



PROJECT MUSE®

The Business of Reflection

Milder, Robert, Fuller, Randall

Published by The Ohio State University Press

Milder, Robert & Fuller, Randall.

The Business of Reflection: Hawthorne in His Notebooks.

Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2009.

Project MUSE., <https://muse.jhu.edu/>.



➔ For additional information about this book

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/27811>

NOTES



Introduction

1. Joel Porte, Preface to *Emerson in His Journals*, ed. Porte (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), vi.

2. Hyatt H. Waggoner, Introduction to *HLN*, 26.

3. Henry James, *Hawthorne* (1879; reprint, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1956), 98.

4. Edwin Percy Whipple, unsigned review of *The House of the Seven Gables*, *Gramham's Magazine* 38 (6 June 1851); reprinted in *The House of the Seven Gables*, ed. Robert S. Levine (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), 325.

5. James, *Hawthorne*, 117.

6. Julian Hawthorne, "The Salem of Hawthorne," *Century Magazine* 28 (May 1885): 4.

7. James, *Hawthorne*, 51.

8. SH quoted in Brenda Wineapple, *Hawthorne: A Life* (New York: Random House, 2003), 156.

9. Herman Melville, "Hawthorne and His Mosses," in *The Piazza Tales and Other Prose Pieces, 1839–1860*, ed. Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, and G. Thomas Tanselle, vol. 9 of *The Writings of Herman Melville* (Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University Press and the Newberry Library, 1987), 245.

10. Michael J. Colacurcio, *The Province of Piety: Moral History in Hawthorne's Early Tales* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 39, 19.

11. *Ibid.*, 20. Since NH's surviving notebooks begin in 1835 and several of the best historical tales date from the late 1820s and early 1830s, it is possible that they did reflect the kind of moral/historical interest Colacurcio ascribes to NH. Possible but unlikely: a writer's sensibility does not change so radically and quickly, and pertinent stories such as "The May-Pole of Merry Mount" and "The Minister's Black Veil"

appeared in the gift-book annual *The Token* for 1836 (published late in 1835), the time of the notebooks.

12. *Hawthorne and the Real: Bicentennial Essays*, ed. Millicent Bell (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2005).

13. *HLN*, ms. leaf 25 (italics added).

14. Waggoner, Introduction, *HLN*, 25.

15. *HLN*, ms. leaf 8.

16. Waggoner, Introduction, *HLN*, 25.

17. In the early 1830s NH projected and partially completed a work called “The Story Teller,” rooted in his travels through New England and upstate New York in the summer of 1832. The collection was a frame narrative that combined the adventures of a wandering storyteller with descriptions of scenes and persons, along with a number of tales themselves, some of them related to place and occasion. NH could not persuade a publisher to accept the collection, and its materials, including some of the travel sketches, appeared separately, most of them in *The New-England Magazine* of 1834–35. The introductory frame was published in the December 1834 issue of that periodical as “Passages from a Relinquished Work” and was reprinted in the second edition of *Mosses from an Old Manse* (1854). It is intriguing to speculate what direction NH’s career might have taken if “The Story Teller,” with its mixture of the real and the fanciful, had been published. The travel notebooks of 1837 and 1838 represent a further development of NH the realist, though (“Ethan Brand” excepted) almost entirely separate from his fiction.

18. James R. Mellow, *Nathaniel Hawthorne in His Times* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980), 48.

19. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams*, in *Novels, Mont Saint-Michel, and The Education*, ed. Ernest Samuels and Jayne N. Samuels (New York: Library of America, 1983), 727. For a discussion of the seasonal split in NH’s character and writing, see Robert Milder, “Hawthorne’s Winter Dreams,” *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 54 (1999): 165–70 especially.

20. See Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957), 308–12.

21. Patricia Dunlavy Valenti, “Sophia Peabody Hawthorne’s *American Notebooks*,” in *Studies in the American Renaissance*, ed. Joel Myerson (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 116.

22. In this letter, Hawthorne complained about possible legislation to revise the salary provisions for the diplomatic corps. For more on Hawthorne’s finances in Liverpool, see Mellow, *Nathaniel Hawthorne in His Times*, 453–56.

23. See especially the famous “moonlight” passage in “The Custom-House” Introduction, CE I: 35–36.

24. Qtd. in Ronald A. Bosco and Jillmarie Murphy, eds., *Hawthorne in His Own Time* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2007), 152.

25. Qtd. in CE XXI: 743.

26. Wineapple, *Hawthorne*, 228.

27. For a discussion of the context of Julian Hawthorne and Fuller, see Thomas R. Mitchell, *Hawthorne’s Fuller Mystery* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 12–40.

28. Paul R. Baker, *The Fortunate Pilgrims: Americans in Italy, 1800–1860* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), 141.

29. For an account of Hawthorne's relationship with Louisa Lander, see T. Walter Herbert, *Dearest Beloved: The Hawthornes and the Making of Middle-Class Marriage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 228–34.

30. Mellow, *Nathaniel Hawthorne in His Times*, 495.

Part I: The American Notebooks

1. In “Foot-prints on the Sea-shore” NH transferred the encounter to a September setting and amplified its dramatic details.

2. This paragraph suggests the monomania NH would develop in *BR* with the prison reformer Hollingsworth, who narrator Coverdale believes may be going mad. See also NH's treatment of reformers in “The Hall of Fantasy.”

3. “and squalid,” absent from SH's transcription and from the Centenary text, appears in the manuscript Lost Notebook (*HNLN*, ms. leaf 25).

4. Morally, a rehearsal for the fate of Roger Chillingworth.

5. “fund of” appears in the Lost Notebook, not in the Centenary text (*HNLN*, ms. leaf 35).

6. Horatio Bridge (1806–93), a Bowdoin College friend of NH, was living in Augusta, Maine, at the time of NH's visit. Bridge had encouraged NH in his burgeoning career as a writer and made possible the issuance of *TTT* by pledging \$250 to guarantee the publisher against loss, but without letting NH know. Years after NH's death and not long before his own, Bridge published *Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York: Harper's, 1893), which contains valuable information about NH's earlier life and assessments of his character.

7. Bridge did marry, in 1846.

8. Martin Van Buren, vice president under Andrew Jackson, had succeeded to the presidency on March 4, 1837.

9. Jonathan Cilley (1802–38) was a Bowdoin College graduate in the class of 1825. A member of the Maine legislature from 1832 to 1836 and Speaker of the House in 1835 and 1836, he was killed in a duel with W. J. Graves of Kentucky on February 24, 1838. NH's biographical sketch of Cilley may have helped him get an appointment as measurer in the Boston Custom House in 1839.

10. NH used details from this sentence in “Foot-prints on the Sea-shore.” In *Clarel*, Melville would have the NH-based Vine throw stones at his shadow.

11. This idea figures centrally in the characterization of Dimmesdale, whose hypocrisy makes the world and his own being shadowy and unreal to himself, as NH indicates through his name.

12. The sentence also suggests the dividedness of Dimmesdale's character.

13. This entry and the one following it anticipate the galvanic power Chillingworth wields over Dimmesdale.

14. A version of this of old man, whose daughter has gone off with a circus, appears in “Ethan Brand.”

15. NH's characterization of this maimed lawyer-turned-soap-boiler is the basis for Lawyer Giles in “Ethan Brand.”

16. The surgeon-dentist is one of several picaresque figures (the essence-peddler NH meets is another) that entered into the conception of Holgrave in *HSG*. See chapter 12 (CE II: 76): “In an episodic way, he had studied and practiced dentistry,

and with very flattering success, especially in many of the factory-towns along our inland-streams.”

17. A young boy named Joe figures in “Ethan Brand,” but Hawthorne transforms him into a sensitive, fearful child and sets him against the coarse villagers who gather to hear Ethan Brand recount his search for the Unpardonable Sin.

18. In a rough sense, this passage might be said to encapsulate NH’s attitude toward slavery and abolition. Though personally objecting to slavery, he had no confidence in political interventions to do away with it, a position in keeping with his general skepticism toward institutional reform. On the grand matters of human injustice—social, economic, sexual, and racial—NH tended to rely on the meliorism of history, or “Providence.”

19. The Dutchman with his diorama and tail-chasing dog play symbolic roles in “Ethan Brand.” The Dutchman is there associated with the Wandering Jew, condemned to roam the earth forever in consequence of hurling a gibe at Christ on his way to the cross; the dog suggests the morbid introversion and futility of Ethan Brand’s quest for the Unpardonable Sin. The transformation of the Dutchman is typical of how NH recast naturalistic elements from the Berkshire notebook into fictive symbol.

20. The Tremont House was situated at the corner of Tremont and Beacon streets, Boston. This paragraph contains the kind of observed detail NH used in *BR*, chapters 27–28.

21. See NH’s entry in the English Notebooks for July 4, 1855 (CE XXI: 226–29).

22. This looks ahead to Dimmesdale being watched by Chillingworth.

23. Cow Island is immediately adjacent to Brook Farm on the southeast.

24. See Coverdale’s description of his arboreal “hermitage” in *BR*, chapter 12.

25. The allusion is to Matthew 7:16.

26. NH drew on this paragraph for his depiction of Priscilla in *BR*, chapters 5 and 9.

27. This idea is also the basis for the A on Dimmesdale’s breast.

28. This also applies to Dimmesdale.

29. This apothegm was inscribed on the glass of one of the windows of NH’s study in the Old Manse with the signature, “Sophia A Hawthorne 1843.”

30. This idea never eventuated in a story of its own, but it applies both to Dr. Rappaccini’s experiments with his daughter Beatrice and to Chillingworth’s experimental probings and pricking with Dimmesdale. Years later, Harold Frederic used it in Dr. Ledsmar’s experiments with his servant in Frederic’s Hawthorne-influenced *The Damnation of Theron Ware* (1896).

31. In chapter 17 of *BR* (“The Hotel”), Coverdale peers out of his Boston hotel window at the backside of nearby residences. The entry is in keeping with the motif of voyeurism running through NH’s fiction and most openly addressed in “Sights from a Steeple” and *BR*.

32. On the relation of this entry to the development of *The Ancestral Footstep*, see Edward H. Davidson, *Hawthorne’s Last Phase* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1949), 13–29.

33. NH has no particular characterization in mind yet—his daughter Una, in some respects a model for Pearl in *The Scarlet Letter*, would not be born until 1844—but this entry shows Hawthorne at least drawn to the name Pearl as fictively picturesque.

34. An anticipation of Dimmesdale's mood in chapter 17 of *The Scarlet Letter* just before Hester rouses him with her plan of escape (CE I: 196).

35. Genesis 5:24.

36. George Prescott, a ten- or eleven-year-old son of Mrs. Timothy Prescott, lived nearby.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, the leading American thinker of NH's time, lived about a mile and a half from NH in Concord. It was Emerson who evidently helped arrange for NH to rent the parsonage (NH would call it the Old Manse) after the death of the incumbent minister, Emerson's step-grandfather Ezra Ripley (1751–1841). Emerson had recently extended his reputation with the 1841 publication of *Essays*. NH's relationship with Emerson—and Emerson's with him—was complex. Neither had much use for the other's writing, but Emerson personally liked NH a good deal and NH found Emerson a man of interest, if somewhat comically rarefied. NH publicly recorded some of his impressions of Emerson in "The Old Manse"; his private impressions were not different in kind, but they were often more bemusedly skeptical.

William Ellery Channing (1817–1901), an aspiring poet, protégé of Emerson's, and close friend of Thoreau's, married Margaret Fuller's sister Ellen in 1841 and settled at Concord in May 1843. Sophia had been a patient of Ellery's father, Dr. Walter Channing, about 1830 when her family was living in Boston, and she was, according to Elizabeth Peabody, "for some years the single influence that tamed" the young poet (*NHHW*, 1: 63–64).

"Mr. Thorow" is Henry David Thoreau (1817–62), a Concord native, a fledgling writer, and another protégé of Emerson's, who went to live in Emerson's home in April 1841. On July 4, 1845, Thoreau would take up residence at Walden Pond (on land owned by Emerson), where he remained until September 1847. Drafted in part at the pond, *Walden* would be published in 1854. In the late 1840s, when NH was again living in Salem and was secretary of the local lyceum, he arranged for both Emerson and Thoreau to lecture there.

Elizabeth Hoar (1814–78), a member of a prominent Concord family of lawyers and statesmen, helped prepare the Old Manse for occupancy by the Hawthornes. She had been engaged to marry Emerson's brother Charles, and after his death in 1836 she lived a retired life.

37. Rev. William Emerson (1743–76), Ralph Waldo's grandfather.

38. The reference is to *Henry IV*, act V, scene iii.

39. George Stillman Hillard (1808–79), lawyer and friend of NH. A conspicuous act of this friendship was Hillard's raising a considerable sum of money—the exact amount is not known—among NH's friends in January 1850 (*NHHW*, 1: 354–55) after his dismissal from the Salem Custom House and before publication of *SL*.

40. Emerson had described the sagacity of Edmund Hosmer (1798–1881) in "Agriculture in Massachusetts," *Dial* 3 (July 1842).

41. The Robert B. Storer of Boston. Mrs. Storer was Elizabeth Hoar's sister Sarah.

42. See "The Old Manse," CE X: 18–21.

43. Margaret Fuller (1810–50)—writer, critic, feminist—paid the Emersons an extended visit during the summer of 1842. SH had known Fuller and attended her "Conversations" for women before she married NH. Fuller's cordial relations with

the Hawthornes were strained somewhat by her suggestion that her sister Ellen and Ellery Channing be allowed to board at the Old Manse. NH declined courteously but firmly. Nonetheless, a friendliness continued, and in the summer of 1844 Fuller stayed for a time with the Hawthornes at the Old Manse as she worked on expanding her 1843 *Dial* essay, "The Great Lawsuit," into a book, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845). Fuller was then involved in a one-sided romantic relationship (perhaps with William Clarke, brother of her close friend James Freeman Clarke), and the "almost daily entries" in her journal, her editors remark, "show her struggle to reconcile" her hopes "with the wounding and disappointing reality of insufficient love" ["'The Impulses of Human Nature': Margaret Fuller's Journal from June through October 1844," ed. Martha L. Berg and Alice de V. Perry, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 102 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1990): 38]. As Fuller's host, NH was in a special position to appreciate the conflict in her between the proud, self-reliant feminist who in *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* would publicly champion celibacy as a condition for female autonomy and the romantically frustrated private woman—a conflict he would vividly dramatize with Zenobia in chapter 14 in *BR*. In his 1844 sketch "The Christmas Banquet," NH had described "a woman of unemployed energy," very likely modeled on Fuller, "who found herself in the world with nothing to achieve. Nothing to enjoy, and nothing even to suffer," and who "had, therefore, driven herself to the verge of madness by dark broodings over the wrongs of her sex, and its exclusion from a proper field of action." The dark heroines of NH's romances—Hester, Zenobia, and Miriam—are all variations upon this pattern. Indeed, NH's dark heroines, who have no prototype in his tales of the 1830s, may well have been inconceivable without the personal and intellectual influence of Fuller. In the mid-1840s Fuller moved to New York to write for Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*; later she went to Europe, settling in Rome, where she actively involved herself in the struggle for Italian independence. Returning to America in 1850 with her husband, Angelo Ossoli, and their young child, Fuller and her family perished in a shipwreck off Fire Island, New York. Emerson dispatched Thoreau to Fire Island to hunt for Fuller's physical and literary remains—it was rumored she had written a history of the Italian revolution—but neither was ever found. NH's acerbic comment on Fuller in the the French and Italian notebooks should be understood in light of his entire relationship to her, of his deeply ambivalent feelings about feminism, and of his antipathy toward "public women" generally from Anne Hutchinson down. For NH's relationship with Fuller, see Robert Milder, "The *Scarlet Letter* and Its Discontents," *Nathaniel Hawthorne Review* 22 (Spring 1996): 9–25; and Thomas R. Mitchell, *Hawthorne's Fuller Mystery* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

44. Sarah Bradford Ripley (1793–1867) was the sister of George Bradford and the wife of Samuel Ripley; the Ripleys succeeded the Hawthornes in the Old Manse.

45. Rev. Barzillai Frost (d. 1858) was a minister in Concord and the unnamed target of Emerson's complaint about the coldness of formal Christianity in the Divinity School Address: "I once heard a preacher who sorely tempted me to say, I would go to church no more. . . . A snowstorm was falling around us. The snowstorm was real; the preacher merely spectral." It is to Emerson's everlasting credit that he refrained from making an open pun on Frost's name. Divinity School Address, in *Nature, Addresses, and Lectures*, Vol. 1 of *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Robert E. Spiller and Alfred R. Ferguson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 85.

46. NH's reference is to Thoreau's "Natural History of Massachusetts," *Dial* 3 (July 1842), 19–40, unsigned.

47. For at least two weeks in late summer NH's sister Maria Louisa (1808–52) was a guest in the Old Manse. Thoreau's boat, the *Musketaquid*, was built by himself and his brother, John, and was used by them in the memorable voyage of 1839 that Thoreau would describe in *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849). In renaming the boat the *Pond Lily*, NH was paying tribute both to a favorite local flower—rooting itself in the muck of the Concord River, the pond lily managed to rise pure, white, and fragrant, unlike the noisome yellow lily—and to his wife, whom he liked to compare to a pond lily, rooted in common human nature but remaining miraculously pure.

48. *The Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion* was a substantial but short-lived monthly (Jan. 1842–Feb. 1843) edited by Nathan Hale, Jr., and his successor, Henry T. Tuckerman.

49. Samuel Gray Ward (ca. 1817–1907) was a friend of Emerson, Ellery Channing, and Margaret Fuller.

50. In February 1843 SH had suffered a miscarriage.

51. After NH's marriage in July 1842, no publications of his appeared until the beginning of 1843. Then *Sargent's New Monthly Magazine* published "The Old Apple Dealer" (January) and "The Antique Ring" (February); the *Pioneer* printed "The Hall of Fantasy" (February) and "The Birth-mark" (March); and the *Democratic Review* took "The New Adam and Eve" (February), "Egotism; or The Bosom Serpent" (March), and "The Procession of Life" (April), as well as "The Celestial Railroad" (May), which had probably been written by the end of March.

52. Whatever NH's hopes may have been in March 1843, they were not to be realized until April 1846, when he was named surveyor at the Salem Custom House.

53. Mary Peabody (1806–87), the middle of the three Peabody sisters, married educator and sometime politician Horace Mann (1796–1859).

54. Amos Bronson Alcott (1799–1888), peddler, autodidact, experimental educator, transcendental philosopher, and father of author Louisa May Alcott, contributed "Orphic Sayings" to the *Dial* 1 (July 1840: 85–98, and Jan. 1841: 351–61).

55. "Pythagoras said, that it was either requisite to be silent, or to say something better than silence" (Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras . . .*, trans. Thomas Taylor [London, 1818], 264).

56. Channing's *Poems* (Boston, 1843), published at Ward's expense, drew one of Poe's most scathing reviews in *Graham's Magazine* 23 (Aug. 1843): 113–17, hardly offset by a brief notice in the *Dial* 4 (July 1843: 135), which described Channing's "genius" as "without a rival in this country."

57. NH's paragraph is a response to SH's rhapsody on the first anniversary of their marriage.

58. NH used this passage in "The Old Manse," CE X: 27–28.

59. The reference is anticipatory, since their first child, Una, was born on March 3, 1844.

60. Located on the edge of Concord, Sleepy Hollow became Sleepy Hollow Cemetery; many of the town notables, including NH, Emerson, Thoreau, and Alcott, are buried there.

61. Hawthorne adapted this entry in "The Old Manse" (CE X: 33).

62. The entry anticipates *The Scarlet Letter*, obviously, but NH had also used the

idea in his cameo description of a Salem woman in “Endicott and the Red Cross,” published in *The Token* for 1838 and reprinted in the 1842 edition of *TTT*: “There was likewise a young woman, with no mean share of beauty, whose doom it was to wear the letter A on the breast of her gown, in the eyes of the world and her own children” (CE IX: 435).

63. NH drew heavily on this entry for chapter 27 of *BR* (CE III: 229–37), which describes the recovery of the body of the drowned Zenobia.

64. Probably General Joshua Buttrick, who owned a farm near the Concord River, just north of the town.

65. This Buttrick (b. 1801), of uncertain relationship to the general, also lived on a farm north of Concord.

66. With her husband Minot Pratt (d. 1878), Maria T. Pratt (d. 1891) owned five shares in the Brook Farm organization. In 1845 the Pratts left the association and settled in Concord.

67. An anticipation of the process of moral and physical deterioration that Roger Chillingworth will undergo in consequence of his decision to live for revenge.

68. NH reworked these three paragraphs for an important passage in “The Custom-House” (CE I: 35–36).

69. Priscilla M. Dike (1790–1873) was a sister of NH’s mother and the second wife of John Dike.

70. The context suggests that NH may have been thinking of “dusty death,” *Macbeth* act V, v. 23. The phrase is echoed in *MF*, chapter 21 (CE IV: 194). As might be expected, this is not a passage that SH included in her edition of the American notebooks.

71. Mrs. Elizabeth Manning Hawthorne died the following day, July 31, 1849.

72. This phrase is echoed in the opening chapter of *HSG* (CE II: 20) and is a central theme in the book.

73. James T. Fields (1817–81), a partner in the Boston publishing firm of Ticknor & Fields and editor of the *Atlantic* from 1861 to 1870, was one of the first great entrepreneurs in American publishing and an enthusiastic promoter of NH, beginning with his firm’s publication of *The Scarlet Letter* in 1850. David Dudley Field (1804–94) was a noted New York attorney and an expert on law reform. Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–94), doctor, author, and celebrated wit, had a summer house in Pittsfield. In the mid-1840s Evert A. Duyckinck (1816–78) was an editor at Wiley and Putnam’s, which published *Mosses from an Old Manse* and Melville’s *Typee* (1846). Duyckinck became a friend and sponsor of both writers and, as editor of the New York periodical *The Literary World* from 1847 to 1853, was an influential figure in New York literary circles. His reviews of NH’s tales were laudatory and generally incisive, especially in describing (if genteelly trying to contain) the element of darkness in Hawthorne’s writing. Cornelius Mathews (1817–89), an editor and minor writer, was a friend and colleague of Duyckinck’s and a tireless proselytizer for American literary nationalism within the Duyckinck-led literary group known as “Young America.” Henry Dwight Sedgwick (1824–1903), a pupil of Longfellow’s, practiced law in New York City. Joel Tyler Headley (1813–97) was a popular historical writer.

The Monument Mountain expedition marked the first meeting of Melville and NH. It was unusual for NH to respond warmly to any new acquaintance, especially to other writers, but he took immediately to Melville, as Melville did to him. NH had

reviewed Melville's *Typee*, approvingly, in 1846, but he did not yet know Melville's other work to date—*Omoo* (1847), *Mardi* (1849), *Redburn* (1849), and *White-Jacket* (1850). It is uncertain whether Melville had read NH's tales before meeting him; if not, he read *Mosses from an Old Manse* almost immediately and with astonishment. When Duyckinck returned to New York he carried with him a manuscript titled "Hawthorne and His Mosses" that would appear in *The Literary World* on August 17 and 24, 1850, under the byline "By a Virginian Spending July in Vermont." Neither a Virginian (he was born in New York City, where he lived until 1830 when the bankruptcy of his father, an importer of French goods, forced the family to remove to the Albany area) nor a vacationer in Vermont (he was visiting family in the Berkshires with the idea of settling in the area), Melville may have chosen the attribution both to distance himself from the ardor of the review and to further the nationalist case that NH was an *American* writer, not simply a regional one. "Hawthorne and His Mosses" is an extraordinary piece of writing—penetrating about NH yet most significant as the literary manifesto of a writer just coming into his powers and coalescing his vision. The identity of its author did not long remain a secret, and when the Hawthornes learned that it was Melville who had so glowingly praised NH, even likening him to Shakespeare, it solidified a friendship already in the making.

To Melville, on the verge of greatness but still unsure of himself, NH was a revelation, and over the next fifteen months, as Melville settled with his family on a farm in nearby Pittsfield, his relationship with NH would become (exclusive of his family) the most consuming in his life. The friendship cooled after NH left the Berkshires in November 1851—the cottage was too small for his family, now with a third child; he felt isolated in Lenox; he hated the Berkshire climate and missed the sea; he quarreled with his landlords—and NH, while retaining affection and literary and personal respect for Melville, went on to other things. On his side, it might be said, Melville never put NH behind him—as friend, colleague, confidant, father, brother, and (some have argued) would-be lover. The two men met for the final times when Melville stopped in Liverpool to and from his journey to the Mediterranean in 1856–57. In the late 1860s Melville began rereading NH's fiction, and he purchased the notebooks as they appeared in SH's edited volumes. Melville's brief elegy "Monody" is often taken as referring to his intimacy with, then estrangement from, NH, though whether this estrangement involved a dramatic break (unlikely in view of NH's Liverpool entries on Melville in the English notebooks) or a simple distancing is impossible to know. NH figures prominently as the character Vine in Melville's long philosophical poem *Clarel* (1876); as Walter E. Bezanson put it, Melville took the "opportunity [of his poem] to brood privately and at length over the man who had meant the most to him in his own life" ("Historical and Critical Note" to Herman Melville, *Clarel: A Poem and Pilgrimage in the Holy Land*, vol. 12 of *The Writings of Herman Melville*, ed. Harrison Hayford, Alma A. MacDougall, Hershel Parker, and G. Thomas Tanselle (Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University Press and the Newberry Library, 1991), 596.

From NH's side, the fullest biographical discussions of the NH-Melville relationship are James R. Mellow's in *NH in His Times* and Edwin Haviland Miller's in *Salem Is My Dwelling Place* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991). Miller has also treated the relationship in his biography *Melville* (New York: George Braziller, 1975). More complete, factual, and judicious on Melville is Hershel Parker's two-volume *Herman Melville: A Biography* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press,

1996, 2002). For a speculative literary/psychological reading of the relationship from Melville's side, see Robert Milder, "The Ugly Socrates: Melville, Hawthorne, and the Varieties of Homoerotic Experience," in *Exiled Royalties: Melville and the Life We Imagine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 118–48. See also the volume of essays *Hawthorne and Melville: Writing a Relationship*, ed. Jana L. Argersinger and Leland S. Person (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2008).

74. Actually, the 8th of August. Allan Melville, Jr. (1823–72) was a New York lawyer four years younger than his brother Herman. Lewis William Mansfield (1816–99), a miscellaneous writer of Cohoes, New York, presented NH with a case of champagne upon his arrival at Lenox. Edwin Percy Whipple (1816–86), a Boston lecturer and critic, was one of the most perceptive contemporaneous commentators on NH.

75. William A. Tappan and his wife, Caroline Sturgis Tappan (a friend of Emerson's and formerly of Margaret Fuller's), owned the estate on which NH's red cottage was situated.

76. H. D. Parker's saloon-restaurant was located at 3 Court Street in Boston.

77. See NH's description of a saloon in chapter 21 of *BR*.

78. NH drew on this entry for many details in chapter 17 of *BR*.

79. Oak Hall was a large Boston establishment selling men's clothing at modest prices.

80. Palo Alto hats were wide-brimmed hats popularized during the 1849 gold rush and named for the battle of Palo Alto with which the Mexican War began on May 8, 1846.

81. E. P. P is Elizabeth Palmer Peabody (1804–94), the older sister of SH and Mary Mann, a teacher, author, editor, bookseller, and publisher, with whom, some biographers speculate, NH may have been (semi-)romantically involved before he met Sophia. See Mellow, *NH in His Times*, and Megan Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005).

82. Mrs. Peters was a servant later described by Julian Hawthorne (*NHHW*, 1: 410) as "a stern and incorruptible African, and a housekeeper by the grace of God."

83. Founded in 1790, the Shaker establishment in Hancock lay between Pittsfield and the Massachusetts line and was one of the most important Shaker communities.

Part II: The English Notebooks

1. The Hawthornes had sailed from Boston on July 6 and arrived in Liverpool on July 17.

2. This description appears in "Consular Experiences" (CE V: 7–9).

3. Henry Arthur Bright (1830–84) had visited NH in Concord on September 23, 1852, having received a letter of introduction from Longfellow. In *OOH*, NH pays the following homage to his hospitality in England: "It would gratify my cherished remembrance of this dear friend, if I could manage, without offending him, or letting the public know it, to introduce his name upon my page. Bright was the illumination of my dusky little apartment, as often as he made his appearance there!" (CE V: 39).

4. Zachary Taylor (1784–1850), hero of the Mexican War and twelfth president of the United States. His election as a Whig in 1848 precipitated NH's removal from the Salem Custom House.

5. A residential community two miles south of the center of Liverpool, where the Hawthornes lived. Birkenhead, an industrial city of ten thousand, is immediately north of Rockferry.

6. At this time, the population of Liverpool was more than 375,000, far greater than that of any American city.

7. A coin smaller than the others likely to be contributed.

8. This description of the mayor of Liverpool's dinner appears in "Civic Banquets" (CE V: 317–30).

9. The periodic sessions of the judges of the superior courts in every county of England for the purpose of administering justice in the trial and determination of civil and criminal cases.

10. NH's aversion to public speaking is a consistent theme in his letters and throughout *EN*.

11. A city thirty miles north of Liverpool.

12. This entry, and the next two, contain material found throughout "Outside Glimpses of English Poverty" (CE V: 278–83).

13. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, XII, 644. Expelled from Eden, Adam and Eve look back at the Gate, which appears "With dreadful faces throng'd and fiery arms."

14. In the southern part of Rockferry. The description of NH's fireside at Rock Park appears in "A London Suburb" (CE V: 214).

15. The date of the residences mentioned here are Old Manse, 1842–45; Salem, 1845–46; Boston, 1846; Salem, 1846–50; Lenox, 1850–51; West Newton, 1851–52; Concord, 1852–53; England, 1853–57; Italy, 1858–59.

16. Matthew 5:35: "Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne: nor by the earth; for it is his footstool."

17. NH's lament over the "beefy" physique of English women, a recurrent theme throughout *EN*, appears in *OOH* as well (CE V: 48–50, 333–34). The question of national difference between American and English women is also an important theme in *The Ancestral Footstep*, NH's first version of his English romance, written in Rome in 1858 (CE XII: 24, 34, 71–72, 85, 87).

18. The Liverpool beggar without legs appears in "Outside Glimpses of English Poverty" (CE V: 290–92).

19. Allingham (1824–89), an Irish customs officer, published a book of poems in 1850.

20. Thomas Carlyle (1797–1881), Scottish essayist and historian, was enormously influential during the Victorian era in England and the United States. Alfred Lord Tennyson (1809–92), who succeeded William Wordsworth in 1850 as poet laureate of England, is widely regarded as England's preeminent Victorian poet. NH would see Tennyson at the Manchester Art Exhibition in 1857.

21. John Buck Lloyd (d. 1863) was mayor for 1853–54. John Naylor (1813–1889), a banker, lent works of art valued at £20,000 for exhibition at St. George's Hall, Liverpool, on September 18, 1854.

22. Leading members of the British School of modern painters, which NH would study at the Manchester Exhibition of 1857: Joseph Mallard William Turner (1775–1851), Sir David Wilkie (1785–1841), and Sir Edwin Henry Landseer (1802–73).

23. Genesis 2:23: "And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man."

24. NH was in England throughout the Crimean War, fought between Russia on one side and an alliance of France, England, and the Ottoman Empire on the other. The war lasted from 1853 to 1856.

25. James Buchanan (1791–1868), secretary of state under James K. Polk, 1844–48; minister to Great Britain, 1853–56; and fifteenth president of the United States, 1857–61. His niece, Harriet Lane (1833–1903), an orphan brought up by her uncle, served as hostess for Buchanan, first at the American embassy and later in the White House.

26. Charles Anthon (whom NH followed in *WB/TT*) writes: “When [Meleager] was seven years old, the Moirae or Fates came to the dwelling of his parents, and declared that when the billet which was burning on the hearth should be consumed, the babe would die. Althaea, on hearing this, snatched the billet from the fire, and laid it carefully away in a coffer.” When Meleager was grown, he killed Althaea’s brothers in a quarrel, whereupon she “took from its place of concealment the billet, on which depended the existence of Meleager, and cast it on the flames. As it consumed, the vigor of Meleager wasted away; and when it was reduced to ashes, his life terminated” (*A Classical Dictionary* [New York: Harper, 1850], 815–16).

27. Sir Austen Henry Layard (1817–94) was M.P. from Aylesbury, 1852–57.

28. Henry John Temple, third viscount Palmerston (1784–1865), held many government positions and was prime minister from 1855 to 1865.

29. For NH’s moralizing account of this episode, see “Consular Experiences” (CE V: 24–30).

30. Duncan Macauley, U.S. consul to Venice, 1854–55, would become consul to Manchester in 1859.

31. See Coleridge, “The Rime of the Ancient Mariner,” line 370.

32. NH would use this comparison between English and American trees in “Recollections of a Gifted Woman” (CE V: 91–92).

33. Named for Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (?1532–88), Queen Elizabeth’s favorite; the building was originally erected ca. 1383 and converted to a hospital by Dudley in 1571.

34. Built in the early sixteenth century as two separate buildings, half of Shakespeare’s birthplace was used for business, the other half for living quarters. NH would use much of this description of Shakespeare’s birth and burial places in “Recollections of a Gifted Woman” (CE V: 95–104).

35. Part of the tower of the Church of the Holy Trinity is ca. 1210, but most of it dates from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries; the stone spire was added in 1763.

36. The old anathematizing stanza is as follows: “Good friend for Jesus sake forbear / To dig ye dust enclosed here / Blesse be ye man yt spares thes stones / And curst be he yt move my bones.” Thomas Nash (1593–1647) married Elizabeth Hall, Shakespeare’s last direct descendant, in 1626. Dr. John Hall (1575–1635) and Susanna Hall (1583–1649) acted as executors of Shakespeare’s will. John Hall is said to have erected the bust as Shakespeare’s executor.

37. Executed around 1623 by Gerald Johnson (or Garat Janssen), the bust is the earliest authentic statue of Shakespeare.

38. The statue is an early commissioned work by Richard Cockle Lucas (1800–83).

39. Illustrated are three episodes recorded in Boswell’s *Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill and L. F. Powell, 6 vols. [Oxford: Clarendon, 1934–50]. The first relates his

rapt attention, at the age of three, to Henry Sacheverell (1674–1724), known for his eloquent sermons against dissenters (1: 38–39). The second notes that he was often “borne triumphant” to school by three admiring classmates (1: 47). In the third, Johnson tells how he once refused to attend the Uttoxeter fair when his father was ill, and, in later years, repenting for his disobedience, he “went to Uttoxeter in very bad weather, and stood for a considerable time bareheaded in the rain, on the spot where my father’s stall used to stand” (1: 373). NH was fascinated by this episode in Johnson’s life (see his entry for October 24, 1838, in the American notebooks); he recounts it in his description of his travels to Uttoxeter (CE V: 120–38).

40. The description of this “good-natured, fat-faced individual” appears in “Consular Experiences” (CE V: 15–18).

41. Ivan Stepanovich Mazepa (?1640–1709), a Ukrainian Cossack nationalist leader immortalized in Byron’s poem of 1819 about his being bound naked to a horse’s back after the discovery of his liaison with a Polish court lady.

42. Peter Ainsworth (1790–1870), M.P. for Bolton, 1837–47, was owner of Smithells Hall (NH misspells its name).

43. In March 1555 George Marsh was arrested for heresy and examined by Justice Robert Barton at Smithells Hall. Early records give no mention of the foot-stamping incident, and it is first mentioned in a tract dated August 22, 1787. But the legend attracted NH, who used it in his unfinished *American Claimant* romance.

44. In *The Acts and Monuments* (1641) of John Foxe, ed. Rev. George Townsends (1841–49; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1965), Marsh’s account of his examination of “Smirhill” [*sic*] is given (7: 40–41), but there is no mention of any oath or foot-stamping.

45. Located to the left of the south entrance, the monuments include those of Ben Jonson (1572–1637), Edmund Spenser (1552–99), Samuel Butler (1612–80), John Milton (1608–74), and Thomas Gray (1716–71). NH’s visit to the Poets’ Corner is recorded in “Up the Thames” (CE V: 259–64; 266–70).

46. As a young man, NH was infatuated with the poetry of Robert Southey (1774–1843). Thomas Campbell (1777–1844) was known for the “Pleasures of Hope” and for popular songs such as “The Wounded Hussar.”

47. A political attack of 1860 commented, “Mr. B. has a shrill, almost female voice, and wholly beardless cheeks; and he is not by any means, in any aspect the sort of man likely to cut, or attempt to cut his throat for any Chloe or Phyllis in Pennsylvania” (quoted by John Updike from the privately printed biography of Philip Gerald Auchampaugh, in *Buchanan Dying: A Play* [New York: Knopf, 1974], 246).

48. In the election of 1848, when the Whig candidate Zachary Taylor defeated the Democrat Lewis Cass, he had the support of six southern states, including Georgia and Louisiana, which had voted Democratic in the previous election.

49. Francis Bennoch (1812–90) was a London merchant and sometime poet who opened his house to NH and his family. Although Bennoch struck some as pretentious in his cultivation of artists and writers, NH paid tribute to him when he wrote, “He and Henry Bright are the only two men in England whom I should be much grieved to say farewell” (CE XIV: 570), and he writes of Bennoch’s garden in “A London Suburb” (CE V: 216–19). Sir David Salomons, first baronet (1797–1873), was a founder of the London and Westminster Bank. He was one of the first Jews to be elected to municipal office in London, becoming sheriff in 1835 and lord mayor in 1855.

50. Samuel Carter Hall (1800–1889), Irish-born editor and journalist, had founded one of Europe’s leading journals of fine arts. His wife, Anna Maria Fielding Hall (1800–1881), a novelist, is mentioned in the next sentence. George Robert Gleig (1796–1888) was chaplain general of the army.

51. NH is referring to Emma Abigail Montefiore Salomons (1833–59), wife of the lord mayor’s brother Philip; compare the description of Miriam in *MF* (CE IV: 48).

52. Philip Salomon (1796–1867), elder brother of the lord mayor.

53. George Arthur Hastings (1833–73), seventh earl of Grannard.

54. In *OOH*, NH chose to close his chapter on “Civic Banquets,” and indeed the entire book, with the moment of his beginning to speak: “I got upon my legs to save both countries, or perish in the attempt. The tables roared and thundered at me, and suddenly were silent again. But, as I have never happened to stand in a position of greater dignity and peril, I deem it a stratagem of sage policy here to close these Sketches, leaving myself still erect in so heroic an attitude” (CE V: 345).

55. From an early age, NH adored the romances of Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), including *Rob Roy* and *Ivanhoe*. Abbotsford is the farm in Scotland that Scott transformed into a quasi-baronial castle; the money he lavished on it ultimately contributed to his financial collapse.

56. NH had seen Horace Walpole’s house in Surrey in 1856; like Scott, Walpole had created a “toy-castle” (CE XXI: 429).

57. NH had seen Battle Abbey, in Sussex, in 1856 (see CE XXI: 460–64).

58. *La Gazette Nationale, ou le Moniteur*, founded in 1789, was the semi-official newspaper of Napoleon’s government.

59. Walter Scott (1801–47), the author’s oldest son, became a major in the King’s Hussars. Sir Walter Scott had married Charlotte Margaret Charpentier, the daughter of a French émigré.

60. John Graham of Claverhouse, first viscount of Dundee (?1649–89), was colonel of the Royal Life Guards of Scotland during the Restoration and a fierce protector of the Covenanters. James Graham, first marquis and fifth earl of Montrose (1612–50), was commander of the Royalist forces in the Highlands. They appear in Scott’s *Old Mortality* and *A Legend of Montrose*, respectively.

61. William IV’s (not George IV’s) visit to Edinburgh in August 1822 was the first appearance of a Hanoverian king in Scotland. Scott organized an elaborate welcoming ceremony.

62. Richard Monckton Milnes (1809–85), later first Lord Houghton, politician, patron, critic, man of letters, and renowned host; NH first met him in September 1854. Annabel Hungerford Milnes (1814–74) had married Milnes in 1851.

63. Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, third marquis of Landsdowne (1780–1863), was an influential moderate in the House of Lords as well as an active figure in London society.

64. Lord Landsdowne met the poet Thomas Moore (1779–1852) in 1817 and quickly became his patron and literary advisor. NH had read Moore’s *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence* in 1853.

65. George Ticknor (1791–1871) was Longfellow’s predecessor as Smith Professor of French and Spanish at Harvard. He was a cousin of NH’s publisher, William D. Ticknor.

66. Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806–61) and Robert Browning (1812–89) were widely acclaimed English poets, who married in 1846. During their marriage, E. B. Browning overshadowed her husband as a celebrated poet of love and social reform and, on the death of Wordsworth in 1850, was notably considered as a candidate for the poet laureateship, which Alfred Lord Tennyson received. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, literary circles recognized R. Browning as a master poet and a voice for the Victorian themes of progress, limitation, and confidence.

67. Frances Smith Nightingale (d. 1880) and Florence's elder sister, Frances Parthenope ("Parthe") Nightingale, later Lady Verney (1819–90).

68. Elizabeth Barrett Browning became interested in spiritualism in the summer of 1853 and took her husband to a memorable séance conducted by the American medium Daniel Dunglas Home on July 23, 1855. NH and the Brownings discussed spiritualism again in Florence in June 1858, Robert again playing the analytical infidel to his more credulous wife (CE XIV: 302).

69. Delia Salter Bacon (1811–59), an author of New England historical fiction, became obsessed with the idea that Shakespeare's plays were not the product of one genius but were written by a group of eminent Elizabethan philosophers and poets, including Francis Bacon (1561–1626), Edmund Spenser, and Sir Walter Raleigh (1552–1618). Encouraged by Emerson and Elizabeth Peabody, she settled in London in 1853 to work on her treatise. NH's involvement in her project—with much assistance from Francis Bennoch—which involved subsidizing publication of her book, *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded* (1857) and, later, caring for her when she suffered a mental breakdown in 1857, is documented in *OOH*. See also the entry in this collection for July 29, 1856. NH's experiences with Delia Bacon would form the basis of "Recollections of a Gifted Woman" (CE V: 104–17).

70. For Margaret Fuller and William Wetmore Story, see n. 43 of "American Notebooks" and n. 16 of "French and Italian Notebooks," respectively.

71. Anne Isabella Milbank Noel Gordon, Lady Byron and Countess Wentworth (1792–1860), wife of the poet, took an interest in raising her two youngest grandchildren after her only daughter, Ada Augusta Byron Noel (1812–52), had died.

72. Thomas Babington Macauley (1800–1859), author of *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, which NH had read to SH in 1844.

73. John Gorham Palfrey (1796–1881) was Dexter Professor of Sacred Literature at Harvard, 1831–39, and editor of the *North American Review*, 1835–43.

74. For information about George Hillard, see n. 39 in "American Notebooks."

75. Thomas Chatterton (1752–70) produced in adolescence a large number of poems and miscellaneous essays, many alleged to be the work of a medieval monk, one Thomas Rowley. His suicide at the age of seventeen, after a vain attempt to live by his pen in London, created a romantic legend of him as a defeated genius.

76. Eliza Ware Farrar (1791–1870), widow of Professor John Farrar of Harvard, was author of a number of children's novels. She and SH had been friends since the early 1830s. Thomas Carlyle had expressed interest in Bacon's theory. Robert Blair Campbell (d. 1862), U.S. representative from South Carolina and general of South Carolina troops in 1833, was consul at London, 1854–61.

77. The Manchester Art Exhibition opened on May 5, 1857, and closed on October 7. NH and SH stayed near the exhibit to study the art, partly in preparation for their trip to Italy.

78. William Hogarth (1697–1764), English painter. The works NH refers to are *Sigmunda Weeping Over the Heart of Her Lover* (1759), *The March of the Guards to Finchley* (1750), and *Captain Thomas Coram* (1743).

79. Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830) and Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–92) were both British painters.

80. John Singleton Copley (1738–1815), born in Boston, had lived in London after 1775. Presumably NH's "slain man" refers to *The Death of Major Pierson, on the Invasion of Jersey by the French*.

81. Francis Danby (1793–1861) painted *The Evening Gun* in 1848.

82. Alexander Ireland (1810–94) was a native of Edinburgh but moved to Manchester in 1843. He was publisher and business manager of the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, a liberal paper, from 1846 to 1886. He was an organizer of the Manchester Free Library and a good friend of Emerson, Carlyle, and Leigh Hunt.

83. Thomas Woolner (1825–92), sculptor and poet, executed his bust of Tennyson in 1857.

84. A ground sloth of the Pliocene and Pleistocene ages, often of gigantic size. NH may be thinking of his recent visit to the Crystal Palace, where he saw large models of the iguanodon, the plesiosaurus, and the pterodactyl created by Sir Richard Owen of the British Museum.

Part III: The French and Italian Notebooks

1. Ann Adaline Shepard (1835–74) was governess of the Hawthorne children. Frances L. (Fanny) Macdaniel (b. 1815) had resided at Brook Farm and now taught English in Paris.

2. Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) was the principal artist of the Bolognese Academy of the late sixteenth century, known for its Baroque classicism. Claude Lorrain or Claude Gellée (?1604/5–1682), French draftsman, painter, and etcher, was renowned for his ideal landscape paintings. Raphael, or Raffaello Santi or Sanzio (1483–1520), was an Italian painter, draftsman, and architect whose art embodied the visual and psychological realism of the High Renaissance. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) was an Italian painter, sculptor, architect, designer, theorist, engineer, and scientist of the High Renaissance. Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564) was an Italian painter, draftsman, architect, sculptor, and poet of the High Renaissance. Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), whose capacity to transform profound themes into vivid and luxuriant images exemplifying his tradition, was a Flemish artist of the Baroque. Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–69), Dutch painter, draftsman, and etcher, was renowned for his attention to details and innovative approach to portraits and history paintings.

3. Benjamin Franklin (1706–90), the American printer, writer, scientist, inventor, and statesman. During the Revolutionary War, Franklin was sent to Paris and proved instrumental in winning French support for the colonies; he was also much in vogue in French society.

4. The church is Santissima Annunziata, at the end of the Via Balbi.

5. The Palazza Larazani on the Pincian Hill.

6. In *Plutarch's Lives*, Alexander the Great confronts Diogenes, who tarried lying in the sun rather than rushing to his side in an expedition against Persia. Upon asking Diogenes whether he wanted anything, Diogenes replied, "Yes . . . stand a little out

of my sun." Impressed with the "haughtiness and grandeur" of Diogenes, Alexander declared, "But verily, if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes."

7. After the abortive Republican revolution of 1848, a French army restored Pope Pius IX to control of Rome and the Papal States; a garrison of thirty thousand remained during the 1850s.

8. The narrator of *MF* uses this description to capture the sense of Rome's former "magnificence" and present decay, but (like NH) he gradually develops a mysterious affection for "the Eternal City." See CE IV: 110–11.

9. St. Peter's marks the first of the five great basilicas in Rome. These lines were adapted for *MF* (CE IV: 348–49).

10. Constantine I, or Constantine the Great (?285–337 c.e.), ruled as emperor of Rome from 306 to 337.

11. Roman emperors returned from victories in Egypt with ancient obelisks as their monuments; popes, in turn, have used them to decorate the modern city. Augustan or Republican antiquities date from the time of Augustus (63 B.C.E.–14 C.E., first emperor of Rome 27 B.C.E.–14 C.E.) or the Roman Republic (ca. 509 B.C.E.–fifth century C.E.).

12. See CE XXI: 234–38 and XXII: 377–78 for NH's visits to Furness Abbey and Kenilworth, the ruins of the former inspiring NH to write, "they suggest a greater majesty and beauty than any human work can show—the crumbling traces of the half obliterated design producing somewhat of the effect of the first idea of anything admirable, when it dawns upon the mind of an artist or a poet—an idea which, do what he may, he is sure to fall short of" (CE XXI: 235). In the preface to *MF*, NH would note, "Romance and poetry, like ivy, lichens, and wall-flowers, need Ruin to make them grow" (CE IV: 3).

13. In *MF*, Hilda seeks sanctuary in a confessional and "reveal[s] the whole of her terrible secret" of Donatello and Miriam (CE IV: 354–62).

14. The Pantheon, a Greek temple dedicated, as its name suggests, to all the gods, was erected by Agrippa in 27 B.C.E. and rebuilt by the emperor Hadrian in the second century. It was converted to a Christian church in 609.

15. Maria Mitchell (1818–89) was the first American woman professor of astronomy (at Vassar College). The main purpose of her trip to Italy was to meet European astronomers and to demonstrate to them how photography was a tool for astronomy in America.

16. Built in 1640 and one of the largest palaces in Rome, the Barberini houses a small collection of paintings and a library. William Wetmore Story (1819–95), American sculptor, writer, musician, painter, and theatrical producer, was the unofficial leader of the American artists' community in Rome at the time of the Hawthornes' visit.

17. NH secured the renown of this idealized statue of Cleopatra by Story (1858) when he described it in *MF* (CE IV: 125–26), assigning it to his fictional Kenyon. He acknowledged his "robbery" of this "magnificent work" in his preface and generously credited Story (CE IV: 4).

18. Story turned thirty-nine years old on February 12.

19. *Marguerite*, a work of the 1850s, now in the Essex Institute, Salem.

20. Louisa Lander (1826–1923), of Salem, went to Rome in 1855 to study sculpture. She saw the Hawthornes frequently after their arrival, and by April had finished a bust of NH. Rumors about her sexual misbehavior, founded or not, soon prompted the Hawthornes to refuse to continue seeing her (see the Introduction to this volume).

Hawthorne used elements of his description of Louisa Lander in portraying Hilda (CE IV: 54–55).

21. The sculptor Antonio Canova (1757–1822) was the leading classicist of the early nineteenth century.

22. “Virginia Dare,” a statue of the first English child born in America, completed in 1859.

23. The church, I Cappuccini, or S. Maria della Concezione, appears in *MF* as the church where Donatello, Kenyon, and Miriam witness a dead monk over whom his brothers sing a *de profundis* (a psalm of penitence) (CE IV: 181–82, 187–89).

24. Guido Reni (1575–1642) and Il Domenichino (or Domenico Zampieri) (1581–1641), Italian painters and students of Annibale Carracci.

25. The *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Laocoön*, and the *Torso Belvedere* (thought to represent Hercules) were considered by nineteenth-century tourists to be among the most inspiring examples of classical genius in sculpture. The *Apollo Belvedere* portrayed the Greek sun-god Apollo. In *MF*, Kenyon visits the Vatican sculpture gallery, but, missing the sympathetic intelligence of Hilda, he finds his enthusiasm for sculpture chill: “he suspected that it was a very cold art to which he had devoted himself . . . and whether the Apollo Belvedere itself possesses any merit above its physical beauty, or is beyond criticism even in that generally acknowledged excellence. In flitting glances, heretofore, he had seemed to behold this statue as something ethereal and godlike, but not now” (CE IV: 391). The *Laocoön* is a marble statue group of a serpent assailing the Trojan priest Laocoön and his two sons outside the walls of Troy.

26. NH was astonished—and appalled—by what he felt was the uncleanness of contemporary Romans. SH’s sense of propriety led her to omit from *Passages* “and along . . . ancient wall,” “or they will . . . nastiness,” and “in my opinion . . . as other people.” In *MF*, the narrator muses on “a kind of malignant spell . . . an inherited and inalienable curse, impelling their successors to fling dirt and defilement upon whatever temple, column, ruined palace, or triumphal arch, may be nearest at hand, and on every monument that the old Romans built” (CE IV: 388).

27. A large fountain designed by Flaminio Ponzio (1559–1613).

28. The *Pietà*, one of the great statues of the Italian Renaissance, was sculpted late in life by Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564).

29. The picture of Christ was painted by Dürer in 1506, reportedly in five days.

30. The first of these is a portrait of a woman clothed only beneath the waist, traditionally identified as Raphael’s mistress (“la fornarina” or baker’s daughter). In fact, the artist is likely Raphael’s student Giulio Romano (?1499–1546) and the subject, the Sienese lady Margherita di Francesco Luti. The *Beatrice Cenci* haunted NH’s imagination during the composition of *MF*. Hilda copies the *Beatrice Cenci* to perfection, explaining to the astonished Miriam that she “had . . . but to sit down before the picture, day after day, and let it sink into my heart. . . . She is a fallen angel, fallen, and yet sinless; and it is only this depth of sorrow, with its weight and darkness, that keeps her down upon the earth, and brings her within our view even while it sets her beyond our reach” (CE IV: 65, 66). In *MF*, Miriam suffers a similar “fallen, and yet sinless” fate. Recent scholars suspect the painting is neither Guido’s nor of Beatrice Cenci, but perhaps Francesco Albani’s (1578–1660) of a sibyl, an oracular or prophetic woman honored in ancient Greece and Rome.

31. Guido Reni’s *St. Michael Trampling the Devils* is the most celebrated painting in St. Peter’s. It, too, appears symbolically in *MF* (CE IV: 182–85).

32. The Capitol includes three buildings designed by Michelangelo: the Palace of the Senator in the center, the Palace of the Conservators on the right (or west side), and the Museum of the Capitol on the left (or east side).

33. Roman rulers took their title from Julius Caesar, the first of the Roman emperors (45–44 B.C.E.), and were honorarily called “Caesar.” The words “Kaiser” and “Czar” derive from “Caesar.”

34. A premier sculptural destination among nineteenth-century American tourists, the *Dying Gladiator* struck art critic John Bell as “a most tragical and touching representation, . . . [which] no one can meditate upon . . . without the most melancholy feelings.” Despite his enthusiasm for the *Dying Gladiator* here, on a later visit in March 1859, NH suffered the vagaries of his artistic taste and lamented, “I used to admire the Dying Gladiator exceedingly; but, in my later views of him, I find myself getting wearied and annoyed that he should be such a length of time leaning on his arm, in the very act of death,” a complaint he has Kenyon of *MF* share (CE XIV: 511; IV: 16–17).

35. A statue depicting Emperor Hadrian’s beloved companion Antinous, whose mysterious drowning in the Nile inspired the legends of his apotheosis and assimilation into several deities, including Osiris, Silvanus, Apollo, and Dionysus. Despite the popularity of the *Antinous* among American tourists, NH failed to remark upon the statue until his fifth visit; the neighboring *Faun of Praxiteles* apparently captured the greater part of his attention. SH had a bust of Antinous in the Old Manse. Later in the century especially, Antinous became for some a symbol of homoerotic love.

36. The Palace of the Conservators on the west side of the square of the Capitol contains a number of frescoes, statues, and paintings, including a Gallery of Pictures.

37. The gallery of the Palazzo Borghese, a palace dating back to 1590.

38. In *MF*, NH translates his lassitude into an “icy Demon of Weariness,” who scandalously suggests to Hilda the monotony of the Italian masters (CE IV: 336).

39. Unlike most American tourists, who preferred the paintings of the Italian High Renaissance masters, NH favored (abashedly so, at times) the Dutch and Flemish genre paintings of Rubens, Rembrandt, Anthony van Dyck (Flemish painter, 1599–1641), Paulus Potter (Dutch painter and etcher, 1625–54), and the David Teniers (Flemish painters, the Elder 1582–1649 and the Younger 1610–90). NH developed his taste for Dutch and Flemish genre paintings at the Manchester Exhibit of 1857 (see CE XXII: 356), but he had openly praised this style of art earlier in chapter 21 of *BR*.

40. The Gallery of Statues forms part of the larger palaces and museums of the Vatican.

41. When she edited this passage after NH’s death, SH revised it for public consumption: out of which “Heaven alone can help them” (see CE XIV: 925). NH himself made a similar change in *MF* when he had the statue impress Kenyon as a representation of “the Fate of Interminable Ages”; Laocoön and his sons seem doomed to Kenyon “if no Divine help intervene” (CE IV: 391; see XIV: 925). The irony here is that it was a god, Poseidon, siding with the Greeks, who sent the serpents to strangle Laocoön to prevent him from warning the Trojans.

42. Joseph Mozier (1812–70), a successful New York businessman who retired to Florence in 1845 to study sculpture.

43. Horatio Greenough (1805–52), considered the “first American sculptor,” traveled to Rome in 1825 to pursue his vocation, receiving commissions from James

Fenimore Cooper for *Chanting Cherubs* (1829–31), based on (at Cooper's suggestion) Raphael's *Madonna del Baldacchino*, and from the U.S. Congress for a monumental statue of George Washington (1832–41). In *MF*, Kenyon shares Mozier's disdain for Greenough's lack of original genius (CE IV: 124).

44. See n. 43 in "American Notebooks" for a discussion of NH's ambivalence toward Fuller; see also the discussion of Fuller in the Introduction.

45. Harriet Goodhue Hosmer (1830–1908), of Watertown, Massachusetts, resolved early to become a sculptor, studying anatomy in St. Louis in her youth, traveling to Rome with actress Charlotte Cushman in 1852, and studying there with the Welsh sculptor John Gibson as a beloved student and peer. Gibson (ca. 1790–1866) moved to Rome in 1820 and studied with Antonio Canova (1757–1822) and Bertel Thorvaldsen (1768 or 1770–1844); he represented the heart of the Anglo-Roman school and was one of the chief advocates of neoclassicism in the nineteenth century. His guiding principle was simple: "Whatever the Greeks did was right."

46. Gibson's *Tinted Venus* (ca. 1850) is the best known of his controversial colored statues. He used colored wax, in emulation of ancient Greek practice.

47. The Basilica of Julia had been recently uncovered in the Roman Forum in 1834.

48. In the preface to *MF*, NH putatively selects Italy as the setting of his "Romance," because "Romance and poetry, like ivy, lichens, and wall-flowers, need Ruin to make them grow" (CE IV: 3); yet in the *FIN* and in the text of *MF* (CE IV: 167), the Hawthornean voice marvels at the way in which stark Roman ruins diminish a sense of historicity and "Romance," while Gothic ruins intensify the same. Romance seems to need the softness of decay; Roman ruins are ageless petrifications, imposing but resistant to poeticizing, except perhaps by moonlight.

49. John Murray's guidebook *Handbook of Rome and Its Environs* (London: John Murray, 1858) describes the Villa Borghese as "one of the favorite resorts of the Roman people in summer, and the most convenient promenade for the upper classes and foreign residents of all seasons" (295).

50. Praxiteles (?ca. 400 B.C.E.–ca. 330 B.C.E.), the premier Attic sculptor of the Late Classical period, evidently created the original bronze statue from which nearly 150 copies derive, including those in the Vatican and the Villa Borghese, the last of which NH would visit on April 17. With this visit and subsequent ones on April 22 and April 30, the *Faun* would come to haunt NH's literary imagination, inspiring him to create the character Donatello and the romance *MF*.

51. George Loring Brown (1814–89), of Boston.

52. Edward Sheffield Bartholomew (1822–58), of Connecticut, came to Rome in 1850, where he did a number of portrait busts of Americans.

53. JH comments in *Hawthorne and His Circle* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1903), "Both in his notes and in his romance [CE IV: 8] he makes the same mistake as to the pose of the figure. . . . Of course, the left arm, the one referred to, is held akimbo on his left hip" (235).

54. In the fall of 1857, New York experienced a Great Awakening of sorts, a revival of ecumenical Christian spirit manifesting itself among the urban laity in daily interdenominational worship assemblies, which the secular press covered extensively. From the city it extended into New England cities, towns, and the countryside, reaching its peak from February to June 1858.

55. The cultivated landscape of Monte Pincio, one of the minor hills beyond Rome's famous seven and a favorite promenade.

56. The reference is to Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, canto IV, stanza 78, ll. 694–95: "Oh Rome! my country! city of the soul! / The orphans of the heart must turn to thee."

57. When Donatello and Kenyon travel through the Italian waysides in *MF*, they behold "wretched cottages" and "dreary farm-houses" that belie the pastoral bliss of the countryside; during their ride, the strangely melancholic Donatello kneels penitently at crosses and "the many shrines" like those described in the notebooks (CE IV: 295, 300, 297).

58. During the rambles of Donatello and Kenyon, "they would arrive at some immemorial city . . . built . . . [so] that they can never fall—never crumble away—never be less fit than now for human habitation." It "seems a sort of stony growth out of the hill-side, or a fossilized town" (CE IV: 301–2).

59. NH probably has in mind the painters of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, including Giotto, who developed sophisticated sacred designs and iconography that would fundamentally determine the course of Italian art. From the owl-tower of Donatello's castle, Kenyon and Donatello gaze upon "cities, some of them famous of old; for these had been the seats and nurseries of early Art, where the flower of Beauty sprang out of a rocky soil, and in a high, keen atmosphere, when the richest and most sheltered gardens failed to nourish it" (CE IV: 258).

60. According to Murray, Perugia was formerly "one of the most important cities of the Etruscan league, and is scarcely inferior in antiquity to Cortona." Murray also identifies Perugia as the center of the school of Umbria, characterized by "the transition from the classical style prevalent at Florence to the devotional, which attained its maturity and perfection under Raphael" (*Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy, Part 1*, 3rd edition (London: John Murray, 1853), 242, 244–45. An important scene in *MF*—Miriam and Donatello's reunion as arranged by Kenyon—is set in the marketplace in Perugia. See chapters 34–35.

61. The *Perugia Triptych: The Virgin and Child Enthroned with Angels between Saints Dominic, Nicholas of Bari, John the Baptist, and Catherine of Alexandria* (1437).

62. Paul de Kock (1794–1871), a popular French novelist of Parisian bourgeois life, whose books NH found entertaining during his stay in Concord in the 1840s, while SH considered them "abominable," at least on hearsay.

63. While recording a visit to a Gothic cathedral in Siena five months later, NH similarly imagined its Gothic architecture as "an antique volume written in black-letter of a small character, but conveying a high and solemn meaning" (CE XIV: 450). In *MF*, NH combines the passages in his description of a cathedral in Perugia (CE IV: 312–13).

64. The cathedral dedicated to San Lorenzo dates from the end of the fifteenth century. San Luigi does not correspond to any Perugian churches listed by Murray in *Handbook for Travellers*.

65. Most tourists were more impressed with the Fontana Maggiore (or Great Fountain, 1277–78) than with the statue of Pope Julius III. A Gothic fountain designed by Nicola Pisano, it portrays prophets, saints, the months, the arts, zodiacal signs, biblical stories, and the history of the founding of Rome. *Julius III* (1553–55), a vibrant, elaborately wrought bronze statue of the pope, becomes in *MF* a

“benignly awful representative of Divine and human authority,” whose benediction “every man . . . might hope to feel quietly descending upon the need, or the distress, that he had closest to his heart” (CE IV: 313–14).

66. Mountains of northwest Italy rising to 9,560 feet.

67. In John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*, an allegorical tale of temptation and salvation and a favorite book of the young NH, Christian and Hopeful “essayed to look, but the remembrance of . . . [hell] made their hands shake, by means of which impediment they could not look steadily through the Glass; yet they thought they saw something like the Gate, and also some of the Glory” of Celestial City. John Bunyan, *Pilgrim’s Progress*, ed. James Blanton Wharey, 2nd edition, rev. Roger Sharrock (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 122–23.

68. Hiram Powers (1805–73) was the most famous American artist of his time, at home and abroad.

69. *The Fisher Boy* (1846) and *Proserpine* (1839), the latter of which was the most popular of all neoclassical sculptures by American artists.

70. The Hawthornes’ stay in Florence came during a period of neglect and deterioration for the Uffizi. In 1864, after Tuscany had become firmly allied with the new kingdom of Italy, the museum was reorganized and the collection presented in a more orderly, logical way. Hawthorne visited the gallery often and gradually came to have deep affection for it.

71. Paintings variously related to the Italian Renaissance, including the art of Giotto di Bondone (renowned Italian painter, ca. 1267/75–1337), Fra Angelico (or Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, Italian painter, ca. 1395/1400–1455), Botticelli, Cimabue (or Cenni di Pepo, Italian painter, ca. 1240–ca. 1302), and Fra Filippo Lippi (1406–69). Today art historians attribute the paintings NH viewed in the Uffizi not to those whom he mentions but to their students.

72. *Our Lord Burdened with the Weight of the Cross* by Italian painter Domenico Passignano, or Domenico Cresti (ca. 1559–1638).

73. Emperor of Rome (37–68 c.e.), infamous for cruelty and rumored to have set the Great Fire of Rome (64 c.e.). See the entry on June 16, 1858, where NH reflects on the relation of aesthetic taste and moral character (CE XIV: 321). In a passage of *The Ancestral Footstep* written on May 15, 1858, NH depicts the villain Eldredge in Neronian hues: “Taste seems to be a department of moral sense; and yet it is so little identical with it, and so little implies conscience, that some of the worst men in the world have been the most refined” (CE XII: 74). In *MF*, Hilda suffers from the perception of evil in the world and discovers newly the capacity for an “artificial character” to develop “a taste for pictorial art” (CE IV: 339). The relationship of the aesthetic to the moral fascinated Hawthorne, as it would Henry James.

74. *The Venus de’ Medici*, a renowned antique statue created perhaps by a disciple of Praxiteles in the first century B.C.E. Probably a copy of a bronze Venus received from the *Venus of Knidos*, it represents a nude Venus with her head turned left and her hands demurely concealing her breasts and genitals.

75. NH alludes to paintings that Italian painter, draftsman, and printmaker Titian (Tiziano Vecellio, 1488–1576) produced during the second quarter of the sixteenth century, perhaps the *Venus of Urbino* (1538).

76. NH had first met poets Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning in England. See nn. 66 and 68 in “The English Notebooks.”

77. Robert Wiedemann Barrett Browning (1849–1912), spoiled as a child, became a middling painter and sculptor in Italy. When the father Browning read NH's explanation for his child's nickname, he professed amusement and explained that it derived from young Robert's "first attempt at pronouncing his own second name of Wiedemann . . . by which it was first proposed that he should be called to the avoiding the ambiguous 'Robert.'"

78. Against the thrust of contemporary opinion, including his wife's, NH was defensive, or mock-defensive, about preferring the French, Dutch, and Flemish masters to "the general run of the Italians, who have tired me to death" (CE XIV: 297). The painters he refers to are Frans van Mieris the Elder (1635–81), a Dutch painter of exquisitely refined, delicately lit genre scenes, and Gerrit [Gerard] Dou (1613–75), a Dutch painter of precise and charming portraits and genre paintings.

79. Salvator Rosa (1615–73), a Neapolitan painter most known for dramatic scenes of uncultivated, beautiful wilds, which contrasted with the pastoral paintings of Claude.

80. Isabella Blagden (?1816–73), British poet and novelist celebrated not for her literature but for her hospitality as a hostess and friend to Anglo-American tourists and residents of Florence, in particular the Brownings. On the suggestion of Blagden, the Hawthornes settled in the Villa Montauto near her home for August and September. Francis Boott (1813–1904), amateur singer and composer, had taken his infant daughter Elizabeth (1846–88) from Boston to live in Florence after the death of his wife; Henry James based Gilbert and Pansy Osmond on the Bootts in *The Portrait of a Lady*. Thomas Adolphus Trollope (1810–92), older brother of the novelist Anthony, lived in Florence and wrote novels.

81. Daniel Dunglas Home (pronounced Hume, 1833–86), an American medium who discovered his talents during the initial delirium of the spiritualist movement. Spiritualism began in earnest in Rochester, New York, in June 1850, when the Fox sisters apparently communicated with a spirit, who knocked correct answers in response to their questions. Eventually they were exposed as frauds who cracked their toe knuckles to produce the anticipated "rappings," but others welcomed spiritualism as a stream of genuine religion, however muddy its origins. NH made frequent and serious literary use of spiritualism and mesmerism, the latter a tributary of spiritualism in its mystical manifestations, especially in *HSG* and *BR*. Hume conducted a séance at Hiram Power's house in the autumn of 1855.

82. Disciple of Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), who preached the correspondence between natural objects and spiritual truths, which one learns to perceive more clearly through instruction from the spirit world.

83. Andrea del Sarto (1486–1530), Italian painter and draftsman. His early sixteenth-century paintings embody aesthetic ideals of the classical High Renaissance, while later ones anticipated elements of Mannerism.

84. When Kenyon and Hilda return to the United States in *MF*, the narrator similarly moralizes, "between two countries, we have none at all, or only that little space of either, in which we finally lay down our discontent bones. It is wise, therefore, to come back betimes—or never" (CE IV: 461).

85. A small town on the site of the Roman city that supplanted the Etruscan city of Volsinium.

86. In *MF* the narrator invokes the same sentiment when describing the buildings

“everywhere in Italy, be they hovels or palaces” (CE IV: 302). When the mythical figure Sibyl requested the gift of immortality, she forgot to ask also for the gift of eternal youth.

87. Over the next six months, Una suffered recurrent and ever worsening bouts of malaria. NH tried to remain composed, but occasionally he lost hope for her survival altogether. From November through late February, she seemed on the verge of recovery, and NH returned to writing, although not in his notebooks but in his romance, which provided a welcome distraction from his grim fears for Una’s life. Una relapsed again in late March and seemed on the verge of death, but she recovered once more and appeared healthy in late May. Una survived the malarial bouts but afterwards endured poor health and nervous breakdowns. She would die at the age of thirty-three. T. Walter Herbert discusses Una’s malaria in *Dearest Beloved* (248–55).

88. The preceding year, the Carnival failed to impress NH, especially given the persistently rainy weather. He found himself in better spirits this time with the apparent recovery of Una. In the climactic final scene of *MF*, Kenyon resembles the earlier NH with “his sad and contracted brow so ill accorded with the scene, that the revellers might be pardoned for thus using him as the butt of their idle mirth, since he evidently could not otherwise contribute to it” (CE IV: 445). Miriam, bearing an anguished countenance beneath the mask of a Contadina, paradoxically reflects, “There may be a sacred hour, even in Carnival-time!” (CE IV: 448).

89. Mary Elizabeth Benjamin Motley (1813–74), acquaintance of SH since the early 1830s in Boston. She lived in Europe during the 1850s with her husband John Lothrop Motley (1814–77), who composed *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1856) and *History of the United Netherlands* (1860–68).

90. *Galignani’s Messenger* was a daily newspaper for English-speaking persons on the Continent.

91. Franklin Pierce (1804–69), college companion and lifelong friend of NH, brigadier general in the Mexican War, and fourteenth president of the United States (1852–56), selected NH to write his 1852 campaign biography and, in return for his service, appointed NH to the Liverpool consulate in 1853. Hawthorne was deeply loyal to Pierce, whom contemporaries and history have alike judged severely.

92. Hamilton Gibbs Wilder (or Wild; 1827–84), American portrait, landscape, and genre painter. Late in *MF* Kenyon comes upon a newly unearthed Venus in the Roman countryside (see chapter 46).

93. The Hawthornes and Pierce had planned to travel together to Venice, Milan, Geneva, and Paris. On April 18, however, Dr. Franco strongly advised against Una’s removal from Rome.

94. NH would make one final gesture of friendship in 1863 when he dedicated *Our Old Home* to Pierce, whose efforts to preserve the Union at all costs earned him opprobrium during wartime as a morally bankrupt president. Against the advice of his publishers, NH insisted on the dedication: “if I were to tear out the dedication,” he wrote to his publisher, “I should never look at the volume again without remorse and shame.” *OOH* succeeded admirably, even if numerous readers, including Emerson, tore out the dedication from their editions.

95. In February 1858, NH admired the mosaic copy of Guido’s *Archangel Michael* as an illustration of “the immortal youth and loveliness of virtue, and its irresistible might against evil” (CE XIV: 100), although in April the same year, when he viewed

another copy in the Academy of St. Luke (which here he seems to remember as being in St. Peter's), he complained, "I . . . seem to see that there is something dainty in the foot which treads on Satan and that a warrior-angel ought not to be quite so delicate" (CE XIV: 170). In *MF*, NH conjures his memories of the copy in his characters' description of the original work. While Kenyon admires it as uniquely "beautiful," Miriam carps that the Archangel steps too "prettily" on the devil. "He should press his foot hard down upon the old Serpent, as if his very soul depended upon it. . . . And with all this fierceness, this grimness, this unutterable horror, there should still be something high, tender, and holy in Michael's eyes, and around his mouth. But the battle never was such child's play as Guido's dapper Archangel seems to have found it!" (CE IV: 184).

96. A mountain near Rome.

