

MRS. SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE



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**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY**



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1804



May 16, Wednesday: [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#) was born to the dentist [Nathanael Peabody](#) and the Unitarian [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#) in Billerica, Massachusetts.¹

She would attend the 2d (soon to be Unitarian) Church in Salem, Massachusetts.

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT



1. Elder to Mary and Sophia, the other two of “the Peabody sisters,” she would grow up to become someone the 19th Century treated with amused tolerance, in part because she was an intelligent woman, in part because she became obese: her bookstore would be at 13 West Street in Boston and she would be the publisher of the journal of the Transcendentalists, THE DIAL.



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1807



November 16, Monday: [Mary Tyler Peabody](#) (Mann) was born to the dentist [Nathanael Peabody](#) and the Unitarian [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#) in Billerica, Massachusetts.

She would attend the 2d (soon to be Unitarian) Church in Salem, Massachusetts.

A British fleet arrived at the mouth of the River Tejo, Portugal.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 16th of 11 M 1807 / This evenings Mail has confirmed the melancholy report of my dear Brother David's decease. He departed this life the 22nd of 10th M last About 9 OClock in the evening at Savannah in Georgia after twelve days illness of a fever, the particulars of his sickness we have not yet learnt whether he was favord with his reason to the last, or reconciled to the Solemn final change, we wish very much to hear but as he was so far from us & no particular friend & acquaintance near, it is most likely we Shall not very soon if ever learn how it was with him - The circumstance of his change at so great a distance from us is a very close tryal, & since the news reached us I have had to take an home view of death. The agonies attendant at that Awful moment must be very great. Oh that when the pale messenger may assail my tabernacle, I may be in readiness to go with him -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

NO-ONE'S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE





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1809



September 21, Thursday: In England, the Perceval ministry began as British Foreign Minister George Canning and Secretary for War Lord Castlereagh engaged in a [duel](#) on Putney Heath. Canning was upset that Castlereagh had taken troops he had intended for Portugal and used them in the Walcheren operation. Canning was struck in the thigh. Public sentiment would turn against both the duelists.

[Sophia Amelia Peabody](#) was born to the dentist [Nathanael Peabody](#) and the Unitarian [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#). She would attend the 2d (soon to be Unitarian) Church in Salem, Massachusetts. She would attend a school run by her mother and by her sister Elizabeth Palmer Peabody there and upon graduation, would become a teacher in that school as well.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 21 of 9 M 1809// At meeting Our friends D Buffum & Mary Morton were very acceptably engaged in Short testimonies - In the eveng a little while at R Taylors

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?
— NO, THAT’S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN’S STORIES.
LIFE ISN’T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.**



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SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

1828



October: At this point [Nathaniel Hathorne](#) had begun to spell his family name as it had been spelled in the 16th Century, as [Hawthorne](#). Since he was the senior male and therefore head of family, his mother and sisters also began to spell the name that way. In this month he self-published a “romance” he titled FANSHAWE, A TALE in an edition of 1,000 copies, through Marsh and Capen of Boston, evidently allowing his sister Elizabeth to understand that this had cost the family \$100.⁰⁰ while the contemporary costs of publishing make it likely that this subvention expense was in the \$200.⁰⁰ range and that he was halving this actual expense in order to make it appear more palatable. Ashamed of this first effort which he had published without his name on the title page, he would forbid his friends to mention his authorship and in later years would refuse to discuss the book. (His wife [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) would not learn of its existence until after his death and it would not see republication until 1876.)

THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





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1833



December: [Sophia Amelia Peabody](#) and her sister [Mary Tyler Peabody](#) (Mann) traveled with the family of Richard Cleveland to Cuba. Her letters home would be collected and circulated among friends (but not published) by her mother [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#) under the title THE CUBA JOURNAL, 1833-1835.

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT





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SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

1835



The [Reverend Timothy Flint](#) made good on his 1833 commitment to contribute “Sketches of the Literature of the United States” to the [London Athenaeum](#) (there would be a total of 11 articles from the issue of July 4th to the issue of November 9th). He traveled in Cuba, in New England, and on the Great Lakes.

[Sophia Amelia Peabody](#) and her sister [Mary Tyler Peabody](#) (Mann) returned to Salem from Cuba. Her letters home would be collected and circulated among friends (but not published) by her mother [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#) under the title THE CUBA JOURNAL, 1833-1835.

Do I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.



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1837



Visiting the Peabody sisters [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#), [Mary Tyler Peabody](#) (Mann), and [Sophia Amelia Peabody \(Hawthorne\)](#) in Salem in this year, [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) met his future wife. The sisters began their efforts to champion his reputation and assist his fortunes. Sophia was during this period achieving a reputation as a copyist of artworks and Nathaniel would engage her to illustrate the 1839 book edition of his THE GENTLE BOY. He would wind up dedicating this book to her.

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT



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SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

1838

November: Miss [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#) persuaded [George Bancroft](#) to offer [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) a job.

During this period [Jones Very](#) was in the habit of sending offprints of his poems from the Salem [Observer](#) to friends and acquaintances. For at time [Bronson Alcott](#) was receiving such clippings each week, and was pasting or copying them into his journal. [Henry Thoreau](#) received at least three such clippings of at least six sonnets and during this month copied a couple of them into his “Miscellaneous Extracts” notebook. Unannounced, Very appeared at the home of [Hawthorne](#) and performed his ceremony of laying on of hands — Hawthorne meekly bowed his head for this and afterward commented that Very had managed to attain the “entire subjectiveness” which he had attempted to depict in 1833 in his “The Story Teller” in the figure of the minister (refer to the story “The Seven Vagabonds” which Hawthorne would insert into the December 1851 edition of TWICE-TOLD TALES). Hawthorne also suggested that as long as Very could author good sonnets, he might remain as he was. Edwin Gittleman comments that “It is almost as if Very were an invention of Hawthorne’s own Gothic imagination, a character whom he felt he understood completely, and for whom he was in a sense morally responsible.” However, for years Hawthorne would avoid Jones, although the fellow kept turning up at his doorstep: “Night before last came Mr. Jones Very; and you know he is somewhat unconscionable as to the length of his calls.”

During this and the following month, [Jones Very](#) would be coming gradually to the recognition that his function was being entirely fulfilled in the teaching of the message he was receiving, with no obligation to seek the assent of his victims. He was becoming, if unpleasant, at least tolerable. Also, he was coming to an appreciation of the fact that his orders to chop down the tree of self could not be implemented, because the recipients of this advice could not imagine what acceptable small step, which they understood how to take, could come first, and because they were wary of beginning a journey in which they might lose themselves and be unable to retrace their steps. He began to attempt to identify specifically what it was, for each person, that that person was clutching in the place of God, and demand of that person that he or she let go of their attachment to that specific thing. Because, of course, that was what sin was: attachment to something other than or in place of God, however innocent the thing might be in itself. When people began to receive the reward of the Holy Spirit for their sacrifice of their most precious clutching, then of their own free will they would accept Very as their Savior. Of course, this psychodrama of confrontation has always worked well at the level of story. (The story is, Buddha was able to pull off such a confrontation, on occasion. The story is, Jesus was able to pull off such a confrontation, on occasion. There aren’t many stories in which Jesus or Buddha went “Follow me!” and somebody went “Oh, get a life, will you?” Nevertheless, the reaction to Very was such at to make one wonder whether these confrontations ever actually worked, except at the indirect level, the level at which they are a story being recounted of some alleged prior confrontation rather than an actual face-to-face contemporary confrontation. It may well be that we have a category mistake here, a category mistake which keeps recurring due to our presumption that we can’t pay attention to such a story unless the event “actually happened.”) Anyhoo, here is the cast and the sins of which they were guilty:

- The Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#) was clutching “Rectitude” instead of God.
- [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#) was clutching “Truth” instead of God.
- [Waldo Emerson](#) was clutching “Thought” instead of God.
- [Bronson Alcott](#) was clutching “Spiritual Curiosity” instead of God.
- [Sophia Amelia Peabody](#) was clutching “Imagination” and “Resignation to Pain” instead of God.



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

Of course, an immediate *riposte* would be to accuse [Jones Very](#) himself of clutching “Obedience” instead of God, and ask him to pry his damn fingers off it. As inversion-advice goes that wouldn’t have been half bad, but of course Very was no more capable of letting go of “Obedience” than [Waldo](#) would have been of letting go of “Thought.” One is reminded of the [Sufi](#) poet who went (I paraphrase) “When one renounces all things, the final item one must renounce is Renunciation.”

**WHAT I’M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF**



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

1839

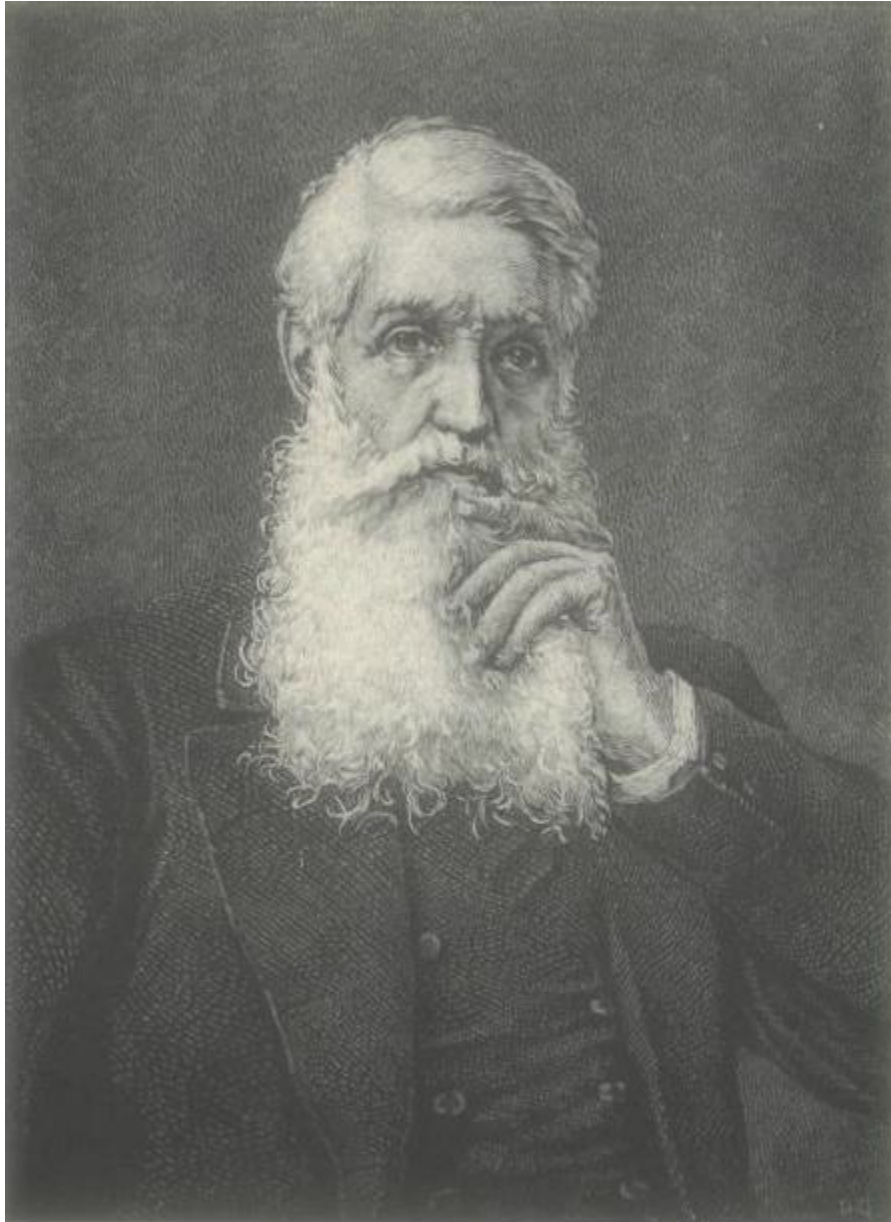
January: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s "The Lily's Quest" was published. He became engaged to [Sophia Amelia Peabody](#). At the suggestion of Miss [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#), the historian [George Bancroft](#), Collector of the Port, arranged for him to become a Weigher and Gauger at the Boston Custom House. As a political appointee in the customs administration, Hawthorne would willingly take part in a kickback scheme in which his subordinates who were authorized for overtime work and the payment for such overtime were to share their additional pay half and half with his political party. In addition, he personally suspended from their employment those of his inspectors who refused to submit to such extortion (in today's political climate, had he been detected in such schemes he would most assuredly have gone to prison, like his son Julian later — but



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

there's no indication whatever that he experienced such activity as morally repugnant).



George Bancroft



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

August 1, Monday: [Waldo Emerson](#) reported that “Last night came to me a beautiful poem from [Henry Thoreau](#), ‘Sympathy.’ The purest strain & the loftiest, I think, that has yet pealed from this unpoetic American forest.”

COMMENTARY:

[I am going to include several pages of commentary here, because the above was the poem that would become the controversial “To a Gentle Boy.”]

There’ve been Gay Pride parades in which posters of [Henry Thoreau](#) have been proudly carried. The evidence that he was gay was that he wrote a poem to one of his students, the little brother of the girl to whom he proposed marriage, and from the circumstance that after she turned him down he never did marry. Let us go into this in order to see that it is a simpleminded and as wrong as the idea of long standing, that Thoreau had no sense of humor. This is going to be a bit complicated, so pay attention. [William Sewell](#) [[Willem Séwel Amsterdammer](#)] published THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE AND PROGRESS OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS in English as a corrective to Gerard Croese’s HISTORY OF QUAKERISM. The records of the Salem library show that [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) used their edition of this book for a week in 1828 and a month in 1829. The book recounted the activities of some of his ancestors, such as his great-great-great-grandfather William Hathorne (1607-1681) who sailed on the *Arbella* in 1630, settling in Dorchester in New England and then moving to Salem, who served at the rank of major in wars against the Americans, who became a magistrate and judge of the Puritans, and who had one Anne Coleman whipped out of the town of Salem for being a [Quaker](#):



...naked from the waist upward, and bound to the tail of a cart, is dragged through the Main-street at the pace of a brisk walk, while the constable follows with a whip of knotted cords. A strong-armed fellow is that constable; and each time that he flourishes his lash in the air, you see a frown wrinkling and twisting his brow, and, at the same instant, a smile upon his lips. He loves his business, faithful officer that he is, and puts his soul into every stroke, zealous to fulfill the injunction of Major Hawthorne’s warrant, in the spirit and to the letter. There came down a stroke that has drawn blood! Ten such stripes are to be given in Salem, ten in Boston, and ten in Dedham; and, with those thirty stripes of blood upon her, she is to be driven into the forest.... Heaven grant that, as the rain of so many years has wept upon it, time after time, and washed it all away, so there may have been a dew of mercy, to cleanse this cruel blood-stain out of the record of the persecutor’s life!

And such as William’s son John Hathorne (1641-1717), a chip off the old block, a colonel in the Massachusetts militia and a deputy to the General Court in Boston who was a magistrate during the Salem witch episode which featured one person being tortured to death and nineteen [hanged](#). [Hawthorne](#) was much stimulated by the blood curse that Sarah Good had placed on her executioners, “God will give you Blood to drink.” His tale



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

“The Gentle Boy” of 1831 made reference to this history.



Let us thank God 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 the ages.

This was [Hawthorne](#) in 1840, according to a portrait painter, Samuel Stillman Osgood:



“The Gentle Boy” was published anonymously in a gift annual of [The Token](#) magazine in 1831, and then republished under Hawthorne’s name as a part of TWICE-TOLD TALES in 1832 and 1837 after deletion of the detail that, in being attacked by a gang of vicious Puritan children, the gentle [Quaker](#) boy had been struck in “a tender part.” The book THE GENTLE BOY: A TWICE-TOLD TALE, when published in 1839, was dedicated to [Sophia Amelia Peabody](#) (to become [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#)), some of whose ancestors are also in Sewel’s history, and included a drawing by her. Printing was interrupted briefly to make the boy’s countenance more gentle in the engraved version of the drawing.

In 1842 [Nathaniel](#) and Sophia Peabody got married and moved to Concord, where [Thoreau](#) had just prepared for them a large garden. Although Hawthorne was vague on the spelling of Thoreau’s name, and his bride thought Thoreau repulsively ugly, Thoreau visited them several times in the Old Manse where [Waldo Emerson](#) had penned “Nature,” and for \$7.⁰⁰ sold them the boat he and his brother had used on their famous trip – so that they could row out and pluck pond lilies. Although Thoreau read little fiction, he could not have been unaware of their newly republished “Gentle Boy” story, at least by its title.

With this background, we can now consider the gay speculation about the poem Thoreau wrote to his pupil Edmund Quincy Sewall, Jr., “Once there was a gentle boy.” Is this poem’s emphasis on the nonmasculine characteristics of a young boy to be interpreted as evidence of a homoerotic longing on Thoreau’s part, or, since the age of eleven is not the age of sexual maturity, interpreted as evidence of an incipient pederasty? No, because the poem’s use of “gentle boy” might well have been a deliberate tie-in to the Hawthorne story. We must ask, what might have been the motivation for calling this particular story to Edmund’s attention? There are several reasons having nothing to do with sexuality or with [Thoreau](#)’s personal needs. The nonviolent [Quaker](#) boy in the story is treated with utter viciousness by a gang of local Puritan children, and in particular by one boy whom he had nursed with kindness and attention during an illness. Was Edmund, a visitor in Concord, having trouble being accepted by some of the local children in Thoreau’s school? This historian [William Sewell](#) referred to by [Hawthorne](#), was he one of Edmund’s ancestors? Were some of the people described in that history Sewall ancestors, as some were Ha(w)thorne ancestors and some Peabody ancestors? If so, the Thoreau family would surely have been aware of it, since they had known intimately at



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

least three generations of the Sewall family starting with Mrs. Joseph Ward, Cynthia Thoreau's star boarder, the widow of a colonel in the American revolutionary army, the mother of Caroline Ward who in turn was the mother of Ellen Devereux Sewall and Edmund Quincy Sewall, Jr.

Hawthorne's story is of a boy in an adoptive family, a "little quiet, lovely boy" who is heartsick for his parents. In the tale, in the face of the most extreme religious persecution of Friends by Puritans, the boy's birth mother had violated her "duties of the present life" by "fixing her attention wholly on" her future life: she left her child with this Puritan family to venture on a "mistaken errand" of "unbridled fanaticism." That is, after being whipped out of town by the Puritans, she followed a spirit leading to become a traveling Friend. At the end, the boy's mother returns to him.

Hawthorne's tale involves the hanging of an innocent person. Would this have been of interest to Edmund Quincy Sewall, Jr.? Yes, for a Sewall was involved in the hanging of the nineteen witches in Salem on September 22, 1692. This Samuel Sewall was a lifelong bigot (he once refused to sell a plot of land because the bidders wanted to build a church, and they were Protestants but not of his own denomination) but he was worse than a bigot: not only did he hang women for being in league with the devil, he helped condemn and hang one of his Harvard peers, the Reverend George Burrough –whom he had once heard preach on the Sermon on the Mount– for being in league with the devil. It was an interesting period, a period in which one could lose control of oneself and cry out during the Puritan service, and be suspected of having acquired a taint of Quakerism, and be placed in great personal danger. And that was an interesting day, August 16, 1692: an arresting officer for the court, one John Willard, was "cried out upon" for doubting the guilt of the accused, and was hanged beside the Reverend Burrough. We find this in Sewall's diary:



Mr. Burrough by his Speech, Prayer, protestation of his Innocence, did much move unthinking persons, which occasions their speaking hardly concerning his being executed.

A few years later, after some bad events in his family, Samuel suffered pangs of conscience: a public fast was declared for January 14, 1697 and he stood in Old South Church in Boston while the minister read a statement that the Sewall family had been cursed of God because of the trials, and that he took "the Blame and shame" upon himself. The twelve jurors were in attendance to acknowledge that they had "unwittingly and unwillingly" brought "upon ourselves and this people of the Lord the guilt of innocent blood."

This Puritan's son, the Reverend Joseph Sewall, was the father of Samuel Sewall, who was the father of Samuel Sewall, Jr., who was the father of the Reverend Edmund Quincy Sewall, Sr., who was of course Master Edmund Quincy Sewall, Jr.'s father. It is an interesting question, how a teacher can help a young man like this venture into his manhood, after the decency of manliness has been utterly destroyed as an option for him in such a manner, by the indecency of a male ancestor. I would suggest that teacher Thoreau's tactic – to

2. According to Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges's 1988 *A DICTIONARY OF SURNAMES* (Oxford UP), "Sewall" is a variant of "Sewell," which can be from the Old English "Sigeweald," meaning government by right of conquest, or "Sce̅ weald" [æ with – over it], meaning rule over the sea – an appropriate name for a family that included some wealthy shipbuilders in Maine! The same dictionary of surnames denies Thoreau's derivation of his name from Thor, the god of lightning, giving "Thoreau," "Thoret," "Thoré," and "Thorez" as variants of "Thorel," a nickname for a strong or violent individual (like Uncle "J.C." Charles Jones Dunbar!), from the Old French "t(h)or(el)" meaning bull. However, this dictionary allows that the name may also have originated in a diminutive of an aphetic short form of the given name "Maturin," or that it may be from a medieval given name which was an aphetic short form of various names such as "Victor" and "Salvador" ("Salvador" is equivalent to the Hebrew "Yehoshua"), or that it may be related to an Italian/Spanish nickname for a lusty person, or metonymic occupational name for a tender of bulls: "Toro!" (Now going to a bullfight in Spain and rooting for the bull, something I had the opportunity to do when I was a teenager, couldn't be the same for me.)



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

emphasize to this lad Edmund the nominally feminine virtue of gentleness by providing him with a poem into which to grow – constitutes a legitimate and even profound maneuver on extremely difficult terrain. I would suggest, in addition, that those who seek to appropriate Thoreau by interpreting this “Once there was a gentle boy” poem as evidence of an unconscious erotic impulse are, in effect, debasing him. Debasing him not by accusing him of homosexuality – for it is not base to be gay – but by interpreting a complex and difficult situation in a manner that is merely simpleminded and doctrinaire. I want to emphasize the open-endedness of the questions involved: was Edmund, the new boy in town, having the sort of trouble with his peers that would have caused him to be in the situation of the gentle boy in the [Hawthorne](#) tale – ganged up against, beaten as a sissy? The American Antiquarian Society in Worcester has preserved pages of Edmund’s Concord journal that may contain an answer. And what exactly was the perception of a blood guilt and an inherited shame among the Sewels and Sewells and Seawells and Sewalls? We should be led by this story, not into considerations of eroticism among 19th-Century virgins (which would be a mere shallow –not demeaning, surely, but surely both appropriative and dismissive– sidetrack) but into a full consideration of how a compassionate and concerned teacher like Henry Thoreau can help a young male pupil grow to maturity even in a situation in which the option “manhood” has for this pupil been virtually eliminated – by the foul deed and foul mind of a Samuel Sewall, his blood ancestor.



We need to begin to take into account various of the cultural influences upon Thoreau which we have not previously been considering due to the fact that few people read the dead languages anymore. There’s quite a body of ancient evidence to indicate that the poet [Virgil](#) may well have been by inclination a pederast, and the scholar S. Lilja confirms that Virgil’s apparent sexual persona does inform a great deal of his poetry, including of course his AENEID. If one refers to John F. Makowski’s “Nisus and Euryalus: a Platonic Relationship,” in



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

Classical Journal (1985) 1-15, and also to J. Griffin's LATIN POETS AND ROMAN LIFE, one finds that:

- In Virgil's autobiographical poetry of the *Catalepton*, poems 5 and 7, in which he sings of Sextus his *cura curarum* and of the boy aptly named Pothos, poems for the authenticity of which Buechler and Richmond indicate that there is now strong consensus, Thoreau could have read of a sexuality seems to have been grounded in life experience rather than merely to have been following in the literary convention we now term "posing as sodomites."
- In Donatus's life of Virgil, Thoreau could have read: "(sc. Vergilius) libidinis in pueros pronioris, quorum maxime dilexit Ceбетem et Alexandrum, quem secunda bucolicorum ecloga Alexim appellat, donatum sibi ab Asinio Pollione, utrumque non ineruditum, Ceбетem vero et poetam." Donatus goes on to say that Virgil, invited by a friend to partake of a heterosexual liaison, "verum pertinacissime recusasse."
- Apuleius Apologia 10 pretty much agrees with the picture presented to Thoreau by Donatus.
- By the time of Martial a joking tradition was in place that the Muse behind Virgil's prodigious poetic output was his Alexis, his love slave, given to him (note the divergence from Servius) by Maecenas rather than by Pollio. See epigrams 5.6, 6.68, 7.29, 8.56, 8.73 in which he attributes the sad state of contemporary poetry to the failure of patrons to provide poets with beautiful boys *a la* Maecenas and Virgil. This material was available to Thoreau.
- [Juvenal](#) echoes this tradition in Satire 7.69.
- In Philargyrius, Thoreau could have read: "*Alexim dicunt Alexandrum, qui fuit servus Asinii Pollionis, quem Vergilius, rogatus ad prandium cum vidisset in ministerio omnium pulcherrimum, dilexit eumque dono accepit. Caesarem quidam acceperunt, formosum in operibus et gloria. alii puerum Caesaris, quem si laudasset, gratem rem Caesari fecisset. nam Vergilius dicitur in pueros habuisse amorem: nec enim turpiter eum diligebat. alii Corydona, Asinii Pollionis puerum adamatum a Vergilio ferunt, eumque a domino datum. . .*"
- What did Servius mean to say to Thoreau, and to us, when he offered that Virgil had not loved boys *turpiter* (disgracefully)? Possibly Servius meant that Virgil had been able to do so without loss of personal dignity (the courting of the beloved, whether woman or boy, could involve erotic service that was seen as beneath the dignity of a free man), the other that he did so without ever achieving, or perhaps even pursuing, physical consummation (which would have taken the form of sodomizing the lad if he was willing to submit, but Dover's GREEK HOMOSEXUALITY --which seems to be in large part valid for Roman society as well-- shows that nice boys were supposed to say **no** in thunder and that men who insisted upon using their penises might have to settle for intercrural satisfaction). We should probably take into account as well the poetry of a man who died in the same year as Virgil, [Albius Tibullus](#), from whom Thoreau would quote (or would suppose he was quoting) in [WALDEN](#). What is conventionally known as "Book 1" of Tibullus contains poems on his beloved Delia but also several on a beloved boy named Marathus (4, 8, 9); these can offer some insight into the process of courting a boy. Another possibility, of course, is simply that Virgil's love had nothing cruel or abusive about it, but perhaps the most plausible explanation for judging a liaison as *turpis* is the man's loss of dignity in becoming enslaved to the object of his desire, his loss of face. Two examples that come to mind from Virgil's own time are Anthony's passion for [Cleopatra](#) and Maecenas's scandalous affair with the ballet-dancer Bathyllus.



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE



Horsfall's COMPANION TO THE STUDY OF VIRGIL summarizes the "evidence" such as it is. Although he demonstrates that there is not one detail in the ancient LIVES OF VIRGIL that can be taken at face value, the persistent availability of such materials about the life of Virgil has been such as to make this a moot point. Whether true or false it has obviously had an influence, and may well have had an influence of some sort on [Thoreau](#). Those scholars could all be found to have been mistaken, and yet we will still need to deal with the manner in which Virgil was being received during the first half of the 19th Century, and I am not certain that we have done that, and of course it is important, in dealing with a situation such as Thoreau's temporary involvement with the gentle young Sewall boy, that we most carefully do that. In none of these texts, nor in Servius, would Thoreau have been able to find any suggestion of a condemnation of what Virgil was projecting as being his proclivities.

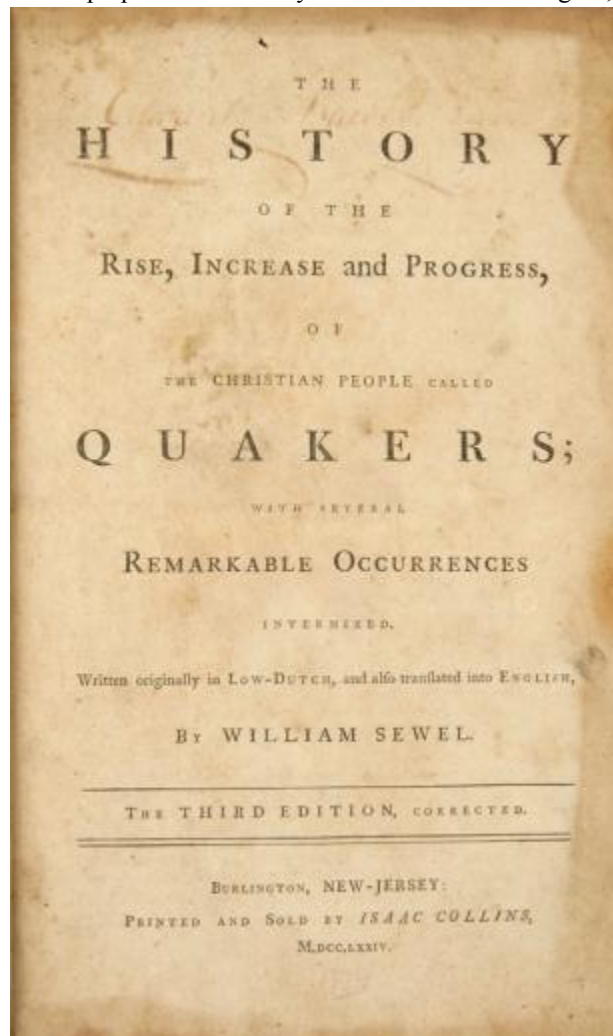
DUNBAR FAMILY



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

[William Sewell](#). THE HISTORY OF THE RISE, INCREASE AND PROGRESS, OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE CALLED [QUAKERS](#); WITH SEVERAL REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES INTERMIXED, WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LOW-DUTCH, AND ALSO TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, BY WILLIAM SEWEL. THE THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED. The title varies slightly from edition to edition (1722, 1725, 1728, 1774, 1776, 1811, 1844), for instance ...WITH SEVERAL REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES INTERMIXED, TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A BRIEF MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, COMPILED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, and WRITTEN ORIGINALLY IN LOW DUTCH, AND TRANSLATED BY HIMSELF INTO ENGLISH, Baker & Crane, No. 158 Pearl-Street, New-York. The author's name was, according to [Alexander Chalmers](#)'s GENERAL BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY of 1812-1817, Volume 27, page 361, a recognized variant of "Sewell": there was a Henry Sewall who spelled his name also as Sewell and Seawell, and there was a loyalist "Sewall" who changed the family name to "Sewell" in London in order to confuse the American authorities and better protect his children in America –and his American properties– after being proscribed. Among recorded immigrants, the "United States Index to Records of Aliens' Declarations" show a proportion of 1 Sewel, 11 Sewalls, and 30 Sewells. Henry Thoreau first encountered this book in this 1774 3d edition prepared and sold by Isaac Collins of Burlington, New-Jersey:



WM. SEWEL'S 3D ED., VOL. I

WM. SEWEL'S 3D ED., VOL. II



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

1841

Please choose which of these alternative entries for
Tuesday, April 13th more pleases you:

- A.) [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) wrote to [Sophia Amelia Peabody](#) whom he was already referring to as his wife, from “Oak Hill” (the [Brook Farm](#) community³ of West Roxbury):
- B.) [Hawthorne](#), a notorious gynophobe,⁴ found occasion to poke something in fun at a heifer or two. Since his missive was directed to his “Ownest love” (which is to say, to his fiancée [Sophia](#) who was already constructing herself as this gynophobe’s loyal little Other), and since it expressed his barely concealed contempt for a female other than herself, he of course understood that no matter how utterly humorous or humorless his missive was, it would be eagerly seized:

Here is thy poor husband in a polar Paradise! I know not how to interpret this aspect of Nature – whether it be of good or evil omen to our enterprise. But I reflect that the Plymouth pilgrims arrived in the midst of storm and stept ashore upon mountain snow-drifts; and nevertheless they prospered, and became a great people – and doubtless it will be the same with us. ... Belovedest, I have not yet taken my first lesson in agriculture, as thou mayest well suppose – except that I went to see our cows foddered, yesterday afternoon. We have eight of our own; and the number is now increased by a transcendental heifer, belonging to [Miss Margaret Fuller](#). She is very fractious, I believe, and apt to kick over the milk pail. Thou knowest best, whether, in these traits of character, she resembles her mistress.

3. For documents relating to Brook Farm, refer to Sams, Henry W., ed. AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BROOK FARM, Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1958.

4. Gynophobe, *n.*, a man who should, but seldom does, attempt misogamy (I made this up — to peruse all of Hawthorne’s letters to his fiancée, refer to LOVE LETTERS OF NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE, Chicago: Dofobs Society, 1907).



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

April 14, Wednesday: [Henry Thoreau](#) was reading [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#)'s CONFESSIONS OF AN INQUIRING SPIRIT ...
EDITED FROM THE AUTHOR'S MS. BY HENRY NELSON COLERIDGE (London: W. Pickering, 1840).

COLERIDGE'S CONFESSIONS

[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) again wrote his "Sweetest" from [Brook Farm](#), reporting the old reluctant-worker trick of demonstrating great strength and manliness as a mask for great laziness and righteousness, by immediately figuring out a way to break the tools. How many times have you hired some neighborhood kid to help you with something in your garage, only to have the kid pull this stunt on you and then grin and hand you the broken tool and stick out his hand for his pay? —Who did this city dude Hawthorne think he had fooled, besides [Mrs. Sophia Dana Ripley](#) the preacher's wife?

But this morning, I have done wonders. Before breakfast, I went out to the barn, and began to chop hay for the cattle; and with such "righteous vehemence" (as [Mr. Ripley](#) says) did I labor, that, in the space of ten minutes, I broke the machine. ... Belovedest, [Miss Fuller](#)'s cow hooks the other cows, and has made herself ruler of the herd, and behaves in a very tyrannical manner. Sweetest, I know not when I shall see thee; but I trust it will not be longer than till the end of next week. I love thee! I love thee! I would thou wert with me; for then would my labor be joyful — and even now, it is not sorrowful. Dearest, I shall make an excellent husbandman. I feel the original Adam reviving within me.

Isn't he just great at slinging the shit? —Such a creative writer, somebody get him a pitchfork!

July 15, Thursday: Horace Mann, Sr. suggested to [Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe](#) that a bust of [Laura Bridgman](#) be prepared. This would be sculpted by [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#).



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

September 3, Saturday: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) again wrote his “Sweetest,” on this date, about the narrow escape he had recently made from the temptations of the [Brook Farm](#) work ethic:

Sweetest, it seems very long already since I saw thee; but thou hast been all the time in my thoughts; so that my being has been continuous. Therefore, in one sense, it does not seem as if we had been parted at all. But really I should judge it to be twenty years since I left Brook Farm; and I take this to be one proof that my life there was an unnatural and unsuitable, and therefore an unreal one. It already looks like a dream behind me. The real Me was never an associate of the community; there has been a spectral Appearance there, sounding the horn at day-break, and milking the cows, and hoeing potatoes, and raking hay, toiling and sweating in the sun, and doing me the honor to assume my name. But be not deceived, Dove of my heart. This Spectre was not thy husband. Nevertheless, it is somewhat remarkable that thy husband's hands have, during this past summer, grown very brown and rough; insomuch that many people persist in believing that he, after all, was the aforesaid spectral horn-sounder, cow-milker, potato-hoer, and hay raker. But such a people do not know a reality from a shadow.

And here is the comparison ex-post-facto rumination by the Miles Coverdale persona of THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE. About the most explicit difference I can pick up is that Miles, unlike Nathaniel, doesn't have a



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

girlfriend to write love letters to:

My sensations were those of a traveller, long sojourning in remote regions, and at length sitting down again amid customs once familiar. There was a newness and an oldness, oddly combining themselves into one impression. It made me acutely sensible how strange a piece of mosaic-work had lately been wrought into my life. True; if you look at it in one way, it had been only a summer in the country. But, considered in a profounder relation, it was part of another age, a different state of society, a segment of an existence peculiar in its aims and methods, a leaf of some mysterious volume, interpolated into the current history which Time was writing off. At one moment, the very circumstances now surrounding me — my coal-fire, and the dingy room in the bustling hotel — appeared far off and intangible. The next instant, Blithedale looked vague, as if it were at a distance both in time and space, and so shadowy, that a question might be raised whether the whole affair had been anything more than the thoughts of a speculative man. I had never before experienced a mood that so robbed the actual world of its solidity. It nevertheless involved a charm, on which — a devoted epicure of my own emotions — I resolved to pause, and enjoy the moral sillabub until quite dissolved away.

One may wonder whether [Frederick Douglass](#) was feeling at this point that his life in slavery had been “an unnatural and unsuitable, and therefore an unreal one,” or that the “real Me” had never been in bondage: “there has been a spectral Appearance there, sounding the horn at day-break, and milking the cows, and hoeing potatoes, and raking hay, toiling and sweating in the sun, and doing me the honor to assume my name.” Right.



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

October 21, Thursday: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) again wrote his “Ownest beloved” [Sophia Amelia Peabody](#) about his imminent abandonment of the [Brook Farm](#) experiment:

What atrocious weather! In all this month, we have not had a single truly October day; it has been a real November month, and of the most disagreeable kind. I came to this place in one snowstorm, and shall probably leave it in another; so that my reminiscences of Brook Farm are likely to be the coldest and dreariest imaginable.

(On October 3d there had been a gale of legendary force, sinking sailing ships and toppling trees. Of course, Nat’s real dissatisfaction with conditions at the farm in Roxbury didn’t have anything to do with the dreary weather, which obviously was pretty much the same as the dreary weather in Salem some 30 miles to the east. What the guy was really irritated at was the insolence of the attitude of the other Brook Farmers — the attitude that an author should do his own chores rather than expect less gifted others to jump in and perform the dirty work for him! Here it becomes clear, precisely why it came about that Hawthorne believed in human slavery, and had contempt for black Americans, about whom he told foul jokes!)





SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

1842

July 9, Saturday: In an apartment at 13 West Street in [Boston](#), the apartment in which [Margaret Fuller](#) had held her “conversations” and out of which Miss [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#) had published [THE DIAL](#), the Reverend James Freeman Clarke united [Sophia Amelia Peabody](#) and [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) in holy matrimony, and then the married couple traveled by carriage to Concord, through occasional showers, arriving at their new/old home, the Old Manse which they had agreed to rent, at about 5PM. The Peabodys had attended this ceremony, but the Hawthornes, sensitive to the loss of the man of the family, had refrained. (The honeymoon couple would occupy the tiny rooms of the Old Manse, a colossal antique dollhouse, for the next three and a half years.)



July 10, Sunday: The newlyweds Mrs. [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) and [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) arrived at The Old Manse in Concord, where the rent of \$50.⁰⁰ per year included orchard and garden privileges and where a local handyman named Thorow had prepared a garden for them, took a walk “to the monument & home through the road. It is a perfect Eden round us.... We are Adam and Eve.... The birds saluted us this morning with such gushes of rapture, that I thought they must know us & our happiness.” (bride) “The execution took place yesterday. We made a christian end, and came straight to Paradise, where we abide at this present writing. We are as happy as people can be, without making themselves ridiculous, and might be even happier; but, as a matter of taste, we choose to stop short at this point.” (bridegroom)



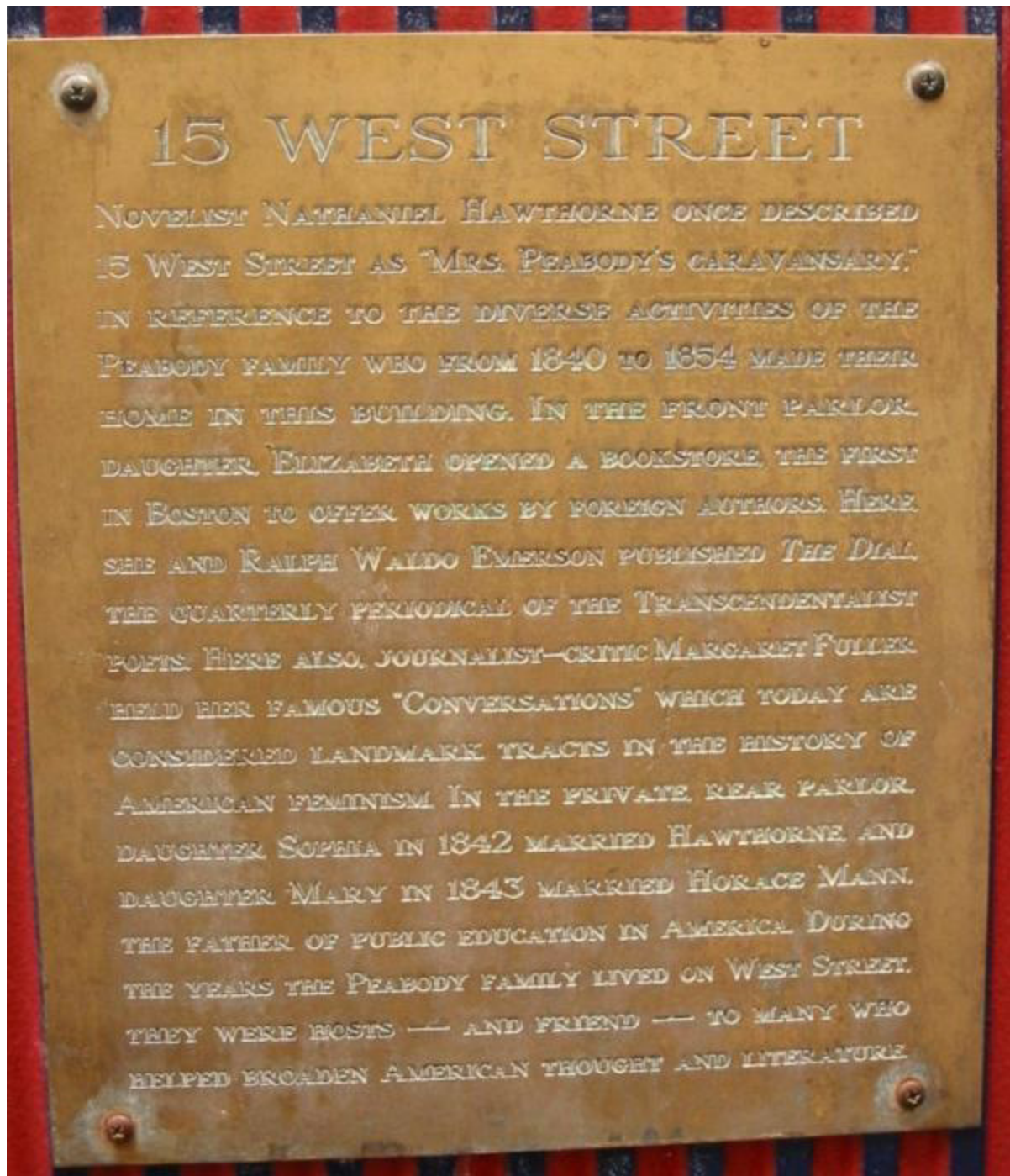
At length the summer's eternity is ushered in by the cackle of the flicker among the oaks on the hillside, and a new dynasty begins with calm security.



[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE





SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

The housekeeper at the Old Manse, when the newlywed Hawthornes arrived, was a Sarah whose last name is not now of record. She was assisted from time to time by a Margaret whose last name is also not now of record. Sarah's place would be taken by an "Irisher" named Mary O'Brien or Mary Bryan at whom Mrs. [Sophia](#) would eventually become enraged, accusing her of "cajolery" and "deceit." Sophia would announce that in the future she would prefer even a "blackey" over an "Irisher," but this would not prove to be necessary as the Hawthornes would eventually be able to replace Mary O'Brien/Bryan with another white maidservant named Mary Pray who was "**American and Protestant.**" Later, the last name of the Ellen and Mary who worked at the The Wayside and then went on to Liverpool with the Hawthorne family was Herne, Hearne, or Ahern — Ellen would be fired in England for having become "arrogant, hateful & bitter."

August: [Joseph Smith, Jr.](#) "got married with" Martha McBride and with Ruth Vose Sayers as well.

[Margaret Fuller](#) suggested to [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) and Mrs. [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) that her sister [Mrs. Ellen Fuller Channing](#) and husband [Mr. Ellery Channing II](#) be allowed to board at the Old Manse in [Concord](#) — but by letter this proposition was declined. However, [Henry Thoreau](#) was able to secure for the newlyweds the little red farmhouse next to [Waldo Emerson's](#) garden, on the Cambridge Turnpike, at a rent of \$55.⁰⁰ (\$5.⁰⁰ more per year than the rental cost of The Manse because its antique rooms were undesirably tiny, and because it was so costly to heat during the winter). Margaret and Ellery stayed with the Emersons for several weeks and when they departed [Emerson](#) was the editor of [THE DIAL](#).

October: In this month or the next, Mrs. [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) would become pregnant.



December 30, Friday: [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) wrote to Mrs. Caleb Foote about the [skating](#) on the Concord River:

One afternoon, Mr. Emerson and Mr. Thoreau went with him [Hawthorne] down the river. Henry Thoreau is an experienced skater, and was figuring dithyrambic dances and Bacchic leaps on the ice — very remarkable, but very ugly, methought. Next him followed Mr. Hawthorne who, wrapped in his cloak, moved like a self-impelled Greek statue, stately and grave. Mr. Emerson closed the line, evidently too weary to hold himself erect, pitching headforemost, half lying on the air.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

It had probably been at some point during this month that [Waldo Emerson](#) had written in his journal:

I hear the whistle of the locomotive in the woods, Wherever that music comes it has a sequel. It is the voice of the civility of the Nineteenth Century saying "Here I am." It is interrogative: it is prophetic: and this Cassandra is believed: "Whew! Whew! Whew! How is real estate here in the swamp & wilderness? Swamp & Wilderness, ho for Boston! Whew! Whew! Down with that forest on the side of the hill. I want ten thousand chestnut sleepers. I want cedar posts and hundreds of thousands of feet of boards. Up my masters, of oak & pine! You have waited long enough – a good part of a century in the wind & stupid sky. Ho for axes & saws, and away with me to Boston! Whew! Whew! I will plant a dozen houses on this pasture next moon and a village anon; and I will sprinkle yonder square mile with white houses like the broken snow-banks that strow it in March."

Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: "Message from the President ... in relation to the strength and expense of the squadron to be employed on the coast of Africa." –SENATE DOCUMENT, 27 Cong. 3 sess. II. No. 20.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: A somewhat more sincere and determined effort to enforce the slave-trade laws now followed; and yet it is a significant fact that not until Lincoln's administration did a slave-trader suffer death for violating the laws of the United States. The participation of Americans in the trade continued, declining somewhat between 1825 and 1830, and then reviving, until it reached its highest activity between 1840 and 1860. The development of a vast internal slave-trade, and the consequent rise in the South of vested interests strongly opposed to slave smuggling, led to a falling off in the illicit introduction of Negroes after 1825, until the fifties; nevertheless, smuggling never entirely ceased, and large numbers were thus added to the plantations of the Gulf States.

Monroe had various constitutional scruples as to the execution of the Act of 1819;⁵ but, as Congress took no action, he at last put a fair interpretation on his powers, and appointed Samuel Bacon as an agent in Africa to form a settlement for recaptured Africans. Gradually the agency thus formed became merged with that of the Colonization Society on Cape Mesurado; and from this union Liberia was finally evolved.⁶

Meantime, during the years 1818 to 1820, the activity of the slave-traders was prodigious. General James Tallmadge declared in the House, February 15, 1819: "Our laws are already highly

5. Attorney-General Wirt advised him, October, 1819, that no part of the appropriation could be used to purchase land in Africa or tools for the Negroes, or as salary for the agent: OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, I. 314-7. Monroe laid the case before Congress in a special message Dec. 20, 1819 (HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, page 57); but no action was taken there.

6. Cf. Kendall's Report, August, 1830: SENATE DOCUMENT, 21st Congress 2d session, I. No. 1, pages 211-8; also see below, Chapter X.



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

penal against their introduction, and yet, it is a well known fact, that about fourteen thousand slaves have been brought into our country this last year."⁷ In the same year Middleton of South Carolina and Wright of Virginia estimated illicit introduction at 13,000 and 15,000 respectively.⁸ Judge Story, in charging a jury, took occasion to say: "We have but too many proofs from unquestionable sources, that it [the slave-trade] is still carried on with all the implacable rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its evasions, and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened rather than suppressed by its guilty vigils. American citizens are steeped to their very mouths (I can hardly use too bold a figure) in this stream of iniquity."⁹ The following year, 1820, brought some significant statements from various members of Congress. Said Smith of South Carolina: "Pharaoh was, for his temerity, drowned in the Red Sea, in pursuing them [the Israelites] contrary to God's express will; but our Northern friends have not been afraid even of that, in their zeal to furnish the Southern States with Africans. They are better seamen than Pharaoh, and calculate by that means to elude the vigilance of Heaven; which they seem to disregard, if they can but elude the violated laws of their country."¹⁰ As late as May he saw little hope of suppressing the traffic.¹¹ Sergeant of Pennsylvania declared: "It is notorious that, in spite of the utmost vigilance that can be employed, African negroes are clandestinely brought in and sold as slaves."¹² Plumer of New Hampshire stated that "of the unhappy beings, thus in violation of all laws transported to our shores, and thrown by force into the mass of our black population, scarcely one in a hundred is ever detected by the officers of the General Government, in a part of the country, where, if we are to believe the statement of Governor Rabun, 'an officer who would perform his duty, by attempting to enforce the law [against the slave trade] is, by many, considered as an officious meddler, and treated with derision and contempt;' ... I have been told by a gentleman, who has attended particularly to this subject, that ten thousand slaves were in one year smuggled into the United States; and that, even for the last year, we must count the number not by hundreds, but by thousands."¹³ In 1821 a committee of Congress characterized prevailing methods as those "of the grossest fraud that could be practised to deceive the officers of government."¹⁴ Another committee, in 1822, after a careful examination of the subject, declare that they "find it impossible to measure with precision the effect produced upon the American branch of the slave trade by the laws above mentioned, and the seizures under

7. Speech in the House of Representatives, Feb. 15, 1819, page 18; published in Boston, 1849.

8. Jay, *INQUIRY INTO AMERICAN COLONIZATION* (1838), page 59, note.

9. Quoted in *Friends' FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE SLAVE TRADE* (ed. 1841), pages 7-8.

10. *ANNALS OF CONGRESS*, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 270-1.

11. *ANNALS OF CONGRESS*, 16th Congress 1st session, page 698.

12. *ANNALS OF CONGRESS*, 16th Congress 1st session, page 1207.

13. *ANNALS OF CONGRESS*, 16th Congress 1st session, page 1433.

14. Referring particularly to the case of the slaver "Plattsburg." Cf. *HOUSE REPORTS*, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, page 10.



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

them. They are unable to state, whether those American merchants, the American capital and seamen which heretofore aided in this traffic, have abandoned it altogether, or have sought shelter under the flags of other nations." They then state the suspicious circumstance that, with the disappearance of the American flag from the traffic, "the trade, notwithstanding, increases annually, under the flags of other nations." They complain of the spasmodic efforts of the executive. They say that the first United States cruiser arrived on the African coast in March, 1820, and remained a "few weeks;" that since then four others had in two years made five visits in all; but "since the middle of last November, the commencement of the healthy season on that coast, no vessel has been, nor, as your committee is informed, is, under orders for that service."¹⁵ The United States African agent, Ayres, reported in 1823: "I was informed by an American officer who had been on the coast in 1820, that he had boarded 20 American vessels in one morning, lying in the port of Gallinas, and fitted for the reception of slaves. It is a lamentable fact, that most of the harbours, between the Senegal and the line, were visited by an equal number of American vessels, and for the sole purpose of carrying away slaves. Although for some years the coast had been occasionally visited by our cruisers, their short stay and seldom appearance had made but slight impression on those traders, rendered hardy by repetition of crime, and avaricious by excessive gain. They were enabled by a regular system to gain intelligence of any cruiser being on the coast."¹⁶

Even such spasmodic efforts bore abundant fruit, and indicated what vigorous measures might have accomplished. Between May, 1818, and November, 1821, nearly six hundred Africans were recaptured and eleven American slavers taken.¹⁷ Such measures gradually changed the character of the trade, and opened the international phase of the question. American slavers cleared for foreign ports, there took a foreign flag and papers, and then sailed boldly past American cruisers, although their real character was often well known. More stringent clearance laws and consular instructions might have greatly reduced this practice; but nothing was ever done, and gradually the laws became in large measure powerless to deal with the bulk of the illicit trade. In 1820, September 16, a British officer, in his official report, declares that, in spite of United States laws, "American vessels, American subjects, and American capital, are unquestionably engaged in the trade, though under other colours and in disguise."¹⁸ The United States ship "Cyane" at one time

15. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, page 2. The President had in his message spoken in exhilarating tones of the success of the government in suppressing the trade. The House Committee appointed in pursuance of this passage made the above report. Their conclusions are confirmed by British reports: PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1822, Vol. XXII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, III. page 44. So, too, in 1823, Ashmun, the African agent, reports that thousands of slaves are being abducted.

16. Ayres to the Secretary of the Navy, Feb. 24, 1823; reprinted in FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 31.

17. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, pages 5-6. The slavers were the "Ramirez," "Endymion," "Esperanza," "Plattsburg," "Science," "Alexander," "Eugene," "Mathilde," "Daphne," "Eliza," and "La Pensée." In these 573 Africans were taken. The naval officers were greatly handicapped by the size of the ships, etc. (cf. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), pages 33-41). They nevertheless acted with great zeal.



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

reported ten captures within a few days, adding: "Although they are evidently owned by Americans, they are so completely covered by Spanish papers that it is impossible to condemn them."¹⁹ The governor of Sierra Leone reported the rivers Nunez and Pongas full of renegade European and American slave-traders;²⁰ the trade was said to be carried on "to an extent that almost staggers belief."²¹ Down to 1824 or 1825, reports from all quarters prove this activity in slave-trading.

The execution of the laws within the country exhibits grave defects and even criminal negligence. Attorney-General Wirt finds it necessary to assure collectors, in 1819, that "it is against public policy to dispense with prosecutions for violation of the law to prohibit the Slave trade."²² One district attorney writes: "It appears to be almost impossible to enforce the laws of the United States against offenders after the negroes have been landed in the state."²³ Again, it is asserted that "when vessels engaged in the slave trade have been detained by the American cruizers, and sent into the slave-holding states, there appears at once a difficulty in securing the freedom to these captives which the laws of the United States have decreed for them."²⁴ In some cases, one man would smuggle in the Africans and hide them in the woods; then his partner would "rob" him, and so all trace be lost.²⁵ Perhaps 350 Africans were officially reported as brought in contrary to law from 1818 to 1820: the absurdity of this figure is apparent.²⁶ A circular letter to the marshals, in 1821, brought reports of only a few well-known cases, like that of the "General Ramirez;" the marshal of Louisiana had "no information."²⁷

There appears to be little positive evidence of a large illicit importation into the country for a decade after 1825. It is hardly possible, however, considering the activity in the trade, that slaves were not largely imported. Indeed, when we note how the laws were continually broken in other respects, absence of evidence of petty smuggling becomes presumptive evidence that collusive or tacit understanding of officers and citizens allowed the trade to some extent.²⁸ Finally, it must be noted that during all this time scarcely a man suffered for participating in the trade, beyond the loss of the Africans and, more rarely, of his ship. Red-handed slavers, caught in the act and convicted, were too often, like La Coste of South Carolina,

18. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1821, Vol. XXIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, page 76. The names and description of a dozen or more American slavers are given: PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1821, Vol. XXIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, pages 18-21.

19. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, pages 15-20.

20. HOUSE DOCUMENT, 18th Congress 1st session, VI. No. 119, page 13.

21. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1823, Vol. XVIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, pages 10-11.

22. OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, V. 717.

23. R. W. Habersham to the Secretary of the Navy, August, 1821; reprinted in FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 47.

24. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 42.

25. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 43.

26. Cf. above, pages 126-7.

27. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 42.

28. A few accounts of captures here and there would make the matter less suspicious; these, however, do not occur. How large this suspected illicit traffic was, it is of course impossible to say; there is no reason why it may not have reached many hundreds per year.



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

the subjects of executive clemency.²⁹ In certain cases there were those who even had the effrontery to ask Congress to cancel their own laws. For instance, in 1819 a Venezuelan privateer, secretly fitted out and manned by Americans in Baltimore, succeeded in capturing several American, Portuguese, and Spanish slavers, and appropriating the slaves; being finally wrecked herself, she transferred her crew and slaves to one of her prizes, the "Antelope," which was eventually captured by a United States cruiser and the 280 Africans sent to Georgia. After much litigation, the United States Supreme Court ordered those captured from Spaniards to be surrendered, and the others to be returned to Africa. By some mysterious process, only 139 Africans now remained, 100 of whom were sent to Africa. The Spanish claimants of the remaining thirty-nine sold them to a certain Mr. Wilde, who gave bond to transport them out of the country. Finally, in December, 1827, there came an innocent petition to Congress to *cancel this bond*.³⁰ A bill to that effect passed and was approved, May 2, 1828,³¹ and in consequence these Africans remained as slaves in Georgia. On the whole, it is plain that, although in the period from 1807 to 1820 Congress laid down broad lines of legislation sufficient, save in some details, to suppress the African slave trade to America, yet the execution of these laws was criminally lax. Moreover, by the facility with which slavers could disguise their identity, it was possible for them to escape even a vigorous enforcement of our laws. This situation could properly be met only by energetic and sincere international co-operation....³²

29. Cf. editorial in Niles's Register, XXII. 114. Cf. also the following instances of pardons: —

PRESIDENT JEFFERSON: March 1, 1808, Phillip M. Topham, convicted for "carrying on an illegal slave-trade" (pardoned twice). PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 146, 148-9.

PRESIDENT MADISON: July 29, 1809, fifteen vessels arrived at New Orleans from Cuba, with 666 white persons and 683 negroes. Every penalty incurred under the Act of 1807 was remitted. (Note: "Several other pardons of this nature were granted.") PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 179.

Nov. 8, 1809, John Hopkins and Lewis Le Roy, convicted for importing a slave. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 184-5.

Feb. 12, 1810, William Sewall, convicted for importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 194, 235, 240.

May 5, 1812, William Babbit, convicted for importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 248.

PRESIDENT MONROE: June 11, 1822, Thomas Shields, convicted for bringing slaves into New Orleans. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 15.

Aug. 24, 1822, J.F. Smith, sentenced to five years' imprisonment and \$3000 fine; served twenty-five months and was then pardoned. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 22.

July 23, 1823, certain parties liable to penalties for introducing slaves into Alabama. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 63.

Aug. 15, 1823, owners of schooner "Mary," convicted of importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 66.

PRESIDENT J.Q. ADAMS: March 4, 1826, Robert Perry; his ship was forfeited for slave-trading. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 140.

Jan. 17, 1827, Jesse Perry; forfeited ship, and was convicted for introducing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 158.

Feb. 13, 1827, Zenas Winston; incurred penalties for slave-trading. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 161. The four following cases are similar to that of Winston: —

Feb. 24, 1827, John Tucker and William Morbon. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 162.

March 25, 1828, Joseph Badger. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 192.

Feb. 19, 1829, L.R. Wallace. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 215.

PRESIDENT JACKSON: Five cases. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 225, 270, 301, 393, 440.

The above cases were taken from manuscript copies of the Washington records, made by Mr. W.C. Endicott, Jr., and kindly loaned me.

30. See SENATE JOURNAL, 20th Congress 1st session, pages 60, 66, 340, 341, 343, 348, 352, 355; HOUSE JOURNAL, 20th Congress 1st session, pages 59, 76, 123, 134, 156, 169, 173, 279, 634, 641, 646, 647, 688, 692.

31. STATUTES AT LARGE, VI. 376.



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

1843

February 22, Wednesday: [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) had suffered a fall on the ice of the Concord River while walking with Nathaniel, and wrote her mother that she had miscarried.

Opposition arose in the US Senate, to the idea that we were spending good money to watch over a bunch of Africans that our navy had rescued from the negroes of the international slave trade and resettled on the coast of Africa. This was being perceived as a world upside down: Negroes are supposed to give aid and comfort to white people, not white people Negroes! Where was the Navy's head at?

Motion by Mr. Benton, during debate on naval appropriations, to strike out appropriation "for the support of Africans recaptured on the coast of Africa or elsewhere, and returned to Africa by the armed vessels of the United States, \$5,000." Lost; similar proposition by Bagby, lost. Proposition to strike out appropriation for squadron, lost. March 3, bill becomes a law, with appropriation for Africans, but without that for squadron. CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE, 27th Congress, 3d session, pages 328, 331-6; STATUTES AT LARGE, V. 615.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

April 7, Friday: [Ephraim Merriam](#) died at the age of 47. He had never married but (as Henry Thoreau would) had lived all his life with his mother.

Mrs. [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) had gone to Boston to visit her sister [Mary Tyler Peabody](#), who was to marry Horace Mann, Sr. and have a honeymoon in Europe, and [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) had sort of taken a vow of silence during her absence. However, while he was trying to read the current issue of [THE DIAL](#), which contained an article "A. Bronson Alcott's Works," and was seriously considering trying to take a nap, who should knock on his door but [Henry Thoreau](#), with a book to return, bearing the news that he was considering "going to reside at [Staten Island](#), as private tutor in the family of Mr. Emerson's brother," and bearing the news that [Ellery Channing](#) was coming back to Concord and that Thoreau had on his behalf searched out and rented a house and land for \$55.⁰⁰ the year: "a little red cottage on the road, with one acre attached." Thoreau had brought his music box gift from [Margaret Fuller](#) and [Richard F. Fuller](#) to leave in Hawthorne's keeping during his absence on Staten Island. Hawthorne and Thoreau discussed the spiritual advantages of change of place (Hawthorne was for it), and discussed [THE DIAL](#), and discussed Bronson Alcott. All in all, Hawthorne was

32. Among interesting minor proceedings in this period were two Senate bills to register slaves so as to prevent illegal importation. They were both dropped in the House; a House proposition to the same effect also came to nothing: SENATE JOURNAL, 15th Congress 1st session, pages 147, 152, 157, 165, 170, 188, 201, 203, 232, 237; 15th Congress 2d session, pages 63, 74, 77, 202, 207, 285, 291, 297; HOUSE JOURNAL, 15th Congress 1st session, page 332; 15th Congress 2d session, pages 303, 305, 316; 16th Congress 1st session, page 150. Another proposition was contained in the Meigs resolution presented to the House, Feb. 5, 1820, which proposed to devote the public lands to the suppression of the slave-trade. This was ruled out of order. It was presented again and laid on the table in 1821: HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 196, 200, 227; 16th Congress 2d session, page 238.



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

glad that Thoreau was going away, on his own account,

AMERICAN NOTEBOOKS: ... I arose, and began this record in the journal, almost at the commencement of which I was interrupted by a visit from Mr. Thoreau, who came to return a book, and to announce his purpose of going to reside at Staten Island, as private tutor in the family of Mr. Emerson's brother. We had some conversation upon this subject, and upon the spiritual advantages of change of place, and upon the Dial, and upon Mr. Alcott, and other kindred or concatenated subjects. I am glad, on Mr. Thoreau's own account, that he is going away; as he is physically out of health, and, morally and intellectually, seems not to have found exactly the guiding clue; and in all these respects, he may be benefitted by his removal;—also, it is one step towards a circumstantial position in the world. On my account, I should like to have him remain here; he being one of the few persons, I think, with whom to hold intercourse is like hearing the wind among the boughs of a forest-tree; and with all this wild freedom, there is high and classic cultivation in him too.

Hawthorne feared that, for Concord, Channing would be



but a poor substitute for Mr. Thoreau.

We perhaps best understand this distaste for the ersatz, if we take into consideration the sort of weighty drivel that the promising Ellery had to offer to the town of Concord, when he contemplated weighty topics such as the new railroad past Walden Pond:³³

Oh! transient gleams yon hurrying noisy train,
Its yellow carriages rumbling with might
Of volleyed thunder on the iron rail
Pieced by the humble toil of Erin's hand
Wood and lake the whistle shrill awakening.

33. Notice in the above that the locomotive whistle is still of the “steam trumpet” model, that is, is still of the “whistle shrill” variety which we would associate with slumland factories rather than with bucolic railroads.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE****SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY**

When [Channing](#) had completed his move to Concord, [Hawthorne](#) took him fishing in the *Pond Lily*. Hawthorne described their fishing expeditions this way: “Strange and happy times were those, when we cast aside all irksome forms and strait-laced habitudes, and delivered ourselves up to the free air, to live like Indians or any less conventional race, during one bright semi-circle of the sun.” Not only did the holy vessel *Musketaquid* that had carried the Thoreau brothers off on their adventure on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers not mean anything in particular to this author Hawthorne, but this accomplished author was able to transform even a fishing trip into his own adventure in ethnic chauvinism: “Indians or any less conventional race,” indeed! (Later, Hawthorne would pass the boat on to Channing rather than back to its builder to whom it had meant so much. The record of this which Thoreau chose to retain was that the boat had simply “passed



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

from hand to hand” and had “gone down the stream of time.”)

WALDEN: The only house I had been the owner of before, if I except a boat, was a tent, which I used occasionally when making excursions in the summer, and this is still rolled up in my garret; but the boat, after passing from hand to hand, has gone down the stream of time. With this more substantial shelter about me, I had made some progress toward settling in the world. This frame, so slightly clad, was a sort of crystallization around me, and reacted on the builder. It was suggestive somewhat as a picture in outlines. I did not need to go out doors to take the air, for the atmosphere within had lost none of its freshness. It was not so much within doors as behind a door where I sat, even in the rainiest weather. The Harivansa says, “An abode without birds is like a meat without seasoning.” Such was not my abode, for I found myself suddenly neighbor to the birds; not by having imprisoned one, but having caged myself near them. I was not only nearer to some of those which commonly frequent the garden and the orchard, but to those wilder and more thrilling songsters of the forest which never, or rarely, serenade a villager, —the wood-thrush, the veery, the scarlet tanager, the field-sparrow, the whippoorwill, and many others.

WHIPPOORWILL
WOOD THRUSH

THOREAU RESIDENCES



Was this the house that needed work, that Ellery hired Henry to perform? On the list of improvements for Henry to perform was an interesting item:

“Privy — to be moved from where it is now, behind the end of the barn, the filth carried off, & hole filled in. The privy to be whitewashed & have a new door, & the floor either renewed or cleaned up.”

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

May: [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) being pregnant again, [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) was transliterating *enceinte* as “a saint.”



December 3, Sunday: [Henry Thoreau](#) was written to by [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#).

Mr Thoreau,
Will you be kind enough to take to New York the letter to
Mr O'Sullivan, & if it be convenient for you, to carry my letter
to Boston? If you cannot call at West St, it is just as well to
put it into the Boston Post Office.

S A. Hawthorne.
Dec. 3^d 1843

[DEMOCRATIC REVIEW](#)

([John L. O'Sullivan](#)'s magazine was currently at its December issue.)

US MAG & DEM. REV.

Thoreau was written to by Charles Lane in Boston.

Boston Dec^r 3/43

Dear friend

*As well as my wounded hands permit I have scribbled something for friend
Hecker which if agreeable may be the opportunity for entering into closer re-
lations with him; a course I think likely to be mutually encouraging, as well as
beneficial to all men. But let it reach him in the manner most conformable to
your own feelings.*

*That from all perils of a false position you may shortly be relieved and landed
in the position where you feel “at home” is the sincere wish of yours most
friendly*

Charles Lane

Henry Thoreau

Thoreau presumably would not be receiving this letter promptly, as he departed on this day for [Staten Island](#) to gather together his belongings from the home of Judge [William Emerson](#) and, on the way, stopped in at Brook Farm in the middle of a snowstorm.



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

1844

March 3, Sunday: [Mrs. Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) gave birth to a girl infant, named [Una Hawthorne](#) after Spenser's heroine. [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) commented that he thought he preferred "a daughter to a son, there is something so especially piquant in having helped to create a future woman." The godfather of the infant was [John L. O'Sullivan](#) of [The United States Magazine and Democratic Review](#).

That morning and continuing that evening, at a non-resistance meeting which was part of a series of lectures on reform and reformers at Boston's Amory Hall by various reformers such as Charles Lane, Wendell Phillips, [William Lloyd Garrison](#)—and [Henry Thoreau](#)—[Waldo Emerson](#) delivered his lengthy sermon "New England Reformers."

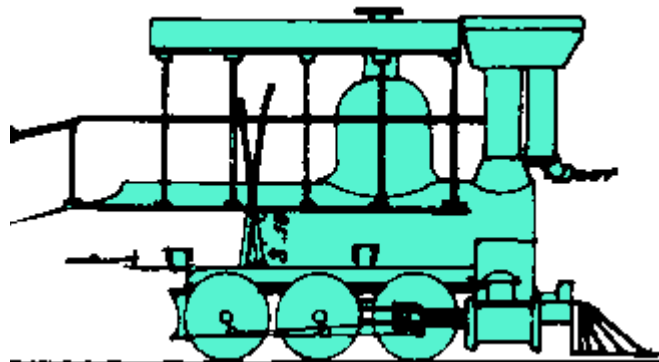
The proof text for this sermon was MARK 8:36: "For what shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lost his own soul?"

Waldo felt that his effort had had a good reception, and jotted down into his journal that:

Somebody said of me after the lecture at Amory Hall ... "The secret of his popularity is, that he has a damn for everybody."

June: The [Unitarian](#) Missionary Society, impelled, probably, by the increase in poverty from immigration, resolved to drop the word "Unitarian" from its title and to establish an unsectarian ministry-at-large. The Lowell Missionary Society appointed the Reverend Crawford Nightingale as the initial minister of the new institution, but he held the position for only one month before resigning because he considered himself unequal to the responsibility. It was then that the society invited the [Reverend Horatio Wood](#) to assume that responsibility.

Early in the month, preparing for the grand opening ceremonies of the 17th, there were several trial runs over the new railroad track from [Concord](#) to Charlestown. In this year trains were reaching the speed of 30 miles per hour between stations. Here is a drawing of a locomotive manufactured in 1844 by Ross Winans:





SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY



"[The railroad will] only encourage the common people to move about needlessly."

— Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington



Nathaniel Hawthorne's "The Artist of the Beautiful" was published. The Hawthornes dismissed their maid and sought a replacement. Mrs. Sophia Peabody Hawthorne of course could do no housework due to her delicate temperament and her tremendous headaches, so for the time being Nathaniel, working on "Rappacini's Daughter," would also have to do the cooking and wash the dishes rather than be served. The family would be unsuccessful in obtaining a new servant until Mary Pray would come along, after Thanksgiving.











SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

Summer: James Boyle's book SOCIAL REFORM, heavily informed not only by [Fourierism](#) but also by perfectionism and nonresistance, was published. For this new "Divine Order of society" he was using the name "Association," but the book was not an advocacy of the practical mix of sentiments which had created the [Association of Industry and Education](#) of which he was then a member as this association had never explicitly embraced any of the principles, or even the mindset, of Fourierism. His message was being well received at [Brook Farm](#) — but not at home. The Hutchinson Family Singers, returning to their family farm in Milford NH from their visit to [Northampton](#), decided that for a trial period of one year they would convert their farm into a collective similar to the NAIE (rather than one similar to the Divine order of Fourierist society championed by Boyle and being implemented at Brook Farm).

COMMUNITARIANISM

According to page 80 of Larry J. Reynolds's influence study EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE AMERICAN LITERARY RENAISSANCE (New Haven CT: Yale UP, 1988), [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s sick ambivalences and manly defenses are readily to be discerned:

In the summer of 1844, while the Hawthornes were still at the Old Manse, [Margaret Fuller](#), who was friends with them both, came to visit, and it was then that [Nathaniel](#) became most intimate with her. Throughout the month of July,  they went boating at dusk on the Concord, took moonlit walks through the woods, and conversed at length on a variety of subjects. ([Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) was occupied with the new baby, [Una Hawthorne](#).) And, surprisingly, given his reserve and shyness, it was Hawthorne who initiated many of their hours alone together. After Fuller moved to New York City that fall  and thence to Europe and Rome, she and Hawthorne never saw one another again; however, ten years after her death, Hawthorne in a long and famous passage in his Italian notebook ridiculed her husband and called her "a great humbug" with a "defective and evil nature."  This outburst seems inexplicable, given Hawthorne's previous friendliness, but it does make sense if one sees it as motivated by guilt and anger about his attraction to her. As Paula Blanshard has pointed out, "There is no possible way that anyone can accuse Margaret of being evil — if he is thinking of Margaret herself. But Hawthorne was not; he was thinking of what she represented to him." During the summer of 1849, when Fuller and her fellow republicans  fought their losing battle against the invading French,  capturing the attention and admiration of the American public, Hawthorne certainly noticed, and when he wrote THE SCARLET LETTER several months later,  he then too had in mind what Fuller represented: a female revolutionary trying to overthrow the world's most prominent politico-religious leader, a freethinking temptress who had almost subverted his right-minded thoughts and feelings.



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

September: [Margaret Fuller](#) returned to [Concord](#), and walked again with [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) in the moonlight. (Mrs. [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#)'s reaction to WOMAN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY would turn out to be negative. Not only was Margaret verbalizing about some country matters that were never meant to be spoken of in decent society, not only was she presumptuous in attempting to speak for all women, but also "I suspect a wife only can know how to speak with sufficient respect of man," and Sophia definitely was the wife, and Margaret definitely was not the wife.)

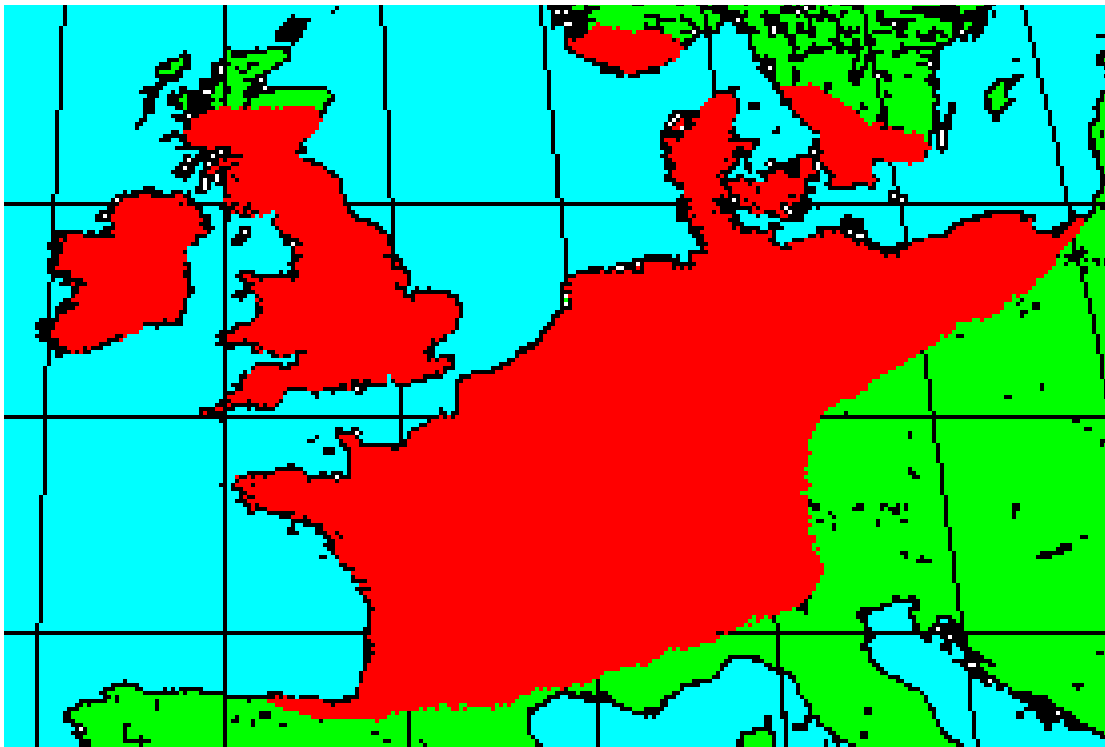


[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY****SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE****1845**

From this year into 1850, in the [Irish Potato Famine](#), the problem presented to the English overlords of [Ireland](#) by the intransigent native Irish [Catholics](#) would be being in part resolved, unfortunately by means of starvation, by means of disease, and by means of mass emigration, with the assistance of a “late blight” of



Phytophthora infestans which would be causing apparently sound and meaty white [potato](#) tubers to suddenly disintegrate into black slime just as they were becoming ready to harvest. A million of these Irish people who were in the way of the English would die and eight million more of these Irish people who were in the way would be forced from their homeland.





SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

We know that, largely because of this famine, in 1845 a domestic servant could be hired for \$1.²⁵ per week in New England, because [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) was able to retain a woman for this wage. (Her sister Mary was able to rent a house in Hingham MA for \$75.⁰⁰ annually.

Population Trends

	England / Wales	Ireland
1821	12,000,000	6,800,000
1831	13,900,000	7,770,000
1841	15,920,000	8,180,000
1845	about 16,700,000	about 8,300,000 (blight, then famine, fever, and emigration)
1851	17,930,000	6,550,000
1861	20,070,000	5,800,000
1871	31,629,299	5,410,000
1881	35,026,108	5,170,000

During a period in which the population of virtually every other country in Europe was Dublin, the population of Ireland would lose 3.1 million people. This was a trauma with which it was most difficult to deal. For instance, we all know that Australia was settled largely by “British criminals” who had been “transported” during this period, but few of us are aware that a very significant percentage of these “British criminals” actually were mere Irish men and women who had become concerned, and who had thus made themselves politically suspect. A special prayer was promulgated and was being read in all the churches of the Anglican communion, to entreat the Almighty God to spare the Irish people from the ravages of the famine. The term “[Potato](#)” not being grand enough for an occasion of speaking directly to Almighty God, for verbiage for herbage this recitation substituted the euphemism “Succulent Tuber.”



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

1846

June 22, Monday: In Salem, Massachusetts, [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) gave birth to a 2d child, [Julian Hawthorne](#). Initially this apparently unwanted or resented child would not be named: for at least the first eight months his mother and father would refer to him merely as “bundlebreech” (on a following screen is [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), as depicted in this year in crayon and chalk on paper by Eastman Johnson).



[Benjamin Robert Haydon](#), would-be redeemer of British art, creator of grand agendas, his magnum opus “The Anti-Slavery Convention” finally completed in a world which greeted it with a grand “ho-hum,” at the age of 61 wrote “Stretch me no longer on this rough world” and made in the journal he had been keeping for 38 years a blood-smeared entry:

My soul aspires
My spirit is wounded
My hand fumbles
My heart races
My brain aches to burst
My hand drops the impasto-laden brush
My eyes wail hot tears I fail to shave, to wash to change my linen
The glory of being a painter resides in one's utter neglect by critics and public.
* * * *
I ask friend L—— for £100. We dine in the city on mutton, wine, and trifle.
Laughter is a patina.
O God, Thy will be done!

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

He breaks the news: bad times prevent his advancing even a threepence.
At home I drink much, the only time, my Mary says, she's seen me so.
The hottest, most airless summer on record, "a sultry month."
I do not sleep, except in fits.
I stare like an idiot at Alfred.
The paint on his face is cold gravy.
I write to Lord Peel, Beaufort, and Brougham.
Nothing avails.
I burn more letters and papers, pack up my valuables, what might be sold as income — the drawings of Wellington, Wordsworth, my wife and dead children, plus a metal box containing journals — and carry all to Elizabeth Barrett. She'll keep them from my creditors — she's promised.



Miss Barrett, in purple, reclines on a sofa. (The evening is stifling.)
Flush sleeps in her lap.
She strokes him as she is speaking.
I'm lost in a wish to sketch her, am abstracted rehearsing the line round her thin mouth, the cheek bones, the tendrils of hair scooping her temples....
"If only I could die," I exclaim, "there'd be a subscription (I trust the English people) to support my family."

Monday, June 22, 1846. Stop at Riviere, the gun-maker, in Oxford Street.
Purchase one of a pair of small pistols.
At 9, I breakfast alone, then go to my painting-room.
I write letters to my children, re-write my will, and sketch some final thoughts.
As usual, I lock myself in.
My daughter Mary, my confidante (more even than her mother) suspects nothing when she tries the door.
She says (through the door) that she and her mother are going out.
"Very well," I say.
Impulsively, I go to her, kiss her fervently, and linger.
There is something I wish to say.
But I walk away.

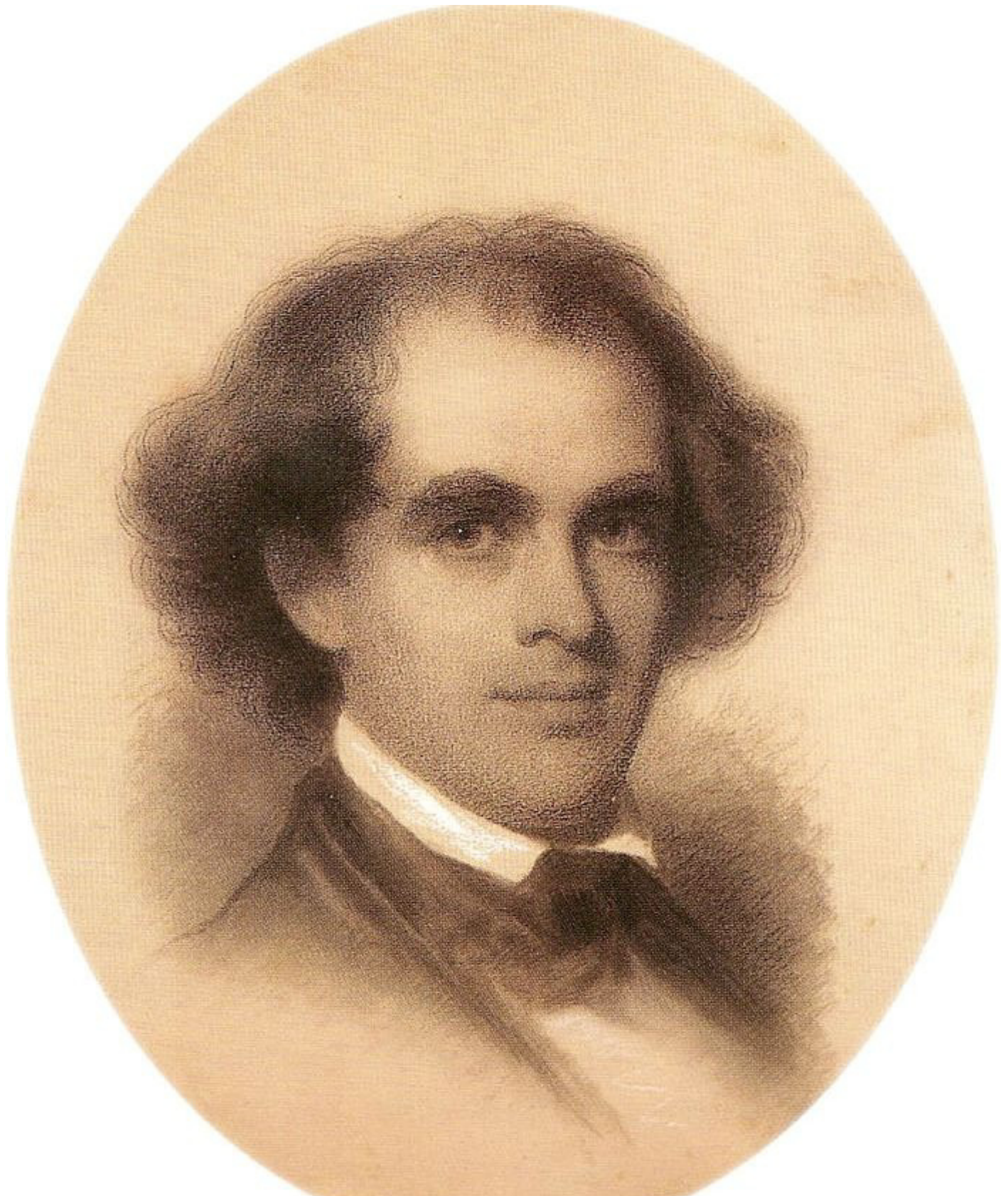
I load the pistol, poise a lone straight-razor near.
It's 10:45.
I face the door.
Noise in the street.
The hot air is a pall.
I squeeze the trigger.
Its small caliber deflects along the bone.
Why, even now, must I fail!
Desperate (for Mary will hear) I grab up the open razor and slice my throat, from ear to ear.
Finis. Benjamin Robert Haydon.

[SUICIDE](#)



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

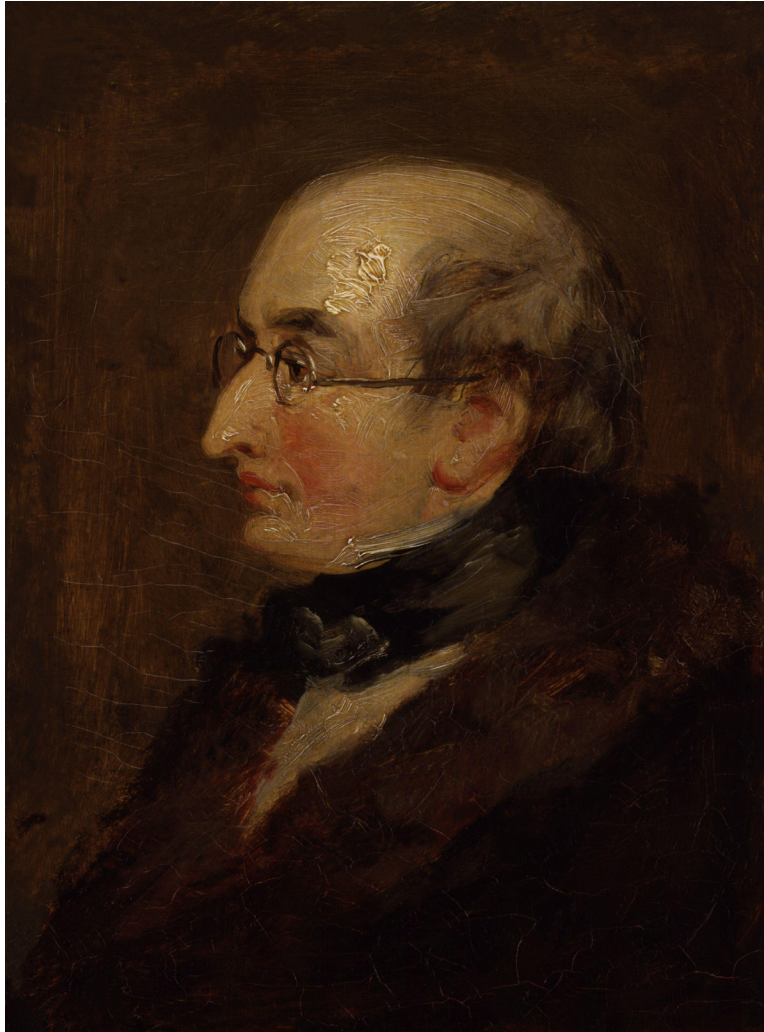
SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE





SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY



(The debts far exceeded any assets. The surviving widow and three children would need to be rescued in extremis by friends such as Sir Robert Peel, the Count d'Orsay, Mr. Justice Talfourd, and Lord Carlisle.)



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."

— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."

—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853

1836	James Madison	unsolicited comment	<i>"I always talk better lying down."</i>
1846	Benjamin Robert Haydon	final entry in 38-year journal before offing himself	<i>"Stretch me no longer on this tough world. — Lear"</i>
1848	John Quincy Adams	had just voted "no" on war on Mexico	<i>This is the last of earth. I am composed.</i>
1849	Washington Goode	offered a cup of water before being hanged in Boston	<i>"This is the last Cochituate water that I shall ever drink."</i>
1849	Edgar Allan Poe	in bad shape in Baltimore	<i>"Lord help my poor soul."</i>
1850	John Caldwell Calhoun	unsolicited comment	<i>"The South! The poor South! God knows what will become of her."</i>
... other famous last words ...			

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE****SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY****1849**

February 28, Wednesday: 1st steamship entered San Francisco Bay, [California](#).



[Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) wrote to her sister, [Mrs. Mary Peabody Mann](#), describing how [Henry Thoreau](#)'s great blue eyes offset his uncomely nose:

This evening Mr. Thoreau is going to lecture, and will stay with us. His lecture before was so enchanting; such a revelation of nature in all its exquisite details of wood-thrushes, squirrels, sunshine, mists and shadows, fresh, vernal odors, pine-tree ocean melodies, that my ear rang with music, and I seemed to have been wandering through copse and dingle! Mr. Thoreau has risen above all his arrogance of manner, and is as gentle, simple, ruddy, and meek as all geniuses should be; and now his great blue eyes fairly outshine and put into shade a nose which I once thought must make him uncomely forever.





SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

This was either Henry's 1st, or his 3d, lecture, lecture on the general topic of his life in the woods, and it took place at Salem — either "Economy" or "Where I lived" (per a review quoted by Holtje), or "White Beans."



His [Aunt Maria Thoreau](#) wrote to Miss Prudence Ward, "He is preparing his Book for the press, and the title is to be, Waldien (I don't know how to spell it) or Life in the Woods":

Today Henry has gone to Salem to read another lecture they seem to be wonderfully taken with him there, and next month he is to go to Portland [Maine], to deliver the same, and George wants him to keep on to Bangor they want to have him there, and if their funds will hold out they intend to send for him, they give 25 dollars, and at Salem and Portland 20 — he is preparing his Book for the press and the title is to be, Waldien (I don't know how to spell it) or life in the Woods. I think the title will take if the Book don't. I was quite amused with what Sophia told me her mother said about it the other day, she poor girl was lying in bed with a sick head ache when she heard Cynthia (who has grown rather nervous of late) telling over her troubles to Mrs. Dunbar, after speaking of her own and Helen's sickness, she says, and there's Sophia she's the greatest trial I've got, for she has complaints she never will get rid of, and Henry is putting things into his Book that never ought to be there, and Mr. Thoreau has faint turns and I don't know what ails him, and so she went on from one thing to another hardly knew where to stop, and tho it is pretty much so, I could not help smiling at Sophia's description of it. As for Henry's book, you know I have said, there were parts of it that sounded to me very much like blasphemy, and I did not believe they would publish it, on reading it to Helen the other day Sophia told me she made the same remark, and coming from her, Henry was much surprised, and said she did not understand it, but still I fear they will not persuade him to leave it out.

CYNTHIA DUNBAR THOREAU

JOHN THOREAU, SR.

HDT

WHAT?

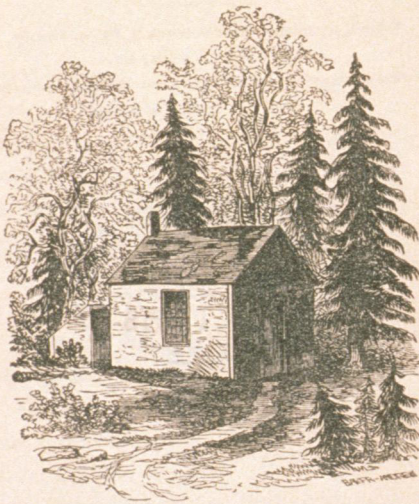
INDEX

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

WALDEN;
OR,
LIFE IN THE WOODS.

By HENRY D. THOREAU,
AUTHOR OF "A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS."



I do not propose to write an ode to dejection, but to brag as lustily as chanticleer in the morning, standing on his roost, if only to wake my neighbors up. — Page 92.

BOSTON:
TICKNOR AND FIELDS.
M DCCC LIV.

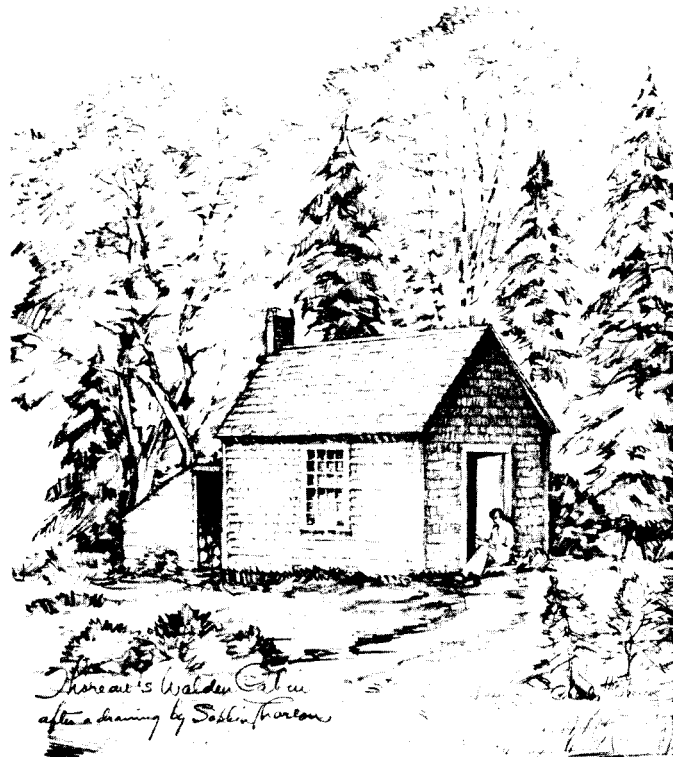
TIMELINE OF WALDEN



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

Here is [Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#)'s famous drawing:



Here is Charles H. Overly's version of Sister Sophia's drawing:





SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

1850

February 3, Sunday: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) read to [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) the concluding three chapters of THE SCARLET LETTER. This experience sent her to bed with “a grievous headache,” which the husband interpreted as a good omen. He sent the ending along to publisher [James Thomas Fields](#). In the final rush to publication a reference to the volume, in the Salem Custom House sketch, as consisting of a collection of tales, was not corrected to show its new status as a single romance.

THE SCARLET LETTER: It will be seen, likewise, that this Custom-House sketch has a certain propriety, of a kind always recognised in literature, as explaining how a large portion of the following pages came into my possession, and as offering proofs of the authenticity of a narrative therein contained. This, in fact - a desire to put myself in my true position as editor, or very little more, of the most prolix among the tales that make up my volume - this, and no other, is my true reason for assuming a personal relation with the public. In accomplishing the main purpose, it has appeared allowable, by a few extra touches, to give a faint representation of a mode of life not heretofore described, together with some of the characters that move in it, among whom the author happened to make one.





SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

March 16, Saturday: An issue of Chambers' Edinburgh Journal:

CHAMBERS' EDINBURGH JOURNAL

ISSUE OF MARCH 16

Waldo Emerson delivered "The Superlative in Literature, Manners, and Races."

According to page 79 of Larry J. Reynolds's influence study *EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE AMERICAN LITERARY RENAISSANCE* (New Haven CT: Yale UP, 1988), there are distinct markings of sexist politics to be discerned within the novel published on this day by Ticknor and Fields, by Nathaniel Hawthorne, *THE*



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SCARLET LETTER; OR, THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS OF A DECAPITATED SURVEYOR.³⁴

theabsorbingcontemplationof**thescarletletter**thestoryentitled“**THESCARLET LETTER**”taleof“**TheScarletLetter**”**thescarletletter**andeventoucheditwithher finger**thescarletletter**take**thescarletletter**off**thescarletletter**thre walurid**thescarletletter**fingeron**thescarletletterthescarletletter**flam ingonherbreast**thescarletletter**onherbreastornament**thescarletletter**whichitwas herdoomtowear**thescarletletterthescarletletterthescarletletter**onHester’sbos omgazemightneveroncebefixedupon**thescarletletter**touched**thescarletletterthe scarletletterthescarletletter**endowedwithlife**thescarletletter**thewomanof**the scarletletter**thelikenessof**thescarletletterthescarletletter**thewearerof**thesca rletletter**herchildand**thescarletletter**linesof**thescarletletter**thatdecoratedthem ater**thescarletletter**onherbosom**thescarletletter**onherbreastherfingero n**thescarletletter**lookupon**thescarletletter**asthetoken**thescarletletter****Thesca rletletter**hadnotdoneitso**Thescarletletter**burnedonHesterPrynne’sbosom“Th avelefttheeto**thescarletletter**”Iwhom**thescarletletter**hasdisciplinedtotruthunder the tortureof**thescarletletter**asfor**thescarletletter**“Mother”saidshe“whatdoesthe scarletlettermean?”investigationsabout**thescarletletterthescarletletter**Hema deastepnigheranddiscovered**thescarletletterthescarletletterthescarletletter****T hescarletletter**washerpassport**thescarletletterthescarletletter**again**thescarl etletter**brought“Lookyourlaston**thescarletletter**anditswearer!”**thescarletletter thescarletletter**envelopedit**thescarletletter**“Thymotherisyonderwomanwith**thesca rletletter**”hadoftenheardof**thescarletletterthescarletletter**inthemarketplaceHe againextendedhishandtothewomanof**thescarletletter**Lo**thescarletletterthesca rletletter**themiddaysunshineon**thescarletletter**wearerof**thescarletletter**Thesto ryof**thescarletletter**grewintoalegendrecluseof**thescarletletter**theabsorbi



HEADCHOPPING

34. A claim of copyright has been made for THE SCARLET LETTER in 1962, for FANSHAW and THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE in 1964, for THE HOUSE OF SEVEN GABLES in 1965, and for THE MARBLE FAUN in 1968, by Ohio State UP. (We presume that those ostensibly appropriate and global copyright claims could actually have covered not more than whatever value was added to the works by that press at that time, such as their reformatting and pagination and suchlike.)



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

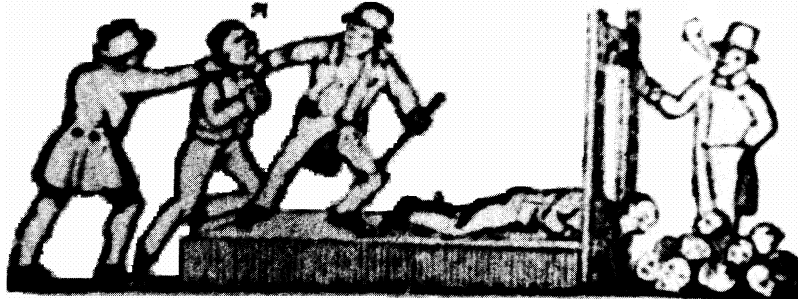
Near the end of *THE SCARLET LETTER*, Hawthorne in a summary tells us about Hester's eventual change of heart, about how she at last forsook radicalism and recognized that the woman who would lead the reform movements of the future and establish women's rights must be less "stained with sin," less "bowed down with shame" than she. This woman must be "lofty, pure, and beautiful, and wise, moreover, not through dusky grief, but the ethereal medium of joy." More than one reader has correctly surmised that this ending to the novel constitutes a veiled complement to Hawthorne's little Dove, [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#), and a veiled criticism of [Margaret Fuller](#) – radical, advocate of women's rights, and subject of gossip because of her child and questionable marriage. Hawthorne's ambivalent feelings toward Fuller indeed informed this and other parts of the novel, and although a number of women have been discussed as models for Hester, including [Anne Hutchinson](#), Ebe Hawthorne, and [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#), Fuller seems to have served in this capacity most provokingly. As Francis E. Kearns has pointed out, a number of parallels exist between Fuller and Hester: both had the problem of facing a Puritan society encumbered by a child of questionable legitimacy; both were concerned with social reform and the role of woman in society; both functioned as counselor and comforter to women; and both had children entitled to use the armorial seals of a non-English noble family. A more important parallel, which Kearns does not mention, is that for Hawthorne both women were linked to the figures of Liberty and Eve, that is, to the ideas of revolution and temptation, which lie at the heart of the novel.

For certain sure the benevolent Boston presence of George Stillman Hillard and the benign influence of [Waldo](#)

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE****SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY**

[Emerson](#), among other notables, had been immortalized in [Hawthorne](#)'s preamble "The Custom-House":

THE SCARLET LETTER: Such were some of the people with whom I now found myself connected. I took it in good part, at the hands of Providence, that I was thrown into a position so little akin to my past habits; and set myself seriously to gather from it whatever profit was to be had. After my fellowship of toil and impracticable schemes with the dreamy brethren of Brook Farm; after living for three years within the subtle influence of an intellect like Emerson's; after those wild, free days on the Assabeth, indulging fantastic speculations, beside our fire of fallen boughs, with Ellery Channing; after talking with Thoreau about pine-trees and Indian relics in his hermitage at Walden; after growing fastidious by sympathy with the classic refinement of Hillard's culture; after becoming imbued with poetic sentiment at Longfellow's hearthstone - it was time, at length, that I should exercise other faculties of my nature, and nourish myself with food for which I had hitherto had little appetite. Even the old Inspector was desirable, as a change of diet, to a man who had known Alcott. I looked upon it as an evidence, in some measure, of a system naturally well balanced, and lacking no essential part of a thorough organization, that, with such associates to remember, I could mingle at once with men of altogether different qualities, and never murmur at the change.

[BROOK FARM](#)[WALDO EMERSON](#)[ELLERY CHANNING](#)[LONGFELLOW](#)[BRONSON ALCOTT](#)

[INSERT COMMENTARY ABOUT DECAPITATION HERE]

This "psychological bondage" book offered its appreciative audience a heroine who learns, finally, after much anguish, that as a woman her best game plan is to accept the cards society has dealt her, suffer passively, endure numbly, and wait, wait and hope for a better day, and that anything else she might try always makes her lot less bearable. To be silent and no bother, and maintain sexual purity, that constitutes female courage. Had slaves formed a reading market in that era, the author could easily have authored a companion volume about a black man who learns, finally, after much anguish, that as a slave his best game plan is to accept the cards society has dealt him, suffer passively, endure numbly, and wait, wait and hope for a better day, and that anything else he might try always makes his lot less bearable. To be silent and no bother, and polish shoes, that constitutes slave courage. Then, of course, the author could have created a grand synthesis, in a tale of a female slave who learns, finally, that her role as female and her role as slave quite reinforce one another.... To use a 19th-Century phrase, "women and Negroes." Do you get the idea I actively dislike this romance? No, I



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

actively dislike the mentality of its author [Hawthorne](#). The best thing I have seen on this subject was written by Jean Fagan Yellin:



Where Hiram Powers had distanced an enchained white woman in space and called her a *Greek Slave*, Nathaniel Hawthorne distanced an enchained white woman in time and called her Hester Prynne.

Clearly, anyone who is bonded to (or in bondage to — it's much the same, isn't it?) such a person has a tough row to hoe (you note I cast this suggestion in the present tense — it's still the case). In particular [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#), who had witnessed slavery while living for an extended period in her youth on a sugar plantation in Cuba, had a tough attitudinal row to hoe, being married to such an author-tarian. Sophia could have hardly become an active abolitionist like her sisters Mary and [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#). Her solution? —Sophia went for denial, and refused to give credence to various unsettling reports such as that some slave women had to strip to the buff on the auction block (“which I am sure is an exaggeration for I have read of these auctions often and even the worst facts are never so bad as absolute nudity”).



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY





SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

Then she also capable of ignoring the BOOK OF JOB in her BIBLE long enough to suppose that a good and benevolent God providentially “makes up to every being the measure of happiness which he loses thro’ the instrumentality of others” — so that it really is of no consequence how we treat each other. And then she could attempt to “lose myself in other subjects of thought,” embracing a sophisticated version of the Emersonian trick of resignation. She makes herself sound like a Minnesotan!³⁵

Such were some of the people with whom I now found myself connected. I took it in good part, at the hands of Providence, that I was thrown into a position so little akin to my past habits; and set myself seriously to gather from it whatever profit was to be had. After my fellowship of toil and impracticable schemes with the dreamy brethren of [Brook Farm](#); after living for three years within the subtle influence of an intellect like [Waldo Emerson](#)’s; after those wild, free days on the Assabeth, indulging fantastic speculations, beside our fire of fallen boughs, with [Ellery Channing](#); after talking with [Henry Thoreau](#) about pine-trees and Indian relics in his hermitage at Walden; after growing fastidious by sympathy with the classic refinement of George Stillman Hillard’s culture; after becoming imbued with poetic sentiment at [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#)’s hearthstone — it was time, at length, that I should exercise other faculties of my nature, and nourish myself with food for which I had hitherto had little appetite. Even the old Inspector was desirable, as a change of diet, to a man who had known [Bronson Alcott](#). I looked upon it as an evidence, in some measure, of a system naturally well balanced, and lacking no essential part of a thorough organization, that, with such associates to remember, I could mingle at once with men of altogether different qualities, and never murmur at the change.

As of mid-century, with the publication of [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s THE SCARLET LETTER, it is clear that the

35. We may well note that although [Henry Thoreau](#) would have a copy of [Hawthorne](#)’s THE SCARLET LETTER in his personal library, he would cross out the reference to that item — indicating that the volume was no longer present (we infer that either the volume was lost, or given away).



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

figure of [Uncle Sam](#) had become a fixture of our American imagination:

THE SCARLET LETTER: In my native town of Salem, at the head of what, half a century ago, in the days of old King Derby, was a bustling wharf - but which is now burdened with decayed wooden warehouses, and exhibits few or no symptoms of commercial life; except, perhaps, a bark or brig, half-way down its melancholy length, discharging hides; or, nearer at hand, a Nova Scotia schooner, pitching out her cargo of firewood - at the head, I say, of this dilapidated wharf, which the tide often overflows, and along which, at the base and in the rear of the row of buildings, the track of many languid years is seen in a border of unthrifty grass - here, with a view from its front windows adown this not very enlivening prospect, and thence across the harbour, stands a spacious edifice of brick. From the loftiest point of its roof, during precisely three and a half hours of each forenoon, floats or droops, in breeze or calm, the banner of the republic; but with the thirteen stripes turned vertically, instead of horizontally, and thus indicating that a civil, and not a military, post of Uncle Sam's government, is here established. Its front is ornamented with a portico of half-a-dozen wooden pillars, supporting a balcony, beneath which a flight of wide granite steps descends towards the street. Over the entrance hovers an enormous specimen of the American eagle, with outspread wings, a shield before her breast, and, if I recollect aright, a bunch of intermingled thunderbolts and barbed arrows in each claw. With the customary infirmity of temper that characterizes this unhappy fowl, she appears by the fierceness of her beak and eye, and the general truculency of her attitude, to threaten mischief to the inoffensive community; and especially to warn all citizens careful of their safety against intruding on the premises which she overshadows with her wings. Nevertheless, vixenly as she looks, many people are seeking at this very moment to shelter themselves under the wing of the federal eagle; imagining, I presume, that her bosom has all the softness and snugness of an eiderdown pillow. But she has no great tenderness even in her best of moods, and, sooner or later - oftener soon than late - is apt to fling off her nestlings with a scratch of her claw, a dab of her beak, or a rankling wound from her barbed arrows.



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

1851

January 14, Tuesday: Juan Bravo Murillo replaced Ramón María Narváez Campos, duque de Valencia as Prime Minister of Spain.

Alerted to the continuing racial conflict in [California](#) between white skins and red skins, in late 1850 our federal government had sent three United States Indian Commissioners to San Francisco to evaluate the situation and recommend a corrective. The commissioners, considering that the California government was being excessively belligerent in its handling of Indian affairs, urged Governor John McDougal to resolve this problem. (On the 18th, early in the morning, a group of approximately 100 white men would form assault lines and attack a sleeping village of approximately 500 Chowchilla, Chookchancie, Nootchu, Honahchee, Potoencie, Kahwah, and Yosemite tribespeople, killing 24 and using embers from their campfires to set the shelters on fire. None of the white men were injured. When the fires spread to the forest, in the smoke the surviving red skins managed to sneak away.)

[Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) confided to her journal that “I am always so dazzled and bewildered with the richness, the depth, the ... jewels of beauty in his [[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s] productions that I am always looking forward to a second reading where I can ponder and muse and fully take in the miraculous wealth of thoughts.”

[Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), [Johannes de Laet](#)’s *NOVUS ORBIS SEU DESCRIPTIONIS INDIAE OCCIDENTALIS* (Lugd. Batav. apud Elzevirios, 1633, see following screen).

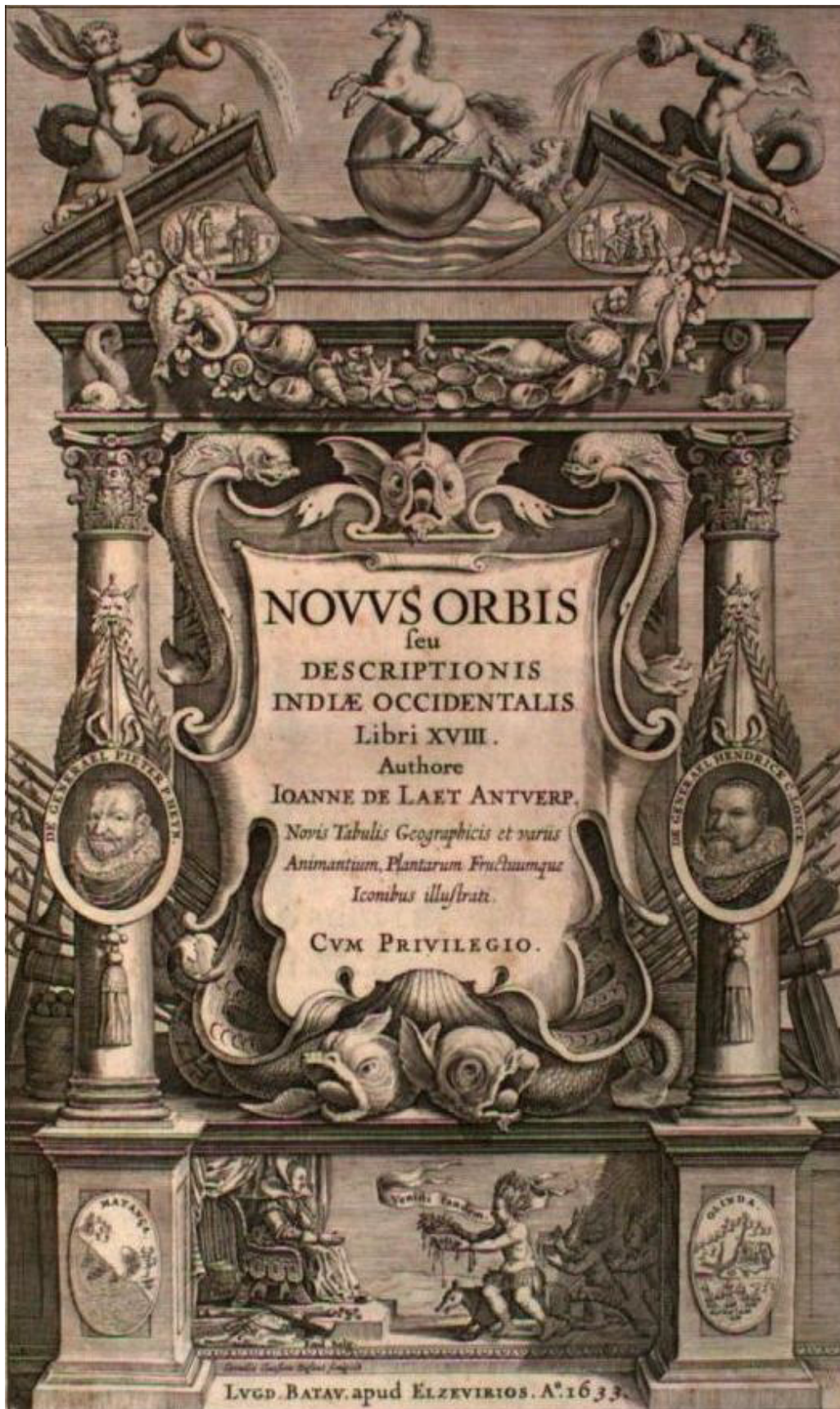


NOVIS ORBIS

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY





SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

He also checked out the 1st of the three volumes of [François André Michaux](#)'s *THE NORTH AMERICAN SYLVA, OR A DESCRIPTION OF THE FOREST TREES, OF THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, AND NOVA SCOTIA...*, 1817-18-19 (Philadelphia: J. Dobson, 1842).



From this he would extrapolate information on firewood to use in his chapter “House-Warming”:



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

WALDEN: It is remarkable what a value is still put upon wood even in this age and in this new country, a value more permanent and universal than that of gold. After all our discoveries and inventions no man will go by a pile of wood. It is as precious to us as it was to our Saxon and Norman ancestors. If they made their bows of it, we make our gun-stocks of it. Michaux, more than thirty years ago, says that the price of wood for fuel in New York and Philadelphia "nearly equals, and sometimes exceeds, that of the best wood in Paris, though this immense capital annually requires more than three hundred thousand cords, and is surrounded to the distance of three hundred miles by cultivated plains." In this town the price of wood rises almost steadily, and the only question is, how much higher it is to be this year than it was the last. Mechanics and tradesmen who come in person to the forest on no other errand, are sure to attend the wood auction, and even pay a high price for the privilege of gleaning after the wood-chopper. It is now many years that men have resorted to the forest for fuel and the materials of the arts; the New Englander and the New Hollander, the Parisian and the Celt, the farmer and Robinhood, Goody Blake and Harry Gill, in most parts of the world the prince and the peasant, the scholar and the savage, equally require still a few sticks from the forest to warm them and cook their food. Neither could I do without them.

**PEOPLE OF
WALDEN**

FRANÇOIS ANDRÉ MICHAUX



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

[Thoreau](#) also checked out [John Josselyn](#)'s *NEW-ENGLANDS RARITIES DISCOVERED: IN BIRDS, BEASTS, FISHES, SERPENTS, AND PLANTS OF THAT COUNTRY...* (1672).

New-Englands Rarities.

PEOPLE OF
A WEEK

The Figure of the Walnut.



Walnut; the Nuts differ much from ours in *Europe*, they being smooth, much like a Nutmeg in shape, and not much bigger; some three cornered, all of them but thinly replenished with Kernels.

NEW-ENGLAND'S RARITIES

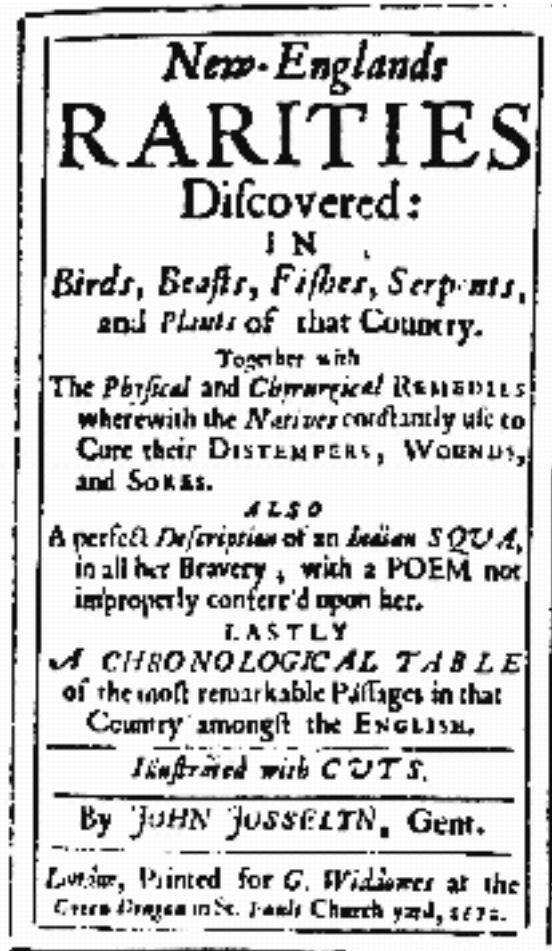
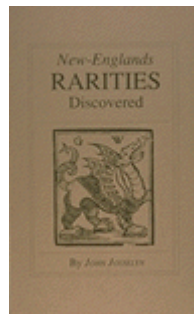
[A WEEK](#): Old Josselyn in his "New England's Rarities," published in 1672, mentions the Perch or River Partridge.

JOHN JOSSELYN

[A WEEK](#): The Pickerel, *Esox reticulatus*, the swiftest, wariest, and most ravenous of fishes, which Josselyn calls the Fresh-Water or River Wolf, is very common in the shallow and weedy lagoons along the sides of the stream. It is a solemn, stately, ruminant fish, lurking under the shadow of a pad at noon, with still, circumspect, voracious eye, motionless as a jewel set in water, or moving slowly along to take up its position, darting from time to time at such unlucky fish or frog or insect as comes within its range, and swallowing it at a gulp. I have caught one which had swallowed a brother pickerel half as large as itself, with the tail still visible in its mouth, while the head was already digested in its stomach.

JOHN JOSSELYN

PEOPLE OF
A WEEK

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE****SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY**

May 15, Thursday: Father [Isaac Hecker](#), CSSR wrote to [Orestes Augustus Brownson](#), Esq.

In approximately this timeframe, [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) and [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) were returning to [Concord](#).

[Samuel George Morton](#) died in Philadelphia.



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

May 20, Tuesday: At the “little Red House” in Lenox, Massachusetts, [Rose Hawthorne](#) was born to [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) and [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#).

At least subsequent to this period, it seems likely that Nathaniel and Sophia no longer had sexual intercourse, as Nathaniel has been characterized by one of his contemporaries as deficient “in the power or the will to show his love. He is the most undemonstrative person I ever knew, without any exception. It is quite impossible for me to imagine his bestowing the slightest caress upon Mrs. Hawthorne.” Sophia once commented about her husband that he “hates to be touched more than anyone I ever knew.” Presumably the Hawthornes gave up sexual intercourse for purposes of contraception, or perhaps because they found solitary or mutual [masturbation](#) to be more congenial, or perhaps, in Nathaniel’s case, because he preferred to have sex with prostitutes, a social practice of the times which Hawthorne referred to as “his illegitimate embraces,” rather than go to the trouble of arranging “blissful interviews” with his wife.³⁶ Hawthorne was bothered by the presence of children, and after the birth of Rose would speak bitterly of the parent’s “duty to sacrifice all the green margin of our lives to these children” towards which he never felt the slightest “natural partiality”:

[T]hey have to prove their claim to all the affection they get; and I believe I could love other people’s children better than mine, if I felt they deserved it more.



May 20, Tuesday: There is no doubt a perfect analogy between the life of the human being and that of the vegetable –both of the body & the mind.

The botanist, Gray, says–

“The organs of plants are of two sorts: –1. those of *Vegetation*, which are concerned in growth, –by which the plant takes in the aerial and earthy matters on which it lives, and elaborates them into the materials of its own organized substance; 2. those of *Fructification or Reproduction*, which are concerned in the propagation of the species.”

So is it with the human being– I am concerned first to come to my *Growth* intellectually & morally; (and physically, of course, as a means to this, for the body is the symbol of the soul) and, then to bear my *Fruit* –do my *Work* –*Propagate* my kind, not only physically but *morally* –not only in body but in mind.

“The organs of vegetation are the *Root, Stem, & Leaves*. The *Stem* is the axis and original basis of the plant.”

“The first point of the stem preexists in the embryo (i.e. in the rudimentary plantlet contained within the seed): it is here called the radicle.” Such is the rudiment of mind –already partially developed –more than a bud but pale –having never been exposed to the light –& slumbering coiled up –packed away in the seed –unfolded (consider the still pale –rudimentary infantine radicle-like thoughts of some students, which who knows what they might expand to if they should ever come to the light & air. –if they do not become rancid & perish in the seed. It is not every seed that will survive a thousand years.– Other thoughts further developed –but yet pale & languid –like shoots grown in a cellar.)

“The plant – – develops from the first in two opposite directions, viz. upwards [to expand in the light & air] to produce & continue the stem (or *ascending axis*), and downwards [avoiding the light] to form the root, (or *descending axis*. The former is ordinarily or in great part aerial, the latter subterranean.”

So the mind develops from the first in two opposite directions –upwards to expand in the light & air; & downwards avoiding the light to form the root. One half is aerial the other subterranean. The mind is not well balanced & firmly planted like the oak which has not as much root as branch –whose roots like those of the white pine are slight and near the surface. One half of the mind’s development must still be root –in the embryonic state –in the womb of nature –more unborn than at first. For each successive new idea or bud –a new rootlet in the earth. The growing man penetrates yet deeper by his roots into the womb of things. The infant is comparatively near the surface. just covered from the light– But the man sends down a tap root to the centre of things.

36. I doubt that we will ever know which of our male literary subjects of this period followed the exceedingly prevalent custom, of paying regular visits to houses of prostitution for what was commonly considered to be a needed and healthy “physical relief.” It would be a great error to suppose that these males of the pre-Victorian era were sexually “repressed” simply because they lived in a world which was divided into totally separate cultural, high-class, and carnal, low-class realms, a world in which the range of recorded discourse was entirely confined within the realm of culture and in which the range of “earthly” or “street” dialog was entirely excluded from that recorded realm.



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

The mere logician the mere reasoner who weaves his arguments as a tree its branches in the sky –not being equally developed in the roots, is overthrown by the first wind.

As with the roots of the Plant so with the roots of the Mind– The branches & branchlets of the root “are mere repetitions for the purpose of multiplying the absorbing points, which are chiefly the growing or newly formed extremities, sometimes termed *spongelets*. It bears no other organs.”

So this organ of the minds development the *Root*, bears no organs but spongelets or absorbing points

Annuals which perish root & all the first season –especially have slender & thread-like fibrous roots. But biennials are particularly characterised by distended fleshy roots containing starch –a stock for future growth –to be consumed during their second or flowering season –as carrots radishes –turnips.

Perennials frequently have many thickened roots clustered together –tuberous or palmate roots –fasciculated or clustered as in the Dahlia, Paeony &c

Roots may spring from any part of the stem under favorable circumstances “that is to say in darkness & moisture, as when covered by the soil or resting on its surface.”

I.E. the most clear & etherial ideas (Antaeus like) readily ally themselves to the earth –to the primal womb of things– They put forth roots as soon as branches they are eager to be *soiled* No thought soars so high that it sunders these apron strings of its mother. The thought that comes to light –that pierces the Empyrean on the other side is wombed & rooted in darkness –a moist & fertile darkness –its roots in Hades like the tree of life. No idea is so soaring but it will readily put forth roots –wherever there is an air & light seeking bud about to expand it may become in the earth a darkness seeking root. even swallows & birds of paradise *can* walk on the ground.

To quote the sentence from Gray –entire

“Roots not only spring from the root-end of the primary stem in germination, but also from any subsequent part of the stem under favorable circumstances, that is to say, in darkness & moisture, as when covered by the soil or resting on its surface.”

No thought but is connected as strictly as a flower, with the earth– The mind flashes not so far on one side –but its rootlets its spongelets find their way instantly on the other side into a moist darkness. uterine –a low bottom in the heavens even miasma-exhaling to such immigrants as are not acclimated. A cloud is uplifted to sustain its roots. Imbossomed in clouds as in a chariot the mind drives through the boundless fields of space.–

Even there is the dwelling of Indra.

I might have quote the following with the last –of roots

“They may even strike in the open air and light, as is seen in the copious aerial rootlets by which the Ivy, the Poison Ivy, and the Trumpet Creeper climb and adhere to the trunks of trees or other bodies; and also in Epiphytes or Air-plants, of most warm regions, which have no connection whatever with the soil, but germinate & grow high in air on the trunks or branches of trees, &.; as well as in some terrestrial plants, such as the Banian and Mangrove, that send off aerial roots from their trunks or branches, which finally reach the ground”

So if our light & air seeking tendencies extend too widely for our original root or stem we must send downward new roots to ally us to the earth.

Also there are parasitic plants which have their roots in the branches or roots of other trees as the mistletoe –the Beech drops &c There are minds which so have their roots in other minds as in the womb of nature– If indeed most are not such?!

Late October: [Ellery Channing](#) visited the Hawthornes in the “little red house” in Lenox, Massachusetts that had been their home since May 1850 and observed that wherever they moved, they found fault with the people among whom they settled (the Hawthornes were quarreling with their neighbors over rights to apples in an adjacent orchard, and three weeks after this visit they would relocate back to eastern Massachusetts.). He remarked that having written nine books had “greatly altered” [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) into something of “a lion,” although an exceedingly reclusive one. He found [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) not only to be no beauty but to be, in addition, fading at her age, and he found the two Hawthorne children, [Una Hawthorne](#) and [Julian Hawthorne](#), to be not only ill-mannered but unhandsome.



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

1852

January 8, Thursday: [Henry Thoreau](#) read from his [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) MS, Draft C, to Miss [Mary Moody Emerson](#).

TIMELINE OF WALDEN



January 8, Thursday: I notice that almost every track which I made yesterday in the snow – perhaps 10 inches deep – has got a dead leaf in it – though none is to be seen on the snow around. Even as early as 3 o'clock these winter afternoons the axes in the woods sound like night fall as if – like the sound of a twilight labor. Reading from my MSS to Miss Emerson this evening & using the word God in one instance in perchance a merely heathenish sense – she inquired hastily in a tone of dignified anxiety – “Is that god spelt with a little g?” Fortunately it was. (I had brought in the word god without any solemnity of voice or connexion.) I perceive that the livid lettuce leaved lichen which I gathered the other day – has dried almost an ash or satin with no green about has bleached.



[Herman Melville](#) wrote to [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#):

My Dear Mrs Hawthorne
I have hunted up the finest Bath I could find, gilt-edged and stamped, whereon to inscribe my humble acknowledgement of your highly flattering letter of the 29th Dec: – It really amazed me that you should find any satisfaction in that book. It is true that some men have said they were pleased with it, but you are the only woman – for as a general thing, women have small taste for the sea. But, then, since you, with your spiritualizing nature, see more things than other people, and by the same



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

process, refine all you see, so that they are not the same things that other people see, but things which while you think you but humbly discover them, you do in fact create them for yourself – Therefore, upon the whole, I do not so much marvel at your expressions concerning Moby Dick. At any rate, your allusion for example to the "Spirit Spout" first showed to me that there was a subtle significance in that thing – but I did not, in that case, mean it. I had some vague idea while writing it, that the whole book was susceptible of an allegoric construction, & also that parts of it were – but the speciality of many of the particular subordinate allegories, were first revealed to me, after reading Mr Hawthorne's letter, which, without citing any particular examples, yet intimated the part-&-parcel allegoricalness of the whole. But, My Dear Lady, I shall not again send you a bowl of salt water. The next chalice I shall commend, will be a rural bowl of milk. And now, how are you in West Newton? Are all domestic affairs regulated? Is Miss Una content? and Master Julien satisfied with the landscape in general? And does Mr Hawthorne continue his series of calls upon all his neighbors within a radius of ten miles? Shall I send him ten packs of visiting cards? And a box of kid gloves? and the latest style of Parisian handkerchief? – He goes into society too much altogether – seven evenings out, a week, should content any reasonable man. Now, Madam, had you not said anything about Moby Dick, & had Mr Hawthorne been equally silent, then had I said perhaps, something to both of you about another Wonder-(full) Book. But as it is, I must be silent. How is it, that while all of us human beings are so entirely disembarassed in censuring a person; that so soon as we would praise, then we begin to feel awkward? I never blush after denouncing a man: but I grow scarlet, after eulogizing him. And yet this is all wrong; and yet we can't help it; and so we see how true was that musical sentence of the poet when he sang – "We can't help ourselves" For tho' we know what we ought to be; & what it would be very sweet & beautiful to be; yet we can't be it. That is most sad, too. Life is a long Dardenelles, My Dear Madam, the shores whereof are bright with flowers, which we want to pluck, but the bank is too high; & so we float on & on, hoping to come to a landing-place at last – but swoop! we launch into the great sea! Yet the geographers say, even then we must not despair, because across the great sea, however desolate & vacant it may look, lie all Persia & the delicious lands roundabout Damascus. So wishing you a pleasant voyage at last to that sweet & far countree –
Beleive Me Earnestly Thine–
Herman Melville

I forgot to say, that your letter was sent to me from Pittsfield – which delayed it. My sister Augusta begs me to send her sincerest regards both to you & Mr Hawthorne.



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

1861

[Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) presented an image of herself to her friend Dora Golden, even though she termed this image “frightful,” along with images of her husband, and of their three children. This is one of the very few photographs which is extant — for on one occasion she turned her face away as a photograph was being taken, on another occasion the camera was much too far away to record facial detail, and in one group photograph she carefully scratched out her face.

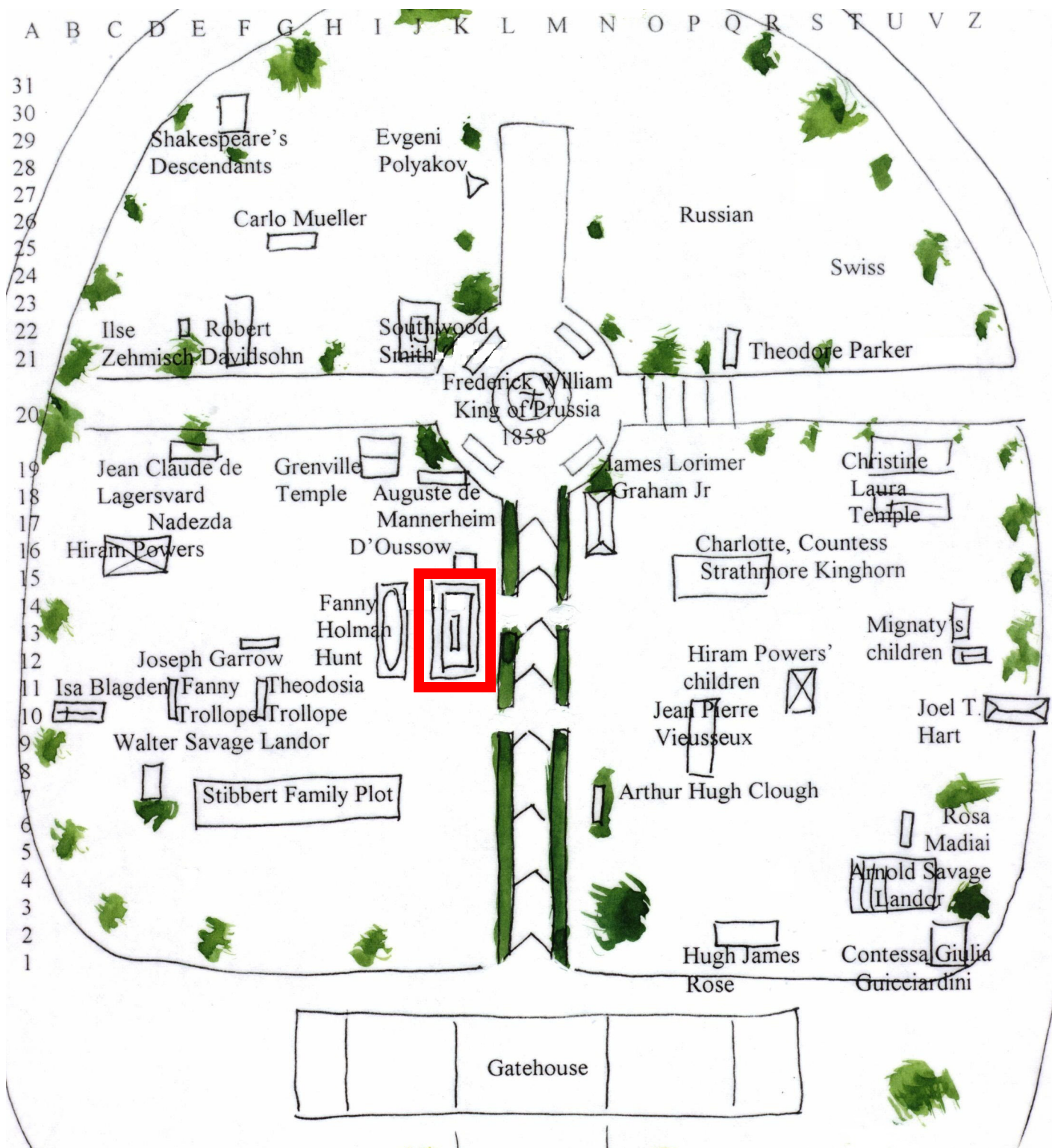
June 29, Saturday: Elizabeth Barrett Browning died in Florence, Italy, possibly of an overdose administered by her husband Robert Browning. She would be interred in the Protestant Cemetery there and, since she had always lied to him about her age, the date of birth he would provide for her obituary would be incorrect. Recently an editor of Elizabeth Barrett Browning and curator of the “English Cemetery,” Julia Bolton Holloway <juliana@TIN.IT>, has been musing about the circumstances of this death, based upon a reading of one of Robert’s poems, a poem which she has come to regard as essentially a description of his relationship with his wife: that Robert was a resentful kept man living off Elizabeth’s ship money and poetry earnings while himself being, apart from his MEN AND WOMEN, not particularly creative. “The sadness in reading the materials toward the end of the Brownings’ marriage is that Robert’s desire to control Elizabeth, to disagree with her, caused her to fight back for her identity with what little energy she then had. [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) particularly captures this in her account of meeting with them. There are ugly rumours in Florence that finally Robert overdosed EBB. If so his sentimental account of her dying, for which Robert is the only witness to the English-speaking world, Lily having been dismissed from her post, might need to be taken with a grain of salt.”



June 29: 10 a.m., at Carp River... Pass Manitou Islands on left in forenoon & op Fox Island run into Carp River. Leave there at noon & steam n & w to Beaver (or Mormon Islands) with its first hut & Mormon homes. Leave there at eve & reach [Mackinaw](#) 2 a.m., 30th.

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY





SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

1862

January 1, Wednesday, Election Day: [Waldo Emerson](#) lectured on war at [Concord](#). [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) was in the audience and unsympathetically reported a “Furious wind.”



In Boston on this Election Day the Reverend [William Rounseville Alger](#) had the honor of delivering the day’s official sermon and chose the topic “Public morals, or, The true glory of a state.” (This would be printed in this year by the firm of W. White, printer to the state, as PUBLIC MORALS, OR, THE TRUE GLORY OF A STATE. A DISCOURSE DELIVERED BEFORE THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS, AT THE ANNUAL ELECTION, WEDNESDAY, JAN. 1, 1862. BY REV. WILLIAM ROUNSEVILLE ALGER.)

Bronson Alcott wrote about [Henry Thoreau](#) in his journal (JOURNALS. Boston MA: Little, Brown, 1938, page 343):

To Thoreau, and spend the evening, sat to find him failing and feeble. He is talkative, however; is interested in books and men, in our civil troubles especially, and speaks impatiently of what he calls the temporizing policy of our rulers; blames the people too for their indifference to the true issues of national honor and justice. Even Seward’s letter to Earl Grey respecting Mason’s and Liddell’s case, comforting as it is to the country and serving as a foil to any hostile designs of England for the time at least, excites his displeasure as seeming to be humiliating to us, and dishonorable. We talk of [Pliny](#), whose books he is reading with delight. Also of Evelyn and the rural authors. If not a writer of verse, Thoreau is a poet in spirit, and has come as near to the writing of pastorals as any poet of his time. Were his days not numbered, and his adventures in the wild world once off his hands, then he might come to orchards and gardens, perhaps treat these in manner as masterly, uniting the spirit of naturalist and poet in his page. But the most he may hope for is to prepare his manuscripts for others’ editing, and take his leave of them and us. I fear he has not many months to abide here, and the spring’s summons must come for him soon to partake of “Syrian peace,

PLINY



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

immortal leisure."

Edward P. Brownson and Elizabeth Brownson wrote to James M. Stone suggesting a lecture date.³⁷

George Barrell Cheever (1807-1890) wrote from New-York to _____, expressing a desire to arrange a lecture in Boston.

William Lloyd Garrison wrote from Boston to Charles Wesley Slack, agreeing to speak on the subject suggested.

James Henry Lane (1814-1866) sent a telegram from Washington DC to James M. Stone, declining invitation to speak in Boston.

James Henry Lane (1814-1866) wrote from Washington DC to James M. Stone, giving details of why he would be unable to speak in Boston as requested.

Benjamin Franklin Wade (1800-1878) wrote from Washington DC to James M. Stone, informing that he would be unable to lecture to the Emancipation League.

May 6, Tuesday: [Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#) had been helping her brother revise his [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#). In the early morning, about eight o'clock, she was completing the reading of the manuscript to Henry. When she read the sentence

[A WEEK](#): We glided past the mouth of the Nashua, and not long after, of Salmon Brook, without more pause than the wind.

37. Stimpert, James. A GUIDE TO THE CORRESPONDENCE IN THE CHARLES WESLEY SLACK MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION: 1848-1885. Kent State University, Library, Special Collections



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

he commented

TB

Now comes good sailing.



Something about the manner in which [Henry David Thoreau](#) died indicates to me that his attitude toward eternity was what he was keeping before him at the end. It is, Thoreau noted in [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#), through silence that all revelations have been made. And, in a letter to Isaiah T. Williams on October 8, 1841, he suggested that to stop up our ears against the “immediate” voice of God and prefer to know him by report is “the only sin.” Since the Indian, for Thoreau, is the type case of the human being who understands how to live spontaneously, without mediation, in the presented eternal instant,

THE MAINE WOODS: He does not carry things in his head, nor remember the route exactly, like a white man, but relies on himself at the moment.



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

and since the Indian, like the moose and other animals, relies upon all his senses and “does not give a distinct, conscious attention to any one” and since the Indian finds his way in the wilderness “very much as an animal does,” when those attending Thoreau at the end detected him breathing the identifiable words

moose

and

Indian

then something occurs to me. It has done us no detectable harm to speculate about this thing that we cannot know, speculate for instance that what Thoreau was attempting to do was, in delirium, continue the job he had assumed of editing his manuscripts so as to be able to leave a greater estate for his survivors, but it would also do us no harm, I offer, to hypothecate that Thoreau was in uttering these words emphasizing to himself this similarity between animals and Indians in regard to immediacy and in regard to spontaneity, which he had so often urged us all to emulate, and which he had so often urged upon himself. It seems to me, at the very least, that this is the sort of appropriate thing of which one might need to remind oneself, as one is enduring the difficulties of lying somewhere dying.

We might be able to offer of [Henry David Thoreau](#)’s death in 1862 at the age of 44 what [John Dryden](#) wrote about the death on November 21, 1695 of Henry Purcell at the age of 36: “He long ere this had tuned the jarring spheres and left no hell below.”

On the day of [Henry](#)’s death, [Waldo Emerson](#) was visiting Bronson Alcott (Waldo seems to have fancifully associated the timing of his death with the breaking up of the ice on Walden Pond).



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

Hearing of Thoreau's death, Mrs. Sarah Alden Bradford Ripley would write her daughter Sophia Bradford Thayer:

This fine morning is sad for those of us who sympathise with the friends of Henry Thoreau the phylosopher and the woodman. He had his reason to the last and talked with his friends pleasantly and arranged his affairs; and at last passed in quiet sleep from this state of duty and responsibility to that which is behind the veil. His funeral service is to be at the church, and Mr. Emerson is to make an address. I hope Uncle George will get home in season to be there, he will regret it so if he does not.

Joan W. Goodwin, in *THE REMARKABLE MRS. RIPLEY: THE LIFE OF SARAH ALDEN BRADFORD RIPLEY* (Boston: Northeastern UP, 1998), supplements that letter as follows:³⁸

By May he was gone.... She hoped her brother [George P. Bradford] would get to Concord in time for the funeral, knowing "he will regret it so much if he does not," having been a close walking and botanizing companion of Thoreau's over the years.

[Waldo Emerson](#) wrote immediately to H.G.O. Blake ("My Dear Blake") informing him of Thoreau's death and of arrangements for the pending funeral. (This letter has recently been recovered from between the pages of Herbert W. Gleason's *THROUGH THE YEAR WITH THOREAU*, a volume which has been published in 1917.)

The widowed [Mrs. Mary Peabody Mann](#) would write to [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#):

I was made very happy to-day by seeing Miss Thoreau, whose brother died such a happy, peaceful death,—leaving them all so fully possessed of his faith in the Immortal Life that they seem almost to have entered it with him. They said they never could

38. To give this statement about trusting to one's life according to the natural laws some context, let us consider the manner in which the people of that era had accepted the normalness of the wasting fever which preceded deaths due to "consumption" or "phthisis," in an era in which there was no hint of any effective treatment. I will quote from a report which appeared in an 1894 medical journal, as this report was seconded in the [Scientific American](#) magazine of the period:

The [Medical Record](#) tells of a woman in Ohio who utilized the high temperature of her phthysical husband for eight weeks before his death, by using him as an incubator for hens' eggs. She took 50 eggs, and wrapping each one in cotton batting, laid them alongside the body of her husband in the bed, he being unable to resist or move a limb. After three weeks she was rewarded with forty-six lively young chickens.

One may fantasize the wisecracks a Thoreau would have been able to summon, had his sister and mother needed to use his hot, thinning body to hatch chicks during this April/May period. His would surely have been as excellent as the Vonnegut jests!



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

be sad in his presence for a moment; he had been the happiest person they had ever known, all through his life, and was just as happy in the presence of death. This is the more remarkable as he was still in the prime of life, with a vivid sense of its enjoyments. But he was nearer to the heart of Nature than most men. Sophia said to-day that he once told her when looking at a pressed flower that he had walked 10,000 miles to verify the day on which that flower bloomed. It grew four miles from his home, and he walked there every day in the season of it for many years.... He seemed to walk straight into Heaven. It is animating and inspiring to see a great or a good man take that last step with his thoughts about him, and intent upon the two worlds whose connection he sees with the clairvoyance that death gives. I know it well, and I could fully sympathize in her sense of her brother's continued presence. Death is not the word to use for such a transit,—but more life,—for which we as yet have no word.



Sophia Peabody Hawthorne would write to Mr. and Mrs. James Thomas Fields:

On Friday ... Mr. Thoreau's funeral is to take place. He was Concord itself in one man — and his death makes a very large vacuum. I ought to be at his funeral for the sake of strewing [sic] my deep respect and value for him to others, though I could much better mourn him at home.... I suppose he believed that beasts and reptiles, birds and fishes fulfilled their ends, and that man generally came short. So he respected the one and avoided the other. His Alpine purity, his diamond truth, his stainless sincerity, his closeness to nature and faithful rendering — these are immortal beauties in him. He has now stepped out of his French body — and his soul has taken up its fitting celestial manifestation. And he has doubtless found the Victoria Regia, which would not grow wild in Concord, even though it were the birthplace of Henry Thoreau! and though he declared he should one day find it here.



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

1863

Winter: In old age and illness [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) was having his usual fantasies about being consigned to the “Castle Dismal” of Concord, its almshouse,³⁹ and having to die there alone, when he scheduled a final trip with his buddy Franklin Peirce. His 12-year-old daughter, [Rose Hawthorne](#), spoke of her father’s “military self-command” as her mother walked with him, sobbing, to the carriage upon his departure from the home. Hawthorne simply preferred that his last days be spent apart from his wife and children: “My father certainly knew, what she [[Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#)] vaguely felt, that he would never return.”

39. “the alms-house — which, here in Concord, is a most gloomy old mansion.”



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

1864

May 24, Tuesday: People were continuing to kill each other at North Anna / Jericho Mill / Hanover Junction.
In addition, on this day, people were killing each other at Wilson's Wharf / Fort Pocahontas.

In [Concord](#) on this day, however, people were burying each other. [Waldo Emerson](#) recorded in his journal that:

Yesterday, May 23, we buried Hawthorne in Sleepy Hollow, in a pomp of sunshine and verdure, and gentle winds. James Freeman Clarke read the service in the church and at the grave. Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Agassiz, Hoar, Dwight, Whipple, Norton, Alcott, Hillard, Fields, Judge Thomas, and I attended the hearse as pallbearers. Franklin Pierce was with the family. The church was copiously decorated with white flowers delicately arranged. The corpse was unwillingly shown, – only a few moments to this company of his friends. But it was noble and serene in its aspect, – nothing amiss, – a calm and powerful head. A large company filled the church and the grounds of the cemetery. All was so bright and quiet that pain or mourning was hardly suggested, and Holmes said to me that it looked like a happy meeting.

Clarke in the church said that Hawthorne had done more justice than any other to the shades of life, shown a sympathy with the crime in our nature, and, like Jesus, was the friend of sinners.

I thought there was a tragic element in the event, that might be more fully rendered, – in the painful solitude of the man, which, I suppose, could not longer be endured, and he died of it.

I have found in his death a surprise and a disappointment. I thought him a greater man than any of his works betray, that there was still a great deal of work in him, and that he might one day show a purer power. Moreover, I have felt sure of him in his neighbourhood, and in his necessities of sympathy and intelligence, – that I could well wait his time, – his unwillingness and caprice, – and might one day conquer a friendship. It would have been a happiness, doubtless to both of us, to have come into habits of unreserved intercourse. It was easy to talk with him, – there were no barriers, – only, he said so little, that I talked too much, and stopped only because, as he gave no indications, I feared to exceed. He showed no egotism or self-assertion, rather a humility, and, at one time, a fear that he had written himself out. One day, when I found him on top of his hill, in the woods, he paced back the path to his house, and said, "This path is the only remembrance of me that will remain." Now it appears that I waited too long. Lately he had removed himself the more by the indignation his perverse politics and unfortunate friendship for that paltry Franklin Pierce awakened, though it rather moved pity for Hawthorne, and the assured belief that he would outlive it, and come right at last.

HAWTHORNE

LONGFELLOW

J.R. LOWELL

PROF. AGASSIZ

JUDGE E.R. HOAR

J.S. DWIGHT

C.K. WHIPPLE

C.E. NORTON

BRONSON ALCOTT

HILLARD

JAMES T. FIELDS

JUDGE THOMAS

FRANKLIN PIERCE



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

“[The Wayside](#)” would be occupied by the widowed Mrs. [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#), with her two daughters [Una Hawthorne](#) and [Rose Hawthorne](#) and her son [Julian Hawthorne](#), until, while again living in Europe, in October 1868 they would vend the place to George and Abby Gray.

OLD HOUSES

HAWTHORNE

MAY 23, 1864

How beautiful it was, that one bright day
In the long week of rain!
Though all its splendor could not chase away
The omnipresent pain.
The lovely town was white with apple-blooms,
And the great elms o'erhead
Dark shadows wove on their aerial looms
Shot through with golden thread.
Across the meadows, by the gray old manse,
The historic river flowed:
I was as one who wanders in a trance,
Unconscious of his road.
The faces of familiar friends seemed strange;
Their voices I could hear,
And yet the words they uttered seemed to change
Their meaning to my ear.
For the one face I looked for was not there,
The one low voice was mute;
Only an unseen presence filled the air,
And baffled my pursuit.
Now I look back, and meadow, manse, and stream
Dimly my thought defines;
I only see — a dream within a dream —
The hill-top hearsed with pines.
I only hear above his place of rest
Their tender undertone,
The infinite longings of a troubled breast,
The voice so like his own.
There in seclusion and remote from men
The wizard hand lies cold,
Which at its topmost speed let fall the pen,
And left the tale half told.
Ah! who shall lift that wand of magic power,
And the lost clew regain?
The unfinished window in Aladdin's tower
Unfinished must remain!



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

Volume I of [Lev Nikolævich Tolstòy](#)'s *VOYNA I MIR* (WAR AND PEACE), which would be completed in 1869.

Friend Pam Rider has made some comments about her continuing fascination with the novel WAR AND PEACE which have caused me to go back to that literary production for a fresh look. Very typically, Tolstòy's life is said to have started anew after what is termed his "Arzamas terror," in 1869 shortly after he had completed that massive novel *VOYNA I MIR*. This accounts for the more than a decade of what was for him relative silence, before he released in 1883 his *V CHEM MOIA VERA?*, or WHAT I BELIEVE. But was this a shift in essence, or was it a mere shift in tactics of presentation, from a masked didacticism to an in-your-face sermonizing?

I now understand what Christ meant when he said, "You were told an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth; and I tell you, Do not resist evil, and endure it. Use no violence, do not take part in violence, do no evil to anyone, even to those whom you call your enemies."



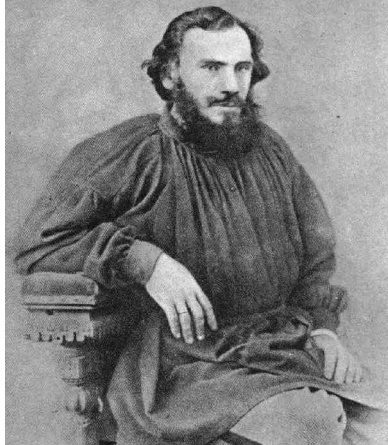
I now understand not only that in the proposition about nonresistance to evil Christ was telling what would immediately result for each man from nonresistance to evil, but that ... it was to be the foundation of the joint life of man and was to



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

free humanity from the evil which it inflicted upon itself.



This is not *utterly* different from what has gone before. For instance, in [Tolstòy](#)'s 1847 diary he is already struggling, in an admittedly inchoate manner, with the general idea of becoming a more perfect human being by the possession of a useful mission:

I would be the most unhappy of men if I did not find a goal for my life, a common and useful one, useful because the immortal soul, once it has developed, naturally turns into a being which is higher and corresponds to it.

We may note that in WAR AND PEACE, the summons to resist not evil is already making its appearance. When Prince Andrei lies mortally wounded after the battle of Borodino, he perceives what his error has been:

Sympathy, love for our brothers, for those who love us, love for those who hate us, love for our enemies; yes, the love that God preached upon earth, that Marie sought to teach me, and I did not understand....

It is the simple faith of the character Platon Karataev, his acceptance of everything that happens as somehow part of God's universe, which effects a transformation in the character Pierre Bezukhov, who winds up explaining to himself that "If there were no suffering man would not know his limitations, not know himself." Platon faces a French firing squad unresistingly, acceptingly, in a manner foreshadowing the Tolstòy of the later philosophizing about the redemptive power of Christian nonresistance.

It was in 1886 that [Tolstòy](#) began to study the literary remainders of [William Lloyd Garrison](#) and the [Reverend Adin Ballou](#) of Massachusetts, which eventually resulted in 1893 in his *TSARSTVO BOZHIE VNUTRI VAS* (THE KINGDOM OF GOD IS WITHIN YOU).

The activity of Garrison the father ... convinced me even more than my relations with the Quakers, that the departure of state Christianity from Christ's law about nonresistance to evil is something that has been observed and pointed out long ago, and



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

that men have ceaseingly worked to arraign it.



It was also in this year that the Reverend Ballou began his reciprocal study of the Russian's thought (this Universalist minister and Hopedale commune leader would not die until 1890). The material which had come to his attention at this point was the 1883 WHAT I BELIEVE, in English translation. However, he had "mellowed" in his approach over the years, and no longer thought of his earlier ideas as categorically correct in all applications, no longer thought of rigid non-resistance as the spell which would dissolve all the world's evil. Specifically what happened was that Wendell Phillips Garrison, Garrison's son, had read an 1885 English translation ON RELIGION, and sent the author of it a precis of his father's similar attitudes (his father had died in 1879). Tolstoy was especially intrigued by the text of the 1838 DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS of the New England Non-Resistance Society. (The dates on the relevant still-extant letters of this period are March-April 15, 1886, May 5, 1886, May-December? 1886, November 10, 1888, November 12, 1888, October 12, 1889, January 1890?, July 28, 1890, August 22, 1890, September 17, 1890, October 15?, 1890, January 22/23, 1892, February 12, 1892, February 16, 1892, February 19, 1892, April 1, 1892, April 5, 1892, May 20, 1892, June 3, 1892.) As they were prepared, the son shipped out to Tolstoy the first two of the volumes he wrote about his father's life, and so over the 1886-1889 period Tolstoy was studying this American pre-Civil War philosophy.

The context of this was a struggle within the American Peace Society, founded in 1828, which had resulted in 1838 in the establishment of the New England Non-Resistance Society. One of the incidents which had hastened and illustrated this difference in philosophy had been the death in 1837 of the abolitionist printer Elijah Lovejoy, failed Quaker, gun in hand, attempting to defend his printing press against a pro-slavery Illinois mob. The American Peace Society had embraced the idea of the defensive war, the licit use of force to protect persons and property. The new society was to adhere firmly to the Peace Testimony and reject all coercion as illicit.

We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government, because we recognize but one King and Lawgiver, one Judge and Ruler of mankind. We are bound by the laws of a kingdom which is not of this world; the subjects of which are forbidden to fight; in which Mercy and Truth are met together, and Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other; ... and which is destined to break in pieces and consume all other kingdoms.



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

In June 1889 a neighbor of the Reverend Ballou, the Reverend Lewis G. Wilson, forwarded to [Tolstòy](#) a photograph of Ballou along with copies of his works NON-RESISTANCE IN RELATION TO HUMAN GOVERNMENTS (Boston MA: Non-Resistance Society, 1839), CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE, IN ALL ITS IMPORTANT BEARINGS, ILLUSTRATED AND DEFENDED (Philadelphia PA: J.M. M'Kim, 1846), and Volume I of

NON-RESISTANCE TO EVIL

the three volumes of PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY AND ITS CORRUPTIONS (Boston MA: Universalist Publishing House, 1870-1900). [Wilson did not send PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM (NY: Fowlers and Wells, 1854).] Tolstòy was actually more impressed by Ballou, who at this point was dying, than Ballou had been earlier by him.

Tell him, please, that his efforts have not been in vain. ... I cannot agree with the concessions that he makes for employing violence against drunkards and insane people. ... Please tell him that I deeply respect and love him, and that his work did great good to my soul.

(The dates of the correspondences are June 22, 1889, June 23, 1889, August 1889, November 1, 1889, January 14, 1890, February 21-24, 1890, March 30?, 1890, June 30, 1890.)

In November 1890 [Tolstòy](#) wrote of his bewilderment to a Russian friend:

How could these ideas, the most important for humanity, ... how could such thoughts, so strongly expressed, printed, published, be so silenced that neither the son of Garrison, whom I asked, nor all those Americans I saw (ten persons, and all religious people) had ever heard anything about this and do not know the name of Ballou?

In 1890 [Tolstòy](#) received the last two volumes of the son Wendell Phillips Garrison's study of his father [William Lloyd Garrison](#)'s life and beliefs. It was as a result of his efforts to translate the DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS into Russian, along with one of the shorter works of the Universalist Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) of the commune [Hopedale](#) (established in 1841 near Worcester, Massachusetts), that Tolstòy began work on what eventually would become THE KINGDOM OF GOD. Tolstòy, and his daughter Tatyana, began to correspond also with Wendell Phillips Garrison's brother Francis Garrison.



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

It has been pointed out, however, that this is glossing over important differences between Garrison and Tolstoy. Garrison had been a triumphalist, that is to say, he had had the idea that if only a sufficient number of persons were to be induced to experience their inner moral revolutions, there would actually result a perfect society governed forever by the laws of Christ's kingdom. Tolstoy, quite on the other hand, was a rationalist believer in *razumnoe sozhanie* with a quietist bent, who repudiated such triumphalist fantasizing. Garrison thought political action was the solution, Tolstoy thought it was the problem. Had Tolstoy inspected the life of Garrison with greater care, he would have detected disturbing compromises with violence – which the filial son had quite glossed over. I am not myself, for instance, convinced that Garrison was innocent of all knowledge of the raid being planned in Boston, on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia in 1859, before this raid took place, while the Sharps carbines to be used in the raid itself and the pikes to be used then by the revolting slaves were still being manufactured. Garrison would even tolerate a military encampment to be named in his honor, during our civil war. The idea of American nonviolence had become “We have to kill these people in order that the world will become safe for our nonviolence.” [Tolstoy](#), when he came to see the reign of terror which resulted in the American South under Reconstruction, with its Christian white knights of the Ku Klux Klan, would need to call upon Americans to return to their own abandoned principle of nonviolence. It was the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), not [Garrison](#), who had remained true to the principles the New England Non-Resistance Society had enunciated in 1838.

[Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) edited [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s notebooks for a series of articles in [The Atlantic Monthly](#); they would in 1868 be collected under the title [PASSAGES FROM THE AMERICAN NOTEBOOKS](#).



When Andrew Dickson White visited [Tolstoy](#) at Yasnaya Polyana shortly after publication of *THE KINGDOM OF GOD*, they discussed American literature and Tolstoy exhibited a familiarity with [Emerson](#), [Hawthorne](#), [Whittier](#), and the Reverend Theodore Parker. So White asked Tolstoy who he regarded as the foremost of American authors. The response White received astounded him:

That greatest of all American writers was – Adin Ballou! Evidently, some of the philanthropic writings of the excellent Massachusetts country clergyman and religious communist had pleased him, and hence came the answer.



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

Although it is most common in the circles in which I travel to see Tolstoy quoted as having confessed that he had been influenced by the “Civil Disobedience” of [Henry Thoreau](#), along with the Reverend [Martin Luther King, Jr.](#) and [Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi](#), I have been quite unable to discover any hard evidence in support of such a self-characterization. I have formed a hypothesis that Tolstoy was instead influenced by this less known nonresistant reverend who had founded a commune within walking distance of Concord and knew Thoreau, and of course by the organizer Garrison, and that Tolstoy had merely substituted the known name Thoreau for such names while discoursing with one or another of his American visitors.





SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

We should study the similarities between Ludwig Wittgenstein and [Thoreau](#). In regard primarily to their handling of time and eternity, but also in regard to Thoreau being a type of Wittgenstein's happy man in agreement with the world. May I ask you a question? Here we have Wittgenstein going around urging people to read [Lev Nikolævich Tolstôy](#), in fact buying them copies of his stories, and before that we had Tolstôy going around urging people to read Thoreau. Here we have Wittgenstein, Tolstôy, and Thoreau all three vastly and obviously influenced by Matthew's version of the sermon on the mount. Here we have Wittgenstein going off and doing a Thoreau thing in a cabin he builds on a fjord. As a topping on this banana split, we have an enormous amount of biography and influence study by people who do know a whole lot about English philosophers and a whole lot about Continental philosophers but who understand absolutely nothing whatever about Thoreau, people who still in fact buy into the old thing about Thoreau being merely an imitation or low-rent [Emerson](#). Maybe a literary figure, maybe not, but certainly not a philosopher, why he never expressed an opinion about the existence of other minds! To name names, tentatively, subject to correction, I put McGuinness, with whom I have corresponded, and Anscombe, with whom I have talked, into that category. Can we be quite sure that Tolstôy/Thoreau/Wittgenstein derived essentially independent influences direct from the words in Matthew? Is there not a possibility that Wittgenstein was reading Thoreau on the fjord before the war, and was thus prepared to find the gospels in that bookshop in Silesia, but that none of his intellectual biographers have had the background to pick this out of the original materials which they have consulted, primary materials which are of course never seen by you and me? I am having difficulty imagining how otherwise to account for the fact that, of all the figures in Western philosophy down the ages, it is Thoreau in the 19th Century and Wittgenstein in the 20th Century who have alone elaborated virtually identical attitudes toward the relation between time and eternity — toward what I would myself describe as "the gift-givenness of the present presented."



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

1868

[Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#)'s articles in [The Atlantic Monthly](#) edited from her deceased husband [Nathaniel](#)'s notebooks were republished in Boston by Ticknor and Fields as 2 octavo volumes in blind-stamped green cloth with gilt-decorated spines, bearing bookplates designed by Rockwell Kent in each volume, under the title PASSAGES FROM THE AMERICAN NOTEBOOKS. This is nowhere near what had appeared in serial form in the magazine: she cut some 15,000 words from the original 75,000-word version while adding nearly 65,000 words out of her husband's notebooks. Moving to [London](#), she would support herself by publishing in 1870 her own travel writings, NOTES IN ENGLAND AND ITALY.





SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

1870

“[The Wayside](#)” would be being owned by Abby Gray, and Mr. and Mrs. George Gray, with a son and a daughter,⁴⁰ would for a couple of years be residing in the house, until in 1872 they would rent to Miss Mary C. Pratt so that she could there begin a boarding school.

OLD HOUSES

[Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) published her travel writings as NOTES IN ENGLAND AND ITALY. She was occupying her last years in transcribing more of her deceased husband [Nathaniel](#)’s journals, which would be published in 1878, seven years after her death, as PASSAGES FROM THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN NOTEBOOKS OF [NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE](#).



40. In memory of [Hawthorne](#), Mrs. Abby Gray’s son George Arthur painted murals on the ceiling of the Tower Study.



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

1871

February 26, Sunday: [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) died. ([Rose Hawthorne](#) was at this time taking art classes at the Kennington Art School. [Julian Hawthorne](#) would begin to attempt to make it across the ocean to be with his sisters Rose Hawthorne and Una Hawthorne in this period of grief at the loss of their parent. George Parsons Lathrop, who wanted to become a writer, would spring to the aid of the famous sisters. When George and Rose would announce an intention to marry, Julian and Aunt Elizabeth Peabody would object on the ground that at the age of 20, George was still immature, and that such a decision should not be made while Una was grieving her loss.)

A preliminary peace agreement was signed at Versailles by representatives of France and [Germany](#).

At the home of Sir Julius Benedict, Charles Gounod met the violinist Mrs. Georgina Weldon for the 1st time.



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

1878

Seven years after her death, [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#)'s transcriptions from the journals of her deceased husband appeared as *PASSAGES FROM THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN NOTEBOOKS OF* [NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE](#).





SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

1884

[Julian Hawthorne's](#) [NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE](#) AND HIS WIFE. This is the book in which Julian alleged that as of December 1852 “Thoreau’s hut was still standing on a level, pine-circled spot, near the margin” (actually, Thoreau’s shanty had been for some period of years on the opposite side of town from Walden Pond — and this provides you a clue as to how seriously you ought to receive anything this lad has to offer).



An etching purporting to represent [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) at the age of 36 was prepared by S.A. Schoff, evidently on the basis of a Daguerreotype, to be presented opposite page 242 in Volume 1 of the above. The text description to accompany this illustration was given as “Sophia contemplates the viewer with her large, placid eyes. She is quite plain even in this portrait. Her nose and philtrum are a little too large and she looks as if she might need glasses. Her hair and dress are not at all fashionable; she wears no jewellery (is that a locket or a high collar?). Even though she is a dentist’s daughter, we cannot see her teeth. She will be the perfect wife for Nathaniel.”

James D. Hurd became a partner in [Houghton, Mifflin, and Co.](#)

[Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#)’s MARGARET FULLER OSSOLI, in [Houghton, Mifflin](#)’s American Men of Letters series, made Margaret into an honorary guy.

When presidential candidate Grover Cleveland was attacked for immorality, the [Reverend Higginson](#) sprang to his defense.



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

1887

February 11, Friday: [Mary Tyler Peabody Mann](#) died.

HDT

WHAT?

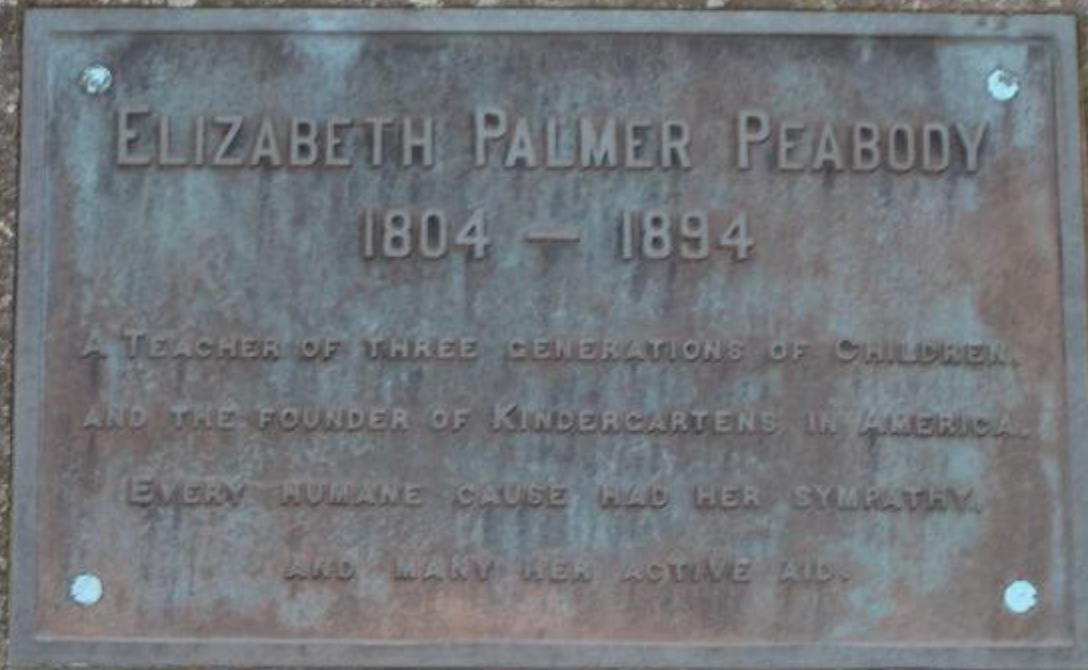
INDEX

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

1894

January 3: [Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#) died at the Gordon hotel in [Boston](#).





SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

1950

Louise Hall Tharp's THE PEABODY SISTERS OF SALEM (Boston: Little, Brown).

ELIZABETH PALMER PEABODY

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

MARY TYLER PEABODY



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

1976



Moller, Mary Elkins. "Thoreau, Womankind, and Sexuality." ESQ 22 (1976): 123-48

HOMOSEXUALITY



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

FIRST REVIEW: In this article Moller analyzes [Henry Thoreau's](#) attitudes toward women and his own sexuality. She identifies two popular opinions regarding this subject: that Thoreau was "a woman-hater, and that his feeling about sex was consistently negative." Moller, however, recognizes a "functional distinction" between Thoreau's view of women in general and his view of sexuality and proceeds to prove the "striking contradictions" – the "frequent ambivalence" – existing between them.

Thoreau's relationships with the members of his own family, reveal that "there is little in what is known ... which would have disposed him to serious or chronic misogyny." He had a good relationship with his active mother [[Cynthia Dunbar Thoreau](#)], a close relationship with his older sister [Helen Louisa Thoreau](#), and after Helen's death, an increasingly strong relationship with his other sister [Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#). And although the death of his brother [John Thoreau, Jr.](#) made the family "quite lopsidedly female," Thoreau's "escapes" into the countryside are balanced by his desired returns to the [Concord](#) home.

During the years 1837-1842, his "impressionable years," several women evoked Thoreau's response. Among these is [Margaret Fuller](#), the intelligent, strong-willed editor of [THE DIAL](#), with whom he maintained a constant though never intimate friendship. In contrast to his admiration of Margaret, Thoreau revealed his impatience with the lecturer Mrs. Elizabeth Oakes Smith, whose "flirtatiousness or frivolity" annoyed him. Thoreau included several "exasperated outbursts" in his JOURNAL as he reacted against the stereotypical "ideal woman": the woman whose priority was "to be as pretty and charming as possible, and as pliant, and helpless as necessary, in order to attract the admiration of men." While he condemned women's "slavery" to fashion and to the idea of marriage, he praised [Waldo Emerson's](#) aunt, [Mary Moody Emerson](#), for her wisdom and clear thinking. Thoreau also maintained positive relationships with other women in the Concord community, women such as Emerson's daughters [[Ellen Emerson](#) and [Edith Emerson](#)], [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#), Mrs. Mary Peabody Mann, etc.

However, there were four women to whom Thoreau was attracted romantically during 1837-1845. The first was [Mrs. Lucy Jackson Brown](#), Mrs. [Lidian Emerson's](#) elder sister. Although she was twenty years older than he, Thoreau revealed a "half younger-brotherly and half lover-like" affection for her. It was Ellen Devereux Sewall, however, to whom Thoreau eventually proposed. During a visit with her grandmother then living with the Thoreaus, Ellen sparked the interest of both John and Henry. Later, after John had proposed to Ellen, been initially accepted then rejected, Henry asked for her hand in marriage but was also refused. This was Thoreau's "closest brush with matrimony." His third romantic encounter was with Mary Ellen Russell, a young friend of the Emersons who sometimes acted as the children's governess. While both she and Thoreau were living in the Emerson home, they developed a strong mutual attraction.

But it was Mrs. [Lidian Emerson](#) for whom Thoreau probably maintained the longest sustained admiration and attraction. Getting to know Lydia during his residences in the Emerson home, Thoreau wrote letters to her that were often intimate in tone, although there is no evidence "that any physical intimacy ever took place." Thoreau realized Lidian was "ultimately inaccessible" and eventually decided he would never



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

marry. This decision did not seem to be based solely on the fact that he could not marry the woman he loved or on some critics' assumption that he was not capable of propagation. Indeed, Thoreau appeared to be "an extraordinarily sensuous man" who had "by no means lost all interest in sexual love."

His view of love and marriage, however, seemed to be ambivalent. While taking offense at Channing's vulgar allusions to sex, [Henry Thoreau](#) often maintained a seemingly "puritanical" attitude: he expressed "diffidence and shame" regarding his thoughts in the piece "Chastity and Sensuality" and in a journal entry expressed "disgust" toward his own body with its sexual desires. Nevertheless, Thoreau at times wrote idealistically of the "passionate love between men and women," revealing "his own yearning for a mate." And in many different passages Thoreau used "erotically suggestive imagery" or "sex-related figures of speech." Clearly Thoreau was not "hostile" to the idea of sexual love but "acknowledged his own sexuality, and that of every other man and woman, as a valued part of his and their emotional nature and thus at the core of a sympathetic relatedness to all other human beings."

[Janet B. Ergino (Sommers), May 1989]



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

1993

T. Walter Herbert's DEAREST BELOVED: THE [HAWTHORNES](#) AND THE MAKING OF THE MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILY (Berkeley: U of California P).⁴¹

DEAREST BELOVED

“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY

41. The relationship between [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) and [Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) has been characterized as a model loving relationship. That's not the way I reconstruct it. I see the two of them as inveterate game-players, dancing around in very tight and lifelong circles of one-upmanship the obvious payoff for which was that everyone, literally everyone, in their lives had to wait on them hand and foot, while meanwhile they manipulatively struggled to protect themselves from becoming utterly subservient to each other's manipulations. In the husband's case, of course, the scam was that he being the family breadwinner, his writing came first, and also, it was ever so important to defer to him, to put his person always first, because his was such an artistic sensitive soul and such sensitivities might so readily be bruised by reality. He was so shy, he was so solitary, he was so perceptive — except when he was out drinking with his buddies and could let his shyness, his solitude, his perceptiveness, and his other self-serving poses slip away. In the wife's case, on the other hand, she obviously needed to sit around in the parlor and have plural maidservants to run errands for her, because anytime anything disagreeable would come up, such as a household chore or some distressingly otiose idea, or a sudden noise, she could acquire the most splitting of headaches. Nathaniel was denying himself so totally for his lovey-lovey Sophia, and Sophia was denying herself so totally for her lovey-lovey Nathaniel, it must have been a total pain to hear them go at it! The chickens would come home to roost in the next generation after this self-legitimizing and self-deceiving co-conspiracy, in the warped and spoiled self-indulgent lives of their offspring [Una](#) and [Julian](#) and in the exceedingly difficult life of [Rose](#).



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

SECOND REVIEW: A long article the sole purpose of which seems to be to prove that Thoreau was heterosexual, had sexual attractions to several women (we know which ones), and perhaps was actually sexually active.

Moller makes a distinction between Thoreau's general attitude toward women and his feelings for specific women. She points out his idealization of women and contrasts it with the way he felt about young, non-intellectual women. "What Thoreau reacted against was a traditional stereotype of ideal womanhood: the assumption that the first business of any girl or woman is to be as pretty and charming as possible" to attract a mate and that intellect and independence are dangerous. She then cites several journal passages which are critical of women's frivolity and explores Thoreau's feelings toward older, intellectual women, such as [Mary Moody Emerson](#) and Mrs. [Lidian Emerson](#).

Moller discounts [homosexual](#) tendencies that Thoreau might have had with a cursory look at his poem "Sympathy" (the "gentle boy" poem). She calls his attraction to Edmund Quincy Sewall, Jr. "a fleeting emotional complication." She does not however mention any journal passages from that time which are also homoerotic and celebrate masculinity. She cites four passages that illustrate Thoreau's feelings for Ellen Devereux Sewall at that time, though she admits that by the time he proposed to her he probably wasn't seriously interested.

She, of course, spends a lot of time on the relationship with Lidian Emerson and points out the passionate letters. She contrasts the letters from Staten Island to later letters which treat Lidian as a sister.

Finally Moller discusses "Love" and "Chastity and Sensuality." Her conclusion is that Thoreau meant "control" when he said "chastity" and not "celibacy." She asserts that sexual love was not necessarily taboo for Thoreau unless it was outside of a truly affectionate and highly intellectual relationship. She suggests that Thoreau may have been sexually active himself, though he probably was limited to wet dreams and [masturbation](#).

The point of all this sex talk, of course, is to find out what Thoreau's sexuality had to do with his writing and his views of women, ideas of purity, etc. Moller doesn't discuss Thoreau's asceticism at all and largely ignores his feelings toward men and the sexuality that may have been behind it. The article seems to be a justification of Thoreau as a lover of women and not a misogynist.

[James J. Berg, May 8, 1989]



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: February 15, 2015



SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



SOPHIA PEABODY HAWTHORNE

SOPHIA AMELIA PEABODY

Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.