HAWTHORNE'S ROMANTIC TRANSMUTATION OF COLONIAL
AND REVOLUTIONARY WAR HISTORY IN
SELECTED TALES AND ROMANCES

APPROVED:

Lee H. Miller
Major Professor

Hugh M. Ayer
Minor Professor

E. S. Clifton
Director of the Department of English

Robert B. Taulbee
Dean of the Graduate School
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AND REVOLUTIONARY WAR HISTORY IN
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Lawrence R. Clayton, B. S., M. Ed.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It is well known that the type of writing an author intends to produce determines his approach to his source material. For example, if he chooses to make use of the past, he must decide whether to write history and creatively order the events of the past, limiting his statements to ascertainable facts, or to write fiction and imaginatively create new life out of a dead past. If he writes realistic historical fiction, he is allowed to supply from his imagination the dialogue and intermediate scenes to provide the cohesiveness necessary for a unified plot, but he is still bound to provable facts in so far as they are available.

If, however, the writer chooses as his genre the historical romance, he may use his source material creatively.


2Romance and tale are terms denoting a similarity of technique. Their difference is mainly in length, the tale being the shorter form of the same type of presentation as the romance. The novel and the short story are coordinate types similar in technique and bound more closely to reality than the romance and the tale. For the difference in the romance and the novel, see Richard Chase, The American Novel and Its Tradition (Garden City, N. Y., 1957), pp. 12-13.
To provide the story with an historically authentic background, the author may use real persons, events, and situations of the past, but he may also supply additional characters and alter situations so that the actual persons and places become more what the author wishes them to be than what they actually were. Thus he is able to create a plot that expresses his theme more adequately than a factually accurate account could have done.

Although Hawthorne frequently used American history in his work, he sought to create in his fiction what he calls in the Custom House essay "... a neutral territory ... where the Actual and the Imaginary may meet, and each imbue itself with the nature of the other." As a writer, Hawthorne felt that he should be allowed "... a license with regard to every-day [sic] probability, in view of the improved effects which he is bound to produce thereby," so he deviated from historical fact, not to deceive the reader but to express with increased effectiveness themes which he found suggested by the material he used. In his preface to The House of the Seven Gables, he defends the freedom allowed the romancer in the treatment of his source material:

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4 Ibid., V, 322.
When a writer calls his work a Romance, it need hardly be observed that he wishes to claim a certain latitude, both as to its fashion and material, which he would not have felt himself entitled to assume had he professed to be writing a Novel.5

It seems apparent that Hawthorne's aim as a romancer6 was not to relate history literally but through his exploration of themes to depict figuratively what he called the "truth of the human heart." He uses the facts to supply a "...foothold between fiction and reality."7 A study of his artistic intentions and accomplishments through his fictional alteration of past events is a subject worthy of anyone interested in Hawthorne's work.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine in selected tales and romances Hawthorne's intent and the effectiveness of his transmutation of American colonial and Revolutionary War history in his fiction. The method of presentation is a comparative analysis of both the historical and fictional accounts, though in many cases there is no single source from which Hawthorne drew his material. This study, therefore, examines the most important of Hawthorne's original sources,

5Ibid., III, 13.


7Works., V, 322.
such as Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* and The Wonders of the Invisible World, Thomas Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts-Bay, John Winthrop's Journal, Samuel Sewall's Diary, Caleb Snow's *A History of Boston*, Francis Baylies' *An Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth*, Nathaniel Morton's *New England's Memorial*, William Sewel's *The History of the Quakers*, Ezra Stiles' *A History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I*, and Joseph Felt's *Annals of Salem*. A number of more recent histories and some critical commentaries are used in order to examine the background of the historical accounts selected by Hawthorne and his fictional utilization of them. The research on Hawthorne's historical sources found in Arlin Turner's "Hawthorne's Literary Borrowings" and Edward Dawson's "Hawthorne's Knowledge and Use of New England History" has been invaluable to this study. Turner and Charles Townsend Copeland comment on Hawthorne's use of his source materials, but Turner neglects completely the

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historical tales, and Copeland makes only general observations about Hawthorne's techniques. While indicating the relationship between fictional and historical accounts as necessary to a study of Hawthorne's romantic transmutation of history, this thesis further investigates Hawthorne's artistic reasons for altering events of the past, a question many times left unanswered, and in some cases unasked, by scholars investigating Hawthorne's use of his sources. None of the writers above make any critical or evaluative observation based on the historical tales collectively as to the reason for Hawthorne's adaptations of actual facts and people of the past.

Several writers have made detailed examinations of the history used in Hawthorne's works considered in this thesis. The most productive of these scholars is G. Harrison Orians. His "Angel of Hadley in Fiction: A Study of the Sources of Hawthorne's 'The Grey Champion,'" in American Literature (1932), and "Hawthorne and 'The Maypole of Merry-Mount,'" in Modern Language Notes (1938) are excellent studies of Hawthorne's romantic transmutation of his source material. A similar study in his "The Sources and Themes of Hawthorne's 'The Gentle Boy,'" in the New England Quarterly (1941), and in his "New England Witchcraft in Fiction" in American Literature (1930), he describes the use of witchcraft by Hawthorne as well as by other writers. Tremaine McDowell in "Nathaniel Hawthorne and the Witches of Colonial Salem" in
Notes and Queries (1934) identifies actual persons convicted as witches and used by Hawthorne in his fiction. Other writers commenting on Hawthorne's use of his historical sources are J. Golden Taylor, who wrote *Hawthorne's Ambivalence toward Puritanism*, a study of Hawthorne's attitude toward his Puritan background, and Edward Gallagher, whose "History in 'Endicott and the Red Cross,'" in the *Emerson Society Quarterly* (1968) is an analysis similar to that undertaken in this thesis.

Comparable information is available on the romances. Charles Ryskamp's "The New England Sources of The Scarlet Letter" in *American Literature* (1959) is a reliable source. Hubert Hoeltje's *Inward Sky* is a good study of Hawthorne's family history as seen in *The House of the Seven Gables*. Further work on this romance is Thomas Griffiths' "'Montpelier' and 'Seven Gables': Knox's Estate and Hawthorne's Novel" in *American Literature* (1943), in which he explores the influence of an estate in Maine on the setting and action of *The House of the Seven Gables*.

These general studies offer little explication of the actual techniques employed by Hawthorne but emphasize the influence of the past on his thought rather than his use of history in fiction. James, Martin, and Waggoner give more attention to his technique than do the other writers mentioned in this group.

In this thesis, two chapters contain the supporting material. Chapter II deals with Hawthorne's use of colonial history. The tales and romances examined in this section are "Endicott and the Red Cross," "The Maypole of Merry-Mount," "The Gray Champion," The Scarlet Letter, "Young Goodman Brown," and The House of the Seven Gables. Chapter III deals primarily with Hawthorne's use of Revolutionary War history as seen in "Legends of the Province House." Only one tale, "Lady Eleanore's Mantle," is outside the time frame of the War, but the Province House as the focal setting unifies the four stories. "Howe's Masquerade," "Edward Randolph's Portrait," and "Old Esther Dudley" are the other three tales in the group.

The final chapter draws the following conclusions. Though Hawthorne was not a writer of history and did not intend to be, he did, obviously, make extensive use of history with which he took considerable liberties by changing facts and adding and deleting characters. Even though he used characters based on plausible people and utilized actual settings, such as Boston and Salem, he often deviated
from historical accuracy to present the "truth of the human heart" rather than actuality as the historian knows it. When modifying his materials, he sharpened the focus on those incidents appropriate for his purpose, presenting with greater impact the theme illustrated by the original event. By using incidents of the past, rather than of the present, he could adjust the material without having inaccuracies become obvious enough to distract the reader.

No published study of precisely the type attempted here is available. Such critiques as those by Turner and Dawson are not explications of Hawthorne's methods but are more nearly catalogues of the sources of the original figures and incidents. Several critical studies and biographies make general or isolated observations about Hawthorne's use of history, but no one of them has explicated Hawthorne's imaginative transmutation of New England colonial and Revolutionary War history or explained what Hawthorne achieved through his alteration of the material.

In a study of Hawthorne's use of history, it seems appropriate to make some observation about his historiography. His attitude toward the past as seen in his fiction is so

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12 R. K. Gupta says further that Hawthorne's aim with fiction "... was a grappling with the actualities of life to wrest from them their inner meaning." R. K. Gupta, "Hawthorne's Theory of Art," American Literature, LX (November, 1968), 314.
ambivalent that consistent identification with any school of historians is impossible. Often he appears to revere one group or one idea but satirizes or renounces it in another tale. This ambiguity pervades particularly his tales using colonial history, most obviously in his use of the Puritans. A similar ambivalence is visible in his attitude toward Revolutionary War history in "Legends of the Province House." One must conclude, then, that Hawthorne used only those historical facts which suited his purpose and that he remained inconsistently subjective in his imaginative treatment of material. Hyatt Waggoner clarifies the point when he says that "... the past was living in him so that any boundary at all between his stories and history would be artificial." As Roy Harvey Pearce observes, Hawthorne felt that though man profited from the good that resulted from deeds in the past, he was still guilty of the evil. He saw that "... only through the discovery of historical responsibility (i.e., responsibility for history) could a man gain whatever of human freedom he might aspire to."  


Hawthorne's inconsistency separates him from the historian and places him firmly in his rightful place as a romancer, for as Henry James notes in his biography, Hawthorne had "... none of the apparatus of an historian" and was not rigidly accurate.16

Hawthorne's fiction reflects, however, more than a superficial acquaintance with seventeenth and eighteenth century New England. His familiarity resulted from extensive reading as evidenced by the list of books checked out to him from the Salem Athenaeum. In the journals and annals of such early writers as John Winthrop, Cotton Mather and Joseph Felt, he found described John Endicott, who ripped the cross from the British flag, Roger Williams, the religious dissenter who broke away from Massachusetts to help establish Rhode Island, and Colonel William Goffe, a regicide judge who hid in New England to escape the wrath of Charles II of England. He also read of such men as General William Howe, Governor Thomas Hutchinson (also an historian read by Hawthorne), and Lord Percy and of such events as the Siege of Boston and the loss of Castle William to the British. His interest in these accounts furnished him, as Turner notes, with "... an abundance of external manifestations which were ... apt and ... dramatic for

16 Henry James, Hawthorne (New York, 1880), p. 4.
suggesting the ideas he wanted to present."

But Hawthorne's concern for the past was more than casual, especially his interest in Salem, for, says Turner, his ties to this area were both "literal and spiritual," and James states, "... Hawthorne sprang from the primitive New England stock; he had a very definite and conspicuous pedigree." In the accounts which he read appeared the names and deeds of several of his ancestors. One was Major William Hathorne, the staunch Puritan founder of the family line in America, who had accompanied John Winthrop from England to Boston on the Arabella in 1630. In his zeal as persecutor of Quakers, he had the Quakeress Ann Coleman whipped through the streets of Boston, Salem, and Dedham for her religious convictions; he also ordered John Flint, a white settler, hanged for shooting an Indian at a time when Indians were considered a menace. Another ancestor, the infamous John Hathorne, fifth son of William, rose to the influential position of judge and, along with Jonathan Corwin, Jonathan Sewall, William Stoughton, and others, sentenced many persons to death during the witchcraft delusion in Salem

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18 Ibid., p. 1.

19 James, Hawthorne, p. 5.
in 1692. Though other men of the name Hathorne, such as Daniel, a Revolutionary War hero, are recorded in the history of New England, Hawthorne could not be altogether proud of his predecessors. It is through his sense of inherited guilt stemming from the actions of William and John Hathorne that he felt his close spiritual ties with the past. 20

Hawthorne's interest results largely from his close relationship with earlier times of the area, but his concern was also stimulated by his reading in which he found principles suggesting to him a means of understanding and interpreting the present. Hyatt Waggoner feels that for Hawthorne, "the past has illuminated the present and thus has helped to educate the will, which is concerned with the future," 21 that Hawthorne's fiction demanded the distance furnished by history "... so that the raw fact ... could not dominate, so that irrelevant multiplicity would be dimmed and softened ... to allow the pattern, the meaning, to emerge." 22 Dawson observes, "It was in history that he found flesh and blood to embody his eternal verities. He united the Real and Imaginary, or, at times, he focused the Imaginary against a real background." 23 The incidents chosen by Hawthorne are

20 Works, V, 25.


23 Dawson, "Hawthorne's Knowledge and Use of New England History."
useful, says Copeland, "... chiefly as the outward, bodily sign of inward and moral drama,"\textsuperscript{24} and Wagenknecht states that it is what the scene "means" that makes it important to Hawthorne, not the incident itself.\textsuperscript{25} Hawthorne, in much of his writing, used history, or events and characters of the past, but mainly as a vehicle to carry his themes to his readers. Waggoner adds that Hawthorne "... found in the past of New England a way of projecting and objectifying the concerns, tensions, and the deep feelings that haunted him from the personal past of his childhood."\textsuperscript{26}

Because of the manner in which he made use of the past, Hawthorne is said by Roy Male to have written the "myth of New England,"\textsuperscript{27} but also, according to Henry James, he has depicted the "... most vivid reflection of New England life that has found its way into literature."\textsuperscript{28} Turner analyzes Hawthorne's technique as follows:

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{24}Copeland, "Hawthorne's Use of His Materials," p. 57.
\textsuperscript{28}James, Hawthorne, p. 4.
\end{quote}
He began every piece with a basic idea, which came to him in connection with some physical manifestation. He then expanded the idea, narrowed it down, or altered it in other ways until he had a clearly defined plan. The development of this plan ordinarily consisted of choosing and placing in some sort of a procession a series of scenes or incidents to represent the theme. Each scene or episode he filled in by details of characterization, action, and setting drawn mainly from his own observation, the whole, however, carefully surrounded by a vague and romantic atmosphere to isolate it from the world of reality.29

Julian Hawthorne notes his father's departure from the "real":

The intensity with which he could convey the feeling of a place, a character, or a situation, was almost in inverse ratio to its literal resemblance to any material prototype; he was essentially a romancer, and the world of his imagination was like the material world only as the mind of man is like his body: a spiritual world of types, elements, and harmonies, rather than a physical world of accidents, individuals and technicalities.30

In order to convey what he called the "truth of the human heart," Hawthorne created an imaginary world which, though related to the actual and apparently real, was fictional. As Waggoner notes, "Hawthorne wanted to treat New England history, but to raise history to poetry and myth."31 It is his literary accomplishment through romantic transmutation of history that is the subject of this thesis.


CHAPTER II

HAWTHORNE AND COLONIAL HISTORY

Colonial American history had a special interest for Nathaniel Hawthorne because he was more personally associated with it than with the Revolutionary War or European history which he also used in his writing. Charles Ryskamp claims that approximately one half of Hawthorne's writings deal with colonial New England.¹ It was during this period that William Hathorne moved to Salem after his arrival in Boston with John Winthrop. Hathorne was an outstanding citizen, one of whom Hawthorne might have been proud had Hathorne not been instrumental in the Quaker persecutions. Such bigotry by a group which had fled from religious intolerance was too much for Hawthorne to accept without feeling culpable. But Hawthorne felt an even greater sense of guilt for the activities of John Hathorne, one of the principal witchcraft judges, who along with Jonathan Corwin, Jonathan Sewall, William Stoughton and others was responsible for sentencing to death nineteen innocent persons during the trials in Salem in 1692 and 1693. There were other ancestors who bore

the name Hathorne, if not with honor at least without bringing additional guilt to the name: Daniel Hathorne, the Revolutionary War hero, and several sea captains, one of whom was Hawthorne's father. These later generations who led lives less widely known and also less offensive to Hawthorne had, however, allowed the family fortunes to dip to a low and obscure level. Even if William and John Hathorne had, as Hawthorne felt, bequeathed him a legacy of sin and guilt, they were respected and powerful men, especially by Puritan standards. Since their deeds were most odious to Hawthorne, it is ironic that in choosing background materials for his writing, he made extensive use of the Quaker persecutions and the Salem witchcraft delusion in which his ancestors had a prominent part.

This chapter examines Hawthorne's use of three levels of early colonial history: (1) governmental or political incidents, (2) witchcraft and religious issues concerning the Puritans and the Quakers, and (3) the Hathorne family. Many of the incidents used in the tales examined are based on actual accounts, though some are more legend than fact.

The first three of Hawthorne's tales considered in this chapter, "The Gray Champion," "Endicott and the Red Cross," and "The Maypole of Merry-Mount," deal with prominent
Puritan figures Colonel William Goffe, a regicide judge at the trial of Charles I of England, and John Endicott, a governor of Massachusetts.

Though many events in "The Gray Champion" are recorded in the several histories read by Hawthorne, he exercised considerable creativity in the use of his sources to form the actual story. Hawthorne's introduction to the tale correctly depicts the historical situation existing at the end of the reign of Governor Edmund Andros. Orians feels that Hawthorne created the Gray Champion, the hero of the tale, from an account relating the actions of Major-General William Goffe in Hadley, Massachusetts, during King Philip's War.\(^2\) The plot, however, is strictly a product of Hawthorne's imagination and serves as a good example of Hawthorne's technique of transmuting actual events to create fiction.

The setting of the tale is Boston on an April afternoon in 1689. The people, who are discontented with the administration, and particularly with the governor, have been attracted to King Street by the sound of drums announcing a show of military force scheduled by Governor Andros on this occasion. The tension in Boston has been heightened by rumor that William of Orange is perhaps making a move to overthrow King James. If William were to succeed, the people feel

that their old charter might be reinstated and more lenient
government with it. Among the crowd appears Governor Brad-
street, the man who had been governor under the old charter.
Then in military procession come a group of British soldiers,
the first Red Coats sent to America, followed by Governor
Andros, Edward Randolph, Dr. Benjamin Bullivant, Joseph
Dudley, two or three British civil officers, and a captain
of a frigate as well as the man who, as Hawthorne notes,
"stirred up the deepest feelings," the Episcopal clergyman
of King's Chapel. As the cry for a champion rises from with-
in the crowd, a stately old figure steps forward to block the
path of the group. Clothed in Puritan dress, wearing a sword,
and carrying a staff, he seems to be a figure who has emerged
from the past to challenge the present governor. Sternly the
aged man forecasts the end of Andros's reign, which, according
to the narrator, terminates before the next sunset. The
tale promises that the Gray Champion, a "type of New England's
hereditary spirit," will return in time of need, and then
recounts that eighty years later he reappeared at Lexington
and Bunker Hill.

Hawthorne's creativity in using his source material is
greater in this tale than in those based on Endicott. There
is similarity between the account used by Hawthorne and "The
Gray Champion," but this likeness is in spirit only.
History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I, by Ezra Stiles, which Hawthorne probably found reference to in the North American Review, records the incident which apparently influenced Hawthorne's idea of the Gray Champion. According to this account, the action occurred during King Philip's War when Indians attacked a church in Hadley, Massachusetts, on Sunday, September 1, 1675. The people were able to drive off the Indians only when a man of impressive venerability took charge of the situation and organized the defenders. After the Indians retreated, he vanished immediately. Because of the circumstances surrounding his mysterious appearance and disappearance, the man was thought by many to be an angel. Stiles states that after the English revolution in 1688, it was revealed that Goffe was hiding in Hadley in 1675 and had been the man who came to the aid of the distressed people. Hawthorne himself suggests in the tale that the figure is a regicide judge. The motivation for his

3Ezra Stiles, A History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I (Hartford, 1794), pp. 107-110.


5Stiles, A History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I, p. 110.

heroism perhaps is that had the Indians overrun the town, he would have been discovered, arrested, returned to England, and executed. But whether he reacted as he did for himself or for the villagers is unimportant. The fact is that the people were saved and a legend was formed. Hawthorne uses the incident but changes the surroundings and enemies. He preserves, however, the climactic nature of the events and uses it to forecast the end of English control. Hawthorne's reason for the vast alteration is that he is able to create a hero from the New England past, a type of King Arthur image which will, supposedly, rise up as the spirit of the Puritan past to keep the people free from tyranny.

The historical framework of the tale is composed for the most part of actual facts and could well have been gleaned from Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts-Bay, the first volume of which was published in 1764 and which Hawthorne refers to in "My Kinsman, Major Molineux." Hutchinson recounts that Edmund Andros, governor of the colony from December, 1686, until February, 1690, was an unpopular leader of the people because of the religious intolerance of his government and its unsympathetic attitude toward the rights

8 Works, III, 616.
of the people. In April, 1689, John Winslow brought to Boston from Virginia a copy of William of Orange's declaration. Hutchinson quotes in full an anonymous letter to the governor of Plymouth which records that the people of Boston began arming themselves and seized Captain George, the naval officer mentioned by Hawthorne, along with the "master of the frigate," and most of Andros' followers. Included in Hutchinson's list of those associates of Andros put into prison are Dudley, Randolph, and Bullivant. Andros himself did not surrender until forced to do so. The colonists selected a new council with Bradstreet, the governor who had preceded Dudley and Andros, as "president." When William of Orange became king, he issued a new charter more lenient than that under which Andros had ruled, and Bradstreet remained as governor. Hawthorne's introduction, then, follows fairly closely Hutchinson's discussion of the situation in Boston at the overthrow of Andros.

All of the characters named in the tale with the exception of the Gray Champion were apparently in Boston during the time depicted by Hawthorne in this tale. According to Hutchinson, Benjamin Bullivant, an apothecary and physician, was justice of the peace under Andros and warden of King's Chapel. Hawthorne probably chose him because he

\[9\text{Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts-Bay, I, 318.}\]
was active in both clerical and secular affairs, thus epitomizing the problems arising in Boston at that time. Concerning Joseph Dudley, the man who had preceded Andros in office, Hutchinson states, "Of all that were concerned in the late government, Mr. Dudley felt most of the people's resentment." He was perhaps disliked more than the other members of the group because he was a native American who served in the Andros government. Edward Randolph, another member of the group, was "the licenser" in charge of the restraint of the press under Andros. Hawthorne selected him probably for this reason. The mention of two or three British civil officers suggests the presence of the English magistrates who performed weddings, a service usually done by ministers, and who also imposed the harsh laws on the American colonists. They also represent the combination of the powers of church and state. The man on whom the naval officer is based was in all likelihood Captain George, whom Hutchinson identifies by name but not as the commander of the frigate Rose anchored in the harbor. Hutchinson does not name the master of this ship though he was seized by the people when the revolt began.

10 Ibid., 331.

11 Ibid., 302.

12 Ibid.
The Episcopal clergyman is surely Robert Ratcliffe, who Hutchinson records was the only minister of his denomination "in the country." He serves as a reminder of the clerical issue in Boston, and his association with the secular officials denotes, as Hawthorne points out in his introduction, the "union of church and state."

The overthrow of Andros was a bloodless revolution, but Henry Cabot Lodge, a later historian, records, "It was the first forcible resistance by the people of Massachusetts to the Crown . . . ." It is perhaps this fact that attracted Hawthorne to the event because it was an initial act by the colonists which led to and prefigured the American Revolution. Hawthorne combined the two accounts, the overthrow of a British governor recorded by Hutchinson and the act of an almost mythical Puritan hero found in Stiles' History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I, to form the tale.

An act which Hawthorne depicts as the first omen of the Revolution is the basis for "Endicott and the Red Cross," a tale involving John Endicott's defacing the English flag. The event used for the plot occurred, according to the author, more than two hundred years before he wrote the tale. The

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\(^{13}\) Ibid.


Salem Puritans, under the direction of Endicott, delay their military training because of the arrival of Roger Williams, the New England religious figure, with a message sent to Endicott by Governor Winthrop in Boston. After reading the letter, which contains a message from the king, Endicott utters a tirade against England's Archbishop Laud and the injustices done the colonies; then, calling to the flag bearer to lower the symbol of English authority, he rips out the cross with his sword, saying, "'Before God and Man, I will avouch the deed . . . . Beat a flourish, drummer! -- shout, soldiers and people! -- in honor of the ensign of New England. Neither Pope nor Tyrant hath part in it now!'" By his action, Endicott demonstrates his dislike for the Church of England and for Laud's attempts to control Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, but Hawthorne's closing comment concerns the scene's political implications:

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

Sensitive to the impact of the past on the present and future,

16 Works, I, 493.

17 Ibid., 493-494.
Hawthorne feels the defacing of the flag foreshadows the American Revolution, but the historic incident serves merely as a point of departure for the tale.

An integral part of "Endicott and the Red Cross" is Hawthorne's satire of the Puritans. Endicott is presented as a paradoxical figure, for he is representative of the ambivalence of the Puritan religion. Among those villagers surrounding him is a man wearing the sign, A Wanton Gospeller, who is being punished for preaching a creed other than Puritanism. His challenge of Endicott's assertion of religious freedom in America dramatically points up the narrow-mindedness of the Puritans who, as Hawthorne drily notes, believed that they interpret the Bible with an "infallible judgment." Endicott expounds the virtues of his faith while surrounded by obvious examples of Puritan intolerance toward other religious groups and human frailty: the whipping post with its well-trod circumjacent earth, the pillory securing an Episcopalian by the neck, the stocks holding by the feet a loyalist whose crime was drinking a toast to the king, the humiliating sign of the Wanton Gospeller enduring religious persecution, and the badge of shame of the adulteress, the scarlet A. Roger Williams' sympathetic smile when the Gospeller challenges Endicott's statement on religious freedom suggests his own future flight from Massachusetts Bay. Such fictional material Hawthorne combined with the historical facts to form the tale.
As the basis for the plot of "Endicott and the Red Cross," Hawthorne used an actual event recorded by Winthrop, Mather, and Sewall. John Winthrop notes in his Journal that on November 5, 1634, the flag was defaced at Salem with "... one part of the red cross taken out." The ensign bearer, Richard Davenport, was consequently summoned to appear in court to explain the act. On May 16, 1635, Endicott, who was, according to Mather, "left out of office" because of the incident, was questioned about defacing the flag and chided for the rash act, and Mather records that the 'guilty man was "... to be one year disabled from bearing any publick office." Edward Gallagher in his "History in 'Endicott and the Red Cross,'" theorizes that the letter from Governor Winthrop was one announcing tighter

18 Arlin Turner, "Hawthorne's Literary Borrowings," Publication of the Modern Language Association, XXI (June, 1936), 553, n. He notes the sources of the incident as Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana 2 vols. (Hartford, 1855), II, 499; Samuel Sewall, Diary, edited by Mark Van Doren (New York, 1927), p. 40; and John Winthrop, Journal, I, 137, 149-150. Of these only Winthrop's account names Endicott as the guilty party. Mather does indicate that "the freemen of the colony show'd [sic] their displeasure at the gentleman ... by discarding him from his place in the government;" Winthrop also notes Endicott's being "left out" of office. Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts-Bay I, 35, 36-37, also gives an account.

19 Winthrop, Journal, I, 137.

20 Ibid., 149-150.

21 Mather, Magnalia, II, 499.
economic and religious controls on the colony.\textsuperscript{22} Since the historical accounts do not mention particulars of the incident, Hawthorne apparently improvised as he saw fit.

Hawthorne used the actual event to provide the basic plot structure of the scene, and he injected his own ideas into the story. His account explores the implications of a deed in a way which Terence Martin says is characteristic of Hawthorne, who "... frequently views colonial history as prefiguring the spirit of the American Revolution."\textsuperscript{23} Gallagher notes that Hawthorne's tale emphasizes the political implications of Endicott's act and in so doing alters Endicott's original religious intent.\textsuperscript{24} Endicott's speech is part of the material which Hawthorne introduces into the story. Hawthorne makes a great deal more out of the incident than the historical accounts give. In an ambivalent manner characteristic of Hawthorne, he presents a man who in reality was a self-centered egoist as the performer of "... one of the boldest exploits which our history records."\textsuperscript{25}

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\textsuperscript{22}Edward J. Gallagher, "History in 'Endicott and the Red Cross,'" \textit{Emerson Society Quarterly,} No. 50 (First Quarter, 1968), 62-65.


\textsuperscript{24}Gallagher, "History in 'Endicott and the Red Cross,'" p. 63.

\textsuperscript{25}Works, I, 473.
\end{flushright}
Although Roger Williams, who is important to the background and apparent authenticity of the tale, was in Salem at the time, no discoverable record of his participation in the scene or receipt of the letter is made by historians. Hawthorne seems justified, however, in presenting Williams in his role in the tale, for Mather asserts that the person committing the deed was "... under the heat of some impressions from the ministry of Mr. Williams."\textsuperscript{26}

James Ernst in a biographical study of Williams states that the minister and Endicott had met in 1631 in Salem when Williams first came from Boston to accept the post of minister. Because of his religious views, Williams did not remain long in Salem. He went soon to Plymouth and worked there for a time as a missionary to the Indians but was recalled to Salem in the autumn of 1633.\textsuperscript{27} On September 27, 1634, in Salem, Williams preached a Fast-Day sermon in which he discussed the eleven sins he had discovered to be the reasons for God's punishment of the colony. It was only nine days after this fiery discourse that Endicott cut the cross from the flag. Hawthorne pictures Williams as an old man even though in 1634, he was only thirty-one years of age.\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{26}Mather, Magnalia, II, 499.

\textsuperscript{27}James Ernst, Roger Williams: New England Firebrand (New York, 1932), p. 82.

\textsuperscript{28}Williams' birth date is uncertain, but most sources agree on 1603.
Gallagher supposes Hawthorne's reason for the change to be that the older figure of Williams more closely fits the stereotype which most people have of him "... as the exponent of democracy and tolerance."\(^{29}\)

Another incident involving Endicott furnished Hawthorne with the background action of "The Maypole of Merry-Mount." In this tale Endicott leads a band of Puritans on a raid against a group of colonists who have established themselves near Salem and are leading a life of sexuality and revelry. The attack demonstrates the unwillingness of the Puritans to accept a group whose morality differs from their own.

The initial situation in this tale juxtaposes the way of life of the two groups. The settlers of Merry Mount seem to be a threat to the religious security of Salem. Early in the tale Blackstone, the priest at the wedding of the two young people, Edith and Edgar, characterizes the attitude of the people in a statement to his followers:

Come; a chorus now, rich with the old mirth of Merry England, and the wilder glee of this fresh forest; and then a dance, to show the youthful pair what life is made of, and how airily they should go through it!\(^{30}\)

Hawthorne pictures the stern Puritans, in contrast to the

\(^{29}\) Gallagher, "History in 'Endicott and the Red Cross,'" p. 64.

\(^{30}\) Works, I, 73.
Merry Mounters, as "most dismal wretches" whose "... festivals were fast days and their chief pastime the singing of psalms,"\textsuperscript{31} and who, ironically, have their own maypole, the whipping post.

As the plot begins, Endicott bursts into the clearing and, calling Blackstone a "priest of Baal," he cuts down the maypole with his sword. He orders the dancing bear shot, the other revelers whipped, and the priest taken to Salem so that his punishment can be set by the Court. He then commands that the newly married Edith and Edgar be taken to Salem. This narrative is only vaguely related to historical fact.

The actual facts upon which Hawthorne apparently based the story can be found in several sources. According to Orians, Hawthorne used information found in Nathaniel Morton's \textit{New England Memorial}, Prince's \textit{Annals}, Baylies's \textit{Memoir of New Plymouth}, and Felt's \textit{Annals of Salem}.\textsuperscript{32} In these sources Hawthorne found basic accounts of the same incident involving Thomas Morton, and he drew from Strutt's \textit{Sports and Pastimes} much of "the fantastic and symbolic features" in the tale.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{31}\textit{Ibid.}, 77.

\textsuperscript{32}G. Harrison Orians, "Hawthorne and 'The Maypole of Merrymount,'" \textit{Modern Language Notes}, LIII (March, 1938), 160. Orians discounts as Hawthorne's source William Bradford's \textit{History of Plymouth Plantation} because it was not published until 1855, long after Hawthorne published the story in 1837. It does contain an account of the incident.

\textsuperscript{33}Orians, "Hawthorne and 'The Maypole of Merry-Mount,'" p. 161.
Although the tale seems historically plausible, Hawthorne was, as Orians notes, "... stepping but lightly upon historical ground . . . "\(^{34}\) Hawthorne altered the facts of the incident so that the tale pictures a confrontation of the Puritan and a rival way of life, a moral issue. According to Morton's New England Memorial,\(^{35}\) in 1625 Captain Wollaston, along with three or four other prominent men, brought a large number of servants and supplies and settled at a place later called Mount Wollaston (and even later Braintree) to establish a plantation. Not finding farming profitable in New England, Wollaston moved several of the servants to Virginia and sold them. He notified Mr. Rasdall, one of the other leaders of the group, to bring more of the servants and leave a man named Filcher in charge. By stating that he would make them his partners, Thomas Morton, never a reputable member of the group, incited the remaining servants to make him the leader. Filcher was then expelled and forced by necessity to return to England. Morton became "lord of misrule," erected a maypole and led the members of the group into pagan rites and customs. They also changed the name of the site to Merry Mount. To remove this threat to the Puritan way of life, Endicott led a group of Salemites in an attack on the settlement. Nathaniel

\(^{34}\)Ibid., p. 160.

\(^{35}\)Nathaniel Morton, New England's Memorial, 6th ed. (Boston, 1855), 89-94.
Morton's *New England Memorial* then records that John Endicott "... caused the may-pole to be cut down, and rebuked them [the colonists] for their profaneness, and admonished them to look to it that they walked better...".36 Morton later condemns Endicott's action, saying that "... Endicot [sic] had no more right to interfere with the amusements of Morton, than Morton had to interrupt the prayers or the worship of Endicot and his followers."37

A later incident involving Morton is sometimes confused with Endicott's raid. After Endicott's intervention, Morton began trading firearms with the Indians and teaching them to use the weapons. Captain Miles Standish led an expedition which captured Morton, who was not severely punished. It is this bold attack and seizure of Morton by Standish combined with Endicott's somewhat more piously prompted raid that makes up the basis for the action in the tale.

Hawthorne's use of the other characters in "The Maypole of Merry-Mount" requires some explanation. Terence Martin notes that the name of the priest was Claxton when the story was published in *The Token* in 1836 but was changed to Blackstone in *Twice-Told Tales*. He points out further that Reverend Laurence Claxton (or Clarkson), who was never in the


colonies, was a ranter and an Anabaptist who tolerated maypoles. Reverend William Blackstone (or Blaxton) was an Episcopal clergyman, a man of learning, who had no such reputation. Though he did not agree with Williams' beliefs, Blackstone lived in Rhode Island, having gone there because he had a farm on the Pawtucket River. Martin concludes that the change from Claxton to Blackstone gives balance to the tale since Hawthorne did not want "... criticism of Merrymount to dominate the tale." Of the minister's name, Orians says,

Hawthorne made clear by his footnote that he was employing Blackstone in an unhistorical way. It is just possible that he may have fixed on him for the role of English priest through the coincidental juxtaposition of Blackstone and Endicott's names on page twenty of Alden Bradford's History of Massachusetts. 

Taylor notes that Hawthorne used Peter Palfrey "... essentially as he was in life, a henchman of Endicott." Edith and Edgar are without apparent historical justification and are creations by Hawthorne to represent the new generation of Americans.

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38 Caleb Snow, A History of Boston (Boston, 1825), p. 52.
39 Martin, Nathaniel Hawthorne, p. 87.
40 Ibid., p. 161.
Visible in this tale, however, is the ambivalence characteristic of Hawthorne's use of the Puritans. Hawthorne suggests through the actions and realizations of the two young people that the Puritan way of life, though not a panacea to the problems of man, is at least a better answer than the maypoling of the Merry Mounters. As a result of Endicott's actions, however, the reader may question the Puritan's right to invade the colony. The ambivalence in this matter may stem from Hawthorne's feelings about the Puritans and could have been stimulated by Baylies' condemnation in his account of Endicott's handling of the attack. Though Hawthorne allows the reader only to infer the question, he is still asking it. His presentation of the Puritans is so ambiguous that one cannot conclude how Hawthorne really felt about the group and its reaction to the revelers.

The last two of the preceding tales involve deeds with religious overtones. Hawthorne suggests that religious fervor, supposedly incited by Roger Williams, was the stimulus for Endicott's rash action with the flag. Similarly Endicott's attack on Merry Mount reflects religious motivation. Strong religious feeling, not uncommon in Massachusetts, led to other deeds, one of which Hawthorne was especially ashamed of. The involvement of William Hathorne in the Quaker persecutions caused Hawthorne to feel personal guilt from deeds of the past. One of the incidents for which Hathorne is best known was having the Quakeress Ann Coleman
whipped through the streets of Boston, Dedham and Salem. Although this incident does not appear as a major scene in Hawthorne's fiction, it no doubt made him aware of the Quaker persecutions which he used as material for one of his best tales, one in which he satirizes the Puritans' intolerance for the Quakers.

According to Orians, Hawthorne admitted using William Sewel's *History of the Quakers* as a source for his knowledge of the Quaker persecutions. Orians further notes that other histories containing accounts of the Quaker persecutions and available to Hawthorne were Thomas Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts-Bay* (1764), William Hubbard's *General History of New England* (1815), Neal's *History of New England* (1720), Morton's *New England Memorial* (1669), Morse and Parish's *Compendious History of New England* (1804), and Felt's *Annals of Salem* (1827). Turner feels that Hawthorne drew some information from Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*. He perhaps read all of them, but material can be directly traced to Sewel's

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Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts-Bay* notes that the oppression commonly referred to as the Quaker persecutions lasted from July, 1656, until 1661, when an order from the king eventually ended the abuse. The maltreatment of Quakers began with fining and whipping the offenders, but before long the punishment changed to banishment, mutilation, and, later, death. The oppression, however, only intensified the enthusiasm of the group. The entire ordeal pictures the pathetic situation that the Puritan zealots brought on themselves by persecuting the Quakers.

Hawthorne used the Puritan abuse of the Quakers as the background for "The Gentle Boy" in much the same way that he did the Hadley incident for "The Gray Champion": he created a story by combining historical facts not originally related to each other. Hawthorne's use of actual events during the persecutions enabled him to remain true to the spirit of the times depicted; and he selected for the setting an area in which incidents occurred similar to those in the tale. Orians claims that "The Gentle Boy" is a combination of fact and legend such as only Hawthorne was capable of.45

Hawthorne's introduction to the tale contains historically accurate facts of the movement. He states correctly that in

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1656 several Quakers appeared in New England and many others came later. Persecution was their reward, but punishment seemed only to stimulate the zeal of the sect, who considered suffering for their cause a divine call. Finally in 1659 in an effort to stem the tide of Quaker immigrants, the Puritans put to death two Quaker men.46

Though Hawthorne does not name him, the governor at this time is Endicott, whom Hawthorne earlier praised in "Endicott and the Red Cross" and "The Maypole of Merry-Mount" as the precursor of the spirit of the American Revolution and the champion of the Puritan cause. The governor, he says,

. . . was a man of narrow mind and imperfect education, and his uncompromising bigotry was made hot and mischievous by violent and hasty passions; he exerted his influence indecorously and unjustifiably to compass the death of the enthusiasts; and his whole conduct, in respect to them, was marked by brutal cruelty.47

According to Hawthorne, Endicott is largely to blame for the persecutions, and, as "a Quaker historian" records,48 a blight fell on the land around Boston and did not end until the death of the governor.

After the introduction, which serves to acquaint the


47 Works, I, 86.

reader with the historical background necessary to make the plot seem plausible, Hawthorne begins the tale. Tobias Pearson, returning home from an errand, hears a child crying in the wilderness and finds a frail boy weeping on the grave of his father, martyred by the Puritans. Finally persuading Ilbrahim to come away from the grave, Tobias takes the child to the Pearson dwelling, where his wife Dorothy eagerly accepts the homeless lad, all their children having died in America since coming from England. Even when the other Puritans respond with animosity toward the family, the Pearsons still resolve to keep the child. In church the first Sunday that the Pearsons attend with Ilbrahim, a stranger rises to denounce the persecution of the Quakers. The woman proves to be Catherine, mother of Ilbrahim, who deserted him because of her religious zeal. She recognizes him when he goes to her, but she agrees to leave him in the care of the Pearsons and departs. She is pictured as a strong-willed person, well used to pain and punishment from Catholic Inquisition and Protestant persecution in many lands, though she lived peacefully in Turkey, where Ilbrahim was born. She is known to be the woman who spoke against the governor as he walked by her New England cell. Set upon and beaten by a mob of Puritan children, one of whom he thinks his friend, the child Ilbrahim retreats to his bed in misery, disillusionment, and physical illness. On a stormy night, a knock at the door of the Pearson's home announces not a new persecutor as Tobias
and the Old Quaker suspect, but Catherine, who enters only in time to see her son briefly before he dies. She leaves to continue her role as one of the persecuted, but at last, long after, a royal mandate forbidding the persecution of the sect is issued and she takes up residence with the Pearsons, the Puritans pity more than hate her. At her death, many follow her to her grave beside that of her son.

The tale, true in spirit to the times depicted, is largely a comment on Quaker fanaticism and Puritan persecution. Catherine, who feels the "inner light" urging her on, voluntarily casts herself into prisons which are unlocked, and seeks persecution. The Pearsons suffer loss of friends and must pay fines for helping the Quakers. Hawthorne's purpose, then, is largely satiric, and he criticizes the bigotry visible in the conflict between the two sects.

The characters are drawn from a variety of sources, but only one can be identified in history by the name which Hawthorne uses in the tale. The name Pearson (Pierson) is found in Hutchinson and Sewel\(^4\) who record that a man named Pearson was in prison when the king ordered that a group of Quakers be released. Pearson and Judith Brown, "... being stripped to the waist, and fastened to a cart's tail, were whipped

\(^4\) Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts-Bay, I, 173; and Sewel, History of the Quakers, I, 345.
through the town of Boston with twenty stripes apiece."\(^{50}\) Hawthorne perhaps chose Pearson's name because the man was singled out for additional punishment.

The old Quaker who visits with Pearson, though based on no known historical person, is what Orians calls "the most representative Quaker of the story." He exemplifies the true spirit of the Quakers, and his treatment is characteristic of that received by members of the sect:

... he had long pursued a life of testimony and witness; he had suffered imprisonment; he had been banished from the colony and whipped from village to village with knotted cords; he had borne valiant testimony. He wore long hair beneath a broad-brimmed hat which he had refused to remove even before angered civil authorities. Through all persecution he maintained the enthusiasm and the raptness of the zealot.\(^{51}\)

Orians holds that Ilbrahim, whose name does not appear in the sources, is a product of Hawthorne's creative imagination but cites a passage in Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts-Bay* which contains a possible model for him.\(^{52}\) Patience Scott, an eleven-year-old girl brought before authorities to be questioned, is "the sole reference in available annals to a child of Quaker visitants..."\(^{53}\) One statement which

\(^{50}\)Ibid.


perhaps provided the germinal idea for the tale is found in Hutchinson's record of the examination of Patience Scott, in which he states, "Strange, such a child should be imprisoned! it would have been horrible if there had been any further severity." Hawthorne appears to have explored the "further severity" by picturing the abuse and eventual death of the child. Orians also refers to the case of Mary Dyer's son, who interceded in his mother's behalf and enabled her to get a reprieve from a sentenced hanging. Though these two ideas perhaps suggested the character to Hawthorne, Orians appears to be correct in concluding that Ilbrahim was created by Hawthorne.

The boy's father could be modeled on one of two men, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, who Sewel, Hutchinson, and others record, were executed near Boston on October 27, 1659. Though one of the men was married, his family was not in America; Hawthorne simply added a family for the character.

Catherine's possible historical prototypes are more numerous than those of her husband. Orians feels that she


"... was anticipated by several originals in Sewel, Hutchinson, and elsewhere," and is perhaps based in part on Mary Prince, a woman who Hutchinson says "... called to... Governor Endicott from a window of the prison, railing at and reviling him, saying, Woe unto thee, thou art an oppressor; and denouncing the judgments of God upon him." Many banished Quakers returned to the colony as Catherine did. Mary Dyer is one such person who was banished and returned only to be sent away again. Because of her repeated refusal to remain out of the colony, however, she was later executed. That Hawthorne added a great deal to the story to round out the character is evident in his addition of Catherine's experiences abroad. According to Orians, some of the material seems drawn from Sewel's account of Mary Fisher, who, as Sewel records, entered alone the camp of Sultan Mahomet the Fourth and had a message delivered to him "... that an English woman was come who had something to declare from the great God of the Sultan." The sultan agreed to an interview the next day, and he received her "... as


58 Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts-Bay, I, 168.

he was used to admit ambassadors." He apparently admired her, for he "... desired her to stay in that country ...," but she departed without the offered guards to Constantinople and went on to England. The woman's noticeable courage probably attracted Hawthorne's imagination, and he added to the character Catherine the birth of a child. Another part of the background, the experience in the Inquisition, Orians feels could have been "... borrowed from Sewel's account of Catherine Evans, a Quakeress who suffered greatly at the hands of the friars." Sewel records in detail how this Catherine and Sarah Cheevers underwent extensive questioning about their beliefs, were locked in an excessively hot room where they were stung by gnats, and kept for a long period under conditions of privation before they were eventually released. Dawson cites also Mary Wooten as a possible source. From these and other accounts Hawthorne created a Quakeress true in spirit to those zealots persecuted by no less dedicated Puritans. As Orians notes, "The final creature

60 Ibid.


62 Sewel, History of the Quakers, I, 363-386.

had all the fire, all the zealot's singlemindedness, all the devotion to the faith, all the submergence of ordinary human concerns to the divine call that made her a representative Quaker figure. 64

The tale is a comment on the extremism of both Puritan and Quaker behavior and portrays both as morally wrong. The Quakers seek punishment while the Puritans, refusing to compromise at all, will not relent in their zeal to eradicate the sect. Hawthorne has created a tale which sharply explores the conflict with seemingly real persons, and through his artistic creativity puts the conflict on a personal basis and not with just figures of the past.

In addition to being a scene of Quaker persecutions, Boston is also the setting of The Scarlet Letter, a romance which further explores the Puritans' ineffective abuse, this time of a member of their own sect, a woman guilty of adultery. A close study of the geographical setting reveals Hawthorne's knowledge of Boston in the 1640's. According to Ryskamp the portrayal of the setting is "... done with

64 Orians, "The Sources and Themes of 'The Gentle Boy,'" p. 672.
precise authenticity when compared with the best source of information on the subject, Caleb Snow's History of Boston (1825), which Hawthorne refers to in his American Notebooks. Even though no map is known to have existed before 1650, the City of Boston Records, 1634-1660, and the Book of Possessions prove the authenticity of Snow's and Hawthorne's descriptions of early Boston, and Snow gives a house-by-house record of the streets. Because of Hawthorne's exact adherence to Snow's account, Ryskamp feels that he seems to have relied heavily on Snow's History.

Much of the action in The Scarlet Letter occurs in the heart of Boston, where the majority of the inhabitants lived in the 1640's. Ryskamp's article contains a map of Boston.

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65 Ryskamp, "The New England Sources of The Scarlet Letter," p. 261. He gives a full study of the New England sources. This paper, like Ryskamp's article, is concerned with only the American historical material in The Scarlet Letter. Ryskamp notes the studies of Alfred Reid's The Yellow Ruff and the Scarlet Letter (Gainesville, 1955), and Sir Thomas Overbury's Vision . . . and Other English Sources of Nathaniel Hawthorne's "The Scarlet Letter," (Gainesville, 1957), as studies of the English sources. My debt to Ryskamp is great.

66 Works, IX, 239.


prepared from the old records and showing the plan of the city as of December 25, 1645. When the fictional setting of the romance is compared with the map, one can see that Hawthorne correctly placed the jail near Cornhill, the cemetery on Isaac Johnson's property, the market place near the prison, and the scaffold on the western side of the market place and close to one of Boston's earliest churches. Governor Bellingham's house is northwest of the market place and almost due north of the prison. Reverend Wilson's house is due north of the market. The house of Governor Winthrop is south of the market, approximately three times the distance from the prison to the market. The meeting house is almost exactly east of the prison. Hester's walk from the prison to the scaffold by the meeting house was apparently a short one, as Hawthorne states. Bellingham's house is conveniently close enough to the scaffold for Dimmesdale to see it during his vigil, when the governor and Mistress Hibbins look out. Though Governor Bellingham is correctly mentioned as the governor in the early part of the romance, Winthrop was governor until Endicott was elected in 1649, the date of the minister's vigil.  

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69 Ibid., p. 262.

70 Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts-Bay, I, 129. The date of the Minister's Vigil is that of Winthrop's death.
The purpose of Hawthorne's use of Snow's description is perhaps to give a further air of authenticity to the setting by using the description of an actual house in Boston. A dwelling which was stuccoed with bits of glass with "cabbalistic figures and diagrams" is described by Snow, and its resemblance to the Bellingham house is quite close, though the structure is not Bellingham's.

Hawthorne adjusted the actual events and persons to create a more effective story. The minister's vigil, Chapter XII, occurs seven years after Hester's public disgrace and apparently on the night in May when Governor Winthrop died, since as Hester is returning home from his bedside she sees Dimmesdale on the scaffold. Winthrop actually died on March 26, 1649. Ryskamp feels that the reason for the change is to overcome the problems of having Dimmesdale on the scaffold all night in March, a month in which the temperature in New England would be uncomfortable and perhaps dangerous to his health. For the sake of building suspense, the latter part of the plot requires a short period of time between the scaffold scene and the Election Day Sermon, which was


traditionally in May or June. Hawthorne provided the necessary unity by altering the date of the earlier event.

Hawthorne's interest in the unusual explains his picturing the letter A in the sky, an event which puzzles the realistic reader. Ryskamp states that the occurrence could have been based on a comment by Snow that when John Cotton died on Thursday, December 23, 1652, "... strange and alarming signs appeared in the heavens ... ."74

None of the major characters are based strictly on any actual persons in the history of the time depicted in the romance. These fictional characters Hawthorne uses in conjunction with minor characters based on actual figures to develop the story he wanted to tell. After examining several entries in Hawthorne's American Notebooks, one may conclude that Hawthorne's daughter Una furnished a model for Pearl's personality. Hester, like Catherine in "The Gentle Boy," seems drawn from several figures, one of whom Charles Boewe and Murray Murphey note is Goodwife Mendame of Duxbury, who


wore an AD to signify her sin. Boewe and Murphey also feel that another possible prototype for Hester is mentioned in the records of the Salem Court Quarterly, concerning a November, 1668, incident involving Hester Craford, who confessed her guilt of fornication from which a child was born. Dimmesdale seems created to exemplify Hawthorne's ambivalent attitude toward the Puritans in that the minister is a secret sinner who is admired for his piety by his followers. Hawthorne's ambiguous impression of William and John Hathorne probably influenced him in Dimmesdale's portrayal, since they were admired figures whom Hawthorne saw as evil. Chillingworth appears to be the product of Hawthorne's imagination.

The minor characters, Reverend John Wilson, Governors Winthrop and Bellingham, Mistress Hibbins, and Master Brackett, the jailer, are based on actual persons found in Snow's History of Boston. Reverend John Wilson, a Puritan minister mentioned in several accounts, was not so old a man as Hawthorne portrays him, but Hawthorne uses a technique similar to that used with Roger Williams in "Endicott and the Red Cross" and makes him venerable by presenting him as an


76 Ibid., p. 203.
older person. Wilson was actually only fifty-seven years of age in 1649. Ryskamp feels that Hawthorne presented the minister as an older man to provide a more direct contrast to Dimmesdale. Ryskamp notes that the only reference to Mistress Hibbins as Bellingham's sister is in the 1825 edition of Winthrop's Journal. In a footnote, reference is made to a James Savage, who states that Bellingham is the brother of Mistress Hibbins but did not save her from death. Julian Hawthorne observes that Mistress Hibbins was a relative of Bellingham but not necessarily his sister. In any case, Mrs. Ann Hibbins was executed for witchcraft in June, 1655. Her husband, a merchant, had died on July 23, 1654, in reduced financial condition; and because of a lack of business success and money, the wife became quarrelsome. She was accused of witchcraft by her neighbors.

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and convicted, even though the magistrates refused to accept the verdict. The General Court was swayed by popular demand and had her executed. The error in time does not affect Hawthorne's story, but he presents her living with Bellingham as a widow nine years before her husband actually died. Ryskamp notes that by using Hibbins and Bellingham, Hawthorne has "fewer stage directions and explanations" and provides a more realistic unity for the romance. This use also explains the presence of the various people in the marketplace the night of the minister's vigil, since Bellingham's house was just north of the scaffold. Suggested too is the reason that Bellingham, the governor during the opening scenes of the novel, is the only governor mentioned in the latter part of the novel after Winthrop's death. Hawthorne remains purposely vague in stating who the actual governor is at the end of the romance, and he fails to note that Endicott was elected in 1649. He apparently saw little benefit in introducing a new character, and retained Bellingham to provide increased unity in the story. Hawthorne does apply the

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81. Ibid.

82. Ibid., pp. 267-268.
title of governor to both Bellingham and Winthrop in Chapter XII, so the point made by Ryskamp is perhaps a valid one.

Reverend Blackstone, who receives only a reference in regard to his planting apple trees, some of which survive in Bellingham's garden, had been the first settler on the peninsula and had a claim on the entire area. Snow notes that the name Blackstone's Neck was given to a strip of land near Salem. Blackstone planted apple trees, the first in Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and preached in Providence, traveling on a trained bull when he became too old to walk the distance required by his travel. This man is the same whose name is given the priest in "The Maypole of Merry-Mount."

As Ryskamp notes, the jailer, Brackett, also called Parker in Snow's History, is mentioned only in the description of property owned by John Leverett, a citizen of Boston. Hawthorne apparently included this unimportant figure to add authenticity to the story.

Hawthorne's use of the Black Man of the Forest and of Mistress Hibbins' association with witchcraft indicates his interest in the legends about witches. The description of the Man with the Book coincides with Mather's description of how the devil's converts had to sign, or at least touch, the book, or be tortured by spirits.

84 Mather, Magnalia, II, 473.
Traditions of the past serve as the basis for the plot more than any actual occurrence. Hawthorne follows an old technique of early English novelists who purported to publish the record of someone's life, such as Daniel Defoe did in *Memoirs of a Cavalier*. Hawthorne's "Custom House" essay gives the event supposed authenticity by referring to the faded scarlet A and Surveyor Jonathan Pue's account of Hester Prynne's life. Earlier, in "Endicott and the Red Cross," Hawthorne mentions a young woman who wears an A denoting her sin of adultery, so the subject was obviously interesting to Hawthorne. A woman's wearing a mark of adultery was not unusual in later New England, but Boewe and Murphey note that the punishment for adultery at the time of the plot was death, the law found in Felt's *Annals* not being in effect until 1694.85 On May 5, 1694, Felt records that those found guilty of adultery had to

... sit on the gallows, with ropes about their necks, be severely whipt not above 40 stripes; and forever after wear a capital A, two inches long, cut out of cloth coloured differently from their clothes, and sewed on the arms, or back parts of their garments so as always to be seen when they are about.86

Hawthorne used an incident which might well have happened, though no account exists which parallels the story of Hester.

85 Boewe and Murphey, "Hester Prynne in History," p. 203.

Hawthorne's interest in Puritans was keen because his own family was deeply involved in Puritan history. The religious fervor which led the Puritans into the Quaker persecutions also later involved them in the Salem witchcraft delusion of 1692. Although the movement started in Danvers, the examinations did occur in Salem, and Hawthorne's ancestor John Hathorne was a judge in these trials.

According to Turner, sources read by Hawthorne for background material on witchcraft include Mather's *Magnalia* and *Wonders of the Invisible World*, Winthrop's *Journal*, Felt's *Annals of Salem*, and Sewall's *Diary*.\(^8^7\) Though the belief in witchcraft was widespread, it was no stronger in Salem than it was in Europe. Phillips explains that

probably ninety-nine per cent of the people in West Europe and America believed in a personal devil—a gentleman clothed in black with horns on his head, cloven hoofs, and a forked tail, whom you might meet by ill luck almost any dark night. His servants were the witches who had signed away their souls in his book, and furnished this spiritual gentleman with the power to do physical injury. It followed, therefore, if you could find and destroy the witch, you curtailed the gentleman's power for evil.\(^8^8\)

All levels of society believed in this "real" devil and his control of souls, and "... they labored over the details of how to find the witches and how to prove they were witches

\(^8^7\) Turner, *Hawthorne's Literary Borrowings*, p. 545.

..." rather than challenging "... the fundamental truth of the whole ridiculous idea." Phillips states further that only two or three of those who did for witchcraft denied a belief in it. Adherence to the delusion of witchcraft in Salem might have been less fervent had it not been for the noted Puritan minister Cotton Mather, who "... was a moving spirit in the matter... He systematized, organized, and defended demonology." One who shared Mather's zeal for destroying witches was Judge John Hathorne. The tarnished history of the town itself would certainly have affected Hawthorne's views, but to have had a relative who was one of the judges, and a cruel one at that, created for Hawthorne an inescapable tie with the past. In the introduction to the Rinehart Edition of The House of the Seven Gables, Young discusses this feeling of guilt which, had said Hawthorne, "... the dreary and unprosperous condition" of his family" for many a long year back, would argue to exist." A better argument for the existence of this curse in

89Ibid.

90Ibid., pp. 291-292.

91Ibid., p. 302.

92Ibid., p. 304.
fact, and for its operation specifically on Hawthorne, is that he suffered in his own conscience the guilt that these ancestors had incurred: "I . . . take shame upon myself for their sakes."93

Hawthorne's relative, along with Jonathan Corwin, held the first witchcraft trial in March, 1692. Corwin later lost much of his concern for the trials and even refused to participate in them. Judge Hathorne, however, continued his persistent prosecution of the accused witches with undiminished vigor. If he had qualms, they did not become evident until after the delusion was well past, for as Hubert Hoeltje states, on March 6, 1712, the judge probably joined his " . . . fellow Communicants with bowed heads in a supplication for forgiveness"94 in a Salem church.

That Hawthorne was deeply affected by such historical material is reflected in much of his fiction and is quite apparent in "Young Goodman Brown" and The House of the Seven Gables. The setting of Salem itself is enough to suggest to the reader its past history of witches, superstition, ghosts, and curses. And Hawthorne made extensive use of this association as a background for much of his work.

Though the plot of "Young Goodman Brown" has no basis in history, the supposed existence of such cults and the participation of the members in their ceremonies was a dogma to many


New Englanders. Phillips notes that it is now believed an organized cult of witchcraft never existed in New England,\footnote{Phillips, Salem in the Seventeenth Century, p. 290.} but none of Hawthorne's sources admit the fact. Orians believes that "Young Goodman Brown"

\[\ldots\] is typical of Hawthorne's attitude toward witchcraft material. He accepted for fictional purposes the theological sin of witchcraft, of a signed compact whereby one transferred allegiance and worship from God to the Devil. He then elaborated his characters, real and imaginary, under this conception until they embodied all the reputed characteristics, drawing from the resulting fabric the threads of his allegory.\footnote{G. Harrison Orians, "New England Witchcraft in Fiction," American Literature, II (March, 1930), 65.}

Hawthorne's tale employs the Witches' Sabbath which legend supports and which, as Orians notes, is found described in several sources.\footnote{Ibid., note. Orians gives as sources Essex County Records; C. W. Upham, Lectures on Witchcraft (Boston, 1931), pp. 46-48; and Cotton Mather, Wonders of the Invisible World (New York, 1950), Chapter I, Section 1, "Trial of G. B."}

Actual history used in the tale includes the use of the names of several people recorded in records of the time. The three women discovered by Brown to be witches, Goody Cloyse, Goody Cory, and Martha Carrier, were actually residents of Salem. Tremaine McDowell, in a study of Hawthorne's use of
witches, identifies them as Sarah Cloyse, Martha Corey (Cory), and Martha Carrier. More important than their actual existence, however, is the fact that Judge John Hathorne presided at the trials in which each was sentenced to death. The name of Deacon Gookin is found in Mather's Magnalia and Sewall's Diary. The two main characters have no historical prototypes who had any experience similar to that in the tale, though the name Goodman Brown does appear in Sewall's Diary. Faith, whose name is obviously a device providing for the intended ambiguity in Brown's loss of Faith, has no known forerunner. David Levin feels that she is suggested by a passage in Mather's Magnalia: "... they feared lest the Devil would get ... into the Faith of the people ... " The three witches, Deacon Gookin, and Goodman Brown provide the authentic background against which

99 Mather, Magnalia, I, 142.
100 Sewall, Diary, p. 100.
101 Ibid., p. 52.
Hawthorne creates the allegorical actions of the characters. The setting is Salem village (now Danvers), which Levin observes is "... the cantankerous hamlet in which the afflictions, the accusations, and the diabolical sabbaths centered in 1692."103 By using the village instead of Salem itself Hawthorne alludes to a place suggestive of the background desired for the story.

The House of the Seven Gables is based on Hawthorne's knowledge of the time during which Colonel Pyncheon and Matthew Maule, the dominant influences in the book, supposedly lived. Hawthorne used facts and legends about early Salem, including the witchcraft delusion and Hathorne family history, to form the past which weighs heavily upon Clifford and Hepzibah Pyncheon. Dawson observes that if the romance is "... not based on history ... it is at least based on tradition."104

Three residences seem to have influenced Hawthorne's story. The House of the Seven Gables, also known as the Turner House, still stands in Salem and is a visible reminder of Hawthorne's tendency to use the actual in his work. This old structure, though known by its gabled roof, is believed not to be the only dwelling Hawthorne used for his fictional

103 Ibid., pp. 345-346.
104 Dawson, "Hawthorne's Knowledge and Use of New England History," p. 156.
account. The Philip English Mansion, itself surviving from the same period, is felt by Hoeltje to be the prototype of the house in the story. Griffiths feels that yet another residence influenced Hawthorne. Since Hawthorne's interest in old houses prompted at least three entries in his American Notebooks, it appears that Hawthorne drew from his impressions of those three to provide information used in the romance.

Hawthorne was familiar with the Turner House of the Seven Gables and had been in it several times. Its dark, foreboding appearance with its overhanging upper stories, which match the protruding brows of the Pyncheons, fits well the tone of the story.

Events associated with the English Mansion, however, also offer some interesting parallels with the plot of the novel. During the "reign" of Judge John Hathorne, the wife of a wealthy businessman named Philip English was accused of witchcraft and imprisoned. She escaped, but her husband was also charged with the same crime. He later escaped the sentenced hanging but cursed Judge Hathorne, the man who had handed down the sentence, and refused on his deathbed to forgive the judge. In a subsequent generation, however, the

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105 Hoeltje, Inward Sky, p. 343.

106 Works, IX, 55, 80-83, 276.
grandson of the judge married a great-granddaughter of English, and the house actually came into possession of the Hathorne family. The central irony of the situation varies only in details from that in the novel.

Basing his observation on a passage in Hawthorne's American Notebooks, Thomas Morgan Griffiths theorizes that a house and estate named Montpelier, in Maine, influenced Hawthorne's imagination. When Hawthorne first saw the estate in 1837, its run-down condition suggested to him the decay of a once powerful family. In both the novel and the history of the estate, the validity of the owner's claim is based on an Indian deed (in Knox's case the Waldo Patent), and the estate is measured not "in terms of acres but miles." Other similarities are that each house is half-way down a by-street, both General Knox and Colonel Pyncheon die when their fortunes are about to be more secure, the sons lack the ability to carry on the family fortunes, a map is on the wall of each house, and Knox gives a barbecue similar to the housewarming given by Colonel Pyncheon. In his American Notebooks, Hawthorne even notes the "rusty" appearance of the outside of the house just as he describes the House of the

107 Ibid., 80-83.
Seven Gables. Hawthorne adapts these attributes to a Salem setting by combining them with other events pertinent to the Turner and English houses, though the external appearance of the Turner House is the exterior of Hawthorne's fictional house.

Two of the characters are patterned after real persons in the colonial period. The first of these is Colonel Pyncheon, who is based on Hawthorne's own ancestor, Judge John Hathorne, a ruthless but capable individual much as Colonel Pyncheon was. Although there is a Judge Pyncheon in Salem history, whom Hawthorne records in his notebooks, Hawthorne denies using any real persons as the basis for the character. Young explains the choice of the name this way:

... there is ... the relation to the "Pyncheon" family and to that name itself, which suggesting "truncheon," has appropriate overtones of cruelty, while the "pinch" befits their greed for money.

According to Hoeltje, Matthew Maule's prototype is a Thomas Maule, who lived in Salem and was an individual of the singularity of Hawthorne's character. Even though it was not he

\[109\] Ibid., 80.
\[110\] Young, "Introduction," p. vii.
\[111\] Works, III, 15.
\[112\] Young, "Introduction," p. vi.
\[113\] Hoeltje, Inward Sky, p. 273.
who delivered the curse against the judge, it was not at all
difficult for Hawthorne to adjust fact to suit fiction by
changing the curse from the original source to Maule. Because
of their part in the curse as it appears in the novel, Dawson
cites both English and Sarah Good as possible sources of
ideas which emerge in the character of Matthew Maule. \(114\)
Hawthorne used names in Salem history but created personalities
more closely fitting his need than would the real persons,
and the result of Hawthorne's transmutation is two plausible
Salemites.

The plot of the romance is strongly influenced by the
malediction "God will give you blood to drink," supposedly
uttered by Matthew Maule as he stood on the gallows. Though
Philip English's action perhaps suggested the scene to Haw-
thorne, the actual curse was probably based on a passage in
Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts-Bay* and was directed at
Reverend Nicolas Noyes by a woman, reputed to be Sarah Good,
who was hanged as a witch. It was, however, Judge John
Hathorne who had examined her. Hutchinson records that as
Mrs. Good stood ready to be hanged, Noyes strongly urged her
to confess her witchcraft, but "... she replied ... that
she was no more a witch than he was a wizard; and if he took
her life, God would give him blood to drink." \(115\) Strangely

\(114\) Dawson, "Hawthorne's Knowledge and Use of New England
History," p. 156.

\(115\) Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts-Bay*, II, 41.
enough, Noyes' death was caused by an "... internal hemorrhage, bleeding profusely at the mouth."116

What Hawthorne accomplished by his adjustment of historical facts to fictional needs is the creation of a world of his own which has shadowy, and sometimes vivid, characteristics of the real Salem and its past. By his use of incidents in colonial history, he has laid the foundation which supports his theme of the continuing impact of the past. The mood and tone are set by Colonel Pyncheon (Judge Hathorne) and provide the background for the cycles of evil and degeneration of the House and the Pyncheons.

Creatively transforming the actual into an imaginary but realistic account is the strength of Hawthorne's use of history. In his version of the account of Endicott and the red cross, Hawthorne changes very little. He heightens the effect of the setting by vividly describing details such as the wolf's head nailed to the porch of the church, the military display, and the reflecting breastplate of Endicott's armor, and he brings out a moral in which he forecasts the doom of British domination in America. It is the significance of the incident which is important. With the Gray Champion, he does not use the historical event but rather the character, and puts him into a situation which provides the moral: British attempts to rule America are destined to fail. He

116 Ibid., note.
uses much the same technique with the Quaker persecutions, the actual event being only a point of departure for Hawthorne's story, and his tale being the result of a collation of unrelated events welded firmly into a coherent story.

The deeds of his ancestors John and William Hathorne also drew Hawthorne's interest to the colonial period. So to this time in American history Hawthorne was closely linked by personal association. In Revolutionary history, Hawthorne felt less involvement, even though one of his relatives was a prominent sea captain for the American cause, and the work concerned with the Revolutionary War history is therefore less closely identifiable with Hawthorne's family past.
Nathaniel Hawthorne's ample use of events in the American Revolution strongly appealed to the desire of Americans for literature based on their past. The latter part of *The Whole History of Grandfather's Chair* and some of his biographical sketches pertain to the period of the Revolution, but they are more of the nature of legitimate history than of fiction. He does, however, reveal his historiography in these pieces. A work in which Hawthorne transmutes Revolutionary War history and one consequently most important to this study is "Legends of the Province House." Here Hawthorne uses the Province House, home of the royal governors in Boston, as the central setting for four tales: "Howe's Masquerade," "Edward Randolph's Portrait," "Lady Eleanore's Mantle," and "Old Esther Dudley."

Hawthorne's selecting Boston as the setting for the tales utilizing Revolutionary history is natural because of the important role Boston played in the war. Here many incidents occurred to incite the conflict. In 1686, for example, Edward Randolph caused unrest by securing an Anglican minister for Boston. Discontent continued through the Sugar Acts of 1764, the Stamp Act of 1765, the Townshend Acts of 1767, the
landing of British troops in Boston in 1768, the Boston
Massacre in 1770, and the Boston Tea Party in 1773. In 1774,
the Coercive Acts contributed to the feeling of unrest.
Within Boston, mobs did considerable damage to property and
stirred emotions during the times of trial. Although the
skirmishes of Lexington and Concord are important in the
history of this period, it was near Boston on June 17, 1775,
that the Americans fought their even more important Battle of
Bunker Hill. The outcome of this battle, fought in plain
sight of many citizens, gave the colonists a psychological
boost and certainly had an adverse effect on British morale
in America. The climax of the trouble was the Siege of
Boston, ending on March 17, 1776, when General William Howe,
the governor of Massachusetts Bay and commander of British
forces in America, was forced to evacuate the city, taking
his soldiers and a number of loyalists to Halifax, thus
ending the fighting on Massachusetts soil for the remainder
of the Revolution.

The use of Boston's Province House as the setting for
the tales adds a great deal to the forcefulness of the four
stories because of the symbolic value of the structure, the
history of which epitomizes in many ways the development of
the colony itself. Just as Boston was established by colonials
to fit their needs, so was the Province House established by
a colonial, and like Boston, it was later modified to serve
royal demands. Even later, all but traces of royal influence
and control were destroyed by disaster and war, and the Province House by fire.

Peter Sergeant built the dwelling later called Province House in 1679 on Marlborough Street (later Washington Street) as his private residence. At that time it was one of only two brick structures in Boston. After its purchase for use as the mansion of the royal governors in 1716, it received a "quasi-Georgian" renovation with an additional story (making a total of three), and a new roof with dormers, a cupola, and a classical porch.\(^1\) Part of the adornment of the house was a figure of an Indian (carved by Chem Drowne) with "... drawn bow and arrow ..." placed atop the cupola. After the war, the structure served as the Government House where governors and the council met. In 1811 it was "... given to the newly incorporated Massachusetts General Hospital and by them leased for business purposes." It was later used as a tavern and as "a theatre of a rather low order." Fire destroyed all but part of one wall in 1864,\(^2\) the year of Hawthorne's death. Although it had been important during the time of royal control, the Province House, as Kirker notes, "... survived the War of Independence only as a symbol of rejected grandeur, of an authority and exclusiveness guaranteed


\(^2\) George F. Boston, Jr., *Boston Ways: High, By and Folk* (Boston, 1957), p. 64.
by a government based on inequality and privilege."\(^3\) It is this "rejected grandeur" that probably appealed to Hawthorne and influenced him to use the old dwelling as the central setting of the tales.\(^4\)

Though Hawthorne does not deviate from the truth in his description of Province House, he does emphasize some aspects of its appearance which, though historically correct, add an air of strangeness and remoteness to the scene. The House itself serves as a common meeting ground of the past and the present. In his description, Hawthorne mentions a balustrade of "curiously wrought iron" on the sides of the steps and balcony. In the upper iron work "16 P. S. 79" denotes the date of the construction and the initials of the original owner.\(^5\) Hawthorne pictures the interior as dark and gloomy. The once spacious rooms are cut into smaller units, reducing the dignity of the historic old structure. The tiles around the fireplace, imported from Holland, picture religious scenes. Hawthorne's mentioning of these tiles and stating that the wives of Governors Pownal and Bernard might have explained to their

\(^3\)Kirker, *Bullfinch's Boston*, p. 18.


children the scriptural scene depicted on each tile allows the reader to infer what the loyalists' comments might be. The scene also notes an ambivalence in that both the Puritans and the loyalists ascribe to the same Christian concepts and yet consider themselves incompatible with the other group. Hawthorne describes the cupola as octagon-shaped, with windows and a door which opens to the roof, and he imagines that from this vantage point General Gage might well have observed the Battle of Bunker Hill, and General Howe the approach of Washington's army. These aspects help create the patina of history which Hawthorne needed as background for his romantic fiction. Hawthorne observes that the white oak timbers of the skeletal structure are not decayed. The walls of imported brick (from Holland) are also sound, but he mentions that the floors and other parts of the interior are deteriorated and that some thought has been given to gutting the structure and rebuilding the inside. Noting the balcony from which royal governors perhaps once spoke to the people, he mentions that new buildings now shut the House off from the street. Visible in these buildings are "... tailoresses, sewing and chatting

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6 Ibid., p. 64. Weston confirms the bar but does not mention the hotel facilities, though they may certainly have existed, mentioned by Hawthorne in his introduction. Arlin Turner, "Hawthorne's Literary Borrowings," Publication of the Modern Language Association, LI (June, 1936), 553: states that Hawthorne got much of his information about the Province House from visits at the House with the proprietors.
and laughing, with now and then a careless glance towards the balcony."

Hawthorne's evident purpose in the introduction is to familiarize the reader with not only the appearance of the interior but also its ruin and decay. The literal deterioration of the interior parallels the decay of the reputation of the old building from a royal mansion to a public house. He makes reference to the military boots and gouty shoes which one traversed the stone steps. John Hancock, first governor after the British evacuation in 1776 and well known to have had gout, appears in the fourth story of this group, "Old Esther Dudley." The aged man who relates the first of the three tales, Bela Tiffany, serves as the link with the past, as does the old loyalist who tells the fourth story. Hawthorne's purpose in alluding to the tile and brick imported from Holland is to draw to the reader's mind the early Pilgrims who left Holland in 1620 to flee religious persecution. The need to replace the interior symbolizes the need for rebuilding the internal structure of the colony. That the House is cut off from the street by new buildings indicates a lack of present intercourse with society, and the careless attitudes of the tailoresses toward the old house reflects the current lack of interest in its symbolic past.

The first story, "Howe's Masquerade," is so named because

7 Works, I, 275-276.
the central figure is General William Howe, commander of British troops during the Battle of Bunker Hill. The occasion is a masquerade ball held by Howe at Province House during the siege of Boston. Whether this particular party was actually held is conjectural, but Hawthorne has assumed the romancer's prerogative of creating incidents and dialogue appropriate to the time. This tale, as well as the next two, is related by Bela Tiffany, and of the truth of the account Hawthorne's narrator says:

He [Tiffany] professed to have received it at one or two removes from an eye-witness; but this derivation, together with the lapse of time, must have afforded opportunities for many variations of the narrative; so that despairing of literal and absolute truth, I have not scrupled to make such further changes as seemed conducive to the reader's profit and delight.

This statement is an example of Hawthorne's preparing the reader to accept the creative alterations of the facts.

Present at the party are a large number of British officers and loyalists. Many of the guests wear ludicrous disguises of such characters as Shakespeare's rollicking soldier Falstaff and Cervantes's ridiculous knight Don

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8 Parties were held frequently by the British during the siege as were plays. Henry Cabot Lodge, *Boston* (London, 1891), p. 158.

9 Works, I, 276.

10 For other examples see the prefaces to *Twice-Told Tales*, *The Blithedale Romance*, and *The House of the Seven Gables*.
Quixote, with a beanpole lance and a pot-lid shield. Also present are comical figures representing the American generals Horatio Gates, Charles Lee, Israel Putnam, Philip Schuyler, Artemas Ward, and William Heath. A figure representing General George Washington carries a long rusty sword. Part of the entertainment at the party is a burlesque interview between General Howe and the colonial officers, a farce especially enjoyed by the loyalists present.

Then music begins in the street outside, a "slow funeral march." The muffled drums and the trumpet silence the audience. The drum-major, answering General Howe's call, identifies the music as that piece played at the funeral of King George the Second. A darkly dressed person opens the doors of the House, and from the upper level of the House descends a strange group of figures resembling the old governors of the colony.  

At this point in the tale, Hawthorne assumes a knowledge by his audience of the governors of Massachusetts Bay, because Colonel Joliffe's brief comments hint mainly at only those facts related to the governors that Hawthorne wishes to make apparent. The figures parade in a funeral march down the stairs in the order of their reigns: John Winthrop, Sir Henry

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Hawthorne fails to clarify whether these are supposedly ghosts or American colonists sympathetic with the Revolution. This characteristic ambiguity affords the reader more than one interpretation of the story and thereby makes the tale more fiction than history.
Vane, Thomas Dudley, John Haynes, John Endicott, Richard Bellingham, Edward Randolph, and John Leverett. A second group composed of Simon Bradstreet, Sir Edmund Andros, Sir William Phipps, and the Earl of Bellamont, moves down the stairs. Next Joseph Dudley, Samuel Shute, William Burnet, Jonathan Belcher, William Shirley, Thomas Pownall, Francis Bernard, and Thomas Hutchinson come in the procession. As the crowd stares, another figure, who could be none other than General Gage, Howe's immediate predecessor, passes through the portal. As a last shadowy figure approaches, General Howe steps forward, blocking its way with a sword point at its throat. The figure pauses, uncovering just enough to reveal its face to General Howe, who gasps in amazement, and then brushes past the pale British commander. Colonel Joliffe, Hawthorne's commentator in the tale, observes that he "' . . . might fancy that the ghosts of these ancient governors had been summoned to form the funeral procession of royal authority in New England.'" As the final figure leaves, he "' . . . stamp[s] his foot and shake[s] his clinched hands in the air.'" General Howe reputedly duplicated this action as he left the House for the last time on March 17, 1776, when he

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12 Works, I, 284.
13 Ibid., 288.
14 Ibid.
evacuated the city.

At the moment that the funeral train moves down the street, the sound of cannons booms "... upon a nearer height than before,"\(^{15}\) which marks the date as March 16, 1776,\(^{16}\) when Washington's cannons opened fire on Boston from Nooks Hill and precipitated the British withdrawal from Boston.

Although the final scene of the story reflects a climactic incident in history, the characters also are important to the story because they furnish the historical texture necessary to the scene. Of the men present in the city at the time of the siege, the ones chosen by Hawthorne, Mather Byles, a Presbyterian minister, and Lord Percy, a British officer, have reputations which add a great deal to the tale. By using them Hawthorne provides the authentic aura of the past, but he also draws upon the reputations of these two men, persons who gave the Americans ample reason to dislike the British.

Reverend Mather Byles was one of the most notable loyalists in Boston during the period. Moses Coit Tyler in A History of American Literature notes that "although in the pulpit he never ... referred to politics, out of the

\(^{15}\) Ibid.

\(^{16}\) The reason for selecting the later date and not the March 4 firing from Dorchester Heights is Joliffe's statement that the hours are short for British authority in Boston. Ibid., 288-289.
pulpit he referred to little else. . . ."17 Well known as a witty person, he used his powers to

. . . baffle and scourge the political designs of his own people. During the occupation . . . by the king's soldiers, he . . . had given them his aid and comfort; and he still affronted his congregation after the evacuation by praying, in their presence, for the prosperity of the monarch whose troops had desolated the town, had slaughtered their brethren, and were preparing to enslave the whole country.18

He was the pastor of the Hollis Street Church for forty-three years but was forced to quit public life as a result of what was little less than a rebellion by his congregation.19

There is no doubt why Hawthorne included this clergymen in the story: he represents the domination of the people's religion by royal authority, and freedom of the church from English control is what had prompted many colonists to come to America. Byles also had a reputation as a " . . . Tory punster and a clerical buffoon."20

Lord Percy, the British officer also given a speaking role in the story, was a man who gave the Americans cause to

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18 Ibid.

19 The incident precipitated from Byles' loyalist feelings and resulted in a summons to the church by a committee from his congregation to force him to answer the charges against him. By sheer forcefulness of personality, Byles overrode the group but resigned his office as a result of the incident. Ibid., pp. 427-428.

20 Ibid., p. 428.
dislike the British. He was an eager advocate of the Crown's control of the colonies, but he disapproved of the war. It was Percy, however, who commanded the first brigade of Dutch fusileers who reinforced General Gage at Lexington on April 19, 1775, and permitted his troops to plunder the American houses on their retreat. In addition he helped support the rumor that the Americans desecrated the bodies of those slain at Lexington. Before the Battle of Bunker Hill he claimed to be ill and did not see action. In November of 1775, he was ordered to attack Dorchester Heights but did not because he saw the impractical nature of the plan. He returned to England in 1776 and later became the Duke of Northumberland in 1786.\footnote{James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, editors, 
Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 6 vols. (New York, 1900), IV, 724-725.}

Percy is obviously a good choice for a supporting character along with Byles because of what both represent in the history with which Hawthorne's readers were familiar. They become in this tale representative of all Englishmen rejected by the colonists because of the Americans' dislike for the king. Neither was well suited for his intended role in the colonies, Byles by his loyalist leanings and Percy by his part in the activities of the British Army in America. Hawthorne uses the two to symbolize the attitudes of the British clerical and military minds in the city.

The procession of the governors recalls to the reader's
mind a long series of injustices against the colonists by such men as Sir Edmund Andros, whom Hawthorne called a "tyrant," and Governor Burnet, "whom the legislature tormented into a mortal fever." It juxtaposes them with those better accepted governors such as John Endicott, who bears the torn English flag, and Sir Henry Vane, who resisted the authority of England and was later executed there. As they pass, Colonel William Joliffe comments on the deceased governors and gives the American impression of them.

Hawthorne uses Joliffe to suggest the American tradition and to present the desired historical aura. The figure, seemingly well known by the other characters in the tale, is probably based on Mr. Joyliffe, a man Hutchinson identifies as "A person who had been many years a leading man in town affairs in Boston." He can further be identified as John Joyliffe.

22 Endicott ripped the red cross from the British flag as a protest against the oppression of the Crown. Hawthorne relates the incident in The Whole History of Grandfather's Chair and uses it as the basis for the plot of "Endicott and the Red Cross." Description of the scene can be found in Thomas Hutchinson, History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay, 3 vols. edited by Lawrence Shaw Mayo (Cambridge, 1936), I, 35, 36f. and Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana 2 vols. (Hartford, 1855), II, 499.

23 Sir Henry Vane, in addition to defending Anne Hutchinson, is mentioned in the tale as one who was executed for treason by Charles II. N. S. Bell, compiler, Pathways of the Puritans (Framingham, 1930), pp. 131-132.

24 Hutchinson, The History of Massachusetts-Bay, I, 318n.
a Selectman of Boston, town recorder in 1691, and a member of the Council, though he served in that capacity for only one term. His name does not appear in any of the historical accounts of the Siege of Boston, though his military title added by Hawthorne suggests loyal service. Accompanied by his granddaughter, he is pictured as a "... stern old figure, the best sustained character in the masquerade, because so well representing the antique spirit of his native land." Thus Joliffe is the Puritan spirit of the past rising to forecast and witness the downfall of royal authority in America. His granddaughter accompanying him represents a similar anti-English spirit in a younger generation of Americans. The two are universal figures embodying the feelings of the colonists.

In "Howe's Masquerade" Hawthorne depicts the end of royal authority. He uses for background two historical facts: the cannonade from Nooks Hill and the certainty that parties were held by the British during the siege. From these two creates a story in which Colonel Joliffe, a man whose feelings are characteristic of the spirit of the American Revolutionary times, notes triumphantly what the reader may infer is the funeral march of British control in America. Hawthorne uses

25 Ibid., editor's note.
26 Works, I, 278.
the procession and Colonel Joliffe's presence in Boston to support the illusion of historical reality and sustain an air of mystery and suspense. He ends the story on the verge of the evacuation of Boston, suggesting the outcome which history records as true but sharpening the effect of the story drawn from what is on the surface a fairly insignificant event in the Revolutionary War. He uses this seemingly small and temporary advantage for the Americans to presage the eventual outcome of the Revolution and thereby express the theme that the past influences the present.

The second tale, "Edward Randolph's Portrait," concerns the actions of Thomas Hutchinson, who became governor of Massachusetts Bay upon the departure of Sir Francis Bernard. Hanging in the chamber in which the action occurs, a blackened portrait of Edward Randolph suggests the title. The primary incident is the "surrender" of Castle William to the control of the Crown by giving the command to a British officer, an affair which Hutchinson records "... was the most difficult ... to manage that happened during ... my administration."  

27 Castle William, named after King William III of England, was a fort on a small island in Boston Harbor. It was controlled by colonial militia until Hutchinson gave command of it to the British in 1770. When the British evacuated Boston in March, 1776, the last contingent to leave was the force left behind to destroy the structure, which it did. After having lit the fuses, the force embarked at 9 P.M. and were the last British soldiers to set foot in Boston for the remainder of the conflict.

28 Hutchinson, The History of Massachusetts-Bay, III, 222.
Castle William played an important role several times during the period as a refuge for governmental officials, once when Bernard and Hutchinson fled there to escape mob reaction to the Stamp Act. Customs officials also fled to it during the turmoil resulting from the seizure of John Hancock's sloop Liberty in June, 1768. British troops were moved to it from Boston in order to secure the peace after the Boston Massacre. But it was controlled by a colonial force under the command of a captain of militia until late in 1770. Having received orders from General Gage in mid-summer of 1770, Hutchinson began to plan the withdrawal of provincial troops from the Castle. He acted reluctantly because he saw no reason for removing the troops. As a security measure he kept the matter secret from the colonials. He informed Colonel Dalrymple and General Gage how he felt. On September 8, however, he received a letter from Lord Hillsborough stating that the king wanted the colonial garrison withdrawn. Gage and Hutchinson selected Colonel Dalrymple to be the new commander, and an order was issued to Captain Phillips to yield his command of the Castle to Dalrymple. At

29 Lodge, Boston, p. 126.


a Council meeting, Hutchinson directed that the King's order, as well as parts of the letter from Lord Hillsborough, be read. Mr. Bowdoin and Mr. Pitts, members of the Council, wanted the stores and ammunition removed from the fortress before it was surrendered to the British force, but the request was denied. In addition to the King's order, Hutchinson relied on a law stating that the governor could place in control of the forts whomever he saw fit. He visited the Castle in the afternoon and, after a short and apparently bitter meeting with Captain Phillips, gave the keys to Colonel Dalrymple.

On November 8, a group from the Committee of the House came to Hutchinson's lodgings in Cambridge in regard to the manner of the surrender of the fort. Hutchinson denied any knowledge of a "surrender" and justified his giving Dalrymple command, since the governor was allowed that power by the Charter. The transferal permanently took the fort from the Americans, for the British retained control of the Castle until 1776, when they destroyed it.

Hawthorne's account does not vary in essence from that told by Hutchinson in his Diary and in his History of

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32 Ibid., 29-30.
33 Ibid.
Massachusetts-Bay\textsuperscript{34}, but it does deviate in several minor ways. As Hawthorne's story opens, Hutchinson is talking with Captain Francis Lincoln, the commander of Castle William, and Alice Vane, both relatives of Hutchinson.\textsuperscript{35} After Hutchinson informs Lincoln that British troops must occupy the Castle, Lincoln warns of the consequences, but Hutchinson sets a final meeting that evening and requires the captain and Alice Vane to be present. Also in attendance at the meeting are Selectmen of Boston and one or two members of the Council, as well as the British major awaiting the command.\textsuperscript{36} Following a patriotic interchange by the Selectmen and Captain Lincoln, the reply from Hutchinson is that he cannot risk having the Province House sacked as his home had

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{34}Hutchinson, \textit{History of Massachusetts-Bay}, III, 221-225.
\item \textsuperscript{35}The historical account does not allow for Alice Vane, whom Hawthorne presents as an almost spirit figure adding an air of mystery to the tale. The captain's name was Phillips, not Lincoln, and Hutchinson's letters note no kinship or even friendship with the commander of Castle William. The use of Lincoln suggests Abraham Lincoln but could not be. Lincoln was probably unknown to Hawthorne in 1838 when the tale was written. This captain is a devoted colonial New Englander because he warns Hutchinson of allowing anyone but a native-born New Englander to take charge of the fort. Benjamin Lincoln, a Revolutionary War general who was in command of the unsuccessful attempt to defend Charleston, may be the person after whom Hawthorne named his character.
\item \textsuperscript{36}It was Colonel Fairlymple who took the command. This major may have been an aide, but Hawthorne calls the major the one who would take command of the Castle. Hutchinson does not record the scene.
\end{itemize}
once been.\textsuperscript{37} The order must be signed, Hutchinson claims, so that the streets will be safe for "a loyal gentleman." He goes on to ask, "What to me is the outcry of a mob, in this remote province of the realm? The king is my master, and England is my country!"\textsuperscript{38} He is poised to sign the order when the captain places his hand on the governor's shoulder and points to the portrait of Edward Randolph. Alice draws back the dark silk curtain covering the picture to reveal the terror-stricken features of Edward Randolph, "... beaten down and overwhelmed by the crushing weight of ignominy. The torture of the soul had come forth upon the countenance."\textsuperscript{39} Disregarding the warning, Hutchinson signs the order, but not before Alice has warned, "He [Randolph] trampled on the people's rights. Behold his punishment ---"\textsuperscript{40} It is reported that later, as he lay dying in England, Hutchinson
\begin{quote}
... complained that he was choking with the blood of the Boston Massacre; and Francis Lincoln, the former Captain of Castle William, who was standing at his
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{37} Hutchinson's house was sacked in 1765 by a mob, and much destruction of property resulted.

\textsuperscript{38} Works, I, 301-302. Hawthorne disagrees with the account found in Appleton's Cyclopaedia, III, 333, which states that Hutchinson "... regarded his stay in the mother country as little better than exile."

\textsuperscript{39} Works, I, 303.

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., 304.
bedside, perceived a likeness in his frenzied look to that of Edward Randolph.\textsuperscript{41}

Several devices are used cleverly by Hawthorne in this tale. The kinship of Lincoln offers a chance to have an observer at the death bed of Hutchinson, one who was present at both events and who suffered defeat in the first incident. Alice Vane has a name suggestive of Governor Vane who had been executed in England for treason. Both Lincoln and Alice Vane are figures connoting the American way of life. Lincoln is there to see the result; the spirit-like Alice sounds the final warning and accomplishes much the same effect as did the parade of governors in "Howe's Masquerade" by serving as a reminder of the past. At various times the picture is reputed to be "... an original and authentic portrait of the Evil One, taken at a witch meeting near Salem..."\textsuperscript{42} The supposition "... had been confirmed by several... wizards and witches, at their trial, in open court."\textsuperscript{43} The spirit in it had supposedly established communication with several of the governors when they occupied the Province House. Governor Shirley had seen the spirit just before General Abercrombie's defeat at Ticonderoga. It had appeared

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid., 395.
\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., 295.
\textsuperscript{43}Ibid., 295-296.
to servants raking the coals of the fire beneath the portrait, and the father of one of Boston's oldest citizens had once seen the face before it faded and would not divulge who or what he was. It is Hutchinson who states that his "antiquarian researches" have revealed to him that the portrait is that of Edward Randolph, "the founder of this house." 44

Edward Randolph had come to Boston in June of 1676 and reported to Secretary Coventry that discrimination against Anglicans existed and that the Puritans opposed the introduction of the Church of England. In July, 1679, Charles II commanded that Anglicans be accepted and not required to pay fines or forfeit property because of their religion. Anglicans were pleased at the action, and Randolph wrote letters to the Bishop of London requesting ministers to come to America. The issue became crucial when Randolph, asserting that money could be raised from the estates confiscated from traitors, pledged financial support for the ministers. Reverend Robert Ratcliffe returned to Boston with Randolph from England, where the governor had been visiting. The citizens of Boston were not pleased with the strengthening of the Anglican Church in America. Randolph continued to aid the Anglican cause by securing a place for services in the town house but later moving them to the Exchange. The Puritans' unhappiness was increased by demands from Randolph that they support the Anglicans with money. The tax-supported

44 Ibid., 297.
Congregationalists reacted strongly against the requirement, even though they believed that non-church-members must contribute to the support of their church. They insisted to Randolph that the Anglican group be supported by its own members. A plan was then set forth that the "... three meeting houses in Boston might pay twenty shillings a week apiece out of their contributions towards defraying ... church charges..." Reaction to the plan was a feeling of resentment on the part of the colonists.

Randolph was no longer responsible for the situation after the charter was revoked. When Sir Edmund Andros came with sixty soldiers to enforce the demands of the Church, increased conflict between the Puritans and himself resulted concerning chiefly the meeting place and the support of the Anglican Church. These problems were later less pressing, especially with the erection of King's Chapel, but the increasing strength of the Church of England was most unpleasant to such Puritan leaders as Cotton Mather, Samuel Sewall, and William Stoughton. That the Chapel remained, however, evidenced the failure of Puritanism to be the dominant religion in the colony. The initial cause of the failure can be


46 Ibid., pp. 246-249.
traced, in part at least, to Randolph, because it was he who was responsible for strengthening the Anglican Church in New England.

But perhaps more important to Randolph's reputation and hence to the tale is his action in the trade conflict. The King placed Randolph in charge of investigating the enforcement of the Navigation Acts, a task which he pursued diligently.\textsuperscript{47} Randolph insisted that the situation be corrected. The ruler requested that agents be sent to testify about the matter.\textsuperscript{48} William Stoughton and Peter Bulkeley appeared before the Lords of Trade and Plantations in July, 1677, for this purpose. The colonists in America felt that the two men did not defend the colonial interest sufficiently, and the two were blamed when Randolph became Royal Collector of Customs for New England. He encountered much difficulty and remained a hated man.\textsuperscript{49}

Such a man as this serves admirably a symbolic role in Hawthorne's tale, his reputation obviously paralleling that of Hutchinson. Randolph began the decline in religious monopoly in New England by bringing ashore the first Anglican minister and then increased animosity toward himself by his perseverance in enforcing the royal mandates. Just as Randolph

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{47}Ibid., p. 319.
  \item \textsuperscript{48}Hutchinson, \textit{History of Massachusetts-Bay}, I, 263-264.
  \item \textsuperscript{49}Wortenbaker, \textit{Oligarchy}, pp. 319-323.
\end{itemize}
by his actions brought the hatred of the people upon himself, so Hutchinson similarly drew the ill feeling of the colonists upon himself by giving control of Castle William to the British.

The third story in the group is "Lady Eleanore's Mantle," a tale depicting not so much the historical background related to the Province House as the downfall of pride. The incident used occurred in April, 1721, during the reign of Governor Shute, when a smallpox epidemic struck Boston. According to Hutchinson, 5889 were stricken and the death toll was 844.50

Hawthorne's tale deals with a young Englishwoman, Lady Eleanore Rochcliffe, a distant relative of Governor Shute, who has come to him for shelter, her other relatives being dead. Riding in a coach drawn by four black horses, she arrives as bells toll the funeral of one of Boston's citizens. She is met by a now-demented Jervayse Helwyse, whom she jilted in England, where he had been a secretary for the colonial agent. Though she rejects him again, he reappears at a ball held later, this time with a communion cup from the Old South Church. Lady Eleanore refuses the wine and enfolds herself more deeply into her beautiful mantle. Several days later an epidemic of smallpox breaks out in Boston, causing the death of many people. The source of the contagion is found to be Lady Eleanore's mantle, for "its fantastic suitor had been

conceived in the delirious brain of a woman on her death-bed," where she lay apparently infected with smallpox. Jervayse Helwyse later comes to the Province House where Lady Eleanore is stricken and, waving the red flag of pestilence over his head, he demands to see the lady. After discovering that she is infected, he leads a procession through the streets of Boston. Stopping in front of the House, he and a mob burn an effigy of a woman wrapped in the mantle, signifying the purgation by fire of the source of the infection, and the plague ends.

Hawthorne's use of the epidemic accomplishes a two-fold purpose. As literary symbolism, it pictures a proud Englishwoman humbled by an apparent act of Providence. Secondly, the incident deals with a pinnacle of history, the treatment of smallpox by inoculation, an experiment advocated by a representative of the church.

Only one of the characters has a historical counterpart. Governor Shute was the governor during the outbreak of smallpox in 1721. As a basis for Jervayse Helwyse, according to Edward Dawson in "Hawthorne's Knowledge and Use of New England History," Hawthorne used Jervice Helwyes, a distant relative of Hawthorne and the grandchild of William and the nephew of

51 Works, I, 321.
John Hathorne. Though Helwyse has no historical connection with the Boston epidemic, one may note the significance of his name, a characternym implying "wise in the ways of Hell" — Hell-wise, perhaps suggesting that Lady Eleanore has driven the American almost insane and shown him what Hell is like. Rochcliffe is probably a similar device composed of rock (unyielding and hard) and cliff (a precipice and the inherent idea of the fall from it.) There is no support for the four companions of Lady Eleanore, Captain Langford, a Virginia planter, a young Episcopalian minister, and the private secretary of Governor Shute, though men of their types might well have been in Boston in 1721. One other character who appears by name is Doctor Clarke, a physician supposedly "a famous champion of the popular party." Dawson feels that Clarke actually lived but offers no proof other than Hawthorne's statement that he is well known in Boston. It is possible that Hawthorne selected the name because it appears immediately following Hutchinson's account of the Boston epidemic. These apparently invented but highly plausible characters add an air of authenticity to the tale.


53 Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts-Bay, II, 208.
The reason for Hawthorne's including this tale in "Legends" is not immediately apparent if one looks for one further than the use of the Province House as the setting. The action seems so faintly historical that this tale might have been set elsewhere at some other time, smallpox epidemics being a frequent occurrence in America. What is even more puzzling is his reason for creating seven original characters, even though the name of Helwyse is suggested by Jervice Helwyes, the relative of Hawthorne. F. N. Cherry feels that Hawthorne found what is perhaps the suggestion for the plot in two articles in The American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge for 1836, one giving an account of a plague outbreak in Syria and the other relating details of the death from the plague of a group of monks in England. The point remains, however, that Hawthorne transfers the action to the Province House, changes the disease from plague to smallpox, makes the source of the infection a mantle made in England and worn by a proud Englishwoman, and depicts her death in America.

Under close observation, the actions and background of


the two main characters provide insight into why the story logically belongs in "Legends." Lady Eleanore's actions connote British attitudes and acts toward the colonists. She arrives in Boston wrapped symbolically and literally in her English mantle, which Hawthorne equates with pride, Lady Eleanore herself stating near the end of the tale that she has wrapped herself "... in PRIDE as in a MANTLE."56 She is willing to "trample" on Jervayse Helwyse, the American, as she demonstrates when she dismounts from the coach. Her refusal to mingle with some of the Americans suggests the propagation of aristocratic ideals in New England, for Hawthorne writes, "... there was never an apter emblem of aristocracy and hereditary pride trampling on human sympathies and the kindred of nature," than is demonstrated by Lady Eleanore's stepping on Helwyse. When she rejects the communion cup offered by Jervayse, she repudiates the "chain of human sympathies,"57 and, as Gross notes, refuses "... to submerge her divine right of kings (the episcopal chalice) in the democratic power of the people (by passing the cup amongst the 'mob of guests')."58 She believes that Jervayse

56 Works, I, 325.

57 Ibid., 317. See also Robert Possum, "Time and the Artist in 'Legends of the Province House,'" Nineteenth-Century Fiction, XXI (March, 1967), 343-344.

is half-demented, her scorn for his love being the reason for his insanity. Though she is a proud and beautiful Englishwoman, the suggestion of the rock and cliff denoted by her name connotes the harshness toward the colonists and the resultant downfall of the English. Finally she dies from a disease brought to New England by Europeans, the majority of whom in Boston were British. Helwyse, one who is laughed at by the British because of his appearance and apparent insanity, has been disenchanted in his love for her, her pride having held her aloof, but he seeks reconciliation and acceptance as an equal only to be rejected and treated as an inferior. He waves the flag of warning or pestilence, and later his burning of the effigy of Lady Eleanore seems to purge the city of Boston of the malady brought by the English mantle, which, as previously noted, is equated with pride. This action seems allegorically related to the 1776 bombardment by Washington's cannons from Nooks Hill which "cleansed" the city by fire, forcing the British government to yield by evacuating Boston. The parallel principle is easily noted. Only after Governor Shute yields to Helwyse by granting permission to see Lady Eleanore is the action begun which will see the epidemic ended.

Three other ideas in the story support an allegorical

interpretation. There are at least five statements comparing Lady Eleanore to royalty or a queen, hence suggesting that she is representative of British monarchy. There is some slight ambivalence, for she is in one case paired with King Death while in other instances she is linked with the British queen. Secondly, the English pride-mantle is the cause of death for Governor Shute’s ward. Shute’s real ward as governor should be the welfare of the people, but he ignores them for an Englishwoman, one whose appearance suggests happiness but who produces only death for herself and many others. The mantle’s intricate design, which was conceived by the distorted thinking of a mind supposedly feverish from smallpox, though Hawthorne does not state the cause of illness, suggests the plan or actions of King George III, ruler of England during the American Revolution, who was mentally ill by the end of his reign.

If Lady Eleanore is symbolic of English and Helwyse of American ideals and hence representative of their countries’ ideologies, then by using an incident in 1721, Hawthorne has created a microcosmic portent of the action most prominent in "Legends," Howe’s departure from Boston and the beginning of the withdrawal of British forces from America. The historical significance of this tale, if it is to be considered thematically parallel with the other three, that the English are defeated by their own disease - Pride. It seems possible, and indeed probable, that the tale, which appears loosely
historical, can be interpreted as an allegorical foreshadowing of the action seen in the other tales in "Legends" and establishes a previously unnoticed unity of the four tales.

One noteworthy historical aspect of the incident is the furor raised by the advocated treatment of the disease. Cotton Mather circulated a document explaining inoculation as it had been used in Constantinople. It is ironic that a minister, a member of a group usually opposed to experimentation involving the human body, was in favor of this new treatment. The incident also reflects a degree of liberal broad-mindedness in scientific-medical, though not in religious, matters. It was in 1721 that an American doctor first treated smallpox by inoculation. This year is an important one, for it marks the beginning of the treatment which ended smallpox epidemics. This inoculation prefigures the end of smallpox in the same way that Howe's leaving Boston presages the defeat of the British.

The last story in the group, "Old Esther Dudley," is in effect a sequel to "Howe's Masquerade" in that the opening situation is General Howe's leaving Boston. There are two events upon which the tale relies for its historical background. The first is the evacuation of Boston by the British

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60 Hutchinson, The History of Massachusetts-Bay, II, 206.

61 Jacob R. Schmidt, Medical Discoveries: Who and When (Springfield, 1959), p. 446.
under Howe on March 17, 1776, thus permanently ending British control and leaving the city in the hands of the colonials. The second is John Hancock's assuming the governorship of Massachusetts in 1780, and becoming the first governor under the new constitution. During the time between the departure of Howe and the election of Hancock, Boston had no resident governor. These two incidents, separated by four years, form the background of the tale.

Hawthorne captures the hour of British "defeat and humiliation" in a story told, ironically, by an old loyalist. The old Tory relates that Howe leaves behind at her insistence an elderly woman, supposedly one of the descendants of Joseph Dudley, the governor who had been, according to the tale, the first governor to live in the Province House. By choosing a descendant of Dudley, Hawthorne has taken advantage of the Dudley name, thus alluding to a more extensive history than could otherwise be attained, since there were two governors named Dudley. Esther Dudley insists on keeping the residence ready for the future return of the royal governors. Legend records that she entertains the ghosts of many

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62 The time appears incorrect. The Province House was purchased for the royal residence in 1716, the year after the end of Joseph Dudley's reign.

63 Thomas Dudley was governor of Massachusetts Bay following Sir Henry Vane. Dudley's son Joseph governed from 1702-1715.
loyalists and lives only for the return of the British fleet and the governor it will bring. Esther Dudley, then, in Hawthorne's tale fills the place of the acting royal ruler by being a figurehead of royal control but serving only as a link with the dead past. As such she also favorably influences the children of Boston's citizens toward royal control, which is, by the course of the war, losing its grip on the colonics. One day she hears footsteps outside the House and, believing them to be those of the new governor and his party, she totters forth to meet them. Begging the leader of the group to take the key to the House before she dies, she then recognizes John Hancock, who, Hawthorne implies, has come to take up residence as governor. Hancock tells her that no return of British authority will occur. She dies after Hancock condemns any reverence for the ideals of the past and expresses his faith in the future:

"Your life [Esther Dudley's] has been prolonged until the world has changed around you. You have treasured up all that time has rendered worthless -- the principles, feelings, manners, modes of being and acting, which another generation has flung aside -- and you are a symbol of the past. And I, and these around me -- we represent a new race of men -- living no longer in the past, scarcely in the present -- but projecting our lives forward into the future. Ceasing to model ourselves on ancestral superstitions, it is our faith and principle to press onward, onward! Yet ... let there be reverence, for the last time, the stately and gorge freighted prejudices of the tottering Past!"64

This statement by Hancock demonstrates an ambivalence...
noticeable in Hawthorne's writings. Though Hancock seems to be the patriotic hero and Esther Dudley the remnant of a useless past, Hawthorne himself could not have been totally serious in this part of the story. He was cautious of reform, fearing that the reform spirit would break out of control and destroy the present and the future. Hawthorne had read of man's attempts to achieve lasting improvement and knew the chance to be precarious. As Turner notes, "He found that the noblest purposes had often accomplished the tragic results. . . . He found no proof to satisfy him that whatever advancement mankind can boast has derived from conscious human efforts and had not been at best only accidental."65

The tales in "Legends of the Province House," though based on facts, are not legitimate history, nor did Hawthorne intend that they be. He filled in the details of the historical incidents with his imagination. Fogle in Hawthorne's Fiction: The Light and the Dark comments on the tales by saying that they are presented with an air of ambiguity which . . . underlines the significance by dissolving irrelevant actuality in the mists of the past and leaving only

65 In "Earth's Holocaust," Works, II, 430-456, Hawthorne is concerned with reformers' burning all books to erase the past. The satiric element is similar in "Old Esther Dudley." See Thomas F. Walsh, Jr., "Hawthorne's Satire in 'Old Esther Dudley,'" Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 22 (Second Quarter, 1961), 31-53.

an ideal history. Ambiguity invests the events with a rich pathos and patina of time and counterpoints unreality against truth . . . . In "Howe's Masquerade" disguise reveals identity; the procession of the royal governors is a masquerade, but there is nothing false about its meaning. The ambiguity of the "Legends" is a vision of the Past in the light of the Present, a picture in a frame of distance.67

The tales have one thing in common: they portray an event in which the Crown suffers a loss to the Americans. Gross states that the "Legends of the Province House" is "a group of four tales which, from various points of view, illustrates the courage of colonial America in its pre-Revolutionary struggle with the evils of monarchial persecution."68 The Province House and its history serve as the remote "theatre" in which Hawthorne relates the Past to his readers. These legends are, in a sense, history, but they represent more the "truth of the human heart" than the historical fact. In his use of the facts of history, Hawthorne remains well within the limits of the romantic license that he discusses in his preface to The House of the Seven Gables.


CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

As the preceding study has demonstrated, a comparison of the tales and romances with the material from which Hawthorne developed them makes it apparent that Hawthorne approached his sources as a romancer and not as an historian or a writer of realistic fiction. It is also evident that though he based his fiction on the actual past, he altered the facts extensively. From his intimate familiarity with the history of New England, he drew a number of specific incidents and persons which he transmuted into fiction. He selected for creative alteration events in which he saw suggested themes which he felt were universal, for as Turner observes of Hawthorne's stories, "... most of them are composed of various situations - scenes ... or episodes from the lives of the characters - all chosen to illustrate the dominant theme." ¹ He manipulated the historical materials so that they illustrate his themes more precisely than the actual events alone could have done. These incidents in the past furnished scenes to provide substance for his abstract ideas, and a

by-gone era offered him what he called in his preface to *The Blithedale Romance* "... a little theatre, a little removed from the highway of ordinary travel, where the creatures of his brain may play their phantasmagoric antics, without exposing them to too close a comparison with the actual events of real lives."\(^2\) Repeatedly in his prefaces to his romances and *Twice-Told Tales* Hawthorne defended this "latitude of deviation" from the actual. But, as Turner notes, the past as Hawthorne uses it "... has enough actuality to be accepted and yet enough distance and strangeness to give it a plausible role in fiction."\(^3\) Turner states further,

> His study was human nature, and his concern was therefore mainly psychological, though he looked for examples as much to history and literature as to the people of his acquaintance and his fictional method led him to employ whatever symbols he found at hand.\(^4\)

With its past of Puritans, Quakers, and other strong-willed persons who were guilty of the same basic evils as modern man, New England offered Hawthorne a microcosm with historical symbols which aided him in exploring and giving themes

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\(^3\) Turner, *Nathaniel Hawthorne: An Introduction and Interpretation*, p. 112.

\(^4\) Ibid., p. 64.
universal significance. Though the same truths are demonstrated in the present, by putting them in the past, Hawthorne deepened their effect by demonstrating that they are timeless themes, as applicable now as they were then. The distance provided by history allowed him to shade out undesirable parts of the actual and sharpen those aspects of the real which he wished to suggest. With Hawthorne it is always what the scene "means" and not the incident that is important.

Hawthorne's technique for transmuting fact into fiction may be simply stated. In some cases he selects a single dramatic incident or significant fact, explores its meaning by viewing it from several sides, and uses it in the story as the central event, reflecting multiple themes. In other instances, he combines parts of unrelated episodes to form a unified story or uses the actions and feelings of one incident as the background for a plot based on another event. If the actual figures do not suit him, he creates credible characters, representative of the time depicted. And he freely adjusts time to suit his needs. He may alter the original intent of the deed and supply overt feelings not found in the historical act. Obviously, Hawthorne does not let history make demands on his fiction, though there is always included enough factual material to make the story plausible.
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