculine individualist, who reads all nature as self, by engaging in an intimate dialogue with a feminine "Other" who promises release from the self, freedom from the walls of Rappaccini's garden.[17] It is an "Other" whose voice Hawthorne recognizes in Fuller's, whose voice Hawthorne makes his own.

2

Hawthorne's debt to both Milton and Dante in "Rappaccini's Daughter" is impossible to miss. But "Rappaccini's Daughter" is much more than simply Hawthorne's "conmixture" of Milton's Adam meeting Dante's Beatrice in Hawthorne's recreation of "the new Eden of the present world" (10:96). His narrator raises that possibility perhaps because he would prefer that we keep our interpretative eyes fixed there, focused on the distant, on

the tale's intertextual negotiations between those classic literary texts. "New" and "present," however, should hold our attention, for the tale is far more autobiographical, more "new" and "present," than the tale's transparent debt to its literary ancestors would lead us to believe.

The "new" Eden, for Hawthorne was Concord, and the voice of Beatrice in that garden is the voice of Fuller. Just as Hawthorne's frequently employed speculations and observations from his notebook entries into thematic sources or descriptive passages for his tales, so "The Writings of Aubépine" and the tale "Rappaccini's Daughter" frequently parallel material from Fuller's texts. Much of the narrative form and thematic tensions of Hawthorne's tale seems to respond to Fuller's "voice" and echo her own figurative language, but determining the precise degree of intertextual appropriation is difficult. Hawthorne and Fuller both drew upon a romantic discourse in which nature imagery commonly melded with biblical and Miltonic allusions. Nevertheless, the parallels are striking. In Fuller's 4 June 1842 letter to Sophia, for instance, Fuller reacts to Sophia's announcement of her impending marriage to Hawthorne by praising Hawthorne profusely ("if ever I saw a man who combined delicate tenderness to understand the heart of a woman, with quiet depth and manliness enough to satisfy her, it is Mr Hawthorne") and by expressing her belief that their marriage offered the unique opportunity for love to develop into its rarest of forms, "intellectual friendship." She then raises the possibility that they will fail to achieve this level of intimacy, but insists that she is confident that despite potential problems "mutual love and heavenly trust will gleam brightly through the dark."[18] She defends this faith by writing:

> I do not demand the earnest of a future happiness to all believing souls. I wish to temper the mind to believe, without prematurely craving sight, but it is sweet when here and there some little spots of garden ground reveal the flowers that deck our natural Eden,--sweet when some characters can bear fruit without the aid of the knife, and the first scene of that age-long drama in which each child of God must act to find himself is plainly to be deciphered, and its cadences harmonious to the ear.[19]

"Rappaccini's Daughter" may be read as Hawthorne's transformation of Fuller's sensory, organic, and biblical figures for her affirmation of faith in Hawthorne and Sophia's happiness into the narrative and thematic figures of his betrayal of that faith. Entering the "unnatural" Eden of

the new Adam whose intervention through the "aid of" the cold intellect's "knife" has transformed the "sweet" flowers of nature into "poisons" intended to heal but capable, possibly, of harm, Giovanni re-presents, as "visible type," Hawthorne's own anxious entrance into the seductively influential and unnatural Eden of Emerson's Transcendentalized Nature--into, that is, as he says in "The Old Manse," the "wonderful magnetism" of Emerson's Concord, where "the light revealed objects unseen before," where "uncertain, troubled, earnest wanderers" sought his truth but too often saw its opposite in their own delusions, "night-birds" envisioned as "fowls of angelic feather" (10:30-31). As Hawthorne in "The Old Manse" aligns Emerson's protege Fuller with best friends Franklin Pierce and Horatio Bridge under the opposing influence of his own "magic circle" in Concord, where he heals their "weary and world-worn spirits" through the "spell" of his own "tranquil spirit" (10:29), so Giovanni would save Beatrice from Rappaccini's poison by having her imbibe his antidote. Giovanni thus engages himself in the "age-long drama" of male rivalry for possession of a woman that he both loves and loathes. It is a drama that he says holds the "riddle of his existence" because he hopes that the torment of the "lurid intermixture" of emotions that is his confused but obsessive desire for her will end when he possesses the ability to define, with certainty, her mystery. Hermeneutically and biblically, he must "know" her to have her. However, because Giovanni, in Fuller's words, does "demand the earnest of a future happiness" by "prematurely craving sight," because, in other words, he fails to be a "believing soul" and accept from her lips the truth that she has to offer to him, nothing is "plainly to be deciphered." Nothing, that is, except that in failing to heed Beatrice's voice, he does not "find" her but himself in its "cadences," no longer so "harmonious to the ear" because they name the "poison" within his own "thwarted nature."

So close are several of the significant details in this tale to Fuller's own statements in her personal papers that it is likely that Fuller repeated many of these observations to Hawthorne during their numerous private conversations. Hawthorne's representation of those under Emerson's influence and patronage as plants cultivated in Emerson's garden parallels Fuller's own image of Emerson. In a 23 June 1842 letter to Emerson: "The new colonists will be with you soon. Your community

seems to grow. I think you must take pleasure in Hawthorne when you know him. You will find him more mellow than most fruits at your board, and of distinct flavor too."[20] Hawthorne's allegorical use of the insidious fragrance emanating from Rappaccini's garden closely parallels Fuller's conception of the powerful and potentially destructive nature of Emerson's influence on her as an intoxicating odor impossible to breathe for long; concluding a stay at Emerson's in September of 1842, Fuller observes in her journal: "I ought to go away now these last days I have been fairly intoxicated with his mind. I am not in full possession of my own. I feel faint in the presence of too strong a fragrance."[21] Hawthorne later echoes Fuller's line in "The Old Manse" to describe Emerson's influence: "But it was impossible to dwell in his vicinity, without inhaling, more or less, the mountain-atmosphere of his lofty thought, which, in the brains of some people, wrought a singular giddiness--new truth being as heady as new wine" (10:31). The "magic circle" of his "tranquil spirit," into which, Hawthorne says in "The Old Manse" he drew Fuller, Bridges, and Pierce, was also claimed by Fuller, who acknowledges "some magic about me which draws other spirits into my circle whether I will or they will or no."[22] Giovanni assigns a similar power to Beatrice when he describes being "irrevocably within her sphere" and compelled to "obey the law that whirled him onward, in ever-lessening circles" toward her (10:109). And, finally, Giovanni's initial description of his surprising ease in conversing with Beatrice as making him feel "like a brother" (10:113) repeats Fuller's own characterization in her 1844 journal of Hawthorne as being "more . . . a brother" to her "than ever . . . any man before."[23]

More generally, but importantly, Fuller's unpublished "Autobiographical Romance," and her exploration of a feminist symbolism in her flower sketches for the Dial, "The Magnolia of Pontchartrain" (1841) and "Yuca Filamentosa" (1842) suggested to Hawthorne an allegorical figure for Fuller of Fuller's own choosing. Noted for wearing a flower in her hair, Fuller had long associated the feminine side of her nature with flowers and her mother's garden.[24] Her 1840 autobiographical sketch of her youth significantly allies the masculine influence of her father's harsh insistence on her intellectual development with the stern rational virtues of heroic, imperial Rome but counters that influence with the artistic world of Greece and the feminine world of her mother, linked figuratively in Fuller's

imagination with the beauty of her mother's garden and the nurturing love that she bestowed on it.[25] While the sketch was not published during Fuller's lifetime, Fuller in talks with Hawthorne may have employed this figurative opposition to locate the continuing influence of her childhood on her life. As discussed in the preceding chapter, the influence of childhood on their adult lives was the most intriguing subject Hawthorne listed of the many and varied topics of his conversation with Fuller in the woods of Sleepy Hollow on 21 August 1842. The influence of Fuller's father is clearly on Hawthorne's mind when of all the possible descriptive statements he could have made to identify Fuller in "The Old Manse," he thinks of her as one "on whose feminine nature had been imposed the heavy gift of intellectual power, such as a strong man might have staggered under, and with it the necessity to act upon the world" (10:29; my emphasis). As Pfister has noted, Hawthorne's tale appropriates the oppositions of the father's oppressive intellectual cultivation of his daughter against the mother's cultivation of her flowers.[26] It seems possible Fuller allowed Hawthorne to read her autobiographical manuscript, for Hawthorne seems to have revised the following sentence from Fuller's account of her childhood for the tale's primary symbol for Beatrice and its pivotal revelation of the capacities for passion that Rappaccini has suppressed in her: "I kissed them," Fuller says of her mother's flowers. "I pressed them to my bosom with passionate emotions, such as I have never dared to express to any human being" and "an ambition swelled my heart to be as beautiful, as perfect as they."[27] Compare Fuller's statement with the following passage describing Beatrice: ". . . she bent towards the magnificent plant, and opened her arms as if to embrace it. 'Yes, my sister, my splendor, it shall be Beatrice's task to nurse and serve thee; and thou shalt reward her with thy kisses and perfumed breath, which to her is as the breath of life!'" (10:97). But for Fuller, as for Beatrice, her father's intervention in her "natural" development caused "much of life" to be "devoured in the bud."[28] She cannot be "as perfect as they," for "living and blooming" in their "unchecked law," her mother's flowers can never know "the blights, the distortions, which beset the human being and which at such hours at such hours it would seem that no glories of free agency could ever repay!"[29] Had Hawthorne not been friends with Fuller and held intimate

conversations with her, had he not had possible access to her unpublished account of her childhood, he would have had access to Fuller's positive account of her father's influence on her extraordinary intellectual development in Fuller's thinly-veiled autobiographical account of Miranda in "The Great Lawsuit."[30] Fuller introduces the brief story of Miranda's development to illustrate her point "that the restraints upon the sex were insuperable only to those who think them so, or who noisily strive to break them." With "a strong electric nature, which repelled those who did not belong to her, and attracted those who did," Miranda was educated--given "the keys to the wonders of the universe"--by a father who believed "in the equality of the sexes" and held "no sentimental reverence for woman." As a consequence, Miranda developed a "sense of self-dependence" and a "mind [that] was often the leading one, always effective."[31] Fuller does not discuss Miranda's mother nor the influence of her lack of influence, her absence in the brief tale not even being explicitly noted. As the contrast between her "Autobiographical Romance" and her tale of Miranda makes evident, Fuller clearly had ambivalent feelings about his father's influence on her development, an ambivalence that is not merely the result of her rhetorical need in "The Great Lawsuite" to stress the benefits of giving girls a rigorous childhood education. Hawthorne's portrayal of the relationship between Dr. Rappaccini and his daughter--his good intentions and his damaging influence, Beatrice's love for him but her disapproval of his experiments--is equally ambivalent.

Had not Hawthorne seen Fuller often with flowers in her hair and heard her discourse on the special symbolism of flowers, "The Magnolia of Pontchartrain" and "Yuca Filamentosa" alone would have been sufficient to establish for Hawthorne Fuller's identification of the feminine with the flower. In Jeffrey Steele's insightful analysis of Fuller's attempts at "psychological mythmaking," Fuller's flower sketches figure prominently in his account of Fuller's search for myths and symbols that explore "the psychological dimensions of a female being forced to withdraw from heterosexual society and to rely upon her own resources."[32] Shaken by Sam Ward's marriage to Anna Baker and disappointed in Emerson's inability to meet her in a friendship on her own terms, Fuller, according to Steele, expresses in these sketches "the female power drawing" her

"outside the orbit of male domination," specifically the domination, he suggests convincingly, of Emerson.[33] In both sketches, Fuller personifies the flower as embodying the mythic beauty and creative force of the feminine, powers which the male featured in each sketch fails to comprehend and thus rejects. Failing to find himself "in other forms of nature," the male narrator of "The Magnolia of Lake Ponchartrain" admits to having retreated into the "centre of [his] being" where he "found all being"; that is man's problem, Fuller's feminine voice, the magnolia, proclaims.[34] Imprisoned within the masculine self and imprisoning all with him, man can only "recombine the lines and colors of his own existence." To transcend the self, to be truly creative, man must experience the feminine power of "the queen and guardian of the flowers," but that power cannot be known, she tells him, "till thou art it . . . till thou has passed through it."[35] Ending "The Magnolia of Pontchartrain" with the declaration that cultivation of the "secret powers" of the feminine require that a woman "take a step inward" and "become a vestal priestess" capable of "purer," of "deeper thought," Fuller suggests that, as things now stand, she may gain the power of a feminine self-sufficiency only by withdrawing from a world defined by the self-reflections of the masculine self and, as the sketch says, entering the province of "the queen and guardian of the flowers."[36] The ending, as Steele argues, describes the "need to accept female existence on its own terms," an acceptance that will come for women only when men could "listen to and acknowledge the validity of their insights as women."[37]

In "Yuca Filamentosa," Fuller's identification with the yuca flower is clearly personal. Fond of reminding herself and others--including Hawthorne--that "Margaret" means "pearl," Fuller praises the pearl and the opal as the moon's "gems" and proclaims the night-blooming yuca as the moon's flower.[38] Engendering the calm, lonely moon as a feminine power bestowing a loving beauty on earth, Fuller clearly identifies herself with the mystery of the yuca, which blooms by brooding "on her own heart" and allowing the "never wearied" moon to fill "her urn" but which withers under the "unsparing scrutiny" of the masculine sun, becoming "dull, awkward, sallow in its loneliness."[39] Inspired by the beauty and meaning of the yuca, the speaker solicits the appreciation of her male friend Alcemon, who rather expectedly proves to be as dull to the moon's

influence as the yuca is to the sun's. Fuller's application of the flower's symbolism to her life is direct: "Fate! let me never murmur more. . . . Remember the Yuca; wait and trust; and either Sun or Moon, according to thy fidelity, will bring thee to love and to know."[40] "Rappaccini's Daughter" acknowledges the challenge of Fuller's feminist claim to a separate realm of knowledge by employing in parallel fashion, by translating, Fuller's appropriation of the flower and moon as feminist symbols for woman's access to a beauty and a power--a knowledge--that transcends the reliance on the "stern scrutiny" of the rational light of the masculine "sun." Giovanni first observes Beatrice tending her garden in twilight; as "night was already closing in," Beatrice and flower seem one as Beatrice proclaims sisterhood with the purple blossoms that she passionately embraces as her source of "the breath of life" (10:96-97). Giovanni and Rappaccini, as men, are both drawn to and repelled by the intriguing beauty and frightening power of the feminine, the flower's "breath of life" for Beatrice becoming for them the "breath of death." Under the influence of the moon, Giovanni is drawn to the power of feminine, receptive enough to recognize its symbolism--"flower and maiden were different, and yet the same"--but too fearful to embrace its meaning--rejecting flower and girl as "fraught with some strange peril in either shape" (10:98). Under the complete influence of the "stern scrutiny" of the masculine sun which, as the tale puts it, brings "every thing within the limits of ordinary experience," Giovanni finds that by taking "a most rational view of the whole matter" he can no longer recognize, must less embrace or repel, the "mysteries" that had been so "fertile" in his night dreams (10:98). Hawthorne thus parallels Fuller's symbolism of moon-flower-feminine consciousness faithfully to stand for a passionate, intuitive, feminine way of knowing whose beauty and power "withers"--becomes unrecognized and unacknowledged--under the "stern scrutiny" of a masculine, rational sun. There is, of course, a twist here. Both the purple blossoms and Beatrice herself have been transformed by the rational, "scientific" mind of Dr. Rappaccini into creations of extraordinary beauty and possible peril. The natural, creative forces that Fuller's symbolism celebrated are redefined through male consciousness, contained and transformed--by Rappaccini in his garden and by Giovanni in his mind--into the unnatural and destructive. Fearing these creative

forces in nature and woman, Rappaccini imposes an artificial "hybridization" of the natural and the unnatural on flower and daughter, imprisoning them within the walls of a private Eden where he can tend and scrutinize but never touch. In Rappaccini's garden, the "secret powers" of the "Mothers," as Fuller called feminine creative force, have been so suppressed by the father's intervention to the extent that, in the absence of the mother or even the slightest mention of her existence, Beatrice becomes literally her father's creation.[41]

What Rappaccini does physically, Giovanni does mentally. Like the "two trees" of seemingly "alien race" described by Hawthorne in "The Old Manse," Rappaccini and Giovanni are united "in an inextricable twine" like the marriage of the "hemlock and the maple" by the grape vine which "enrich[es] them with a purple offspring, of which neither is the parent" (10:23). Giovanni's own "lurid intermixture of emotions" are projected onto a "hybridized" Beatrice, angel and demon, both being the feminine made unnatural by man's imposition of "a meaning" to contain the "mysteries" he cannot confront without first naming. Though not examined by Nina Auerbach, "Rappaccini's Daughter" illustrates her thesis that the nineteenth-century male's preoccupation with mythic representations of women as angels or demons arose in an age of religious doubt as vehicles for spiritual "transfiguration," celebrating "the secrecy and spiritual ambiguity of woman's ascribed powers" even as it sought to "suppress" them: "The social restrictions that crippled women's lives, the physical weaknesses wished on them," she argues, "were fearful attempts to exorcise a mysterious power."[42]

Another Fuller sketch for the Dial, "Leila," celebrates this "mysterious power" in the embodiment of a goddess with the feminine powers celebrated in Fuller's flower sketches. Here too, Fuller identified personally with her mythic personification of the feminine. Emerson recalls in the Memoirs Fuller once explaining her attraction to the name "Leila": "'When I first met with the name Leila . . . I knew, from the very look and sound, it was mine; I knew that it meant night,--night, which brings out stars, as sorrow brings out truths.'"[43] In Fuller's sketch, Leila represents the awful powers of "all the elemental powers of nature," of a creativity that when embraced "showers down . . . balm and blessing," instantly creates flowers and "rivers of bliss," and, in the very

imagery of Hawthorne's tale but for antithetical purposes, transforms "prison walls" into "Edens."[44] When rejected, she can seem demonic, subversive. Confronting her, men "shrink from the overflow of the infinite," become "baffled" and "angry" in their inability to reduce her to "a form" to "clasp to the living breast," and end by proclaiming her "mad, because they felt she made them so."[45] As Fuller's sketch and Auerbach's cultural mythography suggest, "Rappaccini's Daughter" self-reflectively narrates the contemporary cultural process by which man is attracted to and appalled by a feminine power whose mystery and energy he feels compelled to contain in a "form," whose "Eden" he must enclose in the "prison walls" of a home-restricted, artificial, Edenic garden or of a rigid, knowable category--angel or demon. Feeling himself "within the influence of an unintelligible power by the communication which he had opened with Beatrice," Giovanni finds "her rich beauty" a "madness to him," a "wild offspring of both love and horror" (10:105). To contain the "fierce and subtle poison within him," he can think only of flight or suppression (10:105). Unwilling or unable to escape her, he considers redefining her "extraordinary being" within a "familiar and daylight view" which would bring her "rigidly and systematically within the limits of ordinary experience" (10:105). The angelic or the demonic--the Beatrice of Dante who redeems man or the Beatrice Cenci who avenges man's brutal dominion--serve thus as rigid categories subordinating the threatening power of the "unintelligible," of the "extraordinary," to the reassuring dominion of cultural constructs of "ordinary experience."

Through such intertextual appropriations from Fuller, Hawthorne thus not only signals Fuller's presence within Rappaccini's garden but acknowledges the validity of her claims for a feminist power that eludes man's obsession for rational comprehension but that does not escape his suppression.

3

Fuller's and Emerson's presence in the tale is by no means limited to Hawthorne's dialogue with Fuller's texts. Hawthorne enacts the "blood-warm" tale of his anxiety over Emerson's influence and over his own ambivalent feelings for Fuller through the complex tension of hermeneutical and, I would add, gender "allegiances" demanded by conflicting senses--Emerson's vision and Fuller's voice.

The conflict is most succinctly stated when Giovanni asks Beatrice if, as a counter to "idle rumors," he can trust what he has seen of her with his own eyes (10:111). But not trusting what he has seen, he quickly renegotiates the basis on which he will define Beatrice's nature by urging her, with vague sexual suggestiveness, to have him "believe nothing save what comes from your own lips" (10:111-12). Beatrice in turn demands that Giovanni "forget whatever" he "may have fancied" regarding her and, significantly, restates Giovanni's request to limit his contact to the truth of her lips' voice, not touch: "If true to the outward senses, still it may be false in its essence; but the words of Beatrice Rappaccini's lips are true from the depths of the heart outward. Those you may believe" (10:112; my emphasis). Giovanni does not, of course, believe because, like Rappaccini himself, he is wedded not merely to "sight" but to "vision," the idealist vision that reads the physical for the symbolic and, as this tale demonstrates, sees not deep realities but shallow delusions. Appropriating Emerson's language as well as thought, Giovanni announces early on that Rappaccini's garden "would serve . . . as a symbolic language to keep him in communion with Nature" (10:98). Deeper than the irony of his misreading of the symbolism of Beatrice's nature is his very desire to read her nature as symbolic, for, as this tale suggests, the desire to read the physical for the symbolic arises from the desire to gain power over a nature that one actually fears having "communion" with. The "symbolic language" of the "eye" imposes meaning through the pronouncements of an interpretative monologue, but the language of the "voice" converses in the unending dialogue of a human communion. This tale, displaying Aubépine's "inveterate love of allegory," performs the very symbolic act that it condemns; but at the same time that it enacts Hawthorne's own desire to gain power over the very "natures" that he fears, it gives "voice" to his self-condemnation and it engages in the kind of dialogue with Fuller that Giovanni silences with Beatrice.[46]

As Hawthorne said in "The Old Manse" of those under the influence of Emerson's "light," those who gaze into, much less enter, Rappaccini's garden are apt to see "objects unseen before" (10:31). And, under the influence of Emerson's "wonderful magnetism" they see and themselves become "objects unseen before"--"hobgoblins of flesh and blood" (10:30). Hawthorne's observations on Emerson and his influence on his followers in

"The Old Manse" is a translation itself of his earlier statements on Emerson encoded within the symbolic world of Rappaccini's garden; indeed, as Larry J. Reynolds has argued persuasively, Hawthorne's anxiety over Emerson's influence shapes Hawthorne's self-representations throughout "The Old Manse," just as it had earlier found expression in Rappaccini's characterization.[47] Rappaccini produces a new Eden of strangely beautiful but unnatural shrubs and flowers that represent the perversion not only of vegetative but of human nature which results from "a look as deep as Nature, but without Nature's warmth of love" (10:107). Rappaccini's garden is oddly personified as being "peopled with plants and herbs" which "all had their individual virtues, known to the scientific mind that fostered them" because these plants were equated in Hawthorne's mind to those whom he will later designate as Emerson's "hobgoblins" (10:95; my emphasis). Like Emerson, an idealist with noble intentions, Rappaccini creates and cultivates unnaturally beautiful and possibly poisonous plants (and a daughter-protege) just as Emerson cultivates brilliant but possibly deluded insights and followers. If the "transparent eyeball" of Emerson was able to read through the symbols of the seen to the unseen, to "translate" Nature, so Rappaccini studies "every shrub . . . as if he was looking into their inmost nature, making observations in regard to their creative energy" (10:95-96). Human nature, however, is the real interest of Rappaccini's experimental studies, as Giovanni suspects of Rappaccini and Hawthorne fears of Emerson. As Rappaccini trained his penetrating vision on his plants to know and "foster" their "individual virtues" and "their creative energy," so he seems to train his gaze on Giovanni, fixing "his eyes upon Giovanni with an intentness that seemed to bring out whatever was within him worthy of notice" (10:106-07). His desire to penetrate and cultivate the essence of a person's individual virtues, however, serves a coldly intellectual and spiritual, rather than human, love. That is why he observes rather than touches, why he arms himself with gloves and a mask to avoid contact with his own creations. Just as Emerson claimed to see the divine within the individual and to claim in "Self-Reliance" that the individual's obligation to the truth and to his own spiritual integrity took precedence over all other relations, including those of family, so Rappaccini is said to be willing to "sacrifice human life, his own among the rest, or whatever

else was dearest to him, for the sake of adding so much as a grain of mustard seed to the great heap of his accumulated knowledge" (10:99-100).

This assessment of Rappaccini, of course, is Baglioni's, and Baglioni, according to conventional judgement, is not to be trusted because, less brilliant than Rappaccini but just as driven as he is to possess Giovanni's allegiance, he is motivated by professional and personal envy of Rappaccini. Hawthorne, however, employs Baglioni as a spokesman for one side of himself and for Emerson's conventional critics. On the one hand, Baglioni expresses Hawthorne's (and Fuller's) own critique of Emerson's cold idealism and of his anxieties about Emerson's ability and perhaps desire to obtain power and influence over his followers. On the other, Baglioni also speaks for the conservative academic and theological establishment, epitomized in Emerson's case by Andrews Norton. In Baglioni's view, Rappaccini's experiments in "healing" man are as poisonous as, from a Norton's point of view, Emerson's prescription for man's spiritual redemption residing in recognition of his own divinity. It is in this role that Baglioni functions as an actor as well as spokesman in the tale. He competes for Giovanni's allegiance, offering only his own brand of poison as antidote--his conservative skepticism and his "idle rumors" (10:111)--for Rappaccini's idealism and for Giovanni's "faith" in Beatrice's goodness. His skepticism and his fear that Beatrice, as an intellectual woman, threatens his position in the world bespeak his role as spokesman for a conventionality that often proved attractive to Hawthorne; indeed, as the friend of Giovanni's father, Baglioni in effect speaks for the conservative tradition of Hawthorne's forefathers against the radical threats to that tradition represented by Emerson's "new" hybrid of Christian theology and secular philosophy and by Fuller's threatening feminism. Within the context of the tale, however, Hawthorne rejects Baglioni and all he represents as being perhaps more poisonous than the radical experimentation of Rappaccini's cold idealism. Rappaccini sees with the intellect and the spirit, but Baglioni sees only with the eyes. Only Beatrice speaks for the intellect, the spirit, and the heart.

Our eyes, like Giovanni's, are apt to deceive us. For all of the critical commentary on Beatrice's beauty, we seldom notice that it is her "voice" and her voice alone that Hawthorne locates as the source of her beauty and her truth. Beatrice warns Giovanni against the truth that he thinks

he has seen--literally, like Baglioni, or symbolically, like Rappaccini: "If true to the outward senses, still it may be false in its essence" (10:112). For the deceptions of vision, she offers the truths of the heart's voice: "But the words of Beatrice Rappaccini's lips are true from the depths of the heart outward" (10:112). Though Giovanni will eventually ignore Beatrice's advice, he is attracted to Beatrice first by her voice, not by her physical beauty. He hears before he sees her, and her voice is "as rich as a tropical sunset," making him "think of deep hues of purple or crimson and of perfumes heavily delectable" (10:96-97). Like the fountain in the center of the garden, this "rich voice" is later described as coming "forth . . . like a gush of music" (10:104). Rich, purple, crimson, perfumed, musical--again and again in the tale descriptions of Beatrice's voice suggest that the "essence" of her beauty, her passion, and her truth reside in "the words" that come "from the depths" of her "heart."

To underline this emphasis, Hawthorne does not single out any other feature of Beatrice's for specific description; in fact, one effect of the symbolism of Giovanni's tormenting fear that her body is poisonous, "ugly," is to suggest that the "Oriental sunshine" of Beatrice's physical beauty arises solely from her spirit, not her features, paralleled in the tale's symbolism by the pure water of the fountain gushing from a shattered urn.[48] Having initially characterized her physical beauty as coming from the effect of her spirit on her appearance--her "life, health, and energy" (10:97)--and having later characterized her, based on the impression left by their conversations, as being, surprisingly, "human" and "endowed with all gentle and feminine qualities" (10:114), Giovanni finds that "whatever had looked ugly" in "her physical and moral system" had come to seem "beautiful" (10:114). This "confidence" that Giovanni came to place in Beatrice had been "founded," as the narrator points out, on "something truer and more real than what we can see with the eyes and touch with the finger," identified as "the necessary force" of Beatrice's "high attributes," which are capable of overcoming, at least temporarily, Giovanni's incapacity for "any deep and generous faith" (10:120).

It is in the power of Beatrice's voice to enchant Giovanni with the beauty of her spirit, the "words" coming from the "depths of her heart," that Fuller's physical presence, never itself characterized by

contemporaries as being conventionally beautiful, is translated into the tale. Famous for her series of organized intellectual discussions for the women of Boston, the "Conversations," and praised by all contemporaries for the brilliance of her talk, Fuller, in opposition to Emerson's rhetoric of vision, employed and advocated a rhetoric of conversation as the way to truth. As in the tale of Miranda, where the writer presents Miranda's story through her transcription of a conversation she had with a woman named "Miranda," dialogues were a natural, frequent compositional mode. When she warned Hawthorne that no mere "talents of observation" can compensate for "deeper experiences," that to be "initiated into its own life" and "fully roused to its work" the "genius" of the artist who would read humanity rightly must listen "to a voice that truly calls upon his solitude to ope his study door," Fuller prescribed to Hawthorne, in other words, the communion of dialogue rather the solitude of the observer's eye and the monologue of its pronouncements.[49] The tale allegorizes these opposing rhetorics, endorsing Fuller's as it condemns Emerson's. In self-imposed isolation from an academy that, judging by Baglioni, is so complacent and insecure that it is not receptive to a dialogue with the new and innovative, Rappaccini listens only to his own voice and follows his monomaniacal vision to its unnatural end. The power of the uncompromising will of the individualist who has forsaken the subordinations of self that dialogue requires is employed, ironically and perhaps inevitably, to exert power over others. Desiring to give his daughter the "marvelous gift" of the power of the perfectly invulnerable individualist, he must subordinate her entirely to his will so that she may subordinate others. By repelling--by destroying, in fact--all human contact, she was to be immune from such violations of the self as Giovanni inflicts upon her in the first and only social relationship she is allowed to have. Literally and figuratively, however, Beatrice prefers Giovanni's poison to her father's. Before his coming, her need for human contact and dialogue had been expressed in her personification of the flowers as sisterly companions who responded to her speech and embrace. Once Giovanni establishes a dialogue with her, her need for him is fulfilled in speech, not touch, and Giovanni's happiest moments are those in which he listens to her voice rather than to the interior voices which torment him with the desire and fear of her touch. Fuller's recommendation to

Hawthorne that he listen to that "voice which truly calls upon his solitude to ope his study door" is enacted within the tale in a parallel: with the "rich sweetness of her tones," Beatrice sends up her voice to "float around" Giovanni "in his chamber and echo and reverberate throughout his heart"--calling him out to talk with her in the garden, where, under the influence of their dialogue, he frees himself momentarily from the fear-induced delusions which he speaks to himself in the interior monologues of his own solitude (10:115).

Fuller's prescription for Hawthorne in 1842 was stated even more strongly in 1844 as a damning diagnosis of Emerson's deficiencies. Emerson's attempt to read the "symbolic language of Nature" chilled him because he "did not lie along the ground long enough to hear the secret whispers of our parent life."[50] He did not touch nor hear what he observed; thus, he in turn could not be touched by what he saw nor participate in a dialogue with any but his own voice. As Fuller wrote in a mischievously erotic metaphor, he needed to "be thrown by conflicts on the lap of mother earth, to see if he would not rise again with added powers."[51] Yet in her private journal, Fuller records on 11 July 1844 that even conflict failed to unleash Emerson's passion; having heard Emerson read an early draft of "Experience," his response to personal tragedy and disappointment, Fuller writes: "How beautiful, and full and grand. But oh, how cold. Nothing but Truth in the Universe, no love, and no various realities. Yet how foolish with me to be grieved at him for showing towards me what exists toward all."[52] The conflict between Emerson and Fuller, between intellect's vision and communion's voice, is perhaps best illustrated by Fuller's account of a 19 August 1842 walk with Emerson:

> In the evening I took a walk with W. Looking at the moon in the river he said the same thing as in his letter, how each twinkling light breaking there summons to demand the whole secret, and how "promising, promising nature never fulfils what she thus gives us a right to expect." I said I never could meet him here, the beauty does not stimulate me to ask <u>why</u>? [her emphasis], and press to the centre, I was satisfied for the moment, full as if my existence was filled out, for nature had <u>said the very word that was lying in my heart</u>. Then we had an excellent talk: We agreed that <u>my god was love, his truth</u> [my emphases].[53]

The very next day Fuller walked with Hawthorne on another moonlit night and recorded that Hawthorne, like her, embraced, rather than questioned, the moon and the beauty that it bestowed on earth, expressing to her his

own sense of a fulfilled existence in his wish never "to leave this earth: it was beautiful enough." In contrast to her dissatisfaction with Emerson's frigid intellectualizations, Fuller writes glowingly of her conversation with Hawthorne, stating that he "expressed, as he always does, many fine perceptions," and concluding, "I like to hear the lightest thing he says."[54] Such juxtapositions, as I discussed in the preceding chapter, are frequent in Fuller's journals of 1842 and 1844 as Fuller begins to accept the permanence of Emerson's incompleteness and of her dissatisfaction and begins to develop an increasingly intimate friendship with Hawthorne.

4

Hawthorne's friendship with Fuller is at the very narrative heart of the private text that Hawthorne translates into the relationship between Giovanni and Beatrice. As Giovanni first comes under Beatrice's influence after moving "out of his native sphere" into the "gloomy" house bordering Rappaccini's garden (10:93), so Hawthorne, who had known Fuller since 1839, did not begin to establish a deeply personal and independent friendship with Fuller until 1842 when he moved into Emerson's former home and began to have extensive conversations with Fuller, usually alone, in walks through the woods and boatrides on the Concord. The deepening of that friendship and the revelation, to Hawthorne, of previously unsuspected dimensions in Fuller's character--including her dissatisfaction with Emerson and Emersonian idealism--are imaged in Giovanni's hearing and seeing Beatrice at a distance, even briefly conversing with her from the height of his window, before his entrance into the garden exposes him to "the effect of her character" and he is able to perceive her "so human and so maidenlike qualities" (10:113). The "intimate familiarity" established by Beatrice once Giovanni is alone with her immediately dispels the "hues of terror" in which Giovanni's imagination "had idealized" her when he saw her only in her seemingly unnatural, poisonousness relationship with her "sisterly" flowers (10:113; my emphasis). Beatrice's ability to vanquish by the force of her character Giovanni's fears parallels a recurrent theme of friends' recollections of Fuller's uncanny ability to win over those who had initially feared or were repelled by her forceful personality, intimidating intellect, and outspoken feminism. Giovanni's initial perception of Beatrice suggests something of Hawthorne's own early reservations about Fuller.

Prior to 1842, Hawthorne's relationship with Fuller had been largely mediated by her closer friendship with Sophia, who had idolized her as did many of her friends, as a feminist "priestess," and to some extent Hawthorne, as his letters on Fuller's "Transcendental heifer" suggest, had perceived Fuller's aggressive feminism and friendship with Sophia as a threat to his attempts to transform a self-reliant "naughty Sophie" into a dependent, feminized "Dove." Fuller was the woman Sophia was not meant to be. Educated from childhood far beyond the expectations set even for the brightest of boys and painfully alienated from her peers because of it, Fuller became, as Rappaccini intended for Beatrice, the extraordinary woman who not only avoided but challenged "the condition of a weak woman" (10:127). "Imposed" on her "feminine nature," says Hawthorne in "The Old Manse," was her father's "heavy gift of intellectual power, such that a strong man might have staggered under, and with it the necessity to act upon the world" (10:29). If Hawthorne, as Reynolds has argued of "The Old Manse," perceived Emerson "as a father figure who has separated the narrator, or Hawthorne, from a maternal, pre-Oedipal reality" through his powerfully infectious vision of nature as a symbolic language, then Hawthorne represents him as literally fulfilling that role in "Rappaccini's Daughter."[55] As a formidable influence on Fuller, Emerson, Hawthorne suggests, took up where Fuller's biological father had left off, assuming the paternal role of Fuller's intellectual mentor whose "marvelous gift" to Fuller was to further alienate her from "the limits of ordinary experience" by having her "imbibe," in Baglioni's words, the poison of "erroneous ideas" (10:99). Hawthorne's resentment of Emerson's influence on Fuller provides the subtext for the 8 April 1843 notebook entry in which Hawthorne, for Sophia's benefit,[56] mocks Emerson's paternalistic pride in Fuller and his patronizing assumption of his ability to grade her intellectual and personal development: "He seemed fullest of Margaret Fuller, who, he says, has risen perceptibly into a higher state, since their last meeting. He apotheosized her as the greatest woman, I believe, of ancient or modern times, and the one figure in the world worth considering. (There rings the supper-bell)" (8:371).[57] As Hawthorne had discovered though, Fuller, like Beatrice, had "risen perceptibly into a higher state" by resisting the paternal, by voicing the need to embrace a passionate, feminine nature as a maternal antidote to the father's coldly

intellectual vision of an idealized nature and an invulnerable but alienating self-reliance. To the Emersonian-like male spokesman in "The Magnolia of the Pontchartrain" who claims that he found the "secret of peace" by retreating into the "centre" of his "being" where he found "all being," where "from one point" he "can draw all lines," the Fuller-like female spokesman, the Magnolia, reminds him that "man never creates, he only recombines the lines and colors of his own existence." There is "but one paternal power," she rebukes his self-deification; in nature those who would be creative must seek to find themselves in the feminine force that men have variously named "fairy," "goddess," "angel," the force which Fuller names "the queen and guardian of all the flowers." All the "secret powers" are "feminine," she tells him; all are "'Mothers.'"[58]

In "The Old Manse" Hawthorne locates Fuller within his "magic circle" rather than within the sphere of Emerson's "wonderful magnetism" because, among other reasons, he identified Fuller's resistance to Emerson's paternal influence as aligned with his own. As Reynolds has demonstrated, within "The Old Manse" Hawthorne's sense of separation from nature is associated with the paternal influence of Emerson's idealization of nature as a symbolic language but his sense of union with nature is associated with the "sexual formulations" of the "maternal and erotic" epitomized by the creative bounty of autumn, the season, of course, when Hawthorne was most productive as a writer.[59] In "The Old Manse" and in "Rappaccini's Daughter," Fuller's association in Hawthorne's mind with a feminine opposition to Emerson's nature is intimately connected with the advent of autumn. The one episode in Hawthorne's relationship with Fuller--(or any other woman, for that matter, besides Sophia)--that he would commit in detail to his notebooks and that he would return to in this and later fiction occurred on a day that he celebrates for "thrilling" him with the first "breath of autumn," 21 August 1842. Immediately prior to his description of the afternoon-long conversation with Fuller alone in the woods of Sleepy Hollow, Hawthorne describes the "thrill" aroused by the first intimations of summer's end and "pensive" autumn's approach--the "coolness amid all the heat and a mildness in the brightest of the sunshine," the "gentle sadness amid the pomp" of "the most glorious flowers of the year," the "faint, doubtful, yet real perception, or rather prophecy, of the year's decay--so deliciously

sweet and sad in the same breath" (8:342). The entire passage is inset with but minor changes into "The Old Manse." One of the seemingly minor changes, however, is not so minor when read within the context of Hawthorne's suggestive narrative of his conversation with Fuller, which immediately follows in the notebook, and within the context of his writing "Rappaccini's Daughter," immediately followed Fuller's departure for New York, a move that seemed permanent by the time Hawthorne completed "The Old Manse." In a sentence which attempts to capture the subtle intimations of summer's passage and autumn's arrival, Hawthorne writes in his notebook that though summer's presence is every where evident "in every breath of wind, and in every beam of sunshine, there is an autumnal influence" (8:342). In "The Old Manse," however, Hawthorne's association of that moment with a personal rather than seasonal transition-- with Fuller's summer presence and her farewell in the fall--is suggested by his personification of an "autumnal influence" on summer's departure: "We hear the whispered farewell, and behold the parting smile, of a dear friend" (10:26-27). Besides indulging himself in a private allusion to the passage of a friendship which reached its most decisive moment on that late summer afternoon, Hawthorne appropriates Fuller's metaphor for Emerson's inability to respond to the passionate, feminine beauty of nature in order to assert his own superior sensitivity to, as he terms it throughout the essay, "our Mother."

In her review of December 1844, Fuller had written, as I have noted, that Emerson "did not lie along the ground long enough to hear the secret whispers of our parent life" and that he needed to "be thrown by conflicts on the lap of mother earth" to gain "added powers."[60] Hawthorne, the passage suggests, claimed the power to hear those "secret whispers" even if Emerson could not, and, through the subtle appropriation of Fuller's metaphor, he could utter a "secret whisper" to her as his own "farewell." The contrast between the obtuseness of Emerson and the sensitivities shared by Hawthorne and Fuller that are suggested by employing her metaphor support the larger purposes of the essay, as identified by Reynolds, and are in turn supported by the notebook entry on which "The Old Manse" passage was based. The notebook entry physically and emotionally bonds Hawthorne and Fuller in a sympathy which is disrupted by Emerson's obtuse intrusion into both a

natural and human setting that he cannot appreciate. Though discussed in the preceding chapter, the passage bears reexamination within the present context, for it suggests in part not only the thematic origins but a narrative source of "Rappaccini's Daughter."

Hawthorne's description of his journey to and from Emerson's house through the woods of Sleepy Hollow, his surprising encounter and conversation with Fuller, and his obvious irritation at Emerson's intrusion suggests in its narrative selection and tone something of a Spenserian allegory and much of Giovanni's own initial entry into Rappaccini's garden. The tale exploits the allegorical implications intimated by the notebook passage. On the journey to Emerson's house, Hawthorne encounters frustration, despair, and hypocrisy. Entering the woods and immediately missing "the nearest way," wandering "into a very secluded portion of the forest," Hawthorne, as happens to Giovanni on entering the garden, becomes tangled in the "underbrush" as he tries to "force a passage through"--"tormented to death by an innumerable host of petty impediments" which "cross and intertwine themselves about my legs" (8:340-41). Rather than continue on, he feels "as if it were almost as well to lie down and die in rage and despair" (8:341). Freeing himself, Hawthorne enters an open space where he encounters a flock of crows who seem to be "holding their sabbath in the tops of the trees," but despite "their gravity and mien and black attire" he recognizes them as "thieves, and probably infidels" (8:341), a personification which will be linked later in the passage to Emerson, who "in spite of his clerical consecration, had found no better way of spending the Sabbath than to ramble among the woods" (8:343). On his return through the woods from Emerson's house, Hawthorne encounters Fuller "reclining near the path" reading a book and sits beside her as she continues to lie "on the ground" (8:342). Hawthorne frames his summary of their afternoon-long conversation by emphasizing the suggestiveness of the juxtaposition of their bodies, the solitude, and the two men who intrude into their privacy--the first an old man who smiles "to see Margaret lying on the ground, and me sitting by her side" and withdraws "into the shadow of the wood" and the second Emerson, who as an "intruder . . . hidden among the trees" on the bank above them "glimpses" Fuller and, still unseen though his footsteps had been heard, calls out to her "in the

midst of our talk" (8:343). The first delays the beginning of their conversation, and the second ends it, taking Fuller back home with him. Though little specific is revealed by Hawthorne in his account of their conversation, the topics and the tone of the sentence suggest Hawthorne's delight in discovering what Fuller will later call their "mutual visionary life"--their ability to talk intimately and freely on topic after topic after topic.[61] Once the old man had withdrawn into the shadows and they were alone: "Then we talked [Hawthorne relates] about Autumn--and about the pleasures of getting lost in the woods--and about the crows, whose voices Margaret had heard--and about the experiences of early childhood, whose influence remains upon the character after the collection of them has passed away--and about the sight of mountains from a distance, and the view from their summits--and about other matters of high and low philosophy" (8:343; my emphasis). Characterized as an "intruder" spying upon them while "hidden among the trees," Emerson is portrayed as insensitively violating not only the privacy of that moment between Hawthorne and Fuller but also the "sacred precincts" of that autumn day: despite his "clerical consecration," he "had found no better way of spending the Sabbath than to ramble among the woods" (8:343). Having forsaken the word of God in the church for the word of nature, Emerson claims to hear "whispers . . . in the breezes," but they are not the "whispers" of "the breath of autumn," the physical "prophecy" of a generative nature that thrilled Hawthorne and Fuller. They are, instead, the literary-mediated "whispers" of self-reflective "Muses in the woods" (8:343).

Deaf to the "secret whispers" of "mother earth," as Fuller phrased it and Hawthorne heard it, Emerson listens only to the echo of his fancy. Finding "all being" in "the centre" of his own being, he does not "create," but merely "recombines the lines and colors of his own existence" in all that he sees, all that he hears.[62] In the allegorical terms of the tale, Emerson's Nature is Rappaccini's garden, where Emerson's mediation of nature becomes Rappaccini's horticultural "conmixtures" and "adulteries"--nature no longer "the production . . . of God's making, but the monstrous offspring of man's depraved fancy, glowing with only an evil mockery of beauty" (10:110). Written less than two months after Hawthorne's arrival in Concord, the notebook passage faintly suggests the

intellectual and spiritual dangers Hawthorne imagined in any movement toward Emerson's powerful influence; journeying toward Emerson's house through the woods, he "misses" the "nearest way," "wanders," becomes entangled in the underbrush, and is consumed by his own "rage and despair." Exploiting the allegorical suggestiveness of that passage, Hawthorne translates his entry into Concord and Emerson's sphere of influence into the allegory of Giovanni's first entry into Rappaccini's garden. As Hawthorne "could scarcely force a passage through" the bushes "which cross and intertwine themselves about my legs," so Giovanni's first step into Rappaccini's garden requires "forcing himself through the entanglement of a shrub that wreathed its tendrils over the hidden entrance" (10:109).[63] Instead of the "Golden-Rod, and the gorgeous Cardinals, all the most glorious flowers of the year" (8:342), which Hawthorne had seen while wandering in Sleepy Hollow that day, Giovanni sees in Rappaccini's garden plants whose "gorgeousness seemed fierce, passionate, and even unnatural," plants personified, "commixtures" of nature and the transforming power of man's desire: "There was hardly an individual shrub which a wanderer, straying by himself through a forest, would not have been startled to find growing wild, as if an unearthly face had glared at him out of the thicket" (10:110). As Hawthorne had been drawn to Emerson's house to see Fuller and return her book, so Giovanni enters Rappaccini's garden intent on seeing Beatrice. Neither Hawthorne nor Giovanni finds exactly what he expected. Hawthorne did not meet Fuller at Emerson's house, but, to his surprise, he finds her--both literally and figuratively--in the forest. The narrative of that moment registers the excitement of the discovery. Alone, they explore the seemingly endless grounds of their sympathetic interests--until, that is, the spell of their intimacy is broken by Emerson's intrusion. Giovanni also unexpectedly discovers that Beatrice, despite his own impressions and Baglioni's rumors, is not "in" her father's house intellectually, not "deeply skilled" in her "father's science" and willingly associated with the garden of his "commixtures," for, like himself, she recoils from her father's experiments on nature and finds that many of her father's flowers, as she readily admits, "shock and offend me when they meet my eye" (10:111). As "her spirit gushed out before him like a fresh rill" in the "pure delight" of her "communion" with him, Giovanni

also discovers that though capable of the "queenlike haughtiness" so frequently ascribed to Fuller, Beatrice was at heart "so human and maidenlike," so "endowed with all gentle and feminine qualities," that "she was worthiest to be worshipped" rather than feared (10:113-14). Hawthorne's evident excitement in conversing with Fuller so unreservedly on that late summer afternoon is inscribed in Giovanni's intoxication with Beatrice's speech, which seems to create "a fragrance in the atmosphere" that Giovanni first fears before gazing through her eyes "into her transparent soul" and deciding that the "strange richness" that "embalmed her words" was created not by her father's poisonous influence but by "steeping them in her heart" (10:112). The topics of their conversation also parallel the general nature and sequence of topics discussed by Hawthorne and Fuller. As Hawthorne and Fuller spoke first of the coming autumn and of their day in the woods, then the more personal topics of their childhoods and the permanent influence of those years, and finally the shifting perspectives of mountains from a distance and from the summit and other topics of "high and low philosophy," so Beatrice is said to talk to Giovanni first of "matters as simple as the daylight or summer clouds," then of his "distant home, his friends, his mother, and his sisters," and then finally "thoughts, too, from a deep source, and fantasies of a gemlike brilliancy" (200). Just as Emerson had been characterized as an "intruder," who, "in the midst of their talk," Hawthorne and Fuller hear stalking the bank above them "hidden among the trees," so Rappaccini is discovered by Giovanni to have been lurking "within the shadow of the entrance" and "watching the scene, he knew not how long" (10:114).

Of that 21 August 1842 afternoon alone with Hawthorne, Fuller would comment in her journal, "What a happy, happy day, all clear light. I cannot write about it."[64] Two years later, just weeks before accepting Greeley's offer of a position on the New-York Daily Tribune, she wrote that she had come to cherish her friendship with Hawthorne as one of the most intimate in her life and that she expected that friendship to continue deepening: "Walk with H. in the woods long paths, dark and mystical. We went far & it was quite dark when we returned: we lost the path & I got wet in the long grass & had much scrambling. . . . I feel more like a sister to H. or rather more that he might be a brother to me than ever with any

man before. Yet with him it is though sweet, not deep kindred, at least, not deep yet."[65] Though this would prove to be Fuller's most definitive characterization of her relationship with Hawthorne, Fuller's hesitation to admit to feeling a "sisterly" relationship with Hawthorne and her expectation of a deepening in their seemingly extraordinary kinship suggests continuing ambiguities and potentialities in their relationship that she still could not quite define. Hawthorne, as previously noted, would acknowledge the "brotherly" nature of his friendship with Fuller in Giovanni's surprise during that first meeting that "he could be conversing with Beatrice like a brother" (10:113) and in Beatrice's later "confidence" in Giovanni's friendship being "as unreserved as if they had been playmates from early infancy" (10:115). But he would also acknowledge in Giovanni's betrayal of Beatrice that though Fuller, like Beatrice, was "the more admirable by so much as she was the more unique" (10:114), he was not himself sufficiently unique as a man to keep from betraying the faith that Fuller had placed in him and their relationship. Finding himself under "the influence of an unintelligible power" in an ambiguous relationship with the most extraordinary American woman of her day, Hawthorne, through Giovanni and the narrator, explores his compulsion to redefine Fuller's uniqueness and his troubling relationship to her within the intelligible terms of conventional cultural constructs for the mystery of woman's body and spirit--demon or angel. By translating Fuller's person and texts into his own voice, Hawthorne with self-conscious irony attempts to reassert control over the troubling ambiguities of Fuller's character and of their relationship by allegorizing his condemnation of his compulsion to allegorize her.

As the subtle narrative framing and tone of his account of the afternoon of 21 August 1842 suggests and as his characterization of Giovanni makes explicit, Hawthorne recognized within himself a sexual tension in his relationship with Fuller that threatened the "brotherly" nature on which their relationship was founded and depended. As with Hawthorne and Fuller's relationship, the "intimate familiarity" of Giovanni's and Beatrice's friendship is established and maintained through conversation, not touch, but Giovanni's "shallowness of feeling and insincerity of character" (10:121) make him incapable of sustaining the uniqueness of such a relationship with a woman without bringing it

"within the limits of ordinary experience," those "limits" of course being man's "ordinary" sexualization of his relationship with a woman. Giovanni may experience the uniqueness of such an "intimate familiarity" with the "delicate and benign power" of a "feminine nature" whose "holy and passionate outgush" of "the heart" envelops "him in a religious calm" (10:122), but ultimately he cannot understand it nor accept it without betraying it. Giovanni may indeed hear her heart's truth, but he reads her body as the symbol of his own revulsion at the "monstrosity" of an obsession whose self-generated origins he cannot claim. As Nina Baym has so persuasively argued, Giovanni, like many of Hawthorne's male characters after 1842, is "revolted" by Beatrice's body to the same extent that he is "obsessed, possessed" by it. The "thwarted nature" of Hawthorne's male characters, Baym claims, is Hawthorne's indictment of the unnaturalness of that "part of the [male] psyche that repudiates human sexuality," that mutilates, in order to deny, woman's sexuality.[66] Baym, I think, is certainly right in the main, but I would argue that in this tale, at least with Giovanni, Hawthorne is equally troubled by man's inability to relate to woman in any other way than a sexualized relationship. Giovanni and Beatrice's very relationship originates with and depends on his attending to her unique voice rather than gazing at her body and reading it as the text of her character. Beatrice admits Giovanni into her heart and Giovanni experiences through their conversations "the golden crown of enchantment" that is his "intimate familiarity" with Beatrice (10:114-15), but, he cannot comprehend, much less sustain, such an intimate friendship without wishing to violate the very "physical barriers" that make it possible:

> By all appreciable signs, they loved; they had looked love with eyes that conveyed the holy secret from the depths of one soul into the depths of the other, as if it were too sacred to be whispered by the way; they had even spoken love in those gushes of passion when their spirits darted forth in articulated breath like tongues of long hidden flame; and yet there had been no seal of lips, no clasp of hands, nor any slightest caress such as love claims and hallows. He had never touched one of the gleaming ringlets of her hair; her garment--so marked was the physical barrier between them--had never been waved against him by a breeze. On the few occasions when Giovanni had seemed tempted to overstep the limit, Beatrice grew so sad, so stern, and withal wore such a look of desolate separation, shuddering at itself, that not a spoken word was requisite to repel him. (10:115-16)

Beatrice's claim that she "dreamed only to love" Giovanni for "a little

time" and desired only a union of his "image in mine heart" (10:125) challenges the limits that we have set for "ordinary experience" in a post-Freudian age. In an otherwise brilliant article condemning the anti-feminist "poison" of the male characters in the tale, Richard Brenzo has suggested, for instance, that Giovanni's "insight" into the sexual nature of his relationship with Beatrice exceeds Beatrice's own awareness of the source of her "deepest feelings" for him.[67] To make this suggestion, however, Brenzo, like Giovanni, must trust his own "fancy" and distrust "the words of Beatrice Rappaccini's lips." For Beatrice, however, the only love possible between her and Giovanni is the union of hearts in dialogue "as unreserved as if they had been playmates from early infancy" (10:115), the union of a "brotherly" relationship between a man and a woman in a love that is "truer and more real than what we can see with the eyes and touch with the finger" (10:120). Such a love is intimate friendship, the "intellectual friendship" that Fuller had described to Sophia as the highest form of love.[68] In such a friendship between a man and a woman the body can be indeed poisonous to the relationship. Hawthorne and Fuller, I contend, experienced such a friendship, but in recognizing a sexual dimension in his response to Fuller, Hawthorne recognized the poison of his own "thwarted nature," his own "fancies" about the prohibited body of Fuller, the body which, if touched, would have proved poisonous not only to his relationship with Fuller but also, of course, to his relationship with Sophia. Hawthorne also recognized, however, that such a response was but a measure of his own "shallowness," an "ordinary" reassertion of masculine power over an intimacy that he both craved and feared, a response that serves to align him with Emerson, he with his "magic circle" redeeming a "weary and world-worn" Fuller (as he describes her in "The Old Manse" [10:29]) from Emerson's sphere of "wonderful magnetism," just as Giovanni in opposing Rappaccini's malignant control discovers the "poison" at the source of his own desire to "redeem" Beatrice, to bring her within his own power. Giovanni's desperate attempt to assert a sexual power over Beatrice, however, originates in his panic over his loss of power.[69] Appalled at Beatrice's grip on his imagination, Giovanni literally attempts to silence her voice and defuse the potency of her mystery by making her body the receptacle of his desire and revulsion, his angel and his demon: "Let us

join our lips in one kiss of unutterable hatred, and so die!" (10:124).

Yet Hawthorne's very recognition and condemnation of this competitive masculine desire for interpretative and physical power over the feminine realigns him with Fuller, for in the texts of Fuller's work, Hawthorne had been challenged to reread his impulse to read the text of woman's power in her body. He had read the very terms he would use to condemn Giovanni, and Rappaccini, in Fuller's "The Magnolia of Lake Pontchartrain." In this work, Fuller had explained man's uncomprehending attraction to the feminine "Other" as a desire to lose oneself within its creative force, a force that nevertheless inspires masculine fear and rejection precisely because it can be known only through the abrogation of masculine power and the loss of self. Having experienced the power of "the queen and guardian of the flowers," the feminine Magnolia explains to the male narrator:

> "Of this being I cannot speak to thee in any language now possible betwixt us. For this is a being of another order from thee, an order whose presence thou mayest feel, nay, approach step by step, but which cannot be known till thou art it, nor seen nor spoken of till thou hast passed through it.
>
> "Suffice it to say, that it is not such a being as men love to paint, a fairy,--like them, only lesser and more exquisite than they, a goddess, larger and of statelier proportion, an angel,--like still, only with an added power. Man never creates, he only recombines the lines and colors of his own existence. . . . Like all such beings she was feminine. All the secret powers are 'Mothers.' There is but one paternal power."[70]

Fairy, goddess, angel--Hawthorne, of course, could have added "Dove" to the list. In "Rappaccini's Daughter" he does add "demon," as he added "naughty Sophie" to his courtship letters, for he recognized that in constraining the power of the feminine in the self-shaped reflection of a "thwarted nature" redeemed in the image of an "angelic" woman, man also imagined the horror of his failure to subsume the resistant female "Other" in the shape of a demonic woman. The demonization of the resistant woman is thus but another self-shaped reflection, a reverse image of the "angelic" woman whose origins the "demonic" woman shares--both arising from man's horror at the threat to self that intimacy with the feminine entails when man finds himself, like Giovanni, "irrevocably within her sphere."

Hawthorne could not tell Sophia whether Beatrice was to be an "angel"

or "demon" because he could not tell her that Beatrice was neither and that he was both--that both solutions to the "riddle" of her existence were solutions to the "riddle of his own existence." Nor could he explain to her how the "naughty Sophie" she had been and the "Dove" she had become were translations of his own desire to redeem a self that, as he had once been willing to suggest to her, was but "an unspiritual shadow" struggling "vainly to catch hold of something real," finding himself a "reality" only through his definition of her (15:511).[71] And he certainly could not tell her, of course, that in reading Fuller's texts and in attempting to read Fuller's character and their ambivalent friendship he had found himself once again drawn into the role of a male "interpreter" of feminine mystery (see 15:375), this time the mystery of a woman who seemed extraordinary enough not only to resist the "angelic" and "demonic" interpretations of "ordinary experience" but also to understand as he did the origins of man's desire to suppress a feminine power that he both craves and fears through masculine translations of the feminine into cultural constructs no less constraining than the walls of Rappaccini's poisonous Eden.

Drawn to the feminine power in nature and allied with Fuller against the paternal mediations of Emerson, Hawthorne nevertheless found that Fuller posed a threat to him in a way that Emerson did not, for by the example of her life, the insight of her texts, and the attraction she held for him, she called into question the very terms by which Hawthorne had defined his relationship with Sophia and challenged him to an intimacy that those very terms had served to deflect. As a "feminine nature" struggling, as he says in "The Old Manse," with the "heavy gift of an intellectual power" that had been "imposed" upon her by her own father (10:29), she also challenged the new father of a baby girl to ponder the consequences of his own inclination to enforce masculine desire through patriarchal power.[72] His first reaction to Una's birth, after all, had been to brag to his best friend that he preferred having had a daughter rather than a son because "there is something so especially piquant in having helped to create a future woman" (16:25).

Fuller's friendship with Hawthorne, however, was as enabling as it was threatening, for she provoked him, through person and text, to recognize in the complicity of his own "thwarted nature" the "ordinary experience"

by which men "poison" the lives of women and destroy in fear their hope of any real intimacy with them. Nina Baym, I think, is right in identifying this as Hawthorne's big theme and in locating its ascendancy to obsessive self-reflection during the Old Manse period.[73] To one degree or another Hawthorne would reenter Rappaccini's garden again and again after 1844 as he continued to meditate on the personal and cultural challenge of Fuller's life and its implications for the meaning of his own. Against Fuller, Hawthorne continued both to assert and to critique cultural constructions of the masculine and the feminine, constructions on which Hawthorne had uneasily staked his marriage and his manhood. In "Rappaccini's Daughter," she is "the mystery which he deemed the riddle of his own existence," the woman who seems to have escaped "the condition of a weak woman, exposed to all evil and capable of none" (10:110,127). Fourteen years later, eight years after her death and six before his own, she would still be the "puzzle" whose "solution" he had not found in the characters of Hester and Zenobia but, suffering his own fears of creative failure and mortality, thought he had finally discovered regretfully, gloatingly in the tragic heroine whose "defective and evil nature" could not be transformed by her life-long effort to be the "wisest and best" woman of her age, the woman who inevitably proved as "weak as the weakest of her sisters" (14:156-57). Even then the "solution" did not satisfy, and in one final attempt he would read her character as Miriam in The Marble Faun, investing in her, once again, the mystery of all that he admired and feared in woman.

5

Nina Baym complained as late as 1984 that antifeminist and feminist readings of Hawthorne shared the same assumptions and drew the same conclusions, one to praise and the other to condemn. Identifying hers as a minority voice, Baym proposed, as she had before, that Hawthorne's tales indict the very masculine prejudices that they dramatize.[74] My reading of "Rappaccini's Daughter," of course, is allied with Baym's vision of Hawthorne's purposes. Most cultural readings of mid-nineteenth century texts make much of the power of the "domestic ideal" in shaping literary and "lived" representations of women. What is often underestimated, however, is the cultural power of those resistant to that ideology, those engaged in shaping what Raymond Williams termed an

"emergent" ideology.[75] That Hawthorne was to some degree allied with those engaged in that resistance is supported by an examination of the specific audience for which "Rappaccini's Daughter" was written and the context in which it was published.

Known for its politics--literary and national--The United States Magazine and Democratic Review was firmly committed to giving women a voice both in society and in its pages. Six months before the publication of "Rappaccini's Daughter," for instance, the Democratic Review ran an unsigned essay entitled "The Legal Wrongs of Women," which called for a complete revision of a legal and social system that sanctioned the slavery of all women, a system kept in place by "those who cannot indulge" their "love of power . . . on a great scale" and therefore must "be content with its utmost possible exercise in a limited sphere."[76] Lest there be any doubt about the position of the magazine, an editorial note is printed at the foot of the first page of the essay, reading: "The present Article on its own face avows itself as the production of a female pen; but we will not let the occasion pass without adding to it a more emphatic expression of our full approval and adoption of its views, than would be contained in its mere insertion in our pages without note or comment."[77] In that same issue, in an article entitled "Female Novelists," W. A. Jones, after reviewing major women writers, asserts that "women write for women" but that "there is a race of masculine writers, with feminine delicacy of mind, who ought to be added to the list of novelists for a lady's reading."[78] To the list of such writers as Rousseau, Sterne, and Goethe, all of whom Jones labels as "dangerous writers" for any but the intellectually and morally strong, Jones adds three Americans--Irving, Dana, and Hawthorne. Hawthorne (contributor of six tales that year to the Democratic Review) receives his strongest endorsement, since he is "a true poet": "What fancy, what deep melancholy, what invention, what pure, cheerful gladness, what pictures, in his delightful tales."[79] The Democratic Review, in fact, lives up to its commitment to women's issues and to its solicitude of women readers by granting an extraordinary amount of space to women writers. The September issue featured five signed pieces written by women, including works by Elizabeth Barrett and Lydia Maria Child.[80] Hawthorne's audience for "Rappaccini's Daughter" would have been more alert than many a twentieth century scholar to the gender values being

endorsed in the tale.

When Hawthorne included "Rappaccini's Daughter" in Mosses from an Old Manse, he carefully selected its first readers--his critical audience. As copies of Mosses from an Old Manse rolled off the press, Hawthorne wrote Duyckinck a letter listing ten names to whom he wished copies be sent. Fuller's name topped the list (16:158)! As the critic for the Dial, Fuller had embraced Hawthorne's career early on and had helped secure his status within the literary community whose axis centered in Boston-Concord. He now looked to her to help do the same for him in New York. And she did. For in many respects, their careers were following parallel paths. Publishing Mosses in 1846 in Duyckinck's Library of American Books series for the New York firm of Wiley & Putnam and anticipating a nationwide audience, Hawthorne would seek in "The Old Manse" to create a distinctive literary identity independent of associations with Emerson and the notoriety of Concord-centered idealism. When Fuller first moved to New York in late 1844, she too had taken the opportunity in her first New York review to reposition herself publicly against Emerson's passionless idealism and, as Hawthorne said in "The Old Manse," to commit the "heavy gift of intellectual power" that "had been imposed" upon her to "the necessity to act upon the world" (10:29). Among the least recognized of her projects was her commitment to enlarge Hawthorne's national reputation using her own expanded critical forum in both her New-York Tribune column and her own 1846 volume in Duyckinck's series, Papers on Literature and Art. To encourage her efforts, Hawthorne did more than simply ensure that she received the first advance copies of his book. As he had done in the "Writings of Aubépine," he invited Fuller's attention not only by making an unmistakable and flattering allusion to her as being among his most intimate friends within his "magic circle" in the old Manse but also by ending "The Old Manse" with a reinscription of Fuller's 1842 criticism of his work as his own self-judgement ("fitful sketches with so little external life about them," "so reserved," "never . . . expressing satisfactorily the thoughts which they profess to image" [10:34]) and by responding directly, if privately, to the "solitary voice" he had just claimed as his own, the voice that had "called upon him to opt his study door."[81] To the "circle of friends" that he claimed to be his "limited number of readers" (10:34), Hawthorne--who had only paragraphs

before claimed to have admitted his readers only to "the green sward, but just within the cavern's mouth" of his life (10:32)--now follows Fuller's advice in her own metaphorical terms by welcoming the reader as his "guest" into the privacy of his "study" (10:34-35), where, by the invitation of implication if not by frank admission, the reader, guided by the manuscripts, may wander deeper into the "cavern," beyond at least the entrance provided by "The Old Manse."

How far Fuller wandered into the "cavern" we cannot know with any direct certainty, for she did not leave an account of her private response to the "Writings of Aubépine," "Rappaccini's Daughter," or "The Old Manse." But in her public role as critic, she promoted him as never before, asserting in "American Literature; Its Position in the Present," an essay written especially for Papers on Literature and Art, that Hawthorne was "the best writer of the day."[82] In her lengthy front-page review of Mosses for the 22 June 1846 New-York Daily Tribune, Fuller characterizes Hawthorne's genius as so obvious to the discerning reader that anything she or any other critic can say would be either "superfluous or impertinent."[83] Her duty as a critic, she implies, is that of a publicist, for despite Hawthorne's "standard reputation" among discerning readers, Fuller claims that Hawthorne "has not been very widely read" because of the limited public exposure he received from previous publishers; with her own New York firm of Wiley and Putnam, however, he "will have a chance to collect all his own public about him, and that be felt as a presence which before was only a rumor."[84] Fuller's review serves to improve Hawthorne's "chance" to enlarge his readership on his own terms not only by profuse praise of his best work but by publicly endorsing through first-hand authority the "admirable good sense" of "The Old Manse," his "record of objects and influences" in Concord, a gesture that, together with her praise for the "wit" and "wisdom" of "The Celestial Rail-road," reaffirms her alliance with Hawthorne in their common critique of Emerson.[85] Her review, however, does suggest that she had read Hawthorne as he had meant her, and perhaps only her, to read him. Adopting Hawthorne's own rhetorical strategy of translating the private language of his response to Fuller within a coded public language that only Fuller could read, Fuller revisits her former criticism of Hawthorne in a diction that would have suggested to Hawthorne her reading of "The

Birth-mark" and "Rappaccini's Daughter." While Hawthorne is to be praised for his "pensive sense of the spiritual or demoniacal influences that haunt the palpable life and common walks of men," she regrets that "at this stage of his mind's life" he has laid, like Aylmer, "no more decisive hand upon the apparition," though she "had hoped that we should see, no more as in a glass darkly, but face to face," the editorial "we" embracing here and elsewhere both public and private personal pronoun. Responding perhaps to Hawthorne's reading of her through Giovanni's reading of Beatrice, Fuller then asserts that "Hawthorne intimates and suggests, but he does not lay bare the mysteries of our being."[86] When she does directly confront both "The Birth-mark" and "Rappaccini's Daughter," what she does not say in this public promotion of Hawthorne is as telling as what she does say. Praising the tales for embodying "truths of profound importance," Fuller restricts herself to extolling in Georgina and Beatrice the one quality which would redeem the tales for her readers and, perhaps, for her--"the loveliest ideal of love and the beauty of feminine purity, (by which we mean no mere acts or abstinences, but perfect single truth felt and done in gentleness) which is its root."[87] Of the men who violate their love and purity, Fuller elects to remain conspicuously silent. Fuller ends her review with a public acknowledgement of the power that Hawthorne had claimed for his "tranquil" spirit," the power that he had said, and that she now confirms, brought her within his "magic circle": "And now, beside the full, calm yet romantic stream of his mind, we will rest. It has refreshment for the weary, islets of fascination no less than dark recesses and shadows for the imaginative, pure reflections for the pure of heart and eye, and, like the Concord he so well describes, many exquisite lilies for him who knows how to get at them."[88] If in her review Fuller draws the public's attention only to the "good and beautiful results," the pure "white pond-lilies" in "The Birth-mark" and "Rappaccini's Daughter," she draws Hawthorne's attention--both here and in her profuse praise of "Young Goodman Brown," "The Artist of the Beautiful," and "Roger Malvin's Burial"--to her receptive reading of Hawthorne's less than pure "yellow water-lilies."

A few months after writing this review, Fuller left for Europe. Expecting her return after the fall of the revolutionary forces in Rome,

with a presumably illegitimate baby in her arms, Hawthorne reinitiates his dialogue with Fuller in the autumn of 1849. He could not know it at the time, of course, but the wreck of the Elizabeth would prevent Fuller from telling him whether finally, in Hester, he had placed his "hands on the apparition" and laid "bare the mysteries" of her being.

Notes

1. Roy R. Male, Hawthorne's Tragic Vision (Austin, 1957), complains that the tale is "almost too complex, too rich in meaning for a completely satisfactory analysis" (55). His complaint is illustrative of the warning labels attached by critics to their readings of the tale. Richard H. Fogle, Hawthorne's Fiction: The Light and the Dark, rev. ed. (Norman, Ok., 1964) for instance, confesses that the tale is for him "the most difficult of Hawthorne's stories" (91), and Baym, The Shape of Hawthorne's Career, asserts that though it is "one of the richest of stories in the canon" it is perhaps "too rich" for "any wholly satisfactory reading." (107). Concluding her survey of critical disagreement over the tale's point of view, allegorical meaning, and authorial ambivalence, Lea Newman, A Reader's Guide to the Short Stories of Nathaniel Hawthorne (Boston, 1979), like Baym, concludes that "these complexities are part of the story's virtues" but that "an excess of virtues" becomes "an integral fault" of the tale (269).

2. Lois, A. Cuddy, "The Purgatorial Gardens of Hawthorne and Dante: Irony and Redefinition in 'Rappaccini's Daughter,'" Modern Language Studies 17 (1987): 39-53, 53, n.9.

3. Deborah L. Jones, "Hawthorne's Post-Platonic Paradise: The Inversion of Allegory in 'Rappaccini's Daughter,'" Journal of Narrative Technique 18 (1988): 168. John Downton Hazlett, "Re-reading 'Rappaccini's Daughter': Giovanni and the Seduction of the Transcendental Reader," Emerson Society Quarterly 35 (1989): 43-68, reads the tale as performing its critique of an allegorical and transcendental symbolization of experience; Hawthorne, claims Hazlett, seeks to "seduce his readers into making the very kind of symbolizing errors he wanted to criticize" (43). See also Beverly Haviland, "The Sin of Synecdoche: Hawthorne's Allegory against Symbolism in 'Rappaccini's Daughter,'" Texas Studies in Language and Literature 29 (1987): 278-301.

4. NH and HW, 1:360.

5. Fuller, Rev. of Twice-Told Tales," 130.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., 130-31.

8. Fuller, Rev. of Twice-Told Tales, 130.

9. Tompkins, Sensation Designs, 3-39, especially 10-11.

10. Fuller, Rev. of Twice-Told Tales, 130.

11. Ibid., 130-31.

12. Emerson, Emerson in His Journals, 560.

13. Fuller, "'The Impulses of Human Nature,'" particularly 83, 93, 105-106. For earlier but more vivid expressions of her discontent with Emerson's passionless commitment to ideas, see "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal," particularly 323, 324, 326, 330, 340.

14. Margaret Fuller, Rev. of Emerson's Essays: Second Series, New-York Daily Tribune, 7 December 1844: 1. Rpt. as "Emerson's Essays" in Essays on American Life and Letters, 240-47, 246.

15. Ibid., 245.

16. Letters, 3:143.

17. Reynolds, "Hawthorne and Emerson in 'The Old Manse.'" As much of this chapter amply demonstrates, I am deeply indebted to Reynolds' insights into the Hawthorne-Emerson relationship and, more generally, the autobiographical origins of Hawthorne's work.

18. Letters, 3:66.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., 3:70.

21. "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal," 340.

22. Letters, 1:175.

23. Margaret Fuller, "'The Impulses of Human Nature,'" 108.

24. Miller, Salem is My Dwelling Place, in a single sentence concluding a note, suggests that "perhaps the portrait of Beatrice . . . was influenced by Fuller's involvement with flowers" (548, n.21).

25. Margaret Fuller, "Autobiographical Romance," in The Essential Margaret Fuller, 24-43. The work was first published in 1852 in the Memoirs (1:11-42).

26. Pfister, The Production of Personal Life, 67-70. Pfister notes that "flower imagery sprouted everywhere in the well-ordered feminine culture industry" (65-66). His brief discussion of the importance of flower imagery in the pseudonyms and titles adopted by women authors during this period is valuable (65-67). Pfister's interpretation of Hawthorne's deployment of "flowers" to symbolize female sexuality and "blooming flowers" to suggest menstruating women is part of his general argument that Hawthorne was participating in a "cultural tendency to biologize masculine social or literary anxieties about women" (70). Pfister assumes, as tradition would have it, that Hawthorne was repelled by what Pfister terms throughout his study the "monstrosity" of Fuller, her "conmixture" of masculine and feminine traits. His study is provocative throughout, and his association of Fuller with Beatrice is insightful, but limited by his assumptions about their relationship.

27. Fuller, "Autobiographical Romance," 32.

28. Ibid., 37.

29. Ibid., 32.

30. Margaret Fuller, "The Great Lawsuit: Man versus Men. Woman versus Women," Dial 4 (July 1843): 1-47. Rpt. in Rex J. Burbank, ed., The Literature of the American Renaissance (Columbus, Ohio, 1969), 1178-1212. The Miranda section may be found on pp. 1187-89.

31. Ibid., 1187-88.

32. Steele, Representation of the Self, 100-33, 105.

33. Ibid., 105-14, 109.

34. Margaret Fuller, "The Magnolia of Lake Pontchartrain," Dial 1 (January 1841): 299-305. Rpt. in The Essential Margaret Fuller, 44-49, 47.

35. Ibid., 48.

36. Ibid., 49, 48.

37. Ibid., 111.

38. Margaret Fuller, "Yuca Filamentosa," Dial 2 (January 1842): 286-88. Rpt. in The Essential Margaret Fuller, 50-52, 51. Hawthorne first mentions the name of "Margaret" as meaning "Pearl" and notes its potential as a character name during Fuller's extended visit with the Hawthornes in July of 1844 (8:242). Emerson writes: "She never forgot that her name, Margarita, signified a pearl (Memoirs, 1:219).

39. Ibid., 52.

40. Ibid., 52.

41. Fuller, "The Magnolia of Lake Pontchartrain," 48. In her "Autobiographical Romance," Fuller's claims that she "had no natural childhood" (27), that "much" of her "life was devoured in the bud" (37), and clearly lays responsibility for her overwhelming sense of isolation from others on her father's intellectual influence, on her mother's absence ("My mother was in delicate health, and much absorbed in the care of her younger children" [27]) and on her only sister's death in infancy: "She who would have been the companion of my life was severed from me, and I was left alone. This has made a vast difference in my lot. Her character . . . would have been soft, graceful and lively; it would have tempered mine to a gentler and more gradual course" (25-26). As previously cited, Fuller describes "embracing" her mother's flowers with "passionate emotions" she "has never dared express to any human being" (32); for Fuller, as for Beatrice, flowers substitute for the absent mother and sister.

42. Auerbach, Woman and the Demon, 9, 8.

43. Memoirs, 1:219.

44. Margaret Fuller, "Leila," Dial 1 (April 1841): 462-67. Rpt. in The Essential Margaret Fuller: 53-58, 53, 56-57.

45. Ibid., 53-54.

46. Pfister, The Production of Personal Life, makes a similar point about "The Birth-mark" and "The Writings of Aubépine," namely, that both suggest "that Hawthorne sees himself penned up in an allegorizing mode that produces the masculine obsession to stereotype how women read themselves. He sees his allegorical form producing his content" (45).

47. Reynolds, "Hawthorne and Emerson in 'The Old Manse.'" Reynolds argues that Hawthorne's difficulty in completing "The Old Manse" arose from his inability to "place his life within a moral framework without indulging in public confession" but that in the fictional narratives of "The Birth-mark" and "Rappaccini's Daughter" "whatever autobiographical elements they contain pose[d] no threat of exposure" (76). Reynolds argues that Hawthorne's rivalry with Emerson "forms a subtext for not only 'The Old Manse,' but also later works . . . ," The Scarlet Letter being the most notable (76).

48. Hawthorne's use of "Oriental" to describe Beatrice's beauty will appear again in his description of Zenobia's type of beauty. "Oriental" during this period, indeed through the early and late Romantic period, was synonymous with "exotic" and "sensual." As Emerson's account and others suggest, Fuller's passionate nature, use of flowers and gems, and other very "un-New Englandish" qualities made her seem, in Emerson's words, "a little pagan," like "a foreigner" (Memoirs, 1:219-27).

49. Fuller, Rev. of Twice-Told Tales," 130-31.

50. Margaret Fuller, Rev. of Emerson's Essays, 245.

51. Ibid.

52. Margaret Fuller, "'The Impulses of Human Nature,'" 83.

53. Margaret Fuller, "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal," 324.

54. Ibid., 324-25.

55. Reynolds, "Hawthorne and Emerson in 'The Old Manse,'" 70.

56. Reynolds, "Hawthorne and Emerson in 'The Old Manse,'" explains much of Hawthorne's sense of rivalry with Emerson as arising from his resentment over Sophia's worshipful admiration of Emerson, an admiration that Hawthorne subtly worked to undercut (73).

57. Hawthorne completes the passage (after supper, apparently) by summarizing Emerson's assessment of the intellectual development of his other friends -- Ellery Channing, Henry David Thoreau, and Charles Newcomb (8:371-72). In each case, Hawthorne presents Emerson ever so slightly as playing the role of "mentor-schoolmaster" patronizing in his presumption of evaluating his friends' intellectual developments. Despite the "spin" that Hawthorne places on his depiction of Emerson, Hawthorne seemed to have enjoyed the conversation. Taken out of context (as I have

admittedly done), the Fuller passage has been used by those who cannot conceive of Hawthorne admiring Fuller more than Emerson as being an example of Hawthorne's contempt for Fuller, not Emerson (see, for example, Turner, Nathaniel Hawthorne, 148).

58. Fuller, "The Magnolia of Lake Pontchartrain," 47-48.

59. Reynolds, "Hawthorne and Emerson in 'The Old Manse,'" 70-71.

60. Fuller, Rev. of Emerson's Essays, 245.

61. Fuller, "'The Impulses of Human Nature,'" 105.

62. Fuller, "The Magnolia of Lake Ponchartrain," 47.

63. Curiously, Fuller's 1840 "Autobiographical Romance" describes her mother's garden as having a back gate opening "into the fields" that was "embowered in the clematis creeper." Fuller describes her childhood joy at watching sunsets from the open gate, but she notes that she never allowed herself to step through the gate, for she "loved the slivery wreaths of my protecting vine" (31-32). Later in the same passage she describes passionately embracing her mother's flowers, vowing to be "as perfect as they," and expresses her regret that with "the blights, the distortions, which beset the human being" she could never be as perfect as "ye golden autumn flowers, which so strive to reflect the glories of the departing distant sun and ye silvery flowers, whose moonlight eyes I knew so well" (32).

64. Fuller, "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal," 325.

65. Fuller, "'The Impulses of Human Nature,'" 108.

66. Baym, "Thwarted Nature," 65-66. Of Giovanni, Baym writes that "it is the entire physical presence of Beatrice, her very body itself especially as concentrated in her fragrance, her physical perfume, that revolts him" (65).

67. Richard Brenzo, "Beatrice Rappaccini: A Victim of Male Love and Horror," American Literature 48 (1976): 152-164, 158. Brenzo states outright that "it is hard to believe" Beatrice's statement describing her love for Giovanni as being only temporary, that she is simply "ignorant of the power of her sexuality" and the sexual nature of their relationship, and that thus Giovanni's "insight seems deeper than hers" (158).

68. Letters, 3:66.

69. Brenzo, "Victim of Male Love and Horror," makes this point also: "For Giovanni, sexual commitment to Beatrice means 'death' in the sense of being dominated by a woman, being robbed of his independence, and having his personality swallowed up" (Ibid., 146). Brenzo also argues, as I do, that "Giovanni has a real compulsion to possess Beatrice, to change and control her, a compulsion revealed by his attempts to know her sexually, and by his persistent desire to shape her into his personal image of the divine woman" (146). I would stress, however, as Baym does, that much of Giovanni's response is motivated by displaced self-revulsion, by his inability to meet the challenge of an "intellectual friendship."

70. Fuller, "The Magnolia of Lake Pontchartrain," 48.

71. See Person, "Hawthorne's Love Letters," particularly 212-14.

72. Herbert, Dearest Beloved, has demonstrated that Hawthorne had good reason to be worried, for, in his reading of Hawthorne family life, Una's early manifestations as a Pearl-like child of the emotional problems that would plague her beginning in adolescence were signs of the strain of her having to live up to the impossible ideals imposed on her by Sophia and Hawthorne (see especially 177-83).

73. Baym, "Thwarted Nature," 65.

74. Ibid., 58-60.

75. Raymond Williams, Marxism in Literature (New York, 1977), 121-27.

76. "The Legal Wrongs of Women," The United States Magazine and Democratic Review 14 (May 1844): 477-82, 478-79.

77. Ibid., 477.

78. W. A. Jones, "Female Novelists," The United States Magazine and Democratic Review 14 (May 1844): 484-89, 488.

79. Ibid., 489.

80. Elizabeth Barrett was a frequent contributor in 1844, having pieces in the July-October issues. Of interest also is the publication in two parts in the August and September issues of an unsigned story entitled "The Draper's Daughter." Besides the suggestive parallel of the title (appearing as it does in the two issues preceding Hawthorne's writing of "Rappaccini's Daughter"), the tale seems to have few parallels with Hawthorne's tale, though a more thorough examination than mine might uncover some.

81. Fuller, "Hawthorne's Twice-Told Tales," 61.

82. Fuller, Papers on Literature and Art, 2:122-43. Rpt. in Essays on American Life and Letters, 381-400, 399.

83. Margaret Fuller, Rev. of Hawthorne's Mosses from an Old Manse, New-York Daily Tribune, 22 June 1846: 1. Rpt. in Essays on American Life and Letters, 371-74, 371.

84. Ibid., 372.

85. Ibid., 372-73.

86. Ibid., 372.

87. Ibid., 373.

88. Ibid., 374.

CHAPTER V

"SPEAK THOU FOR ME!":

THE "STRANGE EARNESTNESS" OF THE SCARLET LETTER

"You speak, my friend, with a strange earnestness."
--Roger to Arthur (1:115)

Many fine arguments have been made that would locate the creative origins of The Scarlet Letter in Hawthorne's personal crises in the summer of 1849--the scandal over his "decapitation" at the Custom House and the greater personal crisis of his mother's death.[1] As influential as these events may have been to the impetus to write again and as much as they may have influenced the narrative, they do not allow or answer a crucial question about the origins of the narrative. Why focus on adultery--specifically on the consequences of an adulterous moment seven years in the past? And why would mediating on the "motives and modes of passion that influence" the characters in the narrative so obsess Hawthorne that Sophia, who had had the opportunity to observe his work habits for years, would be astonished by and worry over the fury with which he worked (1:33)?[2]

The equally fine studies which identify the sources of Hawthorne's historical detail and argue essentially for the romance's narrative origins in Hawthorne's meditation on New England history, particularly on Anne Hutchinson, fail also to account for the passion with which Hawthorne wrote.[3] Can we really read the romance as the profound but by necessity somewhat detached artistic product of a purely historical imagination? Hawthorne could not. As he read, or "tried to read," the just-completed manuscript to Sophia, as he confessed to himself years later in his journal, he found himself so moved by his own words during the last scene that, like the voice of Arthur in its metaphorical effect on Hester, his own "voice swelled and heaved," he said, "as if I were tossed up and down on an ocean, as it subsided after a storm." "I was in a very nervous state, then," he reminds himself, "having gone through a great diversity and severity of emotion, for many months past. I think I have never overcome my own adamant in any other instance."[4] Hawthorne would fail to mention his own reaction in a letter written the next day to Bridge, which reports that Sophia, after the reading, had gone to bed with "a

grievous headache," the effect, he implies, of the work's power (16:311).[5] Given his later, private account of the unbearable emotion with which he read, we may well suspect that Sophia's headache was brought on not only by what Hawthorne wrote of Arthur and Hester but also by what Sophia inferred and suppressed from the passion with which he wrote it and read it. As Herbert has so thoroughly demonstrated, however, Sophia consistently and resolutely avoided facing disturbing truths, suppressing any suggestion, any inference, that Hawthorne was not her altogether happy Apollo.[6] When her less worshipful sister, Elizabeth, contended that Hawthorne in writing The Scarlet Letter had "'purified himself by casting out a legion of devils,'" Sophia would insist vehemently that "'it was a work of the imagination wholly & no personal experience, as you well know.'"[7] Arthur's congregation had also resisted the inference that their sainted minister's confessions of sinful wretchedness were anything but the work of the religious imagination at the service of pulpit rhetoric. Elizabeth, as Sophia reminded her, could not know; however, she could do what Sophia would not allow herself to do--she could infer. Perhaps the moral of The Scarlet Letter is, in fact, the moral that the narrator says it is: "'Be true! Be true! Be true! Show freely to the world, if not your worst, yet some trait whereby the worst may be inferred!'" (1:260).

What is often overlooked in Hawthorne's famous image of himself as romancer in a moonlit, coal-fired familiar room "glancing at the looking-glass" and recording the meeting of the "Actual and Imaginary" (1:35-36) is what is not directly revealed but may be seen, what may be, that is, "inferred." Hawthorne may "show" us the "neutral territory" that lies "deep within" the "haunted verge" of the mirror, but if we redirect our focus from the margins of the glass to its anything-but-neutral center we will see a face staring at the mirror's margins at the "ghosts" that, transformed by the light of his imagination, no longer "affrighten" him, but staring also into the mirror's center, at his own face, transformed also, ghostly too in the light (1:36). It is the face that will not be seen in the mirror nor recognized behind the "veil" by "most of his schoolmates and lifemates," those who think they are closest to him but who understand him less than the "one heart and mind of perfect sympathy," the "kind and apprehensive, though not the closest friend" who will listen to his "talk" and in recognizing his voice as the voice

speaking "of the circumstances that lie around" them and "even of himself" will be the "genial consciousness" that will enable him to "complete his circle of existence by bringing him into communion with" the "divided segment" of his "own nature" (1:3-4).

The self-riven Arthur in the romance speaks as does this author of the romance.[8] Arthur's "strange earnestness," his concealed confessions, finds too only "one heart and mind of perfect sympathy" capable of recognizing that what sounds like the voice of an imaginary self, a persona conceived in the desire for rhetorical effect, is, in fact, his actual voice "being true," as openly as he finds possible, to his own nature. Perhaps we join the interpretative community of Arthur's congregation--of Hawthorne's "schoolmates and lifemates"--when we read as mere rhetorical pose Hawthorne's claim that "thoughts are frozen and utterance benumbed" unless he has a "true relation" with that audience of "one heart and mind of perfect sympathy" (1:4). Perhaps the pose is not, afterall, a pose. With his first chapters at press and his final three chapters yet to be written, Hawthorne concluded the romance by imagining in Arthur's triumphant eloquence the irony of his own anticipated success with the impending publication of his "scarlet letter" to the world, its cover garishly blazoned like Hester's breast with Arthur's concealed sign of his own guilt, guilt self-inscribed beneath the cover of his clothing but exposed and finally read on the body of Arthur within the body of the book. A member of the "priesthood" of literature--as he had named himself recently in a letter to Longfellow (16:270-71)--Hawthorne makes Arthur's "Election Day" sermon a metaphor for the "passion and pathos," the power and purpose, of his own art (1:243).[9] Arthur speaks two messages to two audiences. Those close to him in the congregation hear the "grosser medium" of Arthur's words, the meaning that "clogs" the "spiritual sense" (1:243). At a distance, outside the walls of Arthur's church, Hester, the second audience, the audience of "one mind and heart of perfect sympathy," listens "with such intentness," "so intimately" that she hears the personal message within the sermon, the sermon's "spiritual sense," the "profound and continual undertone" of "the complaint of a human heart, sorrow-laden, perchance guilty, telling its secret, whether of guilt or sorrow, to the great heart of mankind; beseeching its sympathy or forgiveness,--at every moment--in each accent" (1:243-44). "Guilt or

sorrow," "sympathy or forgiveness"--even if we hear the confessional "undertone" sustaining the sermon's or the romance's power, we may, like Arthur's auditors, like witnesses to his final evasive confession on the scaffold, interpret the brand of the "red-hot iron," the "burning heat" of the "scarlet letter" on Hawthorne's own breast, when he takes it up, as the mark of the author's passionate sorrow and sympathy (1:32). Or we may, like "the one mind and heart of perfect sympathy," like Hester of Arthur, interpret Hawthorne's "shutter," his "involuntary" failure to hold the burning letter long to his breast, as the sign of his own identification with the scarlet letter, of his own guilt, which he, like Arthur, cannot "show freely to the world." We may note, as well, that as Arthur did not achieve his greatest artistic power until he burned the first draft of his "Election Day" sermon and transformed his anguish into a passionate, public oration that did and did not reveal its creative origins in the self, so Hawthorne could not "warm" exclusively at the "intellectual forge" of his "imagination" the "figures" of his tale until he entered the coal-fired, moonlit "familiar room" of the actual and confronted in its heat and light the "neutral territory" of the real transformed by the imaginary, until he confronted, that is, the "ghosts" in the mirror (1:34-36).

2

"Speak thou for me!"

--Hester to Arthur (1:113)

The "ghosts" of the real speak through the imaginative voice of Hawthorne as "editor" of a briefer tale based on an actual event already once-told by a former Surveyor with antiquarian and literary interests, by, in other words, something of the "ghost" of Hawthorne himself. As editor, Hawthorne acknowledges that he has expanded imaginatively on "the modes and motives of the passions" of the brief original but declares that "the authenticity of the outline" of the event remains true to its unedited origins (1:33). In "Rappaccini's Daughter," Hawthorne had adopted the persona of "translator" as a metaphorically appropriate veil for his transformation of private experience into public art. As it anticipates the characters and themes of The Scarlet Letter, "Rappaccini's Daughter" attempts to work out "the riddle" that Beatrice holds for Giovanni's "existence." In The Scarlet Letter, Hawthorne adopts the persona of "editor" for identical purposes--to examine a "riddle," as he

claims, that he "saw little hope of solving," except perhaps through art (1:31). It is the "riddle," of course, of Hester's character and Arthur's obsession. As editor, he may transform the original text of the tale through extensive revision while disavowing personal responsibility for its now edited origins. He may claim to be its writer but not its author. Presenting himself to us behind the veil of editor, we dismiss, as Arthur's congregation did his confessions, Hawthorne's pose as a transparently rhetorical fiction. Of course he is its author. But he is its author in the deepest, most personal sense, and that is why he must also be its editor, why he must revise the original narrative, retaining while concealing its origins, saying but not saying. As Hawthorne brought the romance to a close, he summons Arthur to the pulpit and the scaffold to make his confession. He seems to summon himself as well. Providing one highly edited autobiographical account of the origins of The Scarlet Letter in "The Custom House," Hawthorne, in the confessional subtext of Arthur's sermon, closes the romance by providing a revelatory metaphor for the deeply personal origins and power of his art, the letter to be heard in the "undertone" of the literal letter of his words, the letter to be seen on the scaffold, beneath the cover of and inscribed on the very body of its progenitor. But the revelation continues. At the most crucial--and currently most contested point--Hawthorne must account for Hester's future without Arthur, and he does so by becoming, in fact, the editor rather than the author of the tale. In so doing, he provides us with an essential revelation of the tale's origins and of his role as both its author and its editor.

Quite simply, Hawthorne did not author Hester's fate. Margaret Fuller did. In 1843, almost seven years before Hawthorne wrote the ending to The Scarlet Letter, Fuller had boldly praised and yet condemned George Sand in "The Great Lawsuit" in the terms that Hawthorne would have his narrator employ to judge Hester both in the chapter "Another View of Hester" and in the penultimate paragraph of the romance.[10] Sand, Fuller wrote, was "rich in genius, of most tender sympathies, and capable of high virtue and a chastened harmony," but she suffered the fate of many such women, women who "ought not to find themselves by birth in a place so narrow, that in breaking bonds they become outlaws," who because they cannot find "much room in the world" for themselves "run their

heads wildly against its laws."[11] Fuller then concludes as Hawthorne would conclude:

> Women like Sand will speak now, and cannot be silenced; their characters and their eloquence alike foretell an era when such as they shall easier learn to lead true lives. But though such forebode, not such shall be the parents of it. Those who would reform the world must show that they do not speak in the heat of wild impulse; their lives must be unstained by passionate error; they must be severe lawgivers to themselves. As to their transgressions and opinions, it may be observed, that the resolve of Eloisa to be only the mistress of Abelard, was that of one who saw the contract of marriage as a seal of degradation. Wherever abuses of this sort are seen, the timid will suffer, the bold protest. But society is in the right to outlaw them till she has revised her law, and she must be taught to do so, by one who speaks with authority, not in anger and haste.[12]

So said Margaret Fuller--when, in Hawthorne's editorial comment on Hester, she "had vainly imagined that she herself might be the destined prophetess" (1:263). As Hawthorne wrote the last paragraphs in early February of 1850, he anticipated Margaret Fuller's imminent return of "her own free will" (1:263) from the failures of a "hardly accomplished revolution" (1:43) in Italy to a still Puritanical New England, where, in the end, as Hester had at the beginning, she and her presumably illegitimate baby, Angelino, would have to confront public censure and humiliation.[13] She would also have to face what Hester did not. As Hawthorne envisions Fuller's ordeal on the scaffold of public opinion in 19th-century New England, he reminds us repeatedly and pointedly during his description of Hester's ordeal two centuries before of the greater cruelty that Hester would have faced in a New England of "our days" (1:50)--the "heartlessness" of becoming "only a theme for jest" (1:56)--of suffering only "mocking infamy and ridicule" (1:50). Almost nine years later, eight after Fuller's death, it would be from such "ridicule" that "Providence," Hawthorne would claim, had been "kind" in saving Fuller (14:156-57).

In February of 1850, however, Hawthorne would anticipate Fuller's return by imagining the possibility, and perhaps even advocating, a different reception for Fuller, one in which, as he says of Hester, "the scarlet letter" had "ceased to be a stigma which attracted the world's scorn and bitterness" and had become, through the sympathetic agency of the romance itself, "a type of something to be sorrowed over, and looked upon with awe, yet with reverence too" (1:263). He imagined her returning, as Hester did, to resume her work as counselor to wronged

women, living long enough to read her words on Sand restated as the ironic prophecy of her own inability, by her own standards, to become the "destined prophetess."[14] And yet confronting women's questions as to "why they were so wretched," she would continue to teach them to identify the sources of their sorrow not in their "sin" nor their "shame" but in the very unjust, very "unsure" nature of "the whole relation between men and women" (1:263). "Destined prophetess" or not, she would continue, as Richard Millington has recently argued, to prophesy, and her prophecy would continue to subvert rather than reconfirm the patriarchal culture which had condemned her and made "wretched" other women.[15]

If the "office" of the scarlet letter, as Sacvan Bercovitch has claimed, is to subdue Hester to a gradualist liberal consensus, to have her accept that subjugation freely, and to have her counsel other women to do the same, it fails.[16] For she comes back to New England unrepentantly not only to counsel others to reject the very cultural values which condemn them but also, defiantly, to be near the site of her memories and of the body of the very person she had at one time, despite her suffering, refused to leave. She will join him finally in the same cemetery, and though their society will not allow their "dust" to "mingle," they, finally, will be united through inscription, through the scarlet letter, their now common legend on the tombstone, in the romance (1:264). It should be noted that the" old and sunken" grave (1:264) of the man who once gained "the very proudest eminence of superiority" for prophesying "a high and glorious destiny for the newly gathered people of the Lord" (1:249) is unmarked--apparently forgotten, that is, until it is conjoined by the grave of the woman who prophesied that the "newly gathered people of the Lord" needed to learn a "new truth" about the "whole relation between men and women" (1:263) before they could, in effect, merit any "high and glorious destiny."

Because no one has recognized that Hawthorne speaks for and about Fuller at the close of the romance, the irony of the ending has gone largely unappreciated.[17] He closes the romance as he began it, by writing of Hester's fate two centuries before from the double perspective of her time and his. Hester's words in the seventeenth century are Fuller's words in the nineteenth century. Nothing has changed. "Heaven's own

time" has clearly not come, not for women. But then, "heaven's own time" had not come for the "newly gathered people of the Lord" in New England and America. Their "high and glorious destiny" had not arrived largely because, as Fuller herself had written in "The Great Lawsuit," the chosen people of America, like the Jews "when Moses was leading them to the promised land," had done everything that "inherited depravity could, to hinder the promise of heaven from its fulfillment," the "cross" having been planted in America "only to be blasphemed by cruelty and fraud"--to "the red man, the black man," and, as she later makes abundantly clear, to all women.[18]

Two centuries after Hawthorne would have a fraudulent Arthur elevate himself temporarily to his culture's highest eminence by envisioning a "high and glorious destiny" for America, Fuller would deplore the proliferation in her own age of such "'word heroes' . . . word-Christs," protesting that because "never were lungs so puffed with the wind of declamation, on moral and religious subjects, as now," she feels "tempted to implore" them "to remember that hypocrisy is the most hopeless as well as the meanest of crimes, and that those must surely be polluted by it, who do not keep a little of all this morality and religion for private use."[19] She would look back on the "ages of failure" in American history to achieve "freedom and equality" for women as well as "the red man, the black man" and yet still be able to maintain that though it might be "given to eternity to fulfill . . . this country is as surely destined to elucidate a great moral law, as Europe was to promote the mental culture of man."[20] Arthur's prophecy and Hester's both meet in Fuller's.

The ending of The Scarlet Letter originates where it had begun--with Fuller--and with Hawthorne's renewed confrontation with the "riddle" of her character and of their relationship. Fuller has for some time, of course, been linked loosely with Hawthorne's Hester. First to argue persuasively for Fuller as a model for Hester, Francis E. Kearns noted the parallels between Fuller's and Hester's lives as mothers of illegitimate children who are or become linked with the non-English aristocracy, as social reformers and feminists, as counselors to women, and as nurses to the dying.[21] Reynolds explored the link in more depth, arguing that her life, more than any of the other suggested models for Hester, "served" Hawthorne "most provokingly" for both personal and

ideological reasons, Fuller and Hester representing in Hawthorne's mind "the figures of Liberty and Eve," the "ideas of revolution and temptation, which lie at the heart of the novel." As "Eve," Reynolds suggests, Fuller during her intimate friendship with Hawthorne at Concord had unwittingly become the object of Hawthorne's sexual interest. Hawthorne's "guilt and anger" over his own "attraction to her" provides the best explanation, argues Reynolds, for the motivation behind Hawthorne's sudden, inexplicable denunciation of Fuller in 1858 when he heard gossip about her relationship with Ossoli. As "Liberty," Fuller, "a female revolutionary trying to overthrow the world's most prominent political-religious leader," merged with "Eve" in Hawthorne's mind to represent "a freethinking temptress who had almost subverted his right-minded thoughts and feelings."[22] More recently, Sacvan Bercovitch has built on Reynolds' original exploration of Hawthorne's conservative reaction to European revolutions and has expanded that context to include Hawthorne's anxieties about potential revolutions within the home and within the nation prompted by radical advocates of women's rights and abolitionism. Though he does not explore the subject in any depth, Bercovitch follows Reynolds by endorsing the view that Fuller provided the model for Hester as the embodiment of many of Hawthorne's concerns.[23]

I would contend that Fuller figured much more deeply in Hawthorne's imagination before and during the writing of The Scarlet Letter than anyone has suspected. In all of the aforementioned studies, Fuller is cited as the model for the socially and sexually threatening Hester that the narrator of The Scarlet Letter condemns. I would argue, however, that Fuller informs Hawthorne's total conception of Hester, the Hester who inspires Hawthorne's sympathetic admiration and respect as well as his fears and guilt. Hawthorne did not simply decide suddenly in September 1849 to write a romance about a seventeenth century Puritan mother of an illegitimate baby and then draw upon his friend's life to flesh out his characterization of Hester's radical potential. Fuller was the origin of Hester's very conception. Through Hester, Hawthorne continues his dialogue with Fuller. In Hester, Hawthorne attempts to represent, if not actually to solve, the "puzzle" of Fuller and their relationship.

3

Hawthorne began The Scarlet Letter seven years and one month after

that fateful afternoon in the woods of Sleepy Hollow with Fuller, the moment when their friendship intensified into an ambivalent intimacy that would haunt Hawthorne for years, the very moment he had puzzled over in his representation of Giovanni's encounter with Beatrice in Rappaccini's garden. In the seven years that had passed since that moment, in the five years since confronting it in "Rappaccini's Daughter," much had changed for both Hawthorne and Fuller. Their world then had been Emerson's edenic garden in Concord, but seven years later they each found themselves, though a continent apart, in a troubling world of personal crises and political strife, in a world where the garden, it seemed, for all of its own shadows, had now become a fully dark forest.

While Hawthorne fought a very public and humiliating battle during the late spring and summer to retain his position in the Salem Custom House, a position he had gained by following fellow Democrats in their brief return to power and had lost to the resurgency of a Whig party led by Zachary Taylor, Fuller fought a grander and more dangerous political battle on behalf of the revolutionary republican government of Rome, besieged during June and early July by French troops fighting to restore an overthrown Papacy and foreign hegemony.[24] She had publicly and privately committed herself entirely to the battle. Having written as a correspondent for the New-York Daily Tribune first-hand accounts celebrating the inception of the revolution, Fuller risked her life to remain in the city during the nightly French artillery bombardment and the daily fighting to describe to America those "sad but glorious days" when the republican forces fought a desperate battle to save a doomed revolution that had become, in Fuller's proud words, "now radical" in its determination to bring republican government to all of Italy, to make "the idea," "the destiny of our own great nation," the destiny of all of Europe.[25] As a participant, she aided the wounded at the hospital on Tiber Island and described the terrible mutilations of the young. Though sickened by the suffering and the destruction, she nevertheless took on the persona of prophetess of Liberty defiantly chronicling the tragic victory of "tyranny" over "democracy," presenting herself as being more than willing to be a martyr to the good cause if it would "transport" her soul "to some sphere where Virtue and Love are not tyrannized over by egotism and brute force."[26] Watching the young die, describing a pair of

skeletal legs that "protruded from a bank of one barricade," imagining her own death as republican martyr, Fuller in Rome, like Hawthorne in Salem beside his mother's sickbed, confronted the terrors of death during July of 1849 as neither of them had before.[27]

By the end of the summer both of them, in suffering devastating political and personal losses, would confront extraordinarily uncertain futures. In mid-July, Fuller by military commandment would be ordered to leave her adopted home in Rome. She went first to Rieti, the mountain town where she had left her baby in the care of a wet-nurse, finding him near death from malnutrition. By October she found temporary exile in Florence, uncertain for a time whether to return to America. In early September, Hawthorne, recovering from his "brain fever" after his mother's death and his firing from the Custom House, would also begin the search for another home, an exile from Salem looking to be a "citizen from somewhere else" (1:44).[28] Both faced poverty with no certain prospects for any immediate relief. Fuller would place her hopes on completing and publishing the history of the Italian revolution that she had announced as early as December 1848.[29] She would finish it in Florence, claim it as her masterpiece, and, apparently, lose it at sea during the shipwreck that cost her life. Placing his own hopes on writing, Hawthorne would follow Fuller's way but not her course. Both would write histories, but histories of different kinds. If she could be said to be following in autobiographically-based history what Hawthorne called the "wiser effort" of diffusing "thought and imagination through the opaque substance of to-day" in order to find "the true and indestructible value" within a troubled world (1:37), Hawthorne chose the ghostly light of a historical romance of the seventeenth century to illumine the "opaque substance" of his and Fuller's past, present, and anticipated future.

As Reynolds has noted, Hawthorne began his historical romance less than two weeks after learning in early September through Caroline Sturgis Tappan that Fuller had become the mother of an apparently illegitimate baby.[30] Hawthorne reacted to this final shock of an unsettling summer by writing his "scarlet letter" to and about Fuller and himself. Fuller inspired not only the subject and the character but also the private audience for Hawthorne's "confidential depths of revelation" (1:3). As I noted earlier, Hawthorne acknowledged that Fuller possessed the

sympathetic power to understand him, an admission that as far as we can tell he made to no one else, including Sophia. In a lengthy letter to Fuller written four days after his afternoon with her in Sleepy Hollow, Hawthorne had claimed that "there is nobody to whom I would more willingly speak my mind, because I can be certain of being thoroughly understood" (15:648). Five months later he would make a similar declaration: "You do not peep at matters through a narrow chink, but can take my view as perfectly as your own" (15:670). Following the lead of his earlier response to Fuller in his first published preface, "Writings of Aubépine,"--in which he had represented his audience as an "individual or possibly isolated clique"--Hawthorne again presents himself as addressing "only and exclusively" an audience of a single friend, "the one heart and mind of perfect sympathy" who will listen to his "talk" of the "circumstances that lie around us" as he searched in dialogue, by the act of writing, for "the divided segment" of his own being in the natures of Arthur, Roger, and Hester, hoping to "complete his circle of existence by bringing" himself "into communion with it" (1:3-4). He seems to attempt, in other words, to solve once again what Giovanni had called "the riddle of his own existence," the riddle that he had located in "the mystery" of Beatrice--"the puzzle" that Fuller had become and in 1858 still remained.

4

> Under the appellation of Roger Chillingworth, the reader will remember, was hidden another name, which its former wearer had resolved should never more be spoken." (1:118)

The figure of the branded woman condemned and scorned by Puritan society, punished by the humiliation of wearing the scarlet "A," was first introduced, of course, in the 1837 tale "Endicott and the Red Cross." When Fuller wrote her first review of Hawthorne in 1841 to praise Grandfather's Chair yet to urge him to continue to draw from his "deep well" for "the older and sadder," of all the tales Hawthorne had written, "Endicott and the Red Cross" was the one tale which Fuller singled out as representing the "power so peculiar" to his "genius."[31] Hawthorne, as I have shown, gave Fuller's reviews his most serious attention. As Hawthorne began "Rappaccini's Daughter" in October of 1844, meditating deeply on his relationship with Fuller, translating her review of Twice-Told Tales into his translator's preface, he thought of her earlier

review and the tale she had praised and he considered another narrative in which he could engage and yet conceal his relationship with Fuller. On 13 October, seven years after he had first created her, he suddenly recalls in his notebook, and without further comment, the woman, the letter, and the sin that he later would not describe or name: "The life of a woman, who, by the old colony law, was condemned always to wear the letter A, sewed on her garment, in token of her having committed adultery" (8:254). Written earlier on the same day, we read another entry that reveals him meditating with a Giovanni-like self-contempt on the nature of his enterprise in "Rappaccini's Daughter." As he considers the origins of an author's works in his life, he expresses his disgust at those writers, like Byron, who too transparently, artlessly reveal to the public their innermost lives, who "serve up their own hearts, duly spiced, and with brain-sauce out of their own heads, as a repast for the public" (8:253). Rather than deter him from an autobiographical impulse, his disgust worked to strengthen his determination to conceal the fundamental confessional nature of his work from all but the most sympathetic.

Months before beginning The Scarlet Letter, before he hears gossip of scandal, we find Hawthorne again thinking of Endicott and his own family's role in the cruel persecution of a woman, not the adulteress, but the outspoken Quaker radical Ann Coleman. Published in May of 1849 in Elizabeth Peabody's Aesthetic Papers, positioned as the lead piece in a trilogy of politically critical articles--S. H. Perkins' "Abuse of Representative Government" and Henry David Thoreau's "Resistance to Civil Government"--Hawthorne's "Main-street," in itself and in the setting that Peabody gave it within Aesthetic Papers, suggests that Hawthorne's sympathetic portrait of Ann Coleman's "bold" denunciation of "established authority, . . . the priest and his steeple-house" was informed by his sympathetic reading of Fuller's increasingly outspoken defense of the Roman revolutionary republicans.[32] Coleman's "wild, shrill voice" denouncing established, intolerant authority "appalls" those in authority and provokes them to brutal suppression precisely because of the revolutionary effect of her words on the people, the "living truth" that she told, which seemed, "for the first time," to have "forced its way through the crust of habit" and "reached their hearts and awakened them to life."[33]

If in the spring Fuller's outspoken support of the revolution in Rome and her withering criticism of an America that had betrayed its "nobler spirit" informed Hawthorne's depiction of Ann Coleman, by the fall Fuller's status as an apparently unwed mother led Hawthorne once again at a crucial moment to associate Fuller with the woman condemned by the letter A. Drawing upon Thoreau's doctrine of the radical power of passive individual resistance, Hawthorne would combine both figures in Hester. She would greet humiliating persecution not with a "wild, shrill" cry of condemnation but with a defiant silence. Her silence, however, is not assent, for in her bold speculation and counsel to women she is not the meek, submissive figure of pity Hawthorne had envisioned in 1837.

What Hawthorne had heard in 1849 about Fuller's infant son Angelo or his father, the Marquis Giovanni Angelo Ossoli, we do not know. We do know, of course, that he chose to model Hester's child after his own.[34] But in choosing the name "Pearl" for Una's fictional counterpart, Hawthorne provides yet another suggestion of Fuller's intimate involvement in The Scarlet Letter. Hawthorne first mentions the possibility of naming a character "Pearl" in a long undated passage in his notebook between entries dated 1 June 1842 and 27 July 1844: "Pearl--the English of Margaret--a pretty name for a girl in a story" (8:242). Written during the period in which Hawthorne's friendship with Fuller was at its most intense, the notation on the origins of the name "Margaret" was almost certainly inspired by his conversations with Fuller, for she habitually informed others of her name's meaning and was fond of meditating on the implications its symbolism held for her life.[35] The association between Fuller, Una, and the character Pearl, however, was deeper in Hawthorne's mind than mere comparable names. The extraordinarily close relationship that Fuller and Una established with each other between July and late September of 1844--between Una's fifth and seventh months--established an association between the two in Hawthorne's mind that not only would inform his characterization of Hester and Pearl but would subtly influence his characterization of the Fuller-like Miriam in 1858-1859, when the first collapse of Una's physical and mental health struck terror in his heart him at the very moment that he was writing of Fuller's own "collapse."[36]

The intimate relationship between Una and Fuller established during

this brief period in Una's life could not be widely known until the 1991 publication of Fuller's 1844 journal. Previously, the only available description of Fuller with Una had been Sophia's comment in the Hawthornes' joint notebook quoted in Arlin Turner's 1980 biography. In that description, Sophia emphasized Una's uncanny ability to recognize and admire genius in others. She describes Una at first staring at Fuller "with earnest and even frowning brow" because she recognized that she was in the presence of "a complex being, rich and magnificent, but difficult to comprehend and of a peculiar kind, perhaps unique." Once Fuller took her in her arms, however, the frown quickly disappeared. Una "smiled approvingly" once she had comprehended "her greatness and real sweetness and love" and then had "trusted in her wholly," remaining "with full content by the hour" in Fuller's arms.[37] Without access to Fuller's 1844 journal, Turner quotes that passage as evidence of Sophia's "continuing, half-playful argument" about Fuller with Hawthorne and, in Turner's animus toward Fuller, even goes so far as to speculate that Sophia "perhaps concocted" the story "to prove that a child could discern Margaret's virtue."[38]

Fuller's 1844 journal leaves no doubt that the relationship between Fuller and Una was indeed extraordinary. Fuller's visit to Concord in July of 1844 was occasioned in large part by the births of two children and the expected birth of a third. Fulfilling the expectation that Hawthorne had expressed when he and Sophia had selected Concord for their first home, Fuller arrived in Concord to be the houseguest of the Hawthornes and visit with them and their firstborn, Una. She also came to visit with her sister Ellen, her brother-in-law Ellery, and their recent firstborn, her niece and namesake, Margaret ("Greta") Channing. When Fuller arrived at the Hawthornes, Lidian Emerson was also just days away from delivering her second son, Edward Waldo Emerson. Between their many walks through the night woods and their boatrides on the Concord, Hawthorne was to see Fuller with babies in her arms frequently during her month-long visit, but particularly with Una. In fact, during her stay with the Hawthornes, she and Hawthorne would spend much of the day together babysitting Una while Sophia was away at the Channings' serving as Greta's wet-nurse, Ellen having proven incapable of nursing the baby herself.[39] Whatever preternaturally perceptive and trusting relationship

Una may have felt toward Fuller in Sophia's eyes, it is very clear that at least in Fuller's eyes there was a powerful and reciprocal bond with Una, whom she described on the day she first met her as "a most beautiful child," her beauty being both "noble and harmonious," both "strong" and "sweet."[40] Nine days later she recounts an early evening walk with Hawthorne by the river and comments that "I love him much, & love to be with him in this sweet tender homely scene" though "I should like too, to be with him on the bold ocean shore";[41] she then describes the "homely scene" that took place on their return and of a bond between herself and Una that Fuller narrates as being stronger--at least on this night--than that of parent and child:

> When we came back Una was lying on the sofa all undrest. She acted like a little wild thing towards me, leaning towards me, stretching out her arms whenever I turned. Her mother tried to attract her attention, in vain, her father took my place, she looked on him and smiled, but discontinued this gesture, the moment I came she resumed it. She has daily become more attached to me; she often kisses me in her way, or nestles her head in my bosom. But her prettiest and most marked way with me is to lean her forehead upon mine. As she does this she looks into my eyes, & I into hers. This act gives me singular pleasure: it is described in no initiation. I never saw any body prompted to do it as a caress. It indicates I think great purity of relation.[42]

Fuller then considers the "treasury of sweet pictures of this child" that she has stored in her "mind" and concludes: "Never was lovelier or nobler little creature! Next to little Waldo I love her better than any child I ever saw."[43] In this often troubled summer, her relationship with Una, as well as with Una's father, seemed to bring Fuller what peace she was to find; that night, after spending the early evening with Hawthorne and then with Una, Fuller describes going out into the night and lying "in the avenue for hours, looking up at the stars." As "the trees whispered," she records, "How happy, even pure I felt!--."[44]

The bond Fuller felt with Una exceeded that of her niece, of whom she writes, "this child interests but does not attach me yet."[45] Though she would describe Emerson's three-year-old daughter Edith as "like a seraph" with a "poetic and tender" smile, she worried that she was "too frail a beauty for this world," inferior to Una, whose "noble and harmonious beauty seems as strong as sweet, as if she might stay here always."[46]

Spending her last full day in Concord with the Hawthornes before

returning to Cambridge, Fuller records that her regret in having to depart is centered on Una, the only person she mentions explicitly as not wanting to leave: "O it is sad that I shall see Una no more in this stage of her beauty. When I do see her again she will be quite another child."[47] The emphasis that Fuller placed on "do" suggests, of course, her determination to reestablish the bond with Una, even if she is "quite another child." A similar determination to reestablish and deepen an already intimate relationship is expressed suggestively in the same journal entry. After describing a walk through the forest's "long paths, dark and mystical" with Hawthorne and concluding that she felt with Hawthorne that he "might be a brother" to her more than she had ever felt "with any man before," she writes, "Yet with him it is though sweet, not deep kindred, at least, not deep yet."[48] Fuller was to see Una and Hawthorne one more time, seven weeks later, on the day that she returned to Concord to confer with Hawthorne and Emerson about Greeley's New York offer. She was not to know "another child" nor to experience a "deeper" kinship with Hawthorne than the "brotherhood" she had already established. But the relationships that she had established had already had an influence on her that was not as profound perhaps as it was on Hawthorne but was nevertheless of great significance.

As she began revising "The Great Lawsuit" that fall, Fuller paid tribute to Una and to her perception of the Hawthorne marriage by expanding her conception of the development of the individual and of the possibilities of intellectual and spiritual union in marriage to include the enormous influence of parenthood in marriages based on equality. In her journal, Fuller had written on 18 July that Una was "the child of a [blank space in ms.] holy and equal marriage" and that she would "have a good chance for freedom and happiness in the quiet wisdom of her father, the obedient goodness of her mother."[49] In her revision of "The Great Lawsuit," she adds the following paragraph to Woman in the Nineteenth Century immediately after her discussion of friendship between men and women and before her discussion of four types of marriages; it would be Fuller's single greatest revision in her conception of marriage:

> What deep communion, what real intercourse is implied by the sharing the joys and cares of parentage, when any degree of equality is admitted between the parties! It is true that, in a majority of instances, the man looks upon his wife as an adopted child, and places

> her to the other children in the relation of nurse or governess, rather than of parent. Her influence with them is sure, but she misses the education which should enlighten that influence, by being thus treated. It is the order of nature that children should complete the education, moral and mental, of parents, by making them think what is needed for the best culture of human beings, and conquer all faults and impulses that interfere with their giving this to these dear objects, who represent the world to them. Father and mother should assist one another to learn what is required for this sublime priesthood of nature. But, for this, a religious recognition of equality is required.[50]

When Hawthorne heard that Fuller had become a mother herself and he looked into the "tarnished mirror" to recreate her story and his story in that of the woman bearing the letter "A" and of her unconfessed lover, the "ghosts" that he would see in that "familiar room" would appear as they did five years before. Hawthorne saw his child in Fuller's arms, and, as Sophia recognized and as Fuller claimed, he witnessed the extraordinary bond Fuller established with Una during the very summer in which his own relationship with Fuller reached its greatest intimacy at the moment that it reached both its end, in his life, and its beginning, in his work. In making his child become covertly Margaret's namesake in Hester's child, Hawthorne united Margaret and Una in "Pearl" and strengthened not only the sympathetic identification he felt with Hester as Pearl's "other," "actual" parent, but also the confessional implications of his decision to name her father Arthur and then to edit the presence of that hidden presence of himself, yet leave a trace of his method of concealment by selecting a last name that comments on the "dim" figure of the author in the first, Arthur Dimmesdale.

The Scarlet Letter would have the "Actual" and the "Imaginary" meet on many such levels. It is both a historical romance of New England set in the remote past of another revolution across the Atlantic, 1642 through 1649, the seven-year span of Hester's and Arthur's union, separation, and then reunion, and it is also Hawthorne's meditation on his own recent past, on the seven years between 1842 and 1849, between that moment in the woods of Sleepy Hollow in August of 1842 when he discovered, through conversation, that his friendship with Fuller was capable of, and indeed had already developed into, a deeper intimacy, and that moment when, as he anticipated, Fuller would return from the European revolutions, with baby in arms, to confront public scorn and ridicule but also, of course, to confront him after a five-year's absence from his life. He, like all of her

friends, would have to discover the grounds on which he could respond to the new challenge that Fuller posed to their friendship and their values.

His response, to himself and to Fuller, is the "scarlet letter" for which he at once and on several levels both claims and disclaims authorship through the "edited" narrative of Hester, Arthur, Pearl, and Roger. He fathered the imaginary child "Pearl" in Una, named her after the "Margaret" whose life and character authored Hester, and at once both exposed and concealed her paternity by naming her father, Arthur. If such covert creative strategies reveal Hawthorne meditating on the implications of the "motives and modes of passion" that drew him into an intimate friendship with Fuller seven years in the past, his decision to name Hester's injured and injuring husband and interrogator Roger Chillingworth reveals him employing a similar strategy in his meditation on his present and future relationship, as both a man and an artist, with Fuller.

If "Chillingworth" appropriately names, as many have noted, Hawthorne's own disgust with the cold interrogation of the heart, the penetration and mastery of self and other that is the center of Hawthorne's own creative obsessions, "Prynne," the name that Roger would conceal, suggests the extent to which Hawthorne condemned that part of himself which seemed driven not only to interrogate and judge the character of his friend Fuller but also to extort from himself, as Arthur, a Byronist confession in art of his own moral complicity, his own guilt.

Hawthorne selected the unusual name "Prynne," I would argue, after Roger's historical contemporary William Prynne (1600-1669), a Presbyterian lawyer and writer whose criticism of the King in 1634 and Bishop Laud in 1637 led him to be imprisoned, stripped of his Oxford degree, disbarred, disfigured by the cutting off first of his ear lobes and then their stumps, and, most notably for Hawthorne's purposes, branded on both of his cheeks with "S.L." for "seditious libeler," which he in turn transformed into a badge of honor, as Hester was to do with her letter, by reinterpreting it, the brand becoming for him "stigmata laudis," the brutal signature of his enemy Laud. Prynne's claim to martyrdom at the hands of state and church tyranny, however, was dissipated by his later betrayal of fellow Presbyterians. Once he was elected to the House of Commons, he accused the Commonwealth government of moral laxity, joined

the King's side, and later became in fact the champion of the state and church that he had once opposed, writing Vindication of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the English Kings (1666-70). Of particular thematic importance for his namesake's function in The Scarlet Letter is the fact that he originally earned the displeasure of Charles I, whose wife was something of an amateur actress, by writing Histrio-Mastix (1633), an attack on make-up, long hair, and primarily lewd entertainment, particularly plays, in which he indexed the names of actresses under the heading "notorious whores." Prynne was also renowned for his vindictiveness, particularly in the persecution of his old enemy, Laud--tampering with witnesses, personally searching Laud's rooms, rifling through his pockets, publishing Laud's private diary in mutilated form, and, prior to his trial, an account of Laud's "crimes" entitled "Hidden Works of Darkness Brought to Public Light."[51] Most importantly, for our concerns at least, he is also noted for attacking John Milton's ideas on divorce and for provoking Milton to answer him in Colasterion and to allude to him contemptuously in Means to Remove Hirlings as a "hot querist for tithes . . . a fierce reformer once, now rankled by a contrary heat."[52]

Hawthorne's identification of Roger "Chillingworth" Prynne with William Prynne and of both with that part of himself that he felt compelled to condemn within the concealed scaffold of his art is, to say the least, complex. Like his historical counterpart branded by the scarlet scar tissue of the letters "S.L.," the fictional Prynne sees himself--through both his false marriage to Hester and his current relationship with her as cuckold--as being equally branded by her "S.L.," her scarlet letter "A". In a powerfully ironic dramatization of the historical Prynne's equation of stage actresses with "notorious whores," the long absent fictional Prynne's first glimpse of Hester on his return is the one he obtains by joining the audience to watch Hester's defiant performance of her shame on the public stage that is the scaffold. Though he was unable to expose himself--to hold metaphorically the letter to his own chest, as Hawthorne also claims to have been unable--he, like Hawthorne, is compelled to interrogate Hester and Arthur, to penetrate to the "motives and modes" of their "passion" and to violate, in order to expose, the sanctity of the self. Within Hawthorne's fictional world, Prynne thus "authors" the action in

the same way and for the same motives that Hawthorne authors the tale. To do so, both must become, like William Prynne, "seditious libelers" who betray themselves as they betray others. When Prynne takes on the false identity of "Chillingworth" so that he may "seditiously" expose Arthur's tormented self while claiming in the role of detached anatomist and physician of the heart that he would cure Arthur by provoking him to a damning confession, he but practices the same "arts of deception" as Hawthorne.[53] He dramatizes within the tale Hawthorne's act of writing the tale and becomes the living embodiment of Hawthorne's contempt for the very origins of his art in the brutal dissection and assiduously concealed exposure of the self, the self betrayed--the art of this author's "heart" served up to the public like Byron's, but served up, so to speak, in a covered dish. The scarlet scar of the historical Prynne and the brand appropriate for that part of Hawthorne masquerading in the fictional Prynne's false identity as "Chillingworth" is indeed "S.L."--the "seditious libeler" who, like that other part of Hawthorne invested in Arthur, would be known for the esteem accorded to the triumph born of his greatest confession and deception--The Scarlet Letter.

Hawthorne, I suspect, selected the name "Prynne" for at least two other reasons--Prynne's betrayal of his political principles and former allies and Prynne's opposition to Milton's views of marriage. In both cases, Hawthorne's identification of Chillingworth with Prynne and in turn Hawthorne's identification of a part of himself with Chillingworth reveals Hawthorne, once again, expressing contempt for his own deceptions and betrayals. In both cases, also, we find Hawthorne meditating on Fuller and the meaning of their past and present relationship.

Hawthorne, of course, presented himself in "The Custom House" as a somewhat sanguine political martyr to a brutal government, a "decapitated surveyor," a contemporary of the other victims of injustice and intolerance portrayed in "Main-street," which, we must remember, he still planned at the time that he wrote "The Custom-House" to include among the tales to be published with The Scarlet Letter. But while Fuller lived up to her historical counterpart in Ann Coleman, while she metaphorically exposed herself in the summer of 1849 to the "guillotine" of a once revolutionary French government now crushing its fellow republican revolutionaries in Italy, Hawthorne, as we know, fought with all of his

might to retain his position within the government.[54] Influenced by his other radical friend, Thoreau, Hawthorne would almost paraphrase "Resistance to Civil Government" to condemn his own loss of self, of "proper strength," in leaning "on the mighty arm of the Republic," and he would have us believe that, while he in fact clung desperately to the office, he had already begun--before the axe fell--to consider leaving the Custom-House in order to preserve what remained of his self-reliant manhood (1:38). A part of Hawthorne did, in fact, see himself as betrayed and publicly humiliated, another martyr to the brute force of state power, a power that in "The Custom-House" he insists that he did not use when he controlled the "guillotine." He did sympathetically identify with the political losses and personal scandal of Fuller, and he expressed that empathy in the narrator's admiration for the proud defiance of Hester on the scaffold. But a part of him also, of course, acknowledged his hypocrisy and confronted his own betrayal of himself and his friends.[55] If he positions his narrator and his reader alongside Hester on the scaffold, he also positions Arthur Dimmesdale above and Roger Prynne below. One carries out his duties to the state in judging her, and one stands with the multitude in condemning her. Both should stand with her and speak on her behalf, but both betray her with silence, a silence that one asks her to break in order to expose him and that one signals her to keep in order to conceal him.

In the more transparently veiled autobiography of "The Custom-House," Hawthorne would present his betrayal as a sign "of a system naturally well balanced" (1:25). Temporarily at least, he could abandon his stimulating friends in Concord--as well as Nature, books, literature, and "a gift, a faculty," all "imaginative delight"--and join without a "murmur" the "living dead" old men and the soul-less Inspector and be the better for what he admits is a "corrupt" and "corrupting" service to the state (1:25-26). As long as he did not live too long as someone "other than . . . [he] had been," he could "recall" and thus redeem his truer self (1:26). Informed by Thoreau's classification of those who serve the state, Hawthorne could indict in the barely living old men and the soul-less Inspector those who serve the state only with their bodies and are, as Thoreau wrote, on a "level with wood and earth and stones . . . [and] horses and dogs."[56] He could include himself, at least temporarily, with

those who serve chiefly with their minds but not their consciences and are, in Thoreau's words, thus "as likely to serve the devil, without intending it, as God."[57] And he could seek redemption by realigning himself with and writing in defense of Thoreau's "heroes, patriots, martyrs, reformers" who are "commonly treated as enemies" by the state because they serve it by resisting it "with their consciences."[58] He would write first "Main-street" and then, truly recalling his old self and his old friend, who was now truly something of an "enemy" to the old order of state and domestic politics, he would write The Scarlet Letter.

The intersection between state and domestic politics, of course, is marriage, and Hawthorne's selection of "Prynne" is especially appropriate in that the historical Prynne's attack on Milton's views of marriage and divorce are parallel to the two conceptions of marriage that, as T. Walter Herbert has so persuasively argued, are at issue in The Scarlet Letter.[59] Milton had argued that marriage consisted of a sacred bond of love between a man and a woman in the eyes of God, that it was instituted by God as a union of spirits meant to prevent or remedy the solitude of the self, and that once this bond had ceased to exist the marriage had ended.[60] The state simply recognizes--in marriage or in divorce--what the couple and God have already recognized. For Milton, the single civil cause then recognized for divorce--adultery--was the "last and meanest" cause, in fact "a perverse injury" to God's intent for marriage, for adultery destroyed only those unions which were based not on an intellectual and spiritual bond but on "a sublunary and bestial burning, which frugal diet, without marriage, would easily satisfy."[61] Milton condemns Protestants for having rejected Catholicism's elevation of marriage to a sacrament only to make it an "idol" with which they "invest . . . such an awful sanctity and give it such adamantine chains to bind with, as if it were to be worshipped like some Indian deity, when it can confer no blessing upon us, but works more and more to our misery."[62] The historical Prynne's objection to Milton may be heard in Roger "Chillingworth" Prynne's insistence on his legal--rather than emotional or sacred--claim to Hester: "Thou and thine, Hester Prynne, belong to me" (1:76). He makes this claim, of course, immediately after admitting that her "wrong" to him had been the consequence of his original "betrayal" of her into a loveless marriage.[63] Hester's claim to Arthur that their

relationship "had a consecration all its own" (1:195) suggests that she seeks to redefine marriage, as Milton did, as a sacred bond established by love, not civil contract. She may sever the bonds of a false marriage by breaking her civil obligation to "belong" to Prynne, but she remains faithful to the higher "consecration" of her "marriage" to Arthur, except, significantly, when she allows Prynne's claim to a civil right over her to persuade her to keep his identity secret. Hester's crime against the state and against official morality, of course, is that she broke the vows of her civil marriage.

When Hawthorne edited the passage from Margaret Fuller's "The Great Lawsuit" and Woman in the Nineteenth Century to write Hester's fate, he prophesied that the "angel and the apostle of the coming revelation" of the new order between men and women will not be stained by "sin" and "shame" but will show "how sacred love should make us happy" (1:263). Because "sacred love" is usually taken to mean "married love," critics have read that phrase to be Hawthorne's resolution of his ambiguity toward Hester. Under the terms of the mid-nineteenth century's discourse on the religious sanctity of marriage, he decides, finally, to condemn her, just as Fuller, the source of and from whom that passage was written, had argued that, despite "the contract of marriage" being often "a seal of degradation" which "the timid will suffer" and "the bold protest," "society is in the right to outlaw them till she has revised her law," which she "must be taught to do . . . by one who speaks with authority, not in anger and haste."[64] Hawthorne's "resolution" of his ambiguity, however, may just as well be read as his final, ironic gesture toward Hester, and through her to Fuller, if we complicate, as both he and Fuller did, the often disjunctive relationship between "marriage" and "sacred love."

Hawthorne was drawn to the acrimonious marriage debate between Prynne and Milton in the seventeenth century because it provided an appropriate historical parallel for the dialogue he and Fuller, and indeed the entire Concord circle, had once had over the nature of marriage, a dialogue that informed Fuller's views of marriage and celibacy in "The Great Lawsuit" and Woman in the Nineteenth Century, and a dialogue that Hawthorne reinitiates in The Scarlet Letter.[65] Unlike Prynne and Milton, however, Hawthorne and Fuller, in the conversations that took place in

Concord, both held essentially Miltonic views of marriage as a sacred union. The views of Prynne, in a sense, were represented by Emerson. In this, and in other ways, Hawthorne recalls for reexamination the triangular tensions in Concord between himself, Fuller, and Emerson that he had earlier "translated" into Rappaccini's garden.

Hester's justification of her union with Arthur as having a "consecration of its own" that supersedes civil recognition follows to its inevitable end the argument that Hawthorne and Fuller had both made for marriage. A full three years before Hawthorne and Sophia signed the civil contract, Hawthorne had "consecrated" his relationship with Sophia as a "marriage" that, as he explained to her, "God himself has joined," for they had established "a bond between our Souls, infinitely stronger than any external rite" (15:329). Throughout his courtship letters to Sophia over the next three years, he refers to himself as her "husband" and to her, his Dove, as his "wife." Indeed, as I earlier discussed, much of the tension in Hawthorne's pre-marital "marriage" talk in those letters arises from his anxiety that a resistant, "naughty Sophie" threatened to disrupt the idealized union he had created between them when he cast her in the role of his redemptive "Dove." We also know that long before he and Sophia actually married and moved to Concord he had attempted to describe to Fuller, if not his own family, this relationship with Sophia (15:612). Though Hawthorne had complained to Sophia that he could not describe satisfactorily their bond with others, "not even Margaret," Fuller seems to have understood him rather well. In her reply to Sophia's announcement that she and Hawthorne were finally to be married formally, Fuller expresses her faith in Sophia's ability to maintain precisely the kind of love that Hawthorne had long insisted his Dove had given him in their "marriage," a love that Fuller describes as "wise and pure and religious."[66] Fuller had also become convinced through their many conversations that Hawthorne possessed a unique balance of the masculine and feminine that made him capable of responding to and sustaining such a love: "I think there will be great happiness," she predicted to Sophia, "for if ever I saw a man who combined delicate tenderness to understand the heart of a woman, with quiet depth and manliness enough to satisfy her, it is Mr Hawthorne."[67] Though Sophia's love for Hawthorne was "wise, pure, and religious," she imagines them capable of an even higher

form of union--an "intellectual friendship" of two artists that surpasses "love merely in the heart" or even "the common destiny of two souls."[68] When Hawthorne and Sophia finally moved to Concord, Hawthorne found, at least initially, that they had come to represent, in his mind as well as Fuller's, an alternative "Eden" to the one proposed by Emerson's vision of self-reliant individualism.[69]

For several years Fuller and Emerson had skirmished over the nature and possibilities of friendship and marriage. Voiced often in an emotionally charged undertone, their debate centered on whether the self-sovereign individual could ever really unite intimately with another soul. Fuller had insisted that such unions were possible, and Emerson had been equally insistent that they were not. Fuller records in her journal on 1 September 1842, for instance, an afternoon walk with Emerson in which the subject of marriage was once again discussed. First observing that Emerson "has little sympathy with mere life," Fuller then illustrates her point by summarizing Emerson's views on marriage:

> We got to talking, as we almost always do, on Man and Woman, and Marriage.--W. took his usual ground. Love is only phenomenal, a contrivance of nature, in her circular motion. Man, in proportion as he is completely unfolded is man and woman by turns. The soul knows nothing of marriage, in the sense of a permanent union between two personal existences. The soul is married to each new thought as it enters into it. If this thought puts on the form of man or woman [,] if it last you seventy years, what then? There is but one love, that for the Soul of all Souls, let it put on what cunning disguises it will, still at last you find yourself lonely,--<u>the Soul</u>. There seems to be no end to these conversations.[70]

And indeed there wasn't an end. Eight days later, Emerson entered Fuller's bedroom to read what he had written in his journal about marriage, and their debate began again, but Emerson was, as Fuller phrased it, "nowise convinced."[71] But Fuller would not drop the subject either. Reading through his journals later, she quotes two of Emerson's statements about marriage and then vows that she "shall write to him about it."[72] One of the statements illustrates clearly just how far apart his views of marriage were from Fuller's and Hawthorne's and just how close they are to "Chillingworth" Prynne: "Is it not enough that souls should meet in a law, in a thought, obey the same love, demonstrate the same idea. These alone are the nuptials of minds[.] I marry you for better, not for worse, I marry impersonally."[73] As Fuller challenged

Emerson's attempt to ground his unhappiness in philosophy, she had to contend with the consequences in Emerson's "mere life." Lidian's great unhappiness and her jealousy of Fuller's intimacy with Emerson erupted one night at the dinner table in an embarrassing scene. Lidian's problem, Fuller wrote, was that she still hoped Emerson's "character" would one day "alter" and he would "be capable of an intimate union."[74] By now, however, Fuller had come to know better. Her "expectations" of a more intimate friendship with Emerson were "moderate now," she had written soon after arriving for her stay at the Emersons that summer.[75]

In Hawthorne, however, her expectations at this time were clearly on the ascendent. As I have shown earlier, Fuller began to see in Hawthorne the possibility of establishing the type of intimate friendship that she had sought with Emerson. In contrast to Emerson's coolly abstracted relationships, Hawthorne seemed capable of responding to nature, marriage, and friendship with an intelligence warmed by a depth and quiet passion impossible to Emerson. On Saturday night, 20 August 1842, the day before their afternoon-long conversation in the woods of Sleepy Hollow, Fuller describes Hawthorne during their walk taking in the beauty of the moon "struggling with clouds" and responding to the moment by speaking to her of his marriage, telling her that he "should be much more willing to die than two months ago, for he had had some real possession in life, but still he never wished to leave this earth: it was beautiful enough."[76] Hawthorne, Fuller then writes, "expressed, as he always does, many fine perceptions. I like to hear the lightest thing he says!"[77]

During the winter after that summer, as Reynolds has observed, Fuller continued her debate with Emerson on marriage by writing "The Great Lawsuit," attempting, as she had noted in a letter to Emerson in the fall, to prove "that permanent marriage cannot interfere with the soul's destiny."[78] Fuller's conception of marriage is informed by her contrasting conversations and experience with Emerson and Hawthorne. Of the four types of marriage that she identifies in "The Great Lawsuit," her opinion of Emerson's second marriage shapes her description of the lowest type, a practical, civil marriage between a provider and a housekeeper who feel for each other merely a "mutual esteem" and "mutual dependence."[79] Sophia's "wise, pure, and religious" love and Hawthorne's capacity to develop an "intellectual friendship"[80] with a woman provide Fuller with an

example of a marriage that seems capable of reaching its highest and fullest potential as the fourth type of marriage--a "religious" marriage of a man and a woman on a "pilgrimage towards a common shrine," a marriage that incorporates all other types, including the marriage of "intellectual companionship" just below it on Fuller's scale.[81]

As Hawthorne's courtship letters to Sophia attest, he shared Fuller's ideal of marriage. He also shared her criticism of Emerson's marriage, and by the fall of 1843, as Reynolds has demonstrated, he had managed to convert Sophia, who had once idolized Emerson, to his and Fuller's opinion of his emotional deficiencies.[82] Writing to her mother about a letter in which her sister Elizabeth had employed Emerson's conception of the "self-sufficiency" of the individual in marriage to praise the marriage of Sam and Anna Ward, Sophia defends her own marriage and challenges her sister's praise of the Wards'. In a true marriage, she insists, neither partner "is wholly independent of the other, except intellectually" because "heart & spirit are forever, undissolubly one." The reason Emerson does not know this is that he "knows not much of love" and "has never yet said any thing to show that he does." "He is an isolation," Sophia concludes. "He has never yet known what union meant with any soul."[83]

Sophia's condemnation of Emerson parallels Fuller's and Hawthorne's criticism of Emerson. As the friendship between Fuller and Hawthorne deepened during the summer of 1844, they resumed their dialogue over the relationship between men and women in friendship and in marriage just as, only weeks later, Fuller was to resume her dialogue with the public over these same issues in revising "The Great Lawsuit" into Woman in the Nineteenth Century. After one of her many walks alone with Hawthorne through Sleepy Hollow, Fuller considers her "place" in life and finds that though she is able to take a "superior" view of it, she knows that "the deep yearnings of the heart & the bafflings of time will again be felt, & then I shall long for some dear hand to hold." She quells the impulse to self-pity, however, by recalling a recent conversation with Hawthorne: "But I shall never forget that my curse is nothing compared with that of those who have entered into those relations but not made them real: who only seem husbands, wives, & friends. H. was saying as much the other evening."[84] Fuller does not identify Emerson as the subject of her and Hawthorne's condemnation of the false spouse and

friend, but when Emerson later read that passage as he was preparing Fuller's Memoirs, he clearly considered himself the topic of their talk and did what he could to obscure that fact.[85]

In a sense, Hawthorne continues that very conversation in The Scarlet Letter, and he, like Emerson, does what he can to obscure that fact. As Fuller's paraphrase and endorsement of Hawthorne's statement seems to imply, both she and Hawthorne considered not only Emerson's marriage with Lidian as a false union but his friendship with them as less "real" than the friendship that they had "entered into."

In "Chillingworth" Prynne, Hawthorne would embody a segment of his being that he despised, but he would also shape Prynne's character, to a great extent, in the image of the Emerson that he had come to see not only as his rival in friendship with Fuller but also as the embodiment of that part of himself which, in the name of his own masculine self-sufficiency, resisted making his "relations" with the feminine "real." In Prynne's alias "Chillingworth" is the husband, friend, and philosopher that Emerson had come to seem to both Fuller and Hawthorne, the man whose vision of life (in an essay called, at the time, in fact, "Life") Fuller had condemned in 1844 as being "beautiful, and full and grand" yet "oh, how cold." "Nothing but Truth in the Universe, no love, and no various realities" (83). In a statement that Hester could have easily made of Chillingworth, Fuller then rebukes herself for having been "foolish . . . to be grieved at him for showing towards" her "what exists toward all," and reminds herself that she must never again trust him, as Lidian still did, to be capable of making a relationship "real": "But lure me not again too near thee, fair Greek, I must keep steadily in mind what you are" (83). In his scholarly solitude and justification for the claims of the unchecked self, in his unorthodox study of nature, in his "seeming" friendship, and, of course, in his failure to seek, much less form, a "sacred" union in his marriage, Emerson's "ghost" in Hawthorne's past inhabits his imaginative vision of Chillingworth.

5

". . . he knew not whether it were a woman or a shadow. It may be, that his pathway through life was haunted thus, by a spectre that had stole out from among his thoughts."

--Arthur on seeing Hester in the forest, again (1:189)

As he did in October 1844 when he searched for the narrative vehicle

that became "Rappaccini's Daughter," in September of 1849, with Fuller and baby in "pleasant" Italy (to use Hester's adjective), Hawthorne followed a symmetrical logic of narrative deception in recalling the woman branded by the stigma of the letter A. The woods of Concord had become the garden of Italy in "Rappaccini's Daughter," and now the garden of a decidedly "unpleasant," revolution-torn Italy would become the forests of the New World during the time (1642-1649) of another upheaval across the seas, a time parallel two hundred years ago to the upheaval in the lives of both Fuller and Hawthorne. Traces of Hawthorne's method explain, for instance, why his narrator would think of Hester and her infant on the scaffold in terms of an Italianate, Catholic Madonna confronting the severity of a paternalistic Puritan morality--a reversal of Protestant Fuller's predicament at the time in Rome but appropriate to the likely perception of Fuller on her return from Italy with her child and her Italian-Catholic husband--why also he would consistently allude to the man who was her secret lover as a "priest" associated with the imagery of Catholicism rather than as a "minister."[86] If and when Fuller and her baby Angelo stepped off the ship from Italy, as Hester and Pearl stepped into the light from the seclusion of prison, she too would have to confront the ancestors of Hester's judges. She would have to explain what marriage had served to "consecrate" the conception of that child, and she would be expected to name the father.

She would have to confront as well the two men who, in Hawthorne's mind, had once been closest to her and rivals for her intimacy, the two men who would no longer be imagined as the mentor-father Dr. Rappaccini and the faithless-friend Giovanni, but--given the revelation of Fuller's bold sexuality--imagined as the manipulative and loveless husband Chillingworth and the guilt-obsessed, self-absorbed lover Dimmesdale. The garden becomes the forest, where Beatrice--still pure, if not virginal--becomes Hester, where she now meets her Arthur.

Hawthorne, in effect, rewrites "Rappaccini's Daughter" as The Scarlet Letter. Pue's brief tale, as Hawthorne claimed, is indeed edited and expanded. As he did in "Rappaccini's Daughter," Hawthorne revisits that afternoon in the woods of Sleepy Hollow when he and Fuller's relationship had deepened into intimate friendship.[87] In a tale of adultery in which the adulterous moment does not happen, in which in fact the very act is

not named, Hawthorne imagines having realized a relationship with Fuller that did not happen, a relationship that even his guilt-haunted imagination will not permit him to confront except in its moralized aftermath, in a retrospective art. Seven years had passed, and they had long been separated. But just as Hawthorne imagines that he will soon have to confront Fuller again and meet her this time as a sexually experienced, scandal-tainted mother with child, so Hawthorne describes in the "tarnished mirror" of his imagination Arthur and Hester's moment in the forest as a reunion of "ghosts" in which both confront in the "mirror" of each other and themselves the forces within their natures that had led them to this moment in their lives: "Each a ghost, and awe-stricken at the other ghost! They were awe-stricken likewise at themselves; because the crisis flung back to them their consciousness, and revealed to each heart its history and experience, as life never does, except at such breathless epochs. The soul beheld its features in the mirror of the passing moment" (1:190).

What they, and we, see are two very different natures, but they are, essentially, the same two natures that we saw in Beatrice and Giovanni. Once again, Hawthorne stages a confrontation between man's desire to submit to the force of a liberating, feminine nature and his perversion of that desire through fear and suppression--in himself and in "human law." As Giovanni with Beatrice, Arthur discovers the poison of Hester's love not within her, but within his own "unsacred" desire for, and fear of, her forbidden body and the "wild, heathen Nature of the forest" and "Love, whether newly born or aroused," that have come to be represented by her body (1:203). If it is within Hester's nature to "consecrate" herself to a kind of "sacred love" that would endure seven years of silence and ignominy and yet draw her back to his side even after his death, it is not within Arthur's nature. His love is compounded by the kind of "lurid intermixture" of emotions that erupt in the solitude of his study even as he attempts to flay them into suppression, the same emotions that he finds wickedly liberated during his walk back to town after his second encounter with Hester in the forest. Nature, his nature, does not blossom into beauty nor express itself in a transforming, life-giving love of the self for the Other, the very "sacred love" that God, according to Milton, had made possible in the marriage of one soul to another as a means of

liberating us from the pangs of solitude.[88] Arthur's love, on the contrary, more nearly resembles what Milton terms "a sublunary and bestial burning" which Arthur cannot "chasten," as Milton claims he should be able to do, by a "frugal diet."[89] As with Giovanni, Arthur's passion, once no longer directed at suppressing the despised self, is directed at others, expressing itself in the desire to use its cruel power to infect others with a share of its misery, and infect them, revealingly, by a brutal candor rather than by covert confession. Significantly, Arthur resists this temptation and remains silent. For Arthur, such passion must indeed be contained within the walls of his heart and "subjugated by human law," though ironically it is from such containments that his passion was originally perverted. Only in the act of writing and of speaking as an artist of the pulpit does he find a culturally sanctioned means both to contain and yet to liberate his desire--both for abject confession and for power.

In Arthur's "shattered and subdued" spirit and in his dependency on Hester's bold courage to speak and act upon his own desires, Hawthorne complicates the confrontation between the masculine and feminine here and elsewhere in the romance by reversing the roles, Arthur in a conventionally "feminine" role and Hester in a conventionally "masculine" one. The implications of such a reversal gain greater significance if read within the context of another topic of dialogue among the Concord group--the fluidity of gender. In their ongoing conversation about the nature of marriage and friendship and about the development of the self-reliant individual, Emerson and Fuller had agreed that the fully realized individual crossed, at some level, the boundaries of gender. For Fuller, the ideal to be strived for was a harmony of both masculine and feminine qualities, a balance, as we have noted in her letter to Sophia, that she thought Hawthorne approached. One of the most famous passages of "The Great Lawsuit" originates from these conversations. Fuller writes that "male and female represent the two sides of the great radical dualism," each "perpetually passing into one another" so that "there is no wholly masculine man, no purely feminine woman."[90] In Woman in the Nineteenth Century, she identifies the characteristics of this "radical dualism" as "Energy and Harmony, Power and Beauty, Intellect and Love," the first of each pair being traditionally associated with the masculine,

the second of each with the feminine.[91]

In the seven years prior to her reunion with Arthur in the forest, in order to endure, Hester has had to suppress the feminine in her life, if not in her art. Once in the forest again with Arthur and giving herself up to the liberating influence of "Nature" and "Love," Hester undergoes a transformation that seems to bring each of the three pairs of masculine and feminine traits into equilibrium, finding, for a moment, what Fuller described as most rare, and fleeting, "perfect harmony in human nature."[92] Transformed by love, "her sex, her youth, and whole richness of her beauty, came back" (1:202). She is once again beautiful in a conventionally feminine way, but in confronting the "ruin" of Arthur and possibility of transforming present misery into future happiness, she loses none of the masculine qualities that have sustained her--her energy, power, and intellect. At that moment of harmony within Hester's nature, when she reclaims the feminine that she has suppressed, "all at once, as with a sudden smile of heaven," a sympathetic Nature seems resurrected. Sunlight "floods" shadows, green leaves "gladden," and dying leaves "transmute" into gold (1:202-03). The generative, feminine principle of passion and beauty in Nature that Fuller had celebrated in her flower sketches and that Beatrice had embodied for Giovanni transforms both Hester and the forest, but not Arthur. For Arthur, for the male narrator, and for the patriarchal order that they represent the feminine power of the natural world of the forest and of its human expression in love inspires both desire and terror.[93] If Hester is resurrected by such a power, Arthur experiences it as "wild, free atmosphere of an unredeemed, unchristianized, lawless region" that must be "subjugated by human law," the "human" law, of course, of the men who make it (1:201, 203). Prior to the interview, Arthur had deployed his increasingly depleting "masculinity," not to endure, much less overcome, his own shame, but to exacerbate it. Possessing little of any of Fuller's six gendered traits during much of the interview with Hester, Arthur, in his walk back home and in his study that night, is also transformed, but instead of a harmony of the masculine and feminine, he finds himself once again "a man," but a man in whom the masculine traits of energy, power, and intellect express themselves in a passion untempered by feminine "love, beauty, harmony." It is a violent, potentially destructive passion that is ignited not by his

desire for nor submission to the feminine power that transformed Hester but by his fear of it.[94] Ironically, though Arthur and the narrator himself may fear the "wild, heathen Nature" associated with Hester's love, as Giovanni feared Beatrice's "poison," the destructive power at work here, as in "Rappaccini's Daughter," is not feminine, but masculine.

And that power is encoded in a "human law" that mystifies its gendered origins. As Michael J. Colacurcio has demonstrated, Hawthorne rewrites New England history to make this very point, deliberately creating an historical anachronism by making Bellingham, as governor, the chief legal authority enforcing Hester's punishment. Hawthorne has Governor Bellingham, as the highest representative of civil authority and "human law," punish Hester for a sexual offense similar to one he had committed--taking to himself a wife without the benefit of an official marriage ceremony and doing so with impunity, if not without some scandal.[95]

Thus, in order to return to town, where Nature has indeed been subjugated by law, such law at least as represented by Bellingham, Hester must destroy the equilibrium attained in the forest. She must once again suppress the feminine and take on the decidedly masculine. And she must take it on through an act of physical suppression--pinning back her luxuriant hair beneath her cap, pinning back the badge of masculine judgement on her breast.

If Hawthorne would have Hester find in her masculine nature the strength and courage to endure her estrangement from society and from Arthur, he would also associate her bold and increasingly radical speculation with the imbalance she must maintain between the masculine and feminine. She who had "once been woman, and ceased to be so" in order to survive had suppressed her "tenderness," her "passion," and her "feeling" and turned to "thought," the "world's law" becoming "no law for her mind" (1:164). The "shame, despair, solitude" of her position "had made her strong, but taught her much amiss" (1:199).

While it may certainly seem that Hawthorne is clearly condemning Hester's, and indirectly Fuller's, bold feminism, he is actually in accord here with Fuller. Almost a decade before he had met Fuller or formed his first truly intimate relationship with a woman, with Sophia, Hawthorne, then twenty-six and struggling in obscurity as a writer, had used the

introduction to his unsigned biographical sketch of "Mrs. Hutchinson" for the Salem Gazette to express his resentment against critics who were encouraging "a girlish feebleness to the tottering infancy of our literature" by praising too uncritically the work of a growing number of women writers. Such critics, he charged, labor under a misplaced "courtesy" and "a false liberality, which mistakes the strong division-lines of Nature for arbitrary distinctions."[96] The "strong division-lines of Nature" so uncomplicatedly distinct to the sexually naive twenty-six year-old were considerably less distinct or uncomplicated to the sexually experienced forty-five year-old who in the two decades since writing that subordinate clause had married, fathered a daughter, become intimate friends with the leading feminist of the day, and spent much of the 1840's participating, as man and as a writer, in the debate reexamining the relations between the sexes.[97] By 1849 Hawthorne could join Fuller in condemning cultural constructions of gender that provide women, according to Fuller, "a place so narrow, that, in breaking bonds, they become outlaws." Confined to the claustrophobic sphere of the "strong-division lines" of a "Nature" defined by human law and society, such gifted, intelligent women as the Fuller-like feminist in Hawthorne's "The Christmas Banquet" (1844) find that "in the world," as opposed to the home, there is "nothing to achieve, nothing to enjoy, and nothing even to suffer." She, like all such women, finds her "unemployed energy" thrown back on itself, driving her "to the verge of madness by dark broodings over the wrongs of her sex, and its exclusion from a proper field of action" (10:303). Were society to provide such women with sufficient "room in the world" to develop fully their masculine and feminine natures, as Fuller says, with George Sand and Mary Wollstonecraft as her examples, "they would not," according to Fuller, "run their heads so wildly against the walls, but prize their shelter rather."[98] "George Sand smokes, wears male attire, wishes to be addressed as Mon frère," Fuller had written in "The Great Lawsuit," but "perhaps, if she found those who were as brothers indeed, she would not care whether she were brother or sister." As Hester was to do in transforming the sign of the scarlet letter to read "Able" and "Angel," such women as Sand and Wollstonecraft, even without such "room" eventually "find their way, at last, to light and air" though "the world will not take off the brand it has set upon them."[99] Fuller's

plea in "The Great Lawsuit" and Woman in the Nineteenth Century is for the "fair and suitable position" for women that Hester sought, and it was for a "position" that allowed women the "room" to develop the full potential of their natures, masculine and feminine, without suppressing either. For Fuller, as well as Hawthorne, this meant that what had come to be seen as "the very nature of the opposite sex, or its long hereditary habit, which has become like nature" had "to be essentially modified" and that women must undergo "a still mightier change" in developing the masculine half of their dual nature and in thus risking, as in George Sand's case, the creation of another imbalance, losing "the ethereal essence wherein"--according to contemporary constructions of the feminine which both Hawthorne and to a lesser extent Fuller assented--"she has her truest life" (1:165-66). The "whole relation between men and women" needed to be established "on a surer ground of mutual happiness" (1:263), as Hawthorne has Hester say, but until that time, as Fuller wrote and Hawthorne edited for Hester, "the timid will suffer, the bold protest . . . . but society is in the right to outlaw them till she has revised her law, and she must be taught to do so, by one who speaks with authority, not in anger and haste." To speak with such "authority," Fuller wrote, "those who would reform the world must show that they do not speak in the heat of wild impulse; their lives must be unstained by passionate error; they must be severe lawgivers to themselves."[100]

In 1843, Fuller had condemned both the "seal of degradation" branded on women by "the contract of marriage" and the "passionate error" of those who broke "bonds" and spoke "in the heat of wild impulse."[101] Though Fuller would grant in "The Great Lawsuit" that "any elevation, in the view of union, is to be hailed with joy," rather than accepting the imperfections of unions in the present, she would be a "severe lawgiver" to herself in proclaiming "celibacy as the great fact of the time . . . from which no vow, no arrangement, can at present save a thinking mind."[102] Fuller concludes "The Great Lawsuit," in fact, by speculating that given the present state of marriage and woman's subjugation to her husband, the "prophetess" who would "vindicate" the "birthright for all women" might have to speak as a virgin.[103] Though Hawthorne's penultimate paragraph in The Scarlet Letter edits and redeploys Fuller's earlier

passage on George Sand and Mary Wollstonecraft, this final passage in Fuller's essay informs much of Hawthorne's response to Fuller in his depiction of Hester:

> A profound thinker has said "no married woman can represent the female world, for she belongs to her husband. The idea of woman must be represented by a virgin."
>
> But that is the very fault of marriage, and of the present relation between the sexes, that the woman does belong to the man, instead of forming a whole with him. Were it otherwise there would be no such limitation to the thought.
>
> Woman, self-centred, would never be absorbed by any relation; it would be only an experience to her as to man. It is a vulgar error that love, a love to woman is her whole existence; she also is born for Truth and Love in their universal energy. Would she but assume her inheritance, Mary would not be the only Virgin Mother. Not Manzoni alone would celebrate in his wife the virgin mind with the maternal wisdom and conjugal affections. The soul is ever young, ever virgin.
>
> And will not she soon appear? The woman who shall vindicate their birthright for all women; who shall teach what to claim, and how to use what they obtain? Shall not her name be for her era Victoria, for her country and her life Virginia? Yet predictions are rash; she herself must teach us to give her the fitting name.[104]

The fitting name that Hawthorne would have his Madonna-like heroine give to her vision of the "destined prophetess" of "Love and Truth," and a new truth about love itself, would be the prophetess not of a "chaste," but of a "sacred love." Fuller was not to be the "virginal" prophetess that she had once "vainly imagined herself to be," for she had turned to the chaste life, as Hester had chosen it after 1642, not as an ideal, but as a temporary alternative to the present "seal of degradation" imposed on women by "the contract of marriage." Like Hester, like Hawthorne, Fuller all along had acknowledged that not all marriages were based on "sacred love," and that "sacred love" itself, as Hawthorne had explained to Sophia and as Hester would explain to Arthur, had a "consecration all its own" that superseded the "external rites" of civil marriage. The "sacred love that should make us happy" is, as Fuller defined it, a marriage of the masculine and feminine within the self and between a man and a woman, a marriage in which the woman does not "belong to the man" but forms "a whole with him." Chastity is indeed after 1642 the "fact of the time" for Roger and Arthur as well as Hester, but in each case, the chaste life must be maintained by an isolation which splits the self by prohibiting a union--within or without--between masculine and feminine, man and woman. In each, the masculine subjugates the feminine, and in each that

willful suppression destroys what could have been redeemed. For Hawthorne, men without women and women without men reinstates within the individual the very masculine subjugation of the feminine that chastity seeks to avoid in marriage.

If in Hester's time, and in Fuller's and Hawthorne's, such a love found itself in conflict with the "long hereditary habit" of gender constructions that had come to seem "like nature" and in conflict all too often as well with the sacramentalization of the civil contract of marriage, such a love could be safely expressed only in an edited language that translated the actual into the imaginary, creating an art in which Hawthorne could confront the ghosts of the past in a room where they no longer "affrighten," give them speech again, say again differently what had already been said, and say also what had not and could not be said in any other language. In that covert dialogue between past and present, he could endure the heat of the scarlet letter on his own breast, confess an imaginative complicity in a voice "sorrow-laden, perchance guilty," and both "beseech" and give the "sympathy or forgiveness" that can work to transform the "stigma" of "the world's" and perhaps his own "scorn and bitterness" into "something to be sorrowed over, and looked upon with awe, and yet with reverence too." In that dialogue with the friend of "one mind and heart," he could hope to heal through a mutual, "perfect sympathy" the divisions of time and self and again, perhaps, be able to know, as he says in "The Custom-House," the "freshness and activity of thought" which he had once found in "that invigorating charm of Nature" that had once awaited him seven years before in the woods that lay just "across the threshold of the Old Manse" (1:35).

He could hope that, in puzzling over the "riddle" of the woman with the scarlet letter, in making the monologue of his voice her voice in dialogue, he might "find out the divided segment" of his "own nature." Through such a "communion," he might indeed hope to "complete his circle of existence."

Notes

1. Stephen Nissenbaum, Introduction to Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Scarlet Letter and Selected Writings, Modern Library Edition (New York, 1984), vii-xlii, has made the strongest argument for the influence of Hawthorne's "firing" on the "fiction" of "The Custom House" and on the "real autobiography" of The Scarlet Letter (xix); see also his "The Firing of Nathaniel Hawthorne," Essex Institute Historical Collections 114 (1978): 57-86). Nina Baym, "Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Mother: A Biographical Speculation," American Literature 54 (1982): 1-27, has made the best case for the influence of Hawthorne's mother and her death on the writing of The Scarlet Letter; along similar lines, see also, more recently, Miller, Salem is My Dwelling Place, 278-98. Erlich, Family Themes, on the other hand, argues that Louisa and Elizabeth, along with the mother, inform Hawthorne's conception of Hester (99).

2. Sophia wrote to her mother on 27 September 1849 that she was "almost frightened" at the fury with which Hawthorne worked: "He has written vehemently morning & afternoon & has not walked as much as he used to do. He has become tender from confinement & brain work" (Berg; qtd. in Miller, Salem is My Dwelling Place, 280).

3. The most noted of theses studies are Charles Ryskamp, "The New England Sources of The Scarlet Letter," American Literature 31 (1959): 257-72; and Michael J. Colacurcio, "Footsteps of Ann Hutchinson: The Context of The Scarlet Letter," ELH 39 (1972): 459-94. See also Colacurcio's more recent essay,"The Woman's Own Choice': Sex, Metaphor, and the Puritan 'Sources' of The Scarlet Letter," in Michael J. Colacurcio, ed., New Essays on "The Scarlet Letter" (Cambridge, 1985), 101-135; and Frederick Newberry, "A Red-Hot A and A Lusting Divine: Sources for The Scarlet Letter," New England Quarterly 60 (1987): 256-64.

4. Nathaniel Hawthorne, The English Notebooks, ed. Randall Stewart (New York, 1941), 225. Hawthorne recalled this moment on 14 September 1855.

5. Persons, Aesthetic Headaches, finds in this episode a metaphor for the creative origins and purposes of Hawthorne's, Poe's, and Melville's art.

6. Herbert, Dearest Beloved, 151-52. Herbert attributes Sophia's headache to the "thunderbolt" of Hawthorne's "depiction of the burdens" imposed on women by the domestic ideal praised in the final sentence of the penultimate paragraph (209).

7. Sophia Hawthorne to Elizabeth Peabody in a 21 June 1850 letter (Berg; qtd. in Miller, 302). Sophia's other sister, Mary Peabody Mann, agreed with Elizabeth, writing her son Horace that incidents in Hawthorne's life inevitably found themselves "'bye and bye in books, for he always put himself into his books; he cannot help it'" (Antioch College Library; qtd. in Miller, Salem is My Dwelling Place, 9). Elizabeth's assessment of Hawthorne's art as an exorcism of private demons accords with Hawthorne's own frequent "complaint" that the demonic seemed to overtake him in the act of writing, a fear first expressed jokingly to his

mother in the 13 March 1821 letter in which he announced that he would become a writer (15:139).

8. In his rhetorical study, not biographical study, Gordon Hutner, Secrets and Sympathy: Forms of Disclosure in Hawthorne's Novels (Athens, Georgia, 1988) identifies Dimmesdale's Election Day sermon as a paradigm for the purposes and methods of The Scarlet Letter (25-26), and, indeed, in art in general. Hawthorne's identification with Arthur, of course, has often been made by critics who read the romance as veiled autobiography. Nissenbaum, Introduction to The Scarlet Letter and Other Writings, for instance, argues that Arthur Dimmesdale, as "priest-artist" (Arthur/author and Arthur) embodies Hawthorne's guilt for having compromised through ambition his artistic integrity ("celibacy") in the politics of the Custom House (xxviii-xxxvi). Evan Carton, "'A Daughter of the Puritans,'" reads Dimmesdale as epitomizing the "contradictions" in the novel between the "diverse sexual and familial roles" plaguing Hawthorne and informing his characterizations not only of Dimmesdale but also of Chillingworth, Hester, and Pearl (222). Miller, Salem is My Dwelling Place, argues for Hawthorne's "being the sum total" of all four of his characters, with Dimmesdale "the indecisive, conflicted part of his nature" as an artist, lover, father, and son, is particularly notable for identifying how Hawthorne specifically invested details of his own appearance and mannerisms in Dimmesdale and Chillingworth (296-297, 288). For an analysis of The Scarlet Letter as "Hawthorne's definitive formulation of the autobiographical problem that informed his entire literary career," see William C. Spengemann, The Forms of Autobiography: Episodes in the History of a Literary Genre (New Haven, 1980), discusses the work within the generic context of American autobiography (132-65).

9. Nissenbaum, Introduction to The Scarlet Letter, explores in some depth Hawthorne's identification of himself with Dimmesdale as both artist and "priest." As more of a "priest" than a "minister," Dimmesdale in committing "adultery" violates his vows of "chastity," and his subsequent hypocrisy is rooted in his professional ambition. Nissenbaum argues that in Dimmesdale, Hawthorne expresses his own guilt over violating his professional integrity as an artist by soiling himself politically and then hypocritically proclaiming his innocence -- all in the name of an ambition for worldly success that Hawthorne found unsettling in himself (xxix-xxxvi). I will argue that Hawthorne's identification of Dimmesdale as a "priest" arises more from personal rather than professional guilt and is also associated with an "adultery" in Rome, not New England, by a Catholic, not a Protestant.

10. Fuller's praise for George Sand was truly bold, but, as Chevigny, Woman and the Myth, points out it was always hedged by qualifiers while Fuller remained in America and remained a virgin and praised chastity. In Europe her attitudes changed toward both Sand and virginity, praising Sand, in fact, for having "bravely acted out her nature" (300-01).

11. Fuller, "The Great Lawsuit," 1199. Fuller revised and expanded "The Great Lawsuit" during the fall and winter of 1844 into Woman in the Nineteenth Century (1845). Except where noted, all the citations from "The Great Lawsuit" may be found extant in Woman in the Nineteenth

Century, the most recent and accessible edition being Jeffrey Steele's in The Essential Margaret Fuller (New Brunswick, 1992), 243-378.

12. "The Great Lawsuit," 1199. In Woman in the Nineteenth Century, Fuller attempts to explain what she had meant by "severe lawgivers to themselves" by revising the paragraph following that sentence to read:

> They must be religious students of the divine purpose with regard to man, if they would not confound the fancies of a day with the requisitions of eternal good. Their liberty must be the liberty of law and knowledge. But, as to the transgressions against custom which have caused such outcry against those of noble intention, it may be observed, that the resolve of Eloisa to be only the mistress of Abelard, was that of one who saw in practice around her, the contract of marriage made the seal of degradation. Shelley feared not to be fettered, unless so to be was to be false. Wherever abuses are seen . . . . (286)

13. Fuller, Ossoli, and their son, Angelo, were not to set sail for America, however, until 17 May 1850. At the time Hawthorne completed The Scarlet Letter, Fuller and Ossoli were living in Florence after having fled Rome in July and Rieti in September. With Ossoli cut off from his inheritance and with Fuller struggling to complete her manuscript on the recent revolutions, they were entirely dependent on loans and gifts from family and friends. Their politics also kept them at some risk, for they were kept under surveillance during their stay in Florence (see Joseph Jay Deiss, The Roman Years of Margaret Fuller [New York, 1969], 278-307; and Blanchard, From Transcendentalism to Revolution, 314-30). Though Fuller did not begin making actual arrangements for a return to America until the spring of 1850, she wrote of her general plans to return during the fall of 1849 (see, for example, Letters, 5:300-01). Her increasingly precarious financial and political situation in Italy since mid-summer made a return not only likely but virtually inevitable. Her friends--among them Emelyn Story, William Channing, and Caroline Sturgis Tappan--had anticipated as much, and, as Blanchard says, had "all discreetly warned her of what she might have to face at home" (318). Her friends in New England had long been confronting the gossip on her behalf. As a Swedish visitor to New England in early 1850, Frederika Bremer wrote of the attacks against Fuller's character and the vehement defenses by her friends caused by the gossip of "'a Fourierest or Socialist marriage, without the external ceremony'" (qtd. in Chevigny, The Woman and the Myth, 393). Her friends were hard pressed in their defense, however, for as Sarah Clarke noted in a blunt letter to Fuller, without any evidence of a marriage, they found themselves "in a most unpleasant position" in responding to "the world," which "said such injurious things of you which we were not authorized to deny." Clarke herself had decided that "it seemed that you were more afraid of being thought to have submitted to the ceremony of marriage than to have omitted it" (qtd. in Chevigny, The Woman and the Myth, 393-94). "What you say of the meddling curiosity of people repels me," Fuller wrote to Caroline Sturgis in December of 1849 (Letters, 5:303).

14. While Fuller's dispatches from Europe eloquently condemn broader economic, social, and political injustices, it is clear that her passion for rectifying the wrongs committed against women had also intensified. Though the following passage from a dispatch written on 2 December 1848 reflects Fuller's exhaustion and despondency over having to leave her three month old baby in Rieti in order to return to Ossoli and Rome, it clearly reveals that Fuller planned to keep working to transform "the whole relation between men and women." It may also suggest in her references to the need for a woman "younger and stronger" and "more worthy" to take up the "battle" on behalf of women that she anticipated that the scandal of her new status as an unwed mother would compromise her effectiveness as an advocate for women:

> Another century, and I might ask to be made Ambassador myself . . . , but woman's day has not come yet. They hold their clubs in Paris, but even George Sand will not act with women as they are. They say she pleads they are too mean, too treacherous. She should not abandon them for that, which is not nature but misfortune. How much I shall have to say on that subject if I live, which I hope I shall not, for I am very tired of the battle with giant wrongs, and would like to have some one younger and stronger arise to say what ought to be said, still more to do what ought to be done. Enough! if I felt these things in privileged America, the cries of mother and wives beaten at night by sons and husbands for their diversion after drinking, as I have repeatedly heard them these past months, the excuse for falsehood, "I dare not tell my husband, he would be ready to kill me," have sharpened my perception as to the ills of Women's condition and remedies that must be applied. Had I but genius, had I but energy, to tell what I know as it ought to be told! God grant them me, or some other more worthy woman, I pray.
>
> ("These Sad but Glorious Days,"245-46)

15. Richard Millington, Practicing Romance: Narrative Form and Cultural Engagement in Hawthorne's Fiction (Princeton, 1992), 100-03. Millington's basic argument is that for Hawthorne "freedom of mind" required both understanding "the sense in which the meaning of one's own life -- even to oneself -- belongs to the community" but refusing "nevertheless to accede to the coercive patterns of mind that the community attempts to enforce." Thus Hester "remains faithful to her acts of rebellion by choosing again the context that gave those acts their meaning" (100).

16. Sacvan Bercovitch, The Office of "The Scarlet Letter" (Baltimore, 1991). A more common interpretation of the ending is that Hawthorne attempts to constrain Hester and the sympathies that he has unleased on her behalf by inserting her squarely within the ideology of domesticity and condemning her, by contrast, with her foil, the "domestic angel." Reynolds, European Revolutions, terms it "a veiled compliment to Hawthorne's little Dove, Sophia" (79). For Milton R. Stern, Contexts for Hawthorne: "The Marble Faun" and the Politics of Openness and Closure in American Literature (Urbana, Illinois, 1991), Hawthorne's sudden evocation of "the unfallen spotless heroine of the marketplace ideologies" is a "failure of nerve," the "voice of the one who would belong, unmaking in political rhetoric what he has painstakingly created in image, characterization, and event" (157-58). Millington, Practicing Romance,

specific argument against the view that Hawthorne turns on Hester and his novel or that he engages Hester and the reader in the compromises of patience counselled by liberal consensus is that such views ignore Dimmesdale's torture at the hands of his "unexamined conformity to a dominant ideology" (103), assume that Hester's advice to wronged women is "pallative" when in fact Hester herself has never repented of her own sin with Dimmesdale, and disregard the fact that even talking about the need for a "social transformation" would have been extraordinarily unwelcome to the patriarchy of 17th-century Puritan New England (101-02). Millington's argument follows essentially Nina Baym's earlier contention, in The Shape of Hawthorne's Career, that in returning Hester "does not acknowledge her guilt" but "admits that the shape of her life has been determined by the interaction between that letter, the social definition of her identity, and her private attempt to withstand that definition," an attempt that is successful in that she eventually brings "the community to accept that letter on her terms rather than its own" and thus brings "about a modest social change" (129-30).

17. Reynolds does claim that the closing reference to the feminist prophetess and "angel" of "sacred love" is both a "veiled compliment" to his "little Dove, Sophia" and "a veiled criticism of Margaret Fuller" (79), but he does not note Hawthorne's editing of Fuller's text. Charles Swann, "Hester and the Second Coming: A Note on the Conclusion to The Scarlet Letter" Journal of American Studies 21 (1987): 264-68, comes closer to this recognition. In countering Colacurcio's 17th-century contextual reading of the ending, Swann mentions that Fuller's "The Great Lawsuit" "equally clearly bears on Hester's case" and quotes one sentence ("Those who would reform the world . . . ."), but he immediately moves on to consider Mother Ann's relevance without making any further claims for Fuller's personal or authorial influence on Hawthorne (265). His interpretation of the ending as Hester's vision of a literal Second Coming of Christ as a woman is clearly far removed from what Fuller or Hawthorne had in mind.

18. "The Great Lawsuit," 1183, and Woman, 253.

19. "The Great Lawsuit," 1184, and Woman, 254-55.

20. "The Great Lawsuit," 1183, and Woman, 253.

21. Francis E. Kearns, "Margaret Fuller as a Model for Hester Prynne," Jahrbuch fur Amerikastudien 10 (1965): 191-97.

22. Reynolds, European Revolutions, 79-80. Reynolds' explanation for the underlying causes of Hawthorne's sudden denunciation of Fuller in the 1858 notebook passage was made earlier, but less explicitly, by Blanchard, From Transcendentalism to Revolution (195), whom Reynolds acknowledges.

23. Reynolds, European Revolutions, 85.

24. Fuller, "These Sad but Glorious Days", 238-47, 245. Dates of publication in the New-York Daily Tribune will be given parenthetically in the notes occasionally when the appearance of those columns seems to me important in terms of Hawthorne's writing of The Scarlet Letter.

25. Ibid., 285 (24 July 1849), 278 (23 June 1849), 154 (25 December 1847). For an account of the great excitement with which Americans read Fuller's dispatches for news of the revolution, see Reynolds' European Revolutions (1-24, 54-78, 137-39) and his and Smith's Introduction to "These Sad but Glorious Days" (1-2).

26. Ibid., 303 (11 August 1849).

27. Ibid., 310 (11 August 1849).

28. Sophia referred to Hawthorne's "brain fever" in a 1 August 1849 letter to her mother (Berg; qtd. in Miller, Salem is My Dwelling Place, 273).

29. Fuller, "These Sad but Glorious Days", 237 (19 January 1849).

30. It is possible that Hawthorne had heard gossip about Fuller's baby before early September, but it is almost certain, as Reynolds, European Revolutions, points out, that Caroline Sturgis Tappan would have informed Sophia during Sophia's visit with her in the Berkshires during 3 - 8 September 1849, if not earlier in their exchange of letters during the summer of 1849. Fuller had informed Caroline of her baby and of his father, Giovanni Angelo Ossoli, an Italian Marquis, in the early spring of 1849, months before informing anyone else in America (187, n.2). The original letter in which Fuller informed Caroline of her baby was lost or destroyed. The earliest extant letter describing the baby (not announcing his existence) is Fuller's letter to Caroline on 16 March 1849 (Letters, 5:207-11). As a revelation of the "gossip circuit" between New England and Rome, Fuller acknowledges in the same letter to Caroline that she had heard of Caroline's recent marriage in December long before Caroline announced it to her in her last letter. Reynolds, European Revolutions, argues persuasively that Hawthorne began writing The Scarlet Letter between 21 and 25 September (189, n.30).

31. Fuller, Rev. of Grandfather's Chair, 58.

32. Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Main-street," in Aesthetic Papers, ed. Elizabeth P. Peabody (1849; New York, 1967), 145-74, 163. Peabody's positioning of "Main-street" establishes an ideological foundation within an historical context for the arguments of the two essays which immediately follow it--S. H. Perkins' "Abuse of Representative Government" and Thoreau's "Resistance to Civil Government." Read as a unit, Hawthorne's historical indictment of Puritan New England's "hard, cold, and confined . . . system," the "iron cage" of "that which they called Liberty" (153), leads into Perkins' condemnation of the intolerances and brutalities of contemporary partisan politics, where individuals and minorities, where principle itself, are sacrificed for power, and Perkins' indictment, of course, provides a powerful introduction for Thoreau's radical solution to the problem. Thoreau's essay, as I will but briefly assert shortly, influenced Hawthorne to some extent in his portrayal of Hester's "silence" on the scaffold and of her silence (for a time, at least) about her increasingly radical intellectual resistance to the "untrue" ground on which the relations between men and women have been established and

institutionalized. Her resistance is more, not less, active in our closing view of her counseling other women.

33. Ibid., 163. Baym, The Shape of Hawthorne's Career, argues that in "Main-street," Hawthorne envisions the golden ages of New England history in the pre-European matriarchy of an Indian culture in harmony with nature and in the first phase of independent Puritan families, in which "personal freedom and human relation combine in a natural world free from social institution" (120-21). In subsequent generations, as the Puritans establish communities and oppressive institutions, "the matriarchy and the life of the yeoman family" (120) are destroyed as, in Hawthorne's words, "the pavements of Main-street" are "laid over the red man's grave" ("Main-street," 150); it is "to the influence of these children and grandchildren" of the original Puritans, claims Baym, that "Hawthorne attributes much of the worst in American life and character even in the nineteenth century" (121). "Let us thank God," the narrator of "Main-street" urges, "for having given us such ancestors; and let each successive generation thank him, not less fervently, for being one step further from them in the march of ages" (162).

34. For excellent discussions of the implications of Hawthorne's decision of modeling "Pearl" on Una, see Carton, "'A Daughter of the Puritans,'" and Herbert, Dearest Beloved, 202-08.

35. In a passage that Hawthorne might well have recalled in his writing of The Scarlet Letter, Fuller praised William Godwin for writing "like a brother" in defense of his wife Mary Wollstonecraft, one of those, like Sand, whom Fuller had described, in the present state of society, as becoming the world's "outlaws" for "breaking bonds." Of Sand, Wollstonecraft, and Godwin, Fuller wrote in Woman in the Nineteenth Century:

> They find their way, at last, to light and air, but the world will not take off the brand it has set upon them. The champion of the Rights of Woman found, in Godwin, one who would plead that cause like a brother. He who delineated with such purity of traits the form of woman in the Marguerite, . . . a pearl indeed . . . was not false in life to the faith by which he had hallowed his romance. He acted as he wrote, like a brother. (284)

In a poem in her 1844 journal, for instance, she defines the meaning of "Marguerite" as the fusion of "love, grief, hope and fear / In that one century-hallowed tear," which she then identifies as "a pearl beyond all price so round and clear / For which must seek a Diver, too, without reproach or fear" ("'The Impulses of Human Nature,'" 112).

36. I will take this up in my chapter on The Marble Faun.

37. Manuscript joint notebook, 1843-44, p. 8 (qtd. in Turner, Nathaniel Hawthorne, 148).

38. Ibid., 148.

39. On 13 July, for instance, Fuller records "playing with the beautiful Una, reading." The next day she "staid with Una while H. & Sophia took a walk & then S. went to Ellen." In the following day's entry, she refers again to babysitting Una with Hawthorne after Sophia had left and records: "We had most pleasant communion. He is mild, deep and large" ("'The Impulses of Human Nature,'" 84-85; see also, 93).

40. Ibid., 81-82.

41. Ibid., 89.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid. Fuller is referring to Emerson's first child, whom she had adored.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid., 90.

46. Ibid., 82.

47. Ibid., 108.

48. Ibid., 108.

49. Ibid., 89.

50. Woman, 282. Compare to "The Great Lawsuit," 1197.

51. My account of Prynne's life is based on Sire Leslie Stephens and Sir Sidney Lee, eds. Dictionary of National Biography, 22 vols. (London, 1922), 16:432-37; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th ed., s.v. "Prynne, William" and "History of England and Great Britain: Charles I; and, "Clarence L. Barnhart, The New Century Cyclopedia of Names, 3 vols. (New York, 1954), 3264-65.

52. John Milton, Means to Remove Hirelings, In Frank Allen Patterson, ed., The Student's Milton, rev. ed. (New York, 1933), 878-98, 886. Patterson notes of this allusion that Milton "never condescends to call him by name" ("Glossary," 38). James Holly Hanford and James G. Taaffe, A Milton Handbook, 5th ed. (New York, 1970), identify Prynne as Milton's most explicitly identified target in Colasterion. Prynne "had stimatized" Milton's argument for divorce as a "monstrous heresy of 'divorce at pleasure'" (75-76).

53. The phrase is Michael Davitt Bell's. His essay, "Arts of Deception: Hawthorne, 'Romance,' and The Scarlet Letter," in New Essays on "The Scarlet Letter", 29-56, is a fine analysis of Hawthorne's duplicitous strategies for making acceptable his engagement with the imaginative fictions of "romance," whose "delusions" were "clearly dangerous" to a culture that valued "reason or judgment," for it served "to undermine the

basis of psychological and social order, to alienate oneself from 'the real businesses of life'" (37).

54. Reynolds, "The Scarlet Letter and Revolutions Abroad," American Literature 57 (1985): 44-67 (also, European Revolutions, 79-96), of course, is the first to demonstrate the importance of "revolutionary" imagery and themes to Hawthorne's imagination as he wrote "The Custom-House" and The Scarlet Letter. Of particular importance are Hawthorne's references to the guillotine in "The Custom-House" and his association of it with the scaffold in The Scarlet Letter. For Hawthorne, according to Reynolds, the Jacobin mobs of the original French Revolution came to be associated with the revolutionary mobs of Paris during the "Bloody June Days" of 1848 and, in turn, with the Whig "mobs" out for his own head. As a representative of the spirit of Liberty as well as Eve, Hester's influence on Arthur is "revolutionary" and, as Reynolds argues (based on Arthur's unleased passions after their meeting in the forest) destructive. While I would agree that Hawthorne feared the anarchy of mobs, I would contend that though Hawthorne indeed associated the guillotine with French revolutionaries, he would have specifically associated it in the fall of 1849 with those revolutionaries, the Jacobins, who on obtaining civil authority used that authority to betray their principles and their fellow republicans, destroying one tyranny in order to establish an even greater one. When the French, after their revolutions of 1848, marched on the fledgling Republic of Rome to reestablish a reactionary Papal government and foreign hegemony in Italy, they had betrayed their republican principles and fellow revolutionaries, as Fuller so vehemently condemned them. As Hawthorne wrote that fall, French armies occupied Rome under marital law. While the Whigs were anything but revolutionaries, the "mob" of Whigs after Hawthorne's head, from his point of view, at least, had betrayed their promises to reform in the name of justice and tolerance what they had defined as the Democrat practice of automatically replacing political appointees, promising instead to replace only those who had been maleficent in office (see Nissenbaum, "The Firing of Nathaniel Hawthorne," 65). As Hawthorne would portray them, once the Whigs gained authority, they too abandoned principle for the privileges of power, as he makes clear: "There are few uglier traits of human nature than this tendency -- which I now witnessed in mean no worse than their neighbors -- to grow cruel, merely because they possessed the power of inflicting harm" (1:40-41). Similarly, the Puritans, fleeing oppression in England, had established a government every bit as oppressive and intolerant as the one they had fled, establishing as one of their first institutions the "black rose" of the prison and the scaffold to extirpate the "red rose" of America. As Hawthorne was with the Whigs and Fuller with the apostate republicans of the French army, so Hester is with the Puritan authorities. She is a victim not of the anarchy of revolution but of the oppressive power of institutionalized authority. That such authority welds that power hypocritically is reenforced not only by Arthur's public role in her persecution and humiliation but also by Hawthorne's deliberate historical anachronism in making Bellingham the chief civil authority as governor preceding over her punishment, a matter that I will take up later.

55. See Nissenbaum, Introduction to The Scarlet Letter), for the relationship between Arthur's guilt, hypocrisy, and need for confession and Hawthorne's political and artistic guilt (xxviii-xxxvi).

56. Henry David Thoreau, "Resistance to Civil Authority [Civil Disobedience]," in Carl Bode, ed., The Portable Thoreau, rev. ed. (New York, 1964), 109-137, 112.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid., 112-13.

59. Herbert, Dearest Beloved, 184-211. Though Herbert does not establish a connection between Milton, Fuller, and Hawthorne, he identifies the essential conflict between the civil and sacred conceptions of marriage at work in middle-class nineteenth-century culture and at issue in The Scarlet Letter. I find his cultural and biographical analysis persuasive, as my own views will amply demonstrate in their debt to his, but I find the biographical and literary context to be broader than Herbert presents.

60. John Milton, Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, In The Student's Milton, 573-626, especially 582.

61. Ibid., 591.

62. Ibid., 594.

63. From Milton's point of view, "Chillingworth's" desire to assuage the pangs of loneliness and solitude through marriage would be appropriate but impossible since there was no "real" union between himself and Hester, and only an authentic union can vanquish solitude. Hester's physical "adultery" was thus inevitable, in fact, was faithful in its way to the absence of union that was the nature of that "marriage."

64. Fuller, "The Great Lawsuit," 1199, and Woman, 286.

65. Larry J. Reynolds is currently at work on an essay (M.S. title: "From Dial Essay to New York Book: The Making of Woman in the Nineteenth Century") which demonstrates the importance of Fuller's dialogue with her friends in 1842 and again in 1844 in Concord (including Hawthorne but especially Emerson) as the impetus for her articulation of her views of marriage and male-female friendships. Milton's vision of the Garden of Eden and the marriage of Adam and Eve, of course, was very much on Hawthorne's mind during his Old Manse days as was Fuller's conception of his and Sophia's marriage, specifically her prediction in her letter of July 1842 that he and Sophia would develop the highest form of marriage. Hawthorne wrote to Fuller on 1 February 1843 the most complete description of his marriage that he would provide to anyone (outside his fiction, that is), and in this letter he significantly mentions that he and Sophia had been reading "through Milton's Paradise Lost, and other famous books." He then states, significantly, that "it sometimes startles me to think how we, in some cases, annul the verdict of applauding centuries, and compel poets and prosers to stand another trial, and

receive condemnatory sentence at our bar" (15:671). Though Hawthorne may have been thinking of Milton's literary reputation, I would contend that, within the context of his lengthy description of his own marriage, he was thinking of Milton's conception of marriage and divorce and the "condemnatory sentence" he would have received at the "bar" of Hawthorne's own age.

66. Letters, 3:66.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. For an analysis of Hawthorne's response to the personal, marital, and creative conflicts that followed upon Hawthorne's entry into "Emerson's" Concord, see Reynolds, "Hawthorne and Emerson in 'The Old Manse.'" For a corrective to the standard view that Hawthorne and Sophia's marriage during their early years in Concord really was the "edenic" relationship that insistently represented it to be, see Herbert, Dearest Beloved, 109-60.

70. "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal," 330.

71. Ibid., 335.

72. Ibid., 335.

73. Ibid. See William H. Gilman, ed. et al., The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 16 vols (Cambridge, Mass., 1960-82), 7:336, 8:144, 7:532-33.

74. "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal," 331-32.

75. Ibid., 326.

76. Ibid., 325.

77. Ibid.

78. Letters, 3:96. Reynolds' account of the influence of the 1842 and 1844 conversations between Fuller and Emerson on Fuller's views of marriage in "The Great Lawsuit" and her revisions in Woman in the Nineteenth Century are contained in the essay draft, "From Dial Essay to New York Book."

79. Fuller, "The Great Lawsuit," 1197-98, and Woman, 282. Reynolds makes this same observation in "From Dial Essay to New York Book."

80. Letters, 3:66.

81. "The Great Lawsuit," 1201 and 1198-99, and Woman, 289 and 282-87. The debate between Fuller and Emerson continued, in a sense, after her death. To her good friend William Henry Channing's belief that Fuller's

"view of a noble life" would have prevented her from compromising and submitting to "a legal tie" with Ossoli, Emerson responded in his journal that he believed Fuller would have sacrificed her principles once faced with the "practical question" and "a vast public opinion, too vast to brave" (The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks, 11:463). Without evidence, Emerson, of course, presented her in the Memoirs as "married."

82. Reynolds, "Hawthorne and Emerson in 'The Old Manse,'" 73-77.

83. Sophia to her mother, 6 June 1843 (Berg; qtd. in Herbert, Dearest Beloved, 188-89). Herbert concludes, rightly, I think, that Sophia's definition of the "oneness" of the "true husband and wife" and her critique of Emerson is, in effect, Sophia's condemnation of the Emersons' marriage as "an adulterous legal marriage," parallel to the marriage of Roger and Hester (189).

84. Fuller, "'The Impulses of Human Nature,'" 92.

85. In his journal, Emerson obscured the target of Fuller's and Hawthorne's criticism by attributing Hawthorne's remark to himself. He changed the "H." in Fuller's journal to a "W." in his, and continued the deception, but more "honestly," by simply leaving out the entire last sentence of the passage so that it appears that Fuller is writing generally about friendship and marriage rather than paraphrasing a conversation about a specific person. See Emerson, The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks, 11:463; and Memoirs, 2:292.

86. Despite Fuller's virulent anti-Catholic attacks against Papal politics and particularly against Jesuits, Hawthorne was almost certain to have associated Fuller's Italian "husband" with Catholicism regardless of how little he had heard about him. He may well have heard that the family of Marquis Ossoli was directly associated with the Pope and the Papal Guard, though Ossoli went against his own family in opposing the Pope during the revolution. Hawthorne was more likely to have heard that Fuller had named her son Angelo, which suggests that Hawthorne's choice of "Angel" as the people's epithet for the charitable Hester was inspired at least in part for its value as a covert allusion. Though Nissenbaum, Introduction to The Scarlet Letter, pursues an entirely different interpretation, he does identify many of the key images of Catholicism associated with Dimmesdale (xxix-xxx). It should be noted, as well, that James Lowell reported in a 12 June 1860 letter to Miss Jane Norton that Hawthorne had considered having Dimmesdale confess to a priest: "I have seen Hawthorne twice. . . . He is writing another story. He said that it had been part of his plan in 'The Scarlet Letter' to make Dimmesdale confess himself to a Catholic priest. I, for one, am sorry he didn't. It would have [been] psychologically admirable" (qtd. in Henry G. Fairbanks, "Hawthorne and Confession," Catholic Historical Review 43 (1957): 38-45, 40).

87. A few of the physical details of the setting in which Arthur encounters Hester in the forest even parallel the setting in which Hawthorne encountered Fuller in Sleepy Hollow on that Sunday afternoon in August of 1842. Hawthorne came upon Fuller unexpectedly in a small clearing just off the pathway. Hawthorne emphasizes the fact that the

clearing was obscured from the path by a surrounding ridge and the forest and that she reclined in the grass while he sat beside her (8:342-43). As Arthur walks through the forest path, of course, he encounters a waiting Hester, and they retire to a "little dell" which is obscured from the pathway by "a leaf-strewn bank rising gently on either side" and by the forest. They sit on the ground as they talk (1:186, 190).

88. Milton, Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, 582.

89. Ibid., 591.

90. Fuller, "The Great Lawsuit," 1209, and Woman, 343.

91. Fuller, Woman, 343.

92. Fuller, Woman, 343.

93. For a general analysis of the importance of masculine obsession and terror to Hawthorne's work, see Nina Baym's important revisionist essay, "Thwarted Nature."

94. Leverenz, Manhood and the American Renaissance, makes the point that both Chillingworth and Dimmesdale maintain "their intellectual or spiritual self-control by rejecting intimacy" (269). Leverenz sees the narrator as obsessed by a fear that both "Hester's passionate loving, like Chillingworth's passionate hating, leaves the self wide open to demonic possession" (264).

95. Michael J. Colacurcio, "'The Woman's Own Choice': Sex, Metaphor, and the Puritan 'Sources' of The Scarlet Letter," in Michael J. Colacurcio, ed., New Essays on "The Scarlet Letter", 101-35, especially 109-11.

96. Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Mrs. Hutchinson," Tales, Sketches, and Other Papers, vol. 12 of The Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne (Boston, 1883), 218. Hawthorne's sketch of Anne Hutchinson originally appeared in the Salem Gazette, 7 Dec. 1830: 4.

97. Yes, you might say, but what those letters to his publishers in the mid and late 1850's denigrating that "d----d mob of scribbling women" (17:304)? Those letters, of course, cannot be ignored, but they cannot be assumed to present a clear notion of Hawthorne's attitudes toward women nor women writers. As James D. Wallace, "Hawthorne and the Scribbling Women Reconsidered," American Literature 62 (1990): 201-22, has demonstrated so persuasively Hawthorne praised women writers as profusely as he sometimes condemned them. Both the praise and the condemnation centered on just those qualities in their writings that characterized Hawthorne's own works and which caused him profound ambivalence. I would also add to Wallace's argument that any reading of those letters to his publishers in the 1850's should be placed within the context of Hawthorne's long period of creative inactivity (perhaps, creative sterility) and of their audience, written as they were to publishers whose list was made up overwhelmingly of male writers.

98. Fuller, "The Great Lawsuit," 1199, and Woman, 284.

99. Ibid.

100. Fuller, "The Great Lawsuit," 1199, and Woman, 286.

101. Ibid.

102. Fuller, "The Great Lawsuit," 1210, and Woman, 312.

103. Steele, Representations of the Self, demonstrates thoroughly how Fuller's concept of the power of virginity, symbolized by the goddess Minerva, is an attempt to relocate "the idea of woman" and her "independent spiritual authority" within "women's souls" by "advocating female self-reliance outside of male-female relations," a frontal assault "at nineteenth-century faith in motherhood as the ideal of female being" (127).

104. Fuller, "The Great Lawsuit," 1212, and Woman, 347.