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Adventures with Poe and Hawthorne

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Abstract

*Scholarship can be exciting, and so can the story behind the scholarship. This essay—in its earlier incarnation, a talk—recounts my explorations involving Poe’s Dupin stories (1987–91; 2004–8) and Hawthorne’s *The Scarlet Letter* (1992–2003), work that led to *The Threads of “The Scarlet Letter”* (2003) and *Edgar Allan Poe and the Dupin Mysteries* (2008, 2011). My scholarly peregrinations took me from Nantucket to Colindale, England (for Poe), and from Salem to San Marino, California (for Hawthorne). My adventures involved identifying and following a trail of evidence, assisted by librarians and curators and sometimes-surprising serendipity. These adventures led to interpretive consequences concerning the genesis, form, and significance of a work. This essay conveys firsthand the pleasures of scholarly pursuit.*

Edgar Allan Poe once wrote in “The Domain of Arnheim” (1847) that the “four elementary principles, or, more strictly, conditions, of bliss” are “free exercise in the open air,” “the love of woman,” “the contempt of ambition,” and “an object of unceasing pursuit.”¹ For me, the “object[s] of unceasing pursuit” have long been Poe and Nathaniel Hawthorne. This essay is the story of my last twenty-five years of adventures with Poe and Hawthorne. The story I’ll offer here, about Poe’s Dupin tales and Hawthorne’s *The Scarlet Letter*, is just one instance of our larger scholarly endeavor.

It was 1987. I was preparing for a conference I was organizing on Poe’s *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* on Nantucket Island. My gracious hostess, Susan F. Beegel—now editor of *The Hemingway Review*—suggested that in the half hour we had before a fund-raising visit with a vice president from Pacific National Bank, we could stop at the Nantucket Atheneum. What I would find there would lead eventually to my book *Edgar Allan Poe and the Dupin Mysteries*.²

I found on the first floor of this massive square building many tables with piles of old copies of the newspaper the *Nantucket Inquirer*. I was hoping for

an unknown review of *Pym*, but I found something much better: a paragraph appearing in the September 22, 1838, issue, titled “A Mischievous Ape.”³ In this piece, set in Manhattan, an ape that had escaped from a stable “entered the parlor” of an Elizabeth Street apartment and created havoc, then fled, seized the hair of a boy and “nearly took his scalp off,” and “scratched and bit” another boy. I showed this item to Susan, asking, “What do you think?” She read the paragraph and readily responded, “The Murders in the Rue Morgue.” Indeed, it was “Rue Morgue”—the first of Poe’s three tales about detective C. Auguste Dupin—that had occurred to me, too. My fund-raising visit was a great success, but I was thinking also about another kind of treasure.

At home I determined that this source was unknown; at the New-York Historical Society I tracked it back to the *New York Evening Star* and the *New York Morning Herald*⁴ and then forward to a newspaper from Philadelphia, where Poe was living in 1838: the *Philadelphia Saturday News and Literary Gazette*. I recognized that the editors of the paper, Morton McMichael and Joseph C. Neal, were well-known to Poe, and I determined that the newspaper office was only blocks from Poe’s house. So my new mission became to find every issue of this weekly, which had run for two and a half years (July 2, 1836, through January 5, 1839). I visited several major libraries, and I found all but nine issues. Then a helpful word from Penn State librarian extraordinaire Sue Kellerman led me to call the Library of Congress, which had the remaining nine issues. The newspaper librarian there sent me a microfilm, and I read it with great pleasure at the Penn State DuBois library.

The complete run of the *Saturday News* furnished a number of previously unknown reviews of Poe’s work, and, even more crucially, a dozen sources—usually sensational stories—for the first modern detective story, Poe’s 1841 “The Murders in the Rue Morgue.” Adjacent to the long-lost review of *Pym* that I did find⁵ was the story of Edward Coleman’s murder of his wife, Ann, on Broadway. Thinking she had been unfaithful (perhaps with cause, friends thought), he “nearly severed her head from her body”—then, pretending insanity, gave answers “of the most *outré* kind.”⁶ Also, there was a story of a violent orangutan;⁷ and another story of two women—one older and one younger—sleeping on either side of a charcoal furnace in the middle of an upper-story Third Avenue apartment, and dying of smoke inhalation before the door was broken in;⁸ and yet another story of a man escaped from an insane asylum hanging outside a window “grinning like a yellow monkey.”⁹ And all of the aforementioned details recall salient details of “Rue Morgue.”

I spoke on these *Saturday News* sources at the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore in 1988, and the Poe Society of Baltimore’s booklet based on my

talk was published in 1991.¹⁰ I thought I was pretty much done with Dupin. But I also had a fantasy that I would one day find the source for the great final Dupin tale, “The Purloined Letter”—that compelling investigation of a minister’s theft of a compromising letter to the queen—and would thereby be able to provide a new, historically grounded treatment of that tale.

My fantasy came true thirteen years later. In May 2004, my nineteen-year-old daughter Emily and I were heading to Massachusetts, where I was to give talks on my recently published Hawthorne book.¹¹ We were visiting an antiquarian bookshop, Whitlock Farms Booksellers, in Bethany, Connecticut. The shop is a series of farm buildings full of “quaint and curious volumes of forgotten lore.” As Emily and I entered one of these buildings, I noticed a small tray of books on the right, including a slender, brown, nondescript book. The only words were on the spine: “Death Bed Conf.” with the supposed author, “Guernsry.” I was attracted to this little volume since it could so easily have been overlooked.¹²

What initially kept my interest was the omission of words—“Lady Anne *****” and “The Q-----’s Last Letter to the K-----”—I was reminded of Minister D----- in “The Purloined Letter.” I also noticed the familiar phrases “Illustrious Personages” and “exalted personages.” However, I was suspicious of the possible influence of my own wishes. The book purported to be by the Countess of Guernsey and claimed to explain that the Prince of Wales, then the regent, later King George IV, had had a miserable marriage with Princess Caroline—later Queen Caroline—because of the countess’s own machinations. The book exculpates the royalty, but does so fraudulently. Indeed, I later learned, George and Caroline were exceptionally hostile to each other for their own reasons.

I knew none of this history at this point—I was interested only in the possibility that this had been a source for Poe’s story of the queen’s stolen letter. Reading on to pages 33 and 34, I found the crucial passage. In 1813, an ambitious minister had stolen Princess Caroline’s letter to the king from her secretary’s desk, and for his own political purposes had had it published in the newspaper. This minister then went to dinner with his friends and “amused them with an account of the purloined letter.”¹³ This *Death-Bed Confessions* account clearly anticipated the Minister D-----’s theft of the queen’s letter in Poe’s “The Purloined Letter.”

Well, I could not find the top of my happiness. I hurried to purchase the book, anxious that I would be told at the last minute that for some mysterious reason it was not for sale. I bought it (for sixty-five dollars) and then asked Emily—repeatedly—if she were finished with her browsing. Once we returned

to the car (I quite impatiently!), I showed her the passage. So then she knew what all my hurrying her had been about.

What I now knew was that I had a book to write. One chapter would be the “Rue Morgue” piece I’d written and published years earlier. Then I would have to conduct research on this new discovery, the 1822 *Death-Bed Confessions*. I’d have to find something to say about the second Dupin story, “The Mystery of Marie Roget.” And I’d have to work out more fully how the Dupin stories related to one another.

What I discovered about the Queen Caroline connection was that Poe would have been well aware of her—he was eleven years old and living in England at the time of the death of George III (1820), and he would have known the continuing accusations against her of scandalous behavior and her bold return to England from the Continent.¹⁴ His foster father, John Allan, wrote in letters of the time about the unlikelihood of the new king’s allowing Caroline to be crowned queen.¹⁵ And the newspapers were full of the story—Caroline’s return was indeed the preeminent story in June 1820, when John and Frances Allan, with Edgar, traveled from London to Liverpool to return to the United States. It would have been the story they would have talked about onboard the ship *Martha* and been repeatedly asked about when they arrived in New York City and when they returned to Richmond.¹⁶ And the story only intensified—Caroline was tried for adultery and found not guilty. (She was guilty, but the people hated the king.) She was later prevented by the king from attending the coronation, and she soon afterward died of a digestive ailment, possibly one that she caused herself. The ambitious minister, it seemed—at least in *Death-Bed Confessions*—was her friend Lord Brougham—very possibly the basis for Poe’s Minister D-----, who purloined the letter, but hid it to blackmail the queen. Notably, Poe had included in an 1839 review an extract from Brougham that resembles language regarding Minister D----- in “The Purloined Letter.”¹⁷

My research again involved newspaper work—especially concerning *Bell’s Life in London*, where “Death-Bed Confessions” had appeared serially, and assorted other contemporary newspapers from London and Liverpool available at the Colindale Branch of the British Library, north of London, which I visited after attending the conference “Transatlanticism in American Literature: Emerson, Hawthorne, Poe” in Oxford, England, in July 2006.

But still, ahead of me lay “The Mystery of Marie Roget”—the least-read Dupin story, one concerning the suspicious death of a young woman in Paris, based on the actual death of Mary Rogers in New York City. She had disappeared mysteriously three years earlier and then reappeared, and she was thought by

some (including Poe) to have had an unhappy love affair. T. O. Mabbott stated that it was “rarely necessary” to return to the newspapers of the time since William K. Wimsatt, Jr., had already done the scholarly work and published on it in 1941 (M, 3:716n). However, I had to be sure. I drove to New York City and examined all the papers I could find for 1841.

An important step was to follow a lead Poe had provided that had proved problematic. In his 1845 *Tales*, he’d offered notes on the actual New York City newspapers to which the fictional French titles he’d created referred. However, he’d attributed an extract on a potentially incriminating empty boat, supposedly from “*Le Diligence*,” to the “N. Y. Standard” (M, 3:754)—and Mabbott had been unable to find the original in the only copy of that paper that exists, in the New York Society Library. I visited that library and read the paper. Mabbott was right—the original of the extract was not there. However, he was wrong in concluding that Poe had made it up.

Days later, sitting in the Reading Room of the New-York Historical Society Library, I found the story of the empty boat. It is extremely close to Poe’s extract and appeared in a newspaper edited by Poe’s friend Mordecai M. Noah: the *New York Times and Evening Star*.¹⁸ Poe scholar Stephen Rachman suggested that I must have jumped up on top of the table. Perhaps I should have, but I didn’t: I just continued taking notes carefully, trying to make the most of my time, knowing that I would review this material later. This quiet find was the first of three finds, enabling me to write that needed chapter on “Marie Roget.”

I found, too, that the historical context for the Mary Rogers case was the murder of Gulielma Sands in New York City in 1799, a case that involved the guilty person accusing the innocent one (as Poe had it in “Marie Roget”).¹⁹ The innocent accused, Levi Weeks, was declared not guilty, in his trial in 1800, thanks in part to the representation of his lawyers, Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr. And the story of the murder of Gulielma Sands was the basis for Theodore S. Fay’s 1835 novel *Norman Leslie*, which Poe had notoriously panned.²⁰ Study of the 1841 New York City newspaper treatments of the death of Mary Rogers made clear that both the historical facts of the Sands case and the fictional ones were eminently available to Poe as he wrote “Marie Roget.”

The most remarkable thing I found in my “Marie Roget” adventure—conducted largely at the New-York Historical Society, the New York Public Library, and the American Antiquarian Society—was that a literary conflict undergirded the work. Poe’s attack on the editor of *L’Etoile*, which was New York City’s weekly oversized *Brother Jonathan*, was really an attack on the *Brother Jonathan*’s editor, H. Hastings Weld. Yet the basis for that attack was not simply disagreement over whether the body recovered was that

of Mary Rogers. There was a subtext of another conflict. Poe wrote in “Marie Roget” that the editor had no right to be offended—but Weld had written nothing about being offended with regard to the death of Mary Rogers. Where he had been offended was with regard to a highly critical review Poe had just written of a book-length poem, *Powhatan*, by Weld’s friend Seba Smith (aka Jack Downing).

Weld had thought the poem “an honor to American Literature”;²¹ Poe begged to differ. An extract of his highly negative July 1841 review will give a sense of his tone:

The truth is, Mr. Downing has never dreamed of any artistic *arrangement* of his facts. He has gone straight forward like a blind horse, and turned neither to the one side nor to the other, for fear of stumbling. But he gets them all in, every one of them—the facts we mean. *Powhatan* never did anything in his life, we are sure, that Mr. Downing has not given in his poem. He begins at the beginning, and goes on steadily to the end, painting away at his story, just as a sign-painter at a sign; beginning at the left-hand side of his board, and plastering through to the right. But he has omitted one very ingenious trick of the sign-painter. He has forgotten to write under his portrait,—“this is a pig,” and thus there is some danger of mistaking it for an opossum. (H, 10:165)

Well, Weld was not happy. He wrote in the *Brother Jonathan* first that he would not comment on the book reviews in the July 1841 issue of *Graham’s Magazine*, for “we could not be answerable for the consequences.” He then stated that “a more capricious, unjust, and ridiculous affair, purporting to be a review, we never happened upon than is the notice of *Powhatan*, in *Graham’s Magazine*.”²² Poe took note of this censure in an August 14, 1841, letter to Weld: “Should you grow weary, at any time, of abusing me in the ‘Jonathan’ for speaking what no man knows to be truth better than yourself, it would give me sincere pleasure to cultivate the friendship of the author of ‘Corrected Proofs.’”²³ But Weld persisted in his faulting of Poe in April 1842, accusing him of “hypercriticism,” and stating that “his literary code is entirely too much after the precedent of *Draco*.”²⁴ I would argue that Poe’s attack on the editor of *L’Etoile* in “Marie Roget”—Poe writes that the editor is possessed by “zeal”; his writing is “a tissue of inconsequence and incoherence”; his newspaper is “obviously disingenuous” and offers a “pertinacity in error” (M, 3:738, 743, 745, 746)—is his response to the offended (and offending) H. Hastings Weld. And if so, then this Dupin tale would anticipate the classic “The Cask of Amontillado,” which

has long been recognized as Poe's revenge against another literary enemy, Thomas Dunn English.

My work on Weld took me to a variety of places off the beaten path, including the Historical Society of Moorestown, New Jersey, where I read files of his and traipsed through the snow to find his grave, and Christ Church in Riverton, New Jersey, where my daughter and I read additional papers in the library. Emily and I then visited the church itself, which features in the baptistery a plaque honoring Louis Godey (of *Godey's Lady's Book*, where Poe published "The Cask of Amontillado" and other pieces), with a Tiffany window above, bought by his children. And we saw at the front of the church a plaque for the church's first rector: Reverend H. Hastings Weld.

Bringing the Dupin material together involved indicating how my inquiry employed the very approaches advanced by Dupin—"a minuteness of attention" (M, 2:546; 3:753) including to "things external to the game" (M, 2:530; 3:752), with special attention to "deviations from the plane of the ordinary" (M 2:548, 2:549n; 3:736-37) and the "excessively obvious" (3:989-90), as well as identification with "the spirit of the opponent" (M 2:529; 3:984-85).²⁵ Further, I found that the stories offered a common form—symmetrical language framing a significant midpoint at odds with its context (an open window in a locked-room mystery, "The Murders in the Rue Morgue"; nonparallel walks in a tale of parallels, "The Mystery of Marie Roget"; and the purchase of a letter in a tale of its repeated theft, "The Purloined Letter").²⁶ I was particularly impressed by the nice complexities of the form of the last of the Dupin tales.

Sitting in bed reading "The Purloined Letter," I wondered if the tale's famous anecdote of the odd/even game had a formal function—and I found that it did. Dupin talks of a perceptive student who can ascertain, by "identification"—by rightly gauging the intelligence of a classmate—whether the number of marbles that that classmate holds is odd or even. With the less intelligent classmate, the perceptive student guesses first, wrongly, "odd," and then, rightly, "odd." (He realizes that the less intelligent student would shift from "even" to "odd.") But with the slightly more intelligent classmate, the perceptive student guesses first wrongly "odd" and then, rightly, "even" (M, 3:984). (He recognizes that the slightly more intelligent student would not shift from his original "even.") With this latter play, Poe renders his story as a whole, for the first half of it features the word "odd" five times (and never the word "even"), and the second half features the word "even" three times (and never the word "odd"). We, the slightly more intelligent classmates, may lose to Poe, but we can recognize his game. Further, Poe defeats us, as in a card game, with a trump card—that is, he has the Minister D----- hide the letter in plain sight in "a *trumpery* fillagree

card-rack of pasteboard" (M, 3:990; emphasis added). And the word "card-rack" itself is a near-palindrome, reflecting the elegant symmetry of Poe's tale.²⁷ My delight was infinite.

Finally, I considered the common "deviation from the plane of the ordinary" in the three Dupin tales—the fact that each of these works involved the transformation of a source concerning a woman of uncertain reputation (Ann Coleman in "Rue Morgue," Mary Rogers in "Marie Roget," and Princess Caroline in "The Purloined Letter").²⁸ And I argued eventually that Poe invented the detective story as a sort of therapy. The problem was that his mother had given birth to his sister Rosalie twelve months after his father David Poe had abandoned the family. And we have evidence that people talked—and John Allan wrote to Henry that Rosalie is only "half your Sister."²⁹ I remembered reading a letter from Poe's onetime friend Marie Louise Shew Houghton stating that Poe had confided to her that "the great regret of his life" had been "that he had not vindicated his mother to the world, as pure, as angelic and altogether lovely, as any woman could be on earth."³⁰ So I infer that Poe created the detective Dupin to solve substitute problems—the one he could not solve was who was his sister's father—and, eventually, in "The Purloined Letter," to protect the woman of uncertain reputation—the queen—from attack. He states, "I act as a partisan of the lady concerned" (M, 3:993). Poe could finally accomplish in fiction what he could not accomplish in fact. He could not prove his mother innocent, but he could prevent someone else from proving her guilty.³¹

As I've noted, my study of the Dupin tales stopped in 1991 and then rebegan in 2004. In between, I studied *The Scarlet Letter*. The "object of [my] unceasing pursuit" had shifted.

In a sense, Hawthorne's greatest work, his 1850 novel *The Scarlet Letter*, is also about solving a crime. Adultery has been committed; the guilty Hester Prynne is publicly humiliated, and stigmatized with the scarlet letter she must wear. But her lover is not known. Hester's long-lost (and little-loved) husband, Roger Chillingworth, vows to learn who he is. Committing the Unpardonable Sin, Chillingworth burrows deeply into the soul of the minister, Arthur Dimmesdale, and gleefully discovers the secret he sought. Fortunately, however, Dimmesdale later publicly confesses his sin and thereby ends Chillingworth's sinister power. The critic Roy Male has observed that the original sin that Hester and the minister committed may represent the original sin, the Fall³²—which Hawthorne refers to when he writes of the child of the adultery, Pearl: she was "worthy to have been brought forth in Eden; worthy to have been left there, to be the plaything of the angels, after the world's first parents were driven out."³³ Indeed, we may wonder whether the minister's initials, "AD," suggest not only

“adultery” but also “Adam.” And “Hester” is another name for “Esther,” the first initial of which may suggest “Eve.” Yet even as we understand the theme of the book, we need to understand better how Hawthorne wrote the book. What I thought was needed was literary detection. Chillingworth had solved the crime; we may recover a part of the novel’s creation.

Scholars have identified myriad critical sources for *The Scarlet Letter*, from biblical books to British classics; from American Puritan works to American historical writings.³⁴ Hawthorne was particularly sensitive to contemporary literary works; I have argued that he transformed elements of Poe’s tale “The Tell-Tale Heart” and James Russell Lowell’s poem “A Legend of Brittany” for *The Scarlet Letter*, and I’ve noted briefly that he also reworked aspects of Lydia Maria Child’s novel *Hobomok* and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s novel *Kavanagh*.³⁵ What I would like to recount here is my investigation with regard to another contemporary work, one largely neglected, but critically important for our understanding *The Scarlet Letter*. This is the story behind chapter 3 of *The Threads of “The Scarlet Letter,”* titled “A Novel by Ebenezer Wheelwright.”³⁶

My principle was that of Poe’s detective Dupin in “The Purloined Letter”: identification. I tried to identify with Hawthorne to the extent that I could—and this meant, in part, reading what he’d read. I read, among other things, an 1843 magazine titled *The Pioneer*, since Hawthorne had been asked to contribute to it by one of its two editors, his friend James Russell Lowell, and since we have a letter from Hawthorne’s wife, Sophia, saying that the Hawthornes had just received the first issue of the magazine (that for January 1843; see *CE*, 15:667). That issue included the first printing of the aforementioned “The Tell-Tale Heart,” the celebrated short story about one man’s murder of another man asleep. That work, I have contended, helped prompt chapter 10 of *The Scarlet Letter*, about Chillingworth’s ripping open the shirt of the sleeping Dimmesdale and discovering the scarlet letter and the minister’s secret sin.³⁷ Reading on in this issue of *The Pioneer*, I found a very favorable review of the second edition of Hawthorne’s *Historical Tales for Youth*, a book published by the firm of Tappan and Dennet in 1842, and two pages later I found a review of another book published by Tappan and Dennet in 1842, a novel titled *The Salem Belle*. It seemed to me that this review would have much interested Hawthorne since it states that the book is about “the famous witchcraft delusion of 1692” and it refers to the planned “death on the scaffold” of a supposed witch.³⁸ After all, Hawthorne had been fascinated by witchcraft from his Salem boyhood and had frequently walked to Gallows Hill, the site of the scaffold on which the supposed witches of Salem were executed. (One of his ancestors, John Hathorne, had been one of the hanging judges.) And Hawthorne had

also written about witchcraft, mentioning the site of the executions in several stories. So I decided to read *The Salem Belle*.

I found at Penn State's Pattee Library a microfiche copy of the 1847 reprint of *The Salem Belle*, published by J. M. Whittemore. Amusingly enough, the fiche was provided by Lost Cause Press. Hoping to find a cause, I read the narrative slowly. It tells of a beautiful young woman, Mary Lyford (aka Mary Graham), "the Salem Belle." The time is 1691 and 1692; the locations are Boston and Salem. Mary is the secret granddaughter of regicide General William Goffe and sister of Harvard student James Lyford. She is courted by Virginian Walter Strale, a kind and modest young man whom she loves, and by recent Harvard graduate Trellison, a hypocritical and untrustworthy fellow, whom she rejects. Meanwhile, the notorious Salem witchcraft frenzy is growing—Reverend Samuel Willard preaches reason; Cotton Mather preaches fear of Satan. Taking advantage of the persecutions of the time, the vengeful Trellison accuses Mary of witchcraft. Her brother tries to comfort her and eventually recommends that she flee. But she is arrested, tried, and found guilty, and scheduled to be hanged on Gallows Hill. On the night before the planned execution, her brother James and her beloved Walter rescue her from prison (with Walter disguised as Satan himself). And when the time for Mary's execution arrives and she does not appear, the guilt-ridden Trellison ascends the scaffold and publicly confesses his guilt.

I very much enjoyed *The Salem Belle* on its own merits, but I saw no striking correspondences with Hawthorne's work in the first two-thirds of the novel. However, I was very pleased to find passages in the final third of *The Salem Belle* that related closely to passages in the final third of *The Scarlet Letter*.

The first relevant passage involved an encounter in the woods (171–77).³⁹ Mary and her brother James meet, and the upbeat brother tries to boost the spirits of the very depressed sister and recommends that she escape. This passage has a resemblance—including a verbal one—to the passage in *The Scarlet Letter* in which Hester and Dimmesdale meet in the woods, and the encouraging Hester tries to lift the spirits of the miserable minister and suggests that he escape (*CE*, 1:189–98). My own spirits were certainly lifted—but I realized that the correspondences between the two passages could be considered mere coincidence, and I read on.

Then I came across another passage, thirty pages later, with evident correspondences—again, including verbal ones—to *The Scarlet Letter*. A ship appears in the harbor, and secret passage on the ship for Mary, her brother James, her beloved Walter, and a confederate and his family is arranged (203–4, 210–11). Similarly, in *The Scarlet Letter*, a ship lies in the harbor, and secret

passage on board the ship for Hester, Dimmesdale, and young Pearl is arranged (*CE*, 1:215–16, 232–35). And both passages feature remarkable tolerance for pirates. I was by now quietly excited, but I had more reading to do.

I found the additional correspondences I sought when I read, twenty-five pages later, the climactic scaffold scene in *The Salem Belle*. After Mary escapes, the falsely accusing Trellison climbs the steps of the scaffold and proclaims Mary's innocence and his own guilt: "Hear me, magistrates and men, and ye ministers of an insulted God! Hear me, old age, middle life and youth! . . . [The] maiden who has this day escaped death, was guiltless of the crime for which she was condemned to die. . . . [It] was this hand that brought down the threatened ruin upon that child of innocence and love" (229). Confessing all, Trellison then disappears into the woods, and the silence of the "awe-struck multitude" yields to speech. But some in the crowd disbelieve the confession, considering Trellison to be bewitched by the escaped Mary (230). Similarly, in *The Scarlet Letter*, the narrative closes with a scaffold scene: the minister who has long hidden his identity as Hester's illicit lover ascends the scaffold, diminishes her guilt, and asserts his own: "People of New England! Ye, that have loved me!—ye, that have deemed me holy!—behold me here, the one sinner of the world." He terms Hester's scarlet letter "but the shadow of what he bears on his own breast," reveals his own scarlet letter, and, having confessed all, dies in Hester's arms (*CE*, 1:254–57). Then the silence of "the multitude" becomes speech. But some among those who "broke out in a strange, deep voice of awe and wonder" (*CE*, 1:257) do not believe the minister's confession, considering it only a generous acknowledgment that we are all sinners (*CE*, 1:259).

As I read the climactic scene in *The Salem Belle*, I wrote on a page in my notebook, "Trellison's confession on the scaffold (!)." And I wrote at the top of this page, "This is a source for TSL." I looked around, almost as if someone nearby might have seen what I'd just seen—or could infer it from my expression—but the Microform Reading Room was calm. Wild surmise was mine alone.

There was no question of Hawthorne's plagiarizing, of course—rather, there was an artistic adaptation. I could see how he'd done it—how Hawthorne had transformed elements of the later portions of *The Salem Belle* for the later portions of *The Scarlet Letter*. But I couldn't see *why* he'd done it. This would become evident only upon working backward to determine the great secret of *The Salem Belle*: the name of its anonymous author.

The Salem Belle features no author name on its title page, cover, or spine. Even its copyright document mentions no author. The work had been tentatively attributed to Lucy Cleveland, but it didn't seem like her other work in

setting or language.⁴⁰ So I sent a series of letters to librarians whose collections, according to the *National Union Catalog*, included *The Salem Belle*. I asked for information about any contemporary markings in the first edition of the book. I thereby learned in September 2000, with the kind assistance of librarian Rebecca C. Cape, that the copy at the J. K. Lilly Library at Indiana University included a handwritten attribution that was not mentioned in the scholarship and that was new to me: "By Mr. Wheelwright."

I had no idea who "Mr. Wheelwright" was. And he would be impossible to research without a first name. However, the complete name and the town of the author of the attribution were given—she was Jane Ann Reed of Waldoboro—that is, as my fourteen-year-old son Gabe determined from our United States map book, Waldoboro, Maine. During one of my Boston-area forays, I decided to follow this promising lead—so, at Harvard's Widener Library, I checked the *National Union Catalog for Manuscripts*. I found there that a collection of the Reed family's papers was at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Columbia University. In November 2000, I visited that library and asked for the Reed family file. I was amazed to find an 1843 letter from Jane Ann Reed's father, Isaac Gardner Reed, to his daughter (Jane Ann's sister) Mary Gardner Reed, mentioning that he was enjoying reading *The Salem Belle*. And I was further amazed to discover an 1841 letter from Sarah R. Derby to Mary asking, "Have you seen Mr. & Mrs. Wheelwright lately? Have they moved from Dover Street?"⁴¹

I sensed that I was on the verge of solving the case. Presuming that for the Reed family there was only one "Mr. Wheelwright," I focused on the address given. Details in the letter indicated that the location discussed was Boston, so I checked a directory for Boston for 1841, which showed a dozen Wheelwrights, one of whom did live at Dover Street. And this Wheelwright, according to the Boston directory for 1842, did move—to 3 Temple Place, the address of Charles Tappan, one of the publishers of *The Salem Belle*. The first name of this Wheelwright was Ebenezer. I had found my man. (This determination was later confirmed by an additional copy of *The Salem Belle* held by the Phillips Library in Salem and previously uncataloged. Irene Axelrod, Head Research and Programs Librarian, kindly brought this copy to my talk on Hawthorne and Wheelwright at the Phillips Library, and she passed it on to my daughter Emily, who proceeded to the podium and announced "a late-breaking discovery." And Emily read the inscription. Ebenezer Wheelwright had once been the subject of a poem by Newburyport poet Hannah F. Gould, and the inscription in the additional copy was "Miss H. F. Gould, with the kind regards of E. Wheelwright / Oct. 1842."⁴² I later learned that there were

three other uncataloged copies of *The Salem Belle* in the Phillips Library, but none of these had any markings. I asked Ms. Axelrod why she'd brought this particular copy, and she smiled and said, "It's the one with the purple cover. I like purple.")

My tracking backward now had a focus. I revisited Widener Library at Harvard in December 2000. Reference librarian Fred Burchstead recommended that I check a resource that I had no idea existed—the R. G. Dun and Company credit ratings of nineteenth-century Boston merchants. (The review in *The Pioneer* had identified the author of *The Salem Belle* as "a merchant of this city.") I remember that it was cold and windy when I walked down John F. Kennedy Street across the Larz Anderson Bridge over the Charles River to North Harvard Street and the Baker Business Library of the Harvard Business School. Archivist Tim Driscoll helped me to look up Ebenezer in an index and then brought out the appropriate enormous ledger. There I found regular handwritten reports about the apparently impoverished merchant: "Good for o" sums up the assessment.⁴³

This line of research continued in May 2001 at the National Archives and Records Administration facility in Waltham, Massachusetts. I was trying to locate records of the Boston Custom House that might link Hawthorne, who had worked there in 1839 and 1840, with merchant Wheelwright. Unsuccessful in this regard, I had remarkable success in another. Archive Specialist Walter Hickey asked if I'd considered checking the bankruptcy records. I hadn't. But clearly, in light of his credit ratings, Ebenezer might well have declared bankruptcy. Mr. Hickey found Ebenezer's name in the index and located a cache of legal material, which he brought out (unsure, he later told me, if I would be miserable or delighted). Indeed, Ebenezer Wheelwright had filed for bankruptcy on March 5, 1842, and he'd been declared bankrupt on May 10, 1842.⁴⁴ These facts suggest why, later in 1842, Ebenezer Wheelwright had *The Salem Belle* published anonymously—he may not have wanted his creditors to claim any income from the book. Neither miserable nor delighted, I was very satisfied. This merchant manqué was beginning to materialize.

Also, in December 2000 I visited archives in Boston. At the Microtexts Division of the Boston Public Library, I read newspaper obituaries. I discovered that Ebenezer was a forty-two-year-old merchant in Boston in 1842, the time of the publication of *The Salem Belle*, and that he was considered, at the time of his death in 1877, "an accomplished writer and essayist." His hometown, I learned, was Newburyport, Massachusetts. At the Massachusetts Historical Society, I found the Wheelwright Family Papers. Here I learned that he'd been antislavery. In this regard, I remembered that abolitionist William Lloyd

Garrison had once lived in Newburyport. Wheelwright remained antislavery even after the Civil War, focusing on slavery throughout the world.⁴⁵

And at the New England Historic and Genealogical Society, near the Boston Public Garden, I discovered another Wheelwright Collection. I found a book on the sixth floor that mentioned a lost manuscript genealogy of the Wheelwright family—on the fifth floor, I found that manuscript genealogy. So excited was I with the large file of material delivered to me that I had to go out and walk around. I had lunch, read about the Red Sox in the *Boston Globe*, and savored my afternoon's work. I may have been the happiest person in Boston—I certainly thought I was. I returned and began to read the collection. Evidently one John A. Vinton had been working on a genealogy of the Wheelwright family, and had corresponded with Ebenezer as a method of developing that genealogy. Ebenezer was generous in providing information, but unable to provide also the significant funding to get the book published. The book never appeared. However, the manuscript of the genealogy and the exchange of letters remain, along with Vinton's account of the life of Ebenezer's most celebrated ancestor, John Wheelwright. And in one letter to Vinton, Ebenezer mentions himself briefly, acknowledging that he had written "several works—one of which, *Traditions of Palestine* has seen 3 editions."⁴⁶

I found Harriet Martineau's 1830 *Traditions of Palestine* at the Boston Public and readily realized that it was the wrong book. I returned to Widener Library, with a photocopy of a letter from Ebenezer handy. I found in the stacks a copy of a different volume by the same title, an 1864 *Traditions of Palestine*, inscribed by "the author," though without his name—but I recognized Ebenezer's handwriting. And I confirmed my judgment by comparing this handwriting to that in the photocopy. There was a match.⁴⁷

Back home in State College, I read the 1864 *Traditions of Palestine*, which, the introduction indicated, had been written "more than twenty years" earlier—that is, around the time of the writing of *The Salem Belle*. *Traditions of Palestine* is an engaging fiction set at the time of the coming of Jesus, anticipating, perhaps, a more famous work of this type, Lew Wallace's 1880 novel *Ben-Hur*. I read *Traditions of Palestine* carefully, along with *The Salem Belle*, and I found many corresponding details of plot—indeed, in both works, the heroine is saved from a public execution and marries one of her rescuers. I also found corresponding details of setting, character, and theme. And, most important, I found that the phrasing in *Traditions of Palestine* was sometimes identical to that of *The Salem Belle*. It was clear that Ebenezer Wheelwright had written both books.⁴⁸

And there was more to be found on *Traditions of Palestine*. I had already explored the Newburyport Public Library (with assistance from Jessica Gill and Cecille Pimental) and found additional obituaries of Ebenezer, as well as genealogical materials, and I had already visited the Historical Society of Old Newbury (with assistance from Jay Williamson and Nancy Thurlow) and continued with my research. Intrigued by the fact that there was a library in Ebenezer's church, the First Presbyterian Church of Newburyport—"Old South"—I visited there in May 2001. The minister, George H. Hardy, took me upstairs to the Pastoral Library, where I examined a variety of documents and books, including a volume that had been owned by "Eben Wheelwright." Most interesting was a book of letters in which someone had pasted fifteen installments of *Traditions of Palestine*—it had first appeared, I learned, in 1863 in the daily *Newburyport Herald*, and also in the weekly *Herald of Gospel Liberty*. Ebenezer continued to be anonymous, of course, but at least he was described in the paper as "one of the best writers in this city."⁴⁹

Attending the American Literature Association Conference in Long Beach, California, in May 2002, I took a side trip with several others to the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. We wandered the gorgeous grounds, waiting to be admitted in the afternoon. As soon as we entered, I checked the manuscript catalog for Ebenezer Wheelwright and was thrilled to find another letter from Ebenezer, one indicating that he'd edited a religious magazine in 1867 and 1868, *The Panoplist*.⁵⁰ Back in Pennsylvania, I offered my son Gabe a night at Fenway Park, and we drove up to Boston for a short trip, which included my stopping at the Andover Theological Library at Harvard. I found there that the November 1868 issue of *The Panoplist* featured an advertisement for the anonymous *Traditions of Palestine*—as well as an anonymous story titled "A Sabbath in Boston in 1692," which was not identified (but could have been) as an excerpt from an already-forgotten novel, *The Salem Belle*.⁵¹

I made one more pilgrimage to Newburyport, the natal city of Ebenezer Wheelwright, this time with my wife, Amy, and both our children, Emily and Gabe, who indulged my quest. (I won't call it an obsession.) It was August 2003, and we were on our way to a summer vacation. I wanted to visit Ebenezer's gravesite in the Oak Hill Cemetery. We had arranged to meet with Nancy Thurlow and Todd Woodworth, who had located Ebenezer's gravesite. Off the main path to the right, down a steep incline, were the graves of Ebenezer Wheelwright and Sarah Wheelwright, his wife of fifty-four years. She had died on May 29, 1877, and he less than two weeks later, on June 10, 1877. As proximate as their dates of death were, so were their epitaphs: Sarah's was from Psalms 16:11—"In thy presence is fullness of joy"—and Ebenezer's was from Psalms 16:9—"My flesh

shall rest in hope.” Both had been very devout. At Ebenezer’s grave—as I had at Hawthorne’s grave a few years before—I left a small stone.

Guided by Nancy Thurlow, we then drove to Ebenezer Wheelwright’s grand house on High Street, where we were welcomed by its owner, Emily Otto. She generously showed us around her beautiful house, with its remarkable “Good morning” staircase. (Twin staircases on the second floor lead to two bedrooms each, from which the awakened may emerge and say to each other, “Good morning.”) She showed us, too, documents concerning Ebenezer’s ownership of the house. It was good to know that although he was financially hard pressed for so many years, Ebenezer had come to live in a gracious home.

And I made one further connection with Ebenezer. Through correspondence with Wheelwright genealogist Stella P. Bruce, I learned of Dr. George L. Hamilton of Concord, New Hampshire—the great-grandson of Ebenezer’s younger brother Isaac, and the great-great-nephew of Ebenezer himself. I learned that as a boy Dr. Hamilton had met Ebenezer’s daughter Mary in her Beacon Hill home and later attended her funeral. And I learned that, according to Dr. Hamilton’s Aunt Margaret, Ebenezer had continued to write later in life—he had developed a concern with spiritualism and wrote about communication with the dead.

Certainly Hawthorne would have known the name of the author of *The Salem Belle*—perhaps through his bookseller/publisher sister-in-law, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody; even more probably through the likely author of the *Pioneer* review of *The Salem Belle* and Hawthorne’s good friend, James Russell Lowell (who, with his fiancée, Maria, visited the Hawthornes in the Old Manse in Concord on November 2, 1842); and surely through his publisher—and Ebenezer’s—Tappan and Dennet—whose Washington Street establishment Hawthorne would most likely have visited during his late October 1842 stay in Boston. Perhaps during this visit he was even given the just-published book.⁵²

I had my man, but I didn’t yet know his significance for Hawthorne. The critical point here, I realized, is that Hawthorne thought of himself in terms of his Puritan ancestors. At the beginning of *The Scarlet Letter*, he writes of his seventeenth-century ancestors William and John Hathorne—one the persecutor of Quakers, the other the persecutor of alleged witches (*CE*, 1:9). In Hawthorne’s novel *The House of the Seven Gables*, the author writes of young Holgrave in terms of his ancestor, the curse-invoking Matthew Maule. Given Hawthorne’s extensive reading in Puritan history, he would readily have recognized Ebenezer Wheelwright’s most famous ancestor, John Wheelwright. It was John Wheelwright who, along with Anne Hutchinson, famously defied the Puritan leaders in the 1630s, advocating an inner spiritual authority over an external one

(the “covenant of grace” over the “covenant of works”). John Winthrop’s *Journals*, which we know Hawthorne read, discusses Wheelwright and Hutchinson, often relating the two antinomian leaders. Winthrop notes that Wheelwright and Hutchinson shared the same opinions, that both suffered banishment, and that their absence led to the return of the people’s love for the governor.⁵³

Hawthorne twice links Hester to Anne Hutchinson in *The Scarlet Letter*, but he never mentions John Wheelwright, Ebenezer’s ancestor and Anne Hutchinson’s ally: John Wheelwright seems to be the missing man of *The Scarlet Letter*. The minister, Arthur Dimmesdale, is key here. While he has been associated with the accommodating John Cotton, Dimmesdale more notably resembles John Wheelwright, who defied Puritan standards and suffered a punishment akin to that of the woman with whom he was associated—not public humiliation in this case, but banishment.⁵⁴ And Hawthorne would have related to banishment since he’d just been banished himself—fired from the Salem Custom House.

The Salem Belle offered Hawthorne a wonderful opportunity to allegorize a historical conflict. That Hester and Dimmesdale represented Anne Hutchinson and John Wheelwright would be well hidden because Hawthorne’s allusions were to an obscure novel, and that novel’s author, Ebenezer Wheelwright, was not only obscure but also unidentified.

Having worked out this much, I tried to elaborate more. I discussed the issue at length with my daughter Emily as we walked around our neighborhood in State College. Finally, a critical connection came to mind. The story of the Antinomian Controversy was a very early one in American Puritan history—like a similar story in the biblical narrative. John Wheelwright and Anne Hutchinson disobeyed the Puritan authorities and were expelled from the Massachusetts Bay Colony—just as Adam and Eve had disobeyed God and been expelled from Eden. The historical allegory conveys a biblical one—a story Hawthorne told repeatedly throughout his career, even writing an 1843 short story titled “The New Adam and Eve.”

And so, genetic criticism returned me to Genesis. I now believed I knew why Hawthorne had decided to allude to *The Salem Belle*. I think he subtly transformed three passages in that novel to suggest covertly the novel’s hidden author, Ebenezer Wheelwright, and thus his most famous ancestor, John Wheelwright. John Wheelwright and the twice-mentioned Anne Hutchinson—who correspond to Dimmesdale and Hester—were disobedient and expelled, and thus intimate “the world’s first parents,” Adam and Eve. And so the beautiful complexity of *The Scarlet Letter* is intensified—and the evident theme of original sin, of Man’s Fall and ultimate redemption—is deliberately

underscored. We have in Hawthorne's masterpiece, I believe, a beautiful story of the "Fortunate Fall."⁵⁵

Throughout my reading and research, I've loved the extraordinary and complex imaginations of Poe and Hawthorne. And I've loved trying to use my own imagination to see if I could track them down. Would these authors object? I like to think not. I like to think that if I explained to either writer my readings of his works, he'd smile and say, "Sit down; let's talk."

So how am I doing according to the four criteria for a life of bliss in Poe's "The Domain of Arnheim"? Well, I certainly need more "free exercise in the open air." But I do have "the love of woman." Yet I don't have "contempt for ambition." But in Poe and Hawthorne I have had "object[s] of unceasing pursuit." So I'm two for four. If I'm not positively blissful—well, I'm very happy.

Notes

1. See *Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. T. O. Mabbott, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969, 1978), 3:1268–69. Other citations to this edition will be offered parenthetically in the text with the letter M. The present essay was given as a talk at the Convention of the Nathaniel Hawthorne Society of Japan, Kita-Kyushu, Japan, May 2011 (by DVD); as the Charles G. Smith Lecture at Baylor University, Waco, Texas, November 2011; and as a plenary presentation at the conference "Conversazioni in Italia: Emerson, Hawthorne, and Poe," Florence, Italy, June 2012.

2. Richard Kopley, *Edgar Allan Poe and the Dupin Mysteries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) (hereafter cited in the notes as *EAP*).

3. "A Mischievous Ape," *Philadelphia Saturday News*, September 22, 1838, p. [2], col. 6 (*EAP*, 35–36).

4. "A Mischievous Ape," *New York Evening Star*, September 17, 1838, p. [2], col. 2; and *New York Morning Herald*, September 18, 1838, p. [2], col. 2 (*EAP*, 103n).

5. Rev. of *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* [by Edgar Allan Poe], *The Philadelphia Saturday News*, August 4, 1838, p. [2], col. 3 (*EAP*, 30–31).

6. "Deliberate Murder in Broadway, at Midday," *Philadelphia Saturday News*, August 4, 1838, p. [2], col. 4; "Examination of Coleman," *Philadelphia Saturday News*, August 11, 1838, p. [2], col. 7 (*EAP*, 32–35).

7. "Orang Outang," *Philadelphia Saturday News*, May 26, 1838, p. [4], col. 2 (*EAP* 31–32).

8. "Deaths in New York," *Philadelphia Saturday News*, December 1, 1838, p. [2], col. 5 (*EAP*, 37).

9. "Humorous Adventures—Picking Up a Madman," *Philadelphia Saturday News*, December 29, 1838, p. [4], col. 2 (*EAP*, 39).

10. Richard Kopley, *Edgar Allan Poe and "The Philadelphia Saturday News"* (Baltimore: The Enoch Pratt Free Library and the Edgar Allan Poe Society, 1991).

11. Richard Kopley, *The Threads of "The Scarlet Letter": A Study of Hawthorne's Transformative Art* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003) (hereafter cited in the notes as *T*).

12. *Death-Bed Confessions of the Late Countess of Guernsey, to Lady Anne H****** (London: John Fairburn, [1822]). For a fuller discussion, see *EAP*, 70–76.
13. *Death-Bed Confessions*, 34. For further consideration, see *EAP*, 72.
14. An excellent account of the life of Queen Caroline is Flora Fraser's *The Unruly Queen: The Life of Queen Caroline* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). For my treatment of Poe's awareness of the queen, see *EAP*, 68–70.
15. The two letters by John Allan to partner Charles Ellis, dated February 1, 1820, and June 9, 1820, are in the Ellis & Allan Papers in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. For further consideration, see *EAP*, 69.
16. There were many British and American newspaper pieces on the queen's return. One relevant British piece was "Arrival of the Queen of England," *Liverpool Mercury*, June 9, 1829, 415–16. A relevant American piece was "Late and Important from England and the Continent," *New-York Spectator*, July 25, 1820, [1–2]. See *EAP*, 69–70.
17. Edgar Allan Poe, Rev. of *Sketches of Public Characters, Discourses, and Essays. To Which Is Added a Dissertation on the Eloquence of the Ancients*. By Henry Lord Brougham. *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1839, 62. See *EAP*, 74–75.
18. Letter, *New York Times and Evening Star*, August 26, 1841, [2]. See also *EAP*, 48–50.
19. The guilty person accusing the innocent one was Richard David Croucher. For contemporary accounts of the trial, see William Coleman, *Report of the Trial of Levi Weeks* (New York: John Furman, 1800); James Hardie, *An Impartial Account of the Trial of Levi Weeks* (New York: N. McFarlane, 1800); and David Longworth, *A Brief Narrative of the Trial for the Bloody and Mysterious Murder of the Unfortunate Young Woman, in the Famous Manhattan Well* (New York, 1800). For further discussion, see *EAP*, 51–54.
20. For Poe's review of Theodore S. Fay's novel *Norman Leslie*, see Edgar Allan Poe, *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. James A. Harrison, 17 vols. (1902; New York: AMS Press, 1979), 8:51–62; and *The Collected Writings of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. Burton R. Pollin (and, for vol. 5, Joseph V. Ridgely), 5 vols. (New York: Gordian Press, 1981–97), 5:60–62. Further references to the Harrison edition will be given parenthetically in the text with an H. For my discussion, see *EAP*, 52–53.
21. H. Hastings Weld, Rev. of *Powhatan; a Metrical Romance, in Seven Cantos*, by Seba Smith, *Brother Jonathan*, May 1, 1841. See *EAP*, 57.
22. H. Hastings Weld, Rev. of *Graham's Magazine* (July 1841), *Brother Jonathan*, June 26, 1841. See *EAP*, 59.
23. Edgar Allan Poe, *The Collected Letters of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. John Ward Ostrom, Burton R. Pollin, and Jeffrey A. Savoye, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (New York: Gordian Press, 2008), 1:303. See *EAP*, 59–60.
24. H. Hastings Weld, Rev. of *Graham's Magazine* (April 1842), *Brother Jonathan* (Quarto), April 9, 1842, 409. See *EAP*, 62.
25. For a fuller discussion, see my introduction to *EAP*, 1–5.
26. *Ibid.*, 24–25.
27. *Ibid.*, 21–24.
28. See *ibid.*, 33–34 (Ann Coleman), 44 (Mary Rogers), and 67–70 (Princess Caroline).
29. Arthur Hobson Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography* (1941; New York: Cooper Square, 1969), 89.
30. Marie Louise Shew Houghton to John Ingram, May 16, [18]75, in *Building Poe Biography*, ed. John Carl Miller (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 136–41 (see esp. 140).
31. See Quinn, *Edgar Allan Poe*, 77–85.
32. Roy R. Male, *Hawthorne's Tragic Vision* (1957; New York: Norton, 1964), 99.

33. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. William Charvat et al., 23 vols. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1962–97), 1:90. Further references to this edition will be cited parenthetically in the text with the letters CE.

34. For a discussion of the sources that scholars have identified for *The Scarlet Letter*, see my “Appendix: A Bibliographical Overview,” in *T*, 113–24.

35. See *ibid.*: 22–35 (“The Tell-Tale Heart”), 36–63 (“A Legend of Brittany”), 123 (*Hobomok*), and 138 (*Kavanagh*).

36. See *ibid.*, 64–96.

37. See *ibid.*, 22–35. For an earlier version, see my “Hawthorne’s Transplanting and Transforming ‘The Tell-Tale Heart,’” *Studies in American Fiction* 23 (1995): 231–41.

38. See Rev. of *The Salem Belle*, *The Pioneer*, January 1843, 44 (*T*, 78).

39. The first edition of *The Salem Belle* was *The Salem Belle: A Tale of 1692* (Boston: Tappan and Dennet, 1842). It was reprinted as *The Salem Belle: A Tale of Love and Witchcraft in the Year 1692* (Boston: J. M. Whittemore, 1847). Page references to the 1842 publication will be given parenthetically in the text. For fuller treatment of the parallel passages, see *T*, 84–89.

40. For the tentative attribution, see Nolan E. Smith, “Author-Identification for Six Wright I Titles: Cleveland and Doughty,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 65 (1971): 173–74. I am glad to acknowledge here the expertise on Lucy Cleveland of Paula Bradstreet Richter, Curator for Exhibitions and Research, Peabody Essex Museum. For the problems with the Lucy Cleveland attribution, see *T*, 66–67.

41. For fuller discussion of the Reed connection, see *T*, 68–69.

42. *The Salem Belle* (Boston: Tappan and Dennet, 1842), Clifton Waller Barrett copy, from the C. E. Frazer Clark Collection, Copy 1, Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum. Quoted with permission from the Phillips Library at the Peabody Essex Museum.

43. For a fuller discussion of Wheelwright’s finances, see *T*, 69–70, 147–48n.

44. See *ibid.*, 69, 147n.

45. For mention of Wheelwright’s obituaries, see *T*, 70–71, 148–49n. For mention of Wheelwright’s abolitionism, see *T*, 69, 147n.

46. See *T*, 70, 148n.

47. *Ibid.*

48. For a summary of the parallels between *The Salem Belle* and *Traditions of Palestine*, see *ibid.*, 71–72.

49. For further information on my findings in the First Presbyterian Church of Newburyport, see *ibid.*, 70–71, 149n.

50. See *ibid.*, 148n.

51. See *ibid.*, 72, 149n.

52. For Hawthorne’s learning of the author of *The Salem Belle*, see *ibid.*, 82. I wrote in *Threads* that Hawthorne may have been told about the forthcoming novel *The Salem Belle* at Tappan and Dennet’s bookshop in late October 1842 (p. 74) when I was not yet aware (by way of Ebenezer Wheelwright’s inscribed copy to Hannah Gould) that the book was published by then.

53. For further information about Winthrop on Wheelwright and Hutchinson, see *ibid.*, 92–94, 152n.

54. For a fuller discussion of John Wheelwright, rather than John Cotton, as linked to Dimmesdale, see *ibid.*, 93.

55. For my discussion of the biblical implications of the Wheelwright/Hutchinson connection in *The Scarlet Letter*, see *ibid.*, 94–96.